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Archæological and Historical PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XIII.



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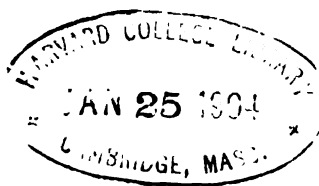
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OHIO. Archaeological and Historical PUBLICATIONS.

SIMON KENTON.

PROF. R. W. M'FARLAND.

SECTION I.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

It may seem to many people that enough has already been written both of Boone and Kenton: the first having been the most prominent early settler of Kentucky; the second having been the scout who did probably more than any one else, not excepting Boone himself, to save the settlers from the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Indian. By Boone's own account, it appears that he, John Finley, John Stewart, and three others left their homes on the Yadkin river, North Carolina "in quest of the country of Kentucky. This was in May, 1769, and 'on the 7th' day of June following, we found ourselves on Red river, the northernmost branch of the Kentucky river."

The party continued hunting with great success throughout the summer and fall, as late as December 22d. Soon after this date, Stewart was killed by the Indians, the first victim to fall, so far as is known. Estimates of the number of men, women, and children killed by the savages from 1770 to 1790, vary from fifteen hundred or two thousand. No one puts the number below the smaller of these two numbers. Of course the exact number can never be known; but it is an appalling list, viewed in any light whatever.

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It should be noted that before the year 1774, the only persons in Kentucky were the early hunters and explorers. It is true that Boone, and a company of about forty persons, had attempted to reach the new country in the fall of 1773, but on the 10th of October, they were attacked by Indians, and six of the white men killed, and one wounded. This occurred in Powell's valley, not far from Cumberland Gap. The rest returned without delay.

In the great amount and rush of business in all parts of this country, there is some probability that too little attention may be given to the history of the early settlements or attempted settlements:—to the dangers, the distress, the heroic courage, and the long endurance of the "Hunters of Kentucky."

Many sketches of Kenton's life have been written, some with, and some without adequate knowledge of the subject. Preparatory to writing this sketch, the writer hereof spent a week in the State Library at Columbus, examining the various accounts found there. To show the uncritical way in which so-called History is too often written, it may be proper to state that in these various publications it was found that Kenton was born in two different counties, at six different dates, and that he died on three different days.

Of the sketches above referred to, the two which stray furthest from the truth are, the one in the *American Magazine of History*, printed several years ago, and the article in *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1864. The latter account seems to have been written with "malice prepense," the author having absolutely no proper conception of the character which he professed to set forth;—the other may be properly characterized as "apocryphal," having the setting of a fairy story, and the lineaments of a myth.

The account written in 1838 by Col. John McDonald of Ross County, a companion of Kenton in several expeditions against the Indians, is a story of a very different cast, and sets the man before you in the proper light. So, also, is the account written in 1832, by John A. McClung, of Kentucky. This latter sketch was regarded by Kenton's friends and relations as being strictly correct, as far as it goes, but it does not profess to be a complete ac-

count, merely sketches of the principal events in his remarkable career.

In the several accounts given by the various parties there are irreconcilable contradictions. Of course there is error somewhere. Reference will be made to several of these cases in the course of this narrative.

In the April number of this Journal for 1903, appeared an article which showed the opportunities enjoyed by the writer of this sketch of becoming acquainted with the life and character of Simon Kenton, and to that article reference may be had by all who may care to know the particulars. By reason of the statements therein set forth, and the several minor notices of Kenton which have appeared in the Quarterly, I have been requested to give some account of the life and character of Kenton, whose checkered career as pioneer, scout, and spy for about twenty-five years, has no parallel in the annals of the West.

At the unveiling of the Kenton monument in the Urbana cemetery in 1884, General Keifer in his address on that occasion, said, "A long life of hardy adventures, with unexampled courage, and a devoted patriotism in the cause of his country, justly stamp him as illustrious."

SECTION II.

THE KENTON FAMILY.

In connection with this sketch of Simon Kenton, it may be well to give some account of the Kenton family, — no such account, so far as I know, having ever been printed; and most people prefer to know something of the surroundings of the principal character.

Mark Kenton, Simon's father, was born in Ireland, March 1, 1701. On his arrival in this country he made his way to northern Virginia. His wife was of Scotch descent. Their oldest child, William, was born September 20, 1737. Other sons were Benjamin, Mark, Simon, and John. There was one sister, whether more, I do not know, the record not being complete. Benjamin was a soldier in the revolutionary war, and died in Philadelphia in the course of the war. Mark, born 1749, was also a soldier, and died in 1785. Simon was born April 3, 1755,

and John in 1757. After the latter came west, he lived many years in Mason county, Kentucky, but the date of his death is not found in the Kenton family record.

Whether the father lived in Culpepper or Fauquier county, the record does not say: some writers give one county; some the other as Simon's birthplace. However it may be, it is certain that when the Kenton kindred went west in 1783, the leader of the colony, William, the oldest son of Mark, moved from Fauquier county; the record so states the fact. William Kenton and his family of six children, the father, Mark, and about forty others, neighbors and friends, left Fauquier county, September 16, 1783, and reached the Monongahela, in the vicinity of Redstone, (now Brownsville, Pa.) about the middle of October.

The father, being in his eighty-third year, was very feeble, and died just before the company reached the river, and was buried on the bank of that stream. For some days previous to his death he was carried on a horse litter. This consisted of two long poles, one end of each being fastened to the collar of a horse, and the other end resting on the ground ten or twelve feet to the rear of the horse. To these poles cross pieces were fastened, and a cot was then firmly tied on this rude frame, and the invalid bound to the cot. The company, having procured boats, and laid in a supply of provisions, ammunition, etc., embarked for the falls of the Ohio, Louisville, and reached that point about the first of December, 1783. Thence the family moved to the vicinity of Harrodsburg, and remained about ten years. Then they moved to Mason county, a few miles inland from Limestone, (now Maysville) and remained until 1801, when there was a general emigration of the kindred to the valley of Mad river, in what subsequently became Champaign county, Ohio. They located in the western half of the county, their land extending from the river westwardly two or three miles, and lying north of the village of Westville.

By this time William's children were mostly grown, and several of them were married. There were Philip, Thomas, William, Mark, Elizabeth, Jane, and Mary of the one family. Simon had preceded his brother by two years, and together with half a dozen other families, had erected a sort of fort a couple of miles north-

wardly from the present site of Springfield. This was before either Springfield or Urbana was laid out, the former being laid out in 1801, and the latter in 1805, Champaign being set off in 1803 and Clark in 1817. In those early days Mad River was sometimes called Chillicothe River. The early settlers knew when they found a good country; and whoever knows the Mad River valley, knows that it is about as fine a stretch of land as any the sun shines on.

Intermarried with the Kentons either before or after their removal to this state, were persons of several names, Arrow-smith, Talbot, Corwin, Bayles, Haller, McCord, Cheatham, McGinnis, McFarland, Osborn, Chance, Putman, Mouser, Sears, Russell, Phillips, Lewis, Dowden, Owens, and others, names well known in Champaign county as among the pioneers of the Mad River valley in the first quarter of the last century. It appears therefore that a goodly number of the relatives of Simon Kenton enjoyed the bounties of the country which he had so long served, as Indian scout and spy, and as the intrepid soldier.

After these preliminaries we come to the main topic of this article.

SECTION III.

SIMON KENTON.

The counties of Fauquier and Culpepper are contiguous and are situated about fifty miles westwardly from Washington City. Of course it is well known that this city was not laid out till near the close of the eighteenth century; and it is referred to here merely as a convenient way of locating places for the benefit of such as may wish easy rather than elaborate reference.

Simon's early life was passed on the farm with his father and other members of the family. But there is no specific account of his work or his words till he was about sixteen years old. Then occurred an event which changed the whole current of his humble life, and started him on a career which for wild adventure, hair-breadth escapes, for grand service rendered to his fellow pioneers, has never been equaled; a career extending over about twenty-five years, not the "piping times of peace," but times of unbroken war from year to year, from month to month,

and sometimes from day to day. Through all this long fight of the pioneers of Kentucky for the possession of the land, there was no force sent against the savage foe, but in front of that



SIMON KENTON.

force, as spy and scout, Kenton was found, and the service rendered does not admit of calculation. And the private and personal expeditions came oftener than the seasons, and there was scarcely a month in that long series of years in which Kenton did not risk his own life for the sake of his fellow pioneers. It

is natural that such a career should be the center around which mythical story and weird legend should gather.

But to return to the unpleasant incident above referred to. Even in regard to this event there are conflicting accounts, one of which had a great variety of particulars, which can not possibly be all true, and it is far more likely that all are false, and were invented in order to round out the trumped-up story. Before Kenton was sixteen years of age, he fell in love with a neighbor's daughter, as did also another young man of the vicinity. The general outline of this story is here inserted because it is found in several of the sketches of Kenton's life, copied, I judge, by the later writers. I do not know who first wrote up the story. It is to this effect, that on the occasion of the marriage of his rival to his sweetheart Kenton went unbidden to the wedding and made himself disagreeable to the company by his unseemly conduct; that his rival, here called William Veach, gave Kenton a severe drubbing; others say that the drubbing was administered by the bridegroom's brother and friends, that in consequence, Kenton subsequently sought out his successful rival and had the personal rencounter which sent Kenton to the wild west under an assumed name. Below is the account of the affair as given by McClung in his "Sketches of Western Adventure." About two years after Simon's death I read McClung's account to Thomas Kenton, Simon's nephew, a man who was closely associated with Simon for fifty years, and who was, at the time of the reading, in strong and vigorous old age of about seventy years. Inasmuch as this man had not learned to read, I read McClung's story very carefully, repeating large parts of it again and again in order that he might fully understand all that the historian intended to say, and see that it corresponded with his own knowledge of the case. His comment will be given further on. Here is what McClung says:

"At the age of sixteen, by an unfortunate adventure, he was launched into life, with no other fortune than a stout heart and a robust set of limbs. It seems that, young as he was, his heart had become entangled in the snares of a young coquette in the neighborhood, who was grievously perplexed by the necessity of choosing one husband out of many lovers. Young Kenton and

a robust farmer by the name of Leitchman seem to have been the most favored suitors, and the young lady, not being able to decide on their respective merits, they took the matter into their own hands, and in consequence of foul play on the part of Leitchman's friends, young Kenton was beaten with great severity. He submitted to his fate, for a time, in silence, but internally vowed that as soon as he had obtained his full growth, he would take ample vengeance upon his rival, for the disgrace which he had sustained at his hands. He waited patiently until the following spring, when, finding himself six feet high, and full of health and action, he determined to delay the hour of retribution no longer. He, accordingly walked over to Leitchman's house one morning, and, finding him busily engaged in carrying shingles from the woods to his own house, he stopped him and told him his object, and desired him to adjourn to a spot more convenient for the purpose. Leitchman, confident in his superior age and strength, was not backward in testifying his willingness to indulge him in so amiable a pastime, and having reached a solitary spot in the wood they both stripped and prepared for the encounter. The battle was fought with all the fury which natural hate, jealousy, and herculean power on both sides could supply; and after a severe round in which considerable damage was done and received, Kenton was brought to the ground. Leitchman (as usual in Virginia) sprung upon him without the least scruple, and added the most bitter taunts to the kicks with which he saluted him from his head to his heels, reminding him of his former defeat, and rubbing salt into the raw wounds of jealousy by triumphant allusions to his own superiority both in love and war. During these active operations on the part of Leitchman, Kenton lay perfectly still, eying attentively a small bush which grew near them. It instantly occurred to him, that if he could wind Leitchman's hair, (which was remarkably long,) around this bush, he would be able to return the kicks which were now bestowed upon him in such profusion. The difficulty was to get his antagonist near enough. This he at length effected in the good old Virginia style, viz.: by biting him *en arriere*, and compelling him by short springs to approach the bush, much as a bullock is goaded on to approach the fatal ring, where

all his struggles are useless. When near enough Kenton suddenly exerted himself violently, and succeeded in wrapping the long hair of his rival around the sapling. He then sprang to his feet and inflicted a terrible revenge for all his past injuries. In a few minutes Leitchman was gasping, apparently in the agonies of death. Kenton instantly fled, without returning for an additional supply of clothing, and directed his steps westward. This was on April 6, 1771. During the first day of his journey he traveled in much agitation. He supposed that Leitchman was dead, and that the hue and cry would instantly be raised after himself as the murderer. The constant apprehension of the gallows lent wings to his flight, and he scarcely allowed himself a moment for refreshment, until he had reached the neighborhood of Warm Springs, where the settlements were thin and the immediate danger of pursuit was over. Here, he fortunately fell in with an exile from the state of New Jersey, by the name of Johnson, who was traveling westward on foot, and driving a single pack horse, laden with a few necessities, before him. They soon became acquainted, related their adventures to each other, and agreed to travel together. They plunged boldly into the wilderness of the Alleghany mountains, and subsisting upon wild game, and a small amount of flour which Johnson had brought with him, they made no halt until they arrived at a small settlement on Cheat river, one of the prongs of the Monongahela. Here the two friends separated, and Kenton, (who had assumed the name of Butler,) attached himself to a small company, headed by John Mahon and Jacob Greathouse who had united for the purpose of exploring the country." So far, McClung.

It is sufficient to say that the company fitted themselves out with a canoe or two and with the supplies deemed necessary, and floated down the river to a settlement. Here Kenton fell in with two men named Yeager and Strader, the former of whom had been captured when a child, and had passed many years with the Indians. He gave glowing accounts of a country called Kaintuckee, lying on the south side of the Ohio river. He claimed that for fertility of soil, luxuriant vegetation, and general excellence, there was no country equal to it; that it was entirely uninhab-

ted, but was used as hunting grounds by the various tribes, for there were immense droves of buffalo and elks and other animals sought after by hunters. He claimed also that he would be able to recognize the place where the Indians were accustomed to cross the river. Kenton's curiosity was aroused, and procuring a canoe, the three men floated down the Ohio for days in search of the goodly land. They probably reached the vicinity of Maysville, but not finding what they expected, they retraced their course up the river, somewhat inclined to rally Yeager for his glowing description of the undiscovered country; but Yeager still insisting that he was right. On their way up the river they examined, to some extent, the country on the Big and Little Sandy, the Guyandotte, and other streams, and finally went up the Great Kanawha as far as the Elk river, not far from the present site of Charleston. Here they hunted through the remainder of the year, and in the early part of 1772, took their peltries to the Ohio, and exchanged with the traders of Pittsburgh for necessary supplies of provisions and ammunition.

Returning to their hunting grounds they passed the remainder of the year in their usual way. In March, 1773, while in camp, the three hunters were fired on by Indians, Strader being killed. Kenton and Yeager barely escaped with their lives, being compelled to abandon guns, blankets, and provisions, and committing themselves to the wilderness, "without means of sheltering themselves from the cold, procuring a morsel of food, or even kindling a fire." They started for the Ohio, allaying their hunger during the first two days by chewing such roots as they could find on the way. "On the third day their strength began to fail, and the keen appetite which had at first constantly tortured them, was succeeded by nausea, accompanied with dizziness and a sinking of the heart bordering on despair. On the fourth day they threw themselves on the ground, determined to await the approach of death, and were as often stimulated by the instinctive love of life to arise and resume their journey. On the fifth day they were completely exhausted, and were able only to crawl at intervals. In this manner they traveled about a mile during the day, and succeeded by sunset in reaching the banks of the Ohio. Here, to their inexpressible joy, they encountered a

party of traders, from whom they obtained a comfortable supply of provisions."

The traders were not pleased with the dangerous situation, and returned at once to the mouth of the Little Kanawha, a place of comparative safety. Here they met Dr. Briscoe at the head of another exploring party. Of him Kenton obtained a rifle and ammunition and again plunged alone into the forest, and hunted with success until the summer of '73 was far advanced." He then returned to the Little Kanawha and "found a party of fourteen men under the direction of Dr. Wood and Hancock Lee who were descending the Ohio with the view of joining Capt. Bullitt, who was supposed to be at the mouth of the Scioto, with a large party on his way to Kentucky. Kenton joined Dr. Wood's company, and they descended the river in canoes as far as the Three Islands, frequently stopping and examining the country on both sides of the Ohio. At these islands they were alarmed by the approach of a large party of Indians. They abandoned their canoes, and struck across the wilderness in the direction of the settlements in the Greenbrier country. This retreat was coupled with extra danger, because Wood was bitten by a copperhead snake, and the company was compelled to wait about two weeks until the Doctor was able to travel. But at length they reached the settlements in safety. Kenton, not caring to return to the older parts of Virginia, built a canoe at some point on the Monongahela, and again went to the Great Kanawha, and hunted until the spring of 1774, when war broke out with the Indians, chiefly on account of the murder of Logan's relations by some evil-disposed white men. Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, raised two large bodies of troops, with a view of conquering a peace. One division was commanded by Col. Lewis, and marched from the central parts of Virginia to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, where the celebrated battle of Point Pleasant was fought on October 10, 1774. Lord Dunmore's division went down the river from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Hocking, built a fort, and then advanced towards the Pickaway plains on the Scioto. Kenton and Simon Girty were two of Dunmore's scouts, and their weeks of service together laid a foundation for friendship which on a later occasion re-

sulted in rescuing Kenton from the stake. These men carried dispatches from Dunmore to Lewis before the battle, but neither of the scouts was in the fight, having set out on the return journey.

In the year 1775 Girty left the whites and took up his abode with the Indians, and became one of them. Two or three of Girty's brothers had been captured in boyhood and were living with different tribes. Shortly after the battle of Point Pleasant, the remainder of Lewis's forces joined Dunmore on the Scioto, and a treaty was made with the Shawnees, after which the troops returned to Virginia.

Kenton's services as scout being for the time at an end, and for a youth only nineteen years of age, having had very wide experience as a hunter and scout, he still thought of the wonderful land on the Ohio, as described by Yeager years before. Wherefore very early in the spring of 1775 he and two companions set off in a canoe to search once more for the enchanted land. They went as far down as Big Bone creek, miles below North Bend. Making extensive search in that region and not finding what he was looking for, the party returned up the river as far as Cabin creek above the site of Maysville. Here they debarked and struck across the country, determined to find out whether or not such a paradise was in existence. A few miles back from the river they were greatly pleased with the beauty of the land, and the evidences of great fertility of the soil. At length they fell in with a great buffalo trace which in a few hours brought them to the Lower Blue Lick. The flats on both sides of the river being crowded with great herds of buffalo, which had come to the salt licks; a number of deer appeared on the ridges near by, and the great object of their search was attained. And so pleased were they that the exploration was continued towards the south, until they had traversed, in great part, the land now constituting the counties of Scott, Woodford, Fayette, Montgomery, and one or two others. Finding another buffalo trace they followed it to the Upper Blue Lick, on their return route. This expedition had brought to their view a country superior to any that Yeager had led them to expect, and they determined at once to establish more permanent quarters. In all this long

tramp they did not find any indications of white men. Butler, in his history of Kentucky, says that the first log cabin in Kentucky was built by James Harrod in 1774, on the present site of Harrodsburg, that it was occupied but a short time when the hostilities of the Indians caused the inhabitants to withdraw till the next year. Butler also says, "It was not until the 14th of June, 1775, that the first fort of the white man was built in Kentucky."

The place was called Boonesborough, was in what is now Madison county and about twenty miles southeasterly from Lexington. In executing their purpose of permanent quarters, Kenton and his companions returned to the mouth of Cabin creek, and then up the Ohio a few miles to the place where they had deposited some stores, axes, hoes, etc., which they had brought from the Little Kanawha. Returning they built a cabin about where Washington now stands, cleared an acre or so in the midst of a large canebrake, and planted it in corn. It is claimed that this was the first corn raised north of the Licking river. Wherefore Kenton may be considered as among the very first settlers of Kentucky, for his cabin was built before the "first fort," and it was occupied by the three men before the return of Harrod's party to his abandoned cabin, in the latter part of 1775. Strolling about the country they fell in with two men near the Lower Blue Lick. They were destitute of guns, and supplies of every kind, apparently lost in the wilderness. The men claimed that a few days before while coming down the Ohio, their boat was capsized in a squall, that their guns, ammunition, and supplies of every kind were lost, and that they were attempting to find their way back to Virginia through the woods. They gave their names as Fitzpatrick and Hendricks. McClung says, Kenton informed them of the small settlement which he had opened at Washington, and invited them to join him and share such fortune as providence might bestow. Hendricks consented to remain, but Fitzpatrick, being heartily sick of the woods, insisted upon returning to the Monongahela. Kenton and his two friends accompanied Fitzpatrick to "the point" as it was then called, being the spot where Maysville now stands; and having given him a gun, etc., assisted him in crossing the river, and took leave

of him on the other side. In the meantime Hendricks had been left at the Blue Lick without a gun, but with a good supply of provisions, until the party should return from the river. As soon as Fitzpatrick had gone, Kenton and his two friends hastened to return to the Lick, not doubting for a moment that they would find Hendricks in camp as they had left him. Upon arriving at the point where the tent had stood, however, they were alarmed at finding it deserted, with evident marks of violence around it. Several bullet holes were to be seen in the poles of which it was constructed, and various articles belonging to Hendricks were tossed about in too negligent a manner to warrant the belief that it had been done by him. At a little distance from the camp, in a low ravine they observed a thick smoke, as if from a fire just beginning to burn. They did not doubt for a moment that Hendricks had fallen into the hands of the Indians." And not knowing how large the party might be, the returning party beat a hasty retreat, and remained away until evening of the next day, when they returned and cautiously reconnoitered the place. The Indians were gone, but the skull and bones of their friend too plainly revealed the manner of his death. They sadly retraced their steps to their cabin in the canebrake, pondering on the insecurity of their own condition, and the danger to which they were daily exposed, from the numerous bands of Indians who were prowling around in every direction.

They remained, however, entirely undiscovered and undisturbed until the month of September, when again visiting the Lick they saw a white man who informed them that the interior of the country was already occupied by the whites, and that there was a flourishing settlement at Boonesborough. Being highly gratified by this intelligence, they broke up their encampment near the river and visited the various stations which had been erected at different points in the interior.

In the years 1776 and 1777 the Indians were very troublesome. In the old edition of Collins's History of Kentucky, p. 385, we find the following incident. "The incursions into the country by the savage foe were frequent and bloody, and every station was hotly besieged, Boonesborough sustaining three. To watch the Indians and give timely notice of their approach, six

spies were appointed, for the payment of whom Major Clark pledged the faith of Virginia. Boone appointed Kenton and Thomas Brooks; Harrod appointed Samuel Moore and Bates Collier; and Logan, John Conrad and John Martin. These spies performed good service. It was the custom for two each week by turns, to range up and down the Ohio, and about the deserted stations, looking for Indian signs, etc.

On one occasion, Kenton and two others early in the morning, having loaded their guns for a hunt, were standing in the gate of Boonesborough, when two men in the fields were fired on by the Indians. They immediately fled, not being hurt. The Indians pursued them, and a warrior overtook and tomahawked one of the men within seventy yards of the fort, and proceeded leisurely to scalp him. Kenton shot the daring savage dead, and immediately, with his hunting companions, gave chase to the others. Boone, hearing the noise, with ten men hastened out to the assistance of the spies. Kenton turned and observed an Indian taking aim at the party of Boone; quick as thought he brought his rifle to his shoulder, pulled the trigger first, and the red man bit the dust. Boone having advanced some distance, now discovered that his small party, consisting of fourteen men, were cut off from the fort by a large body of the foe, which had got between him and the gate. There was no time to be lost: Boone gave the word, "Right about — fire — charge," and the intrepid hunters dashed in among their adversaries, in a desperate endeavor to reach the fort. At the first fire from the Indians, seven of the fourteen whites were wounded, among the number, the gallant Boone, whose leg was broken, which stretched him on the ground. An Indian sprang on him with uplifted tomahawk, but before the blow descended, Kenton, everywhere present, rushed upon the warrior, discharged his gun into his heart, and bore his leader into the fort. When the gate was closed and all things secure, Boone sent for Kenton. "Well, Simon," said the pioneer, "You have behaved yourself like a man to-day; indeed you are a fine fellow." This was great praise from Boone, who was a silent man, little given to compliment. Kenton had deserved the eulogium: he had saved the life of his captain and killed three Indians, *without having time to scalp any*

one of them. ~~There was little~~ There was little time to spare, we may well believe, when Kenton could not stop to take a scalp."

Very early in the year 1778, General George Rogers Clark started on his renowned expedition against Kaskaskia and other Illinois towns. Kenton was employed by Clark as a scout. When the expedition was completed Kenton was sent back with dispatches to the general government. He and his two or three companions took Vincennes in their route, procured a couple of horses for each man, and on reaching White river, a few miles on the way from Vincennes, their horses were re-taken by the Indians just after passing the river, and the men saved themselves by hiding until night fall, when they escaped and brought the dispatches through, but with adventures not here related, although of the usual characteristic variety.

Shortly after this affair Boone and Kenton concerted an expedition against a small Indian town on Paint creek, not far from the present city of Chillicothe. In addition to the two men named there were nineteen others. The following is McClung's account. "Kenton acted as a spy on this expedition, and after crossing the Ohio, being some distance in advance of the rest, [and now not far from the Paint creek town,] he was suddenly startled by hearing a loud laugh from an adjoining thicket, which he was about to enter. Instantly halting, he took his station behind a tree, and awaited anxiously for a repetition of the noise. In a few minutes two Indians approached the spot where he lay, both mounted upon a small pony, and laughing and chatting in high good humor. [The Indians were riding back to back.] Having permitted them to approach within good rifle distance, he raised his gun, and aiming at the breast of the foremost pulled the trigger. Both Indians fell, the one shot dead, the other severely wounded. Their frightened pony galloped back into the cane, giving the alarm to the rest of the party who were some distance in the rear. Kenton instantly ran up to scalp the dead man and to tomahawk his wounded companion, according to the usual rule of western warfare; but when about to put an end to the struggles of the wounded Indian, who did not seem disposed to submit very quietly to the operation, his attention was attracted by the rustling of the cane on his right, and turning

rapidly in that direction, he beheld two Indians within twenty steps of him, very deliberately taking aim at his person. A quick spring to one side on his part was instantly followed by the flash and report of their rifles,—the balls whistled close to his ears, causing him involuntarily to duck his head, but doing him no injury. Not liking so hot a neighborhood, and ignorant of the number which might yet be behind, he lost no time in regaining the shelter of the wood, leaving the dead Indian unscalped, and the wounded man to the care of his friends. Scarcely had he treed when a dozen Indians appeared on the edge of the canebrake, and seemed disposed to press upon him with more vigor than was consistent with the safety of his present position. His fears, however, were instantly relieved by the appearance of Boone and his party, who came running up as rapidly as a due regard to the shelter of their persons would permit, and opening a brisk fire upon the Indians, quickly compelled them to regain the shelter of the canebrake, with the loss of several wounded, who, as usual, were carried off. The dead Indian, in the hurry of the retreat, was abandoned, and Kenton at last had the gratification of taking his scalp."

It will be noticed that Kenton's quick motions saved his life in the above encounter, and it may be well to say that for agility of action, for quickness in reaching conclusions, he possibly had no equal among all the hosts of agile men who constituted the major part of the pioneers of Kentucky. A remarkable instance is related above in the extract from Collins's History, where death came to the Indian before the uplifted tomahawk had time to fall on the head of Boone. And in the sixteen combats with single Indians, as I heard from Kenton's own lips, he was every time too quick for his antagonist. Of this trait an instance will be given farther on; my father was a witness to the transaction. In 1778, the year in which Kenton suffered his greatest hardships, he was past twenty-three years of age, but having six years of steady experience in the forests of the west, and in constant conflict with the ubiquitous savage.

But returning from this digression, it is right to say, that the intended surprise of the Indian village being now impossible, Boone, with all his men, except Kenton and Montgomery, re-

turned at once to Kentucky. But these two men determined to make a night visit to the village and procure a horse or two as some compensation for their time and trouble. The Indians were continually killing or capturing the horses of the settlers, and reprisals were made as often as was found practicable, as was right and just. Kenton and Montgomery captured two horses each, and by a rapid night's travel, they got beyond danger of pursuit, crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Eagle creek, and made a safe return.

And now begins the most eventful period of Kenton's long career. I cannot better introduce the subject than by quoting somewhat fully from McClung; and the more particularly as that account was pronounced as being in entire accord with what Simon had related to his people, the Kentons. This statement was made by Thomas Kenton, the nephew referred to in the first part of this narrative. Thomas, not having learned to read, gave the closer attention to the statements of McClung as they were read and read again for the purpose of comparison with oral statements long current in the family. There was only one mistake. When I read that Simon found Leitchman carrying *shingles* from the woods, he cried out with great vehemence, "That's a lie, it wasn't *shingles*, it was *two foot clapboards*." When one reflects that there is only six inches difference in the length of the two kinds of house covering, he may well believe that the printed account is substantially correct. McClung says, "Scarcely had he returned, [as just related,] when Col. Bowman ordered him to take his friend Montgomery and another young man named Clark, and go on a secret expedition to an Indian town on the Little Miami, against which the Colonel meditated an expedition, and of the exact condition of which he wished certain information. They instantly set out, in obedience to their orders, and reached the neighborhood of the town without being discovered. They examined it attentively and walked around the houses during the night with impunity. Thus far all had gone well, and had they been contented to return after due execution of their orders, they would have avoided the heavy calamity which awaited them. But unfortunately during their nightly parade they stumbled upon a pound in which there were

a number of Indian horses. The temptation was not to be resisted. They each mounted a horse, but not satisfied with that, they could not find it in their hearts to leave a single animal behind them, and as some of the animals seemed indisposed to change masters, the affair was attended with so much fracas, that at last they were discovered. The cry ran through the village at once, that the Long Knives were stealing their horses right before the doors of their wigwams, and old and young, squaws, boys, and warriors, all sallied out with loud screams to save their property from these greedy spoilers. Kenton and his friends quickly discerned that they had overshot the mark, and that they must ride for their lives; but even in this extremity, they could not bring themselves to give up a single horse which they had haltered, and while two of them rode in front and led, I know not how many horses, the other brought up the rear, and plying whip from right to left, did not permit a single horse to lag behind. In this manner they dashed through the woods at a furious rate with the hue and cry after them, until their course was suddenly stopped by an impenetrable swamp. Here, from necessity they paused for a few moments and listened attentively. Hearing no sounds of pursuit they resumed their course, and skirting the swamp for some distance, in the vain hope of crossing it, they bent their course in a straight direction for the Ohio. They rode during the whole night without resting a moment, and halting for a few minutes at daylight, they continued their journey throughout the day and the whole of the following night, and by this uncommon expedition, on the morning of the second day they reached the northern bank of the Ohio [near the mouth of White Oak creek]. Crossing the river would now ensure their safety, but this was likely to prove a difficult undertaking, and the close pursuit which they had reason to expect, rendered it necessary to lose as little time as possible. The wind was high and the river rough and boisterous. It was determined that Kenton should cross with the horses, while Clark and Montgomery should construct a raft in order to transport their guns, baggage, and ammunition to the opposite shore. The necessary preparations were soon made, and Kenton, after forcing his horses into the river, plunged in himself and swam by their side.

In a very few minutes the high waves completely overwhelmed him and forced him considerably below the horses, that stemmed the current much more vigorously than himself. The horses, thus being left to themselves, turned, about, and swam again to the Ohio shore, where Kenton was compelled to follow them. Again he forced them into the water, and again they returned to the same spot, until Kenton became so exhausted by repeated efforts, as to be unable to swim. A council was then held and the question proposed, "What was to be done?" That the Indians would pursue them was certain; that the horses would not and could not be made to cross the river in its present state was equally certain. Should they abandon the horses and cross on the raft, or remain with the horses and take such fortune as heaven should send to them? The latter alternative was unanimously adopted. Death or captivity might be tolerated, but the loss of so beautiful a lot of horses, after having worked so hard for them, was not to be thought of for a moment. As soon as it was determined that themselves and horses were to share the same fate, it again became necessary to fix upon some probable plan of saving them. Should they move up or down the river, or remain where they were? The latter course was adopted. It was supposed that the wind would fall at sunset and the river become sufficiently calm to admit of their passage, and as it was supposed probable that the Indians might be upon them before night, it was determined to conceal the horses in a deep, neighboring ravine, while they should take their stations in an adjoining wood. A more miserable plan could not have been adopted. If they could not consent to sacrifice their horses in order to save their own lives, they should have moved either up or down the river, and thus have preserved the distance from the Indians which their rapidity of movement had gained. The Indians would have to follow their trail, and being twenty-four hours march behind them, could never have overtaken them. But neglecting this obvious consideration, they stupidly sat down until sunset, expecting that the river would become more calm. The day passed away in tranquillity, but at night the wind blew harder than ever, and the water became so rough that their raft would have scarcely been able to

cross. Not an instant more should have been lost in moving away from so dangerous a place; but, as if totally infatuated, they remained where they were until morning, thus wasting twenty-four hours of most precious time in total idleness. In the morning the wind abated and the river became calm; but it was now too late. Their horses, recollecting the difficulty of the passage of the previous day, had become as obstinate and heedless as their masters, and positively and repeatedly refused to take the water. Finding every effort to compel them, entirely unavailing, their masters at length determined to do what ought to have been done at first. Each resolved to mount a horse and make the best of his way down the river to Louisville. Had even this resolution, however tardily adopted, been executed with decision, the party would probably have been saved; but after they were mounted, instead of leaving the ground instantly, they went back upon their own trail, in the vain effort to regain possession of the rest of their horses, which had broken from them in the last effort to drive them into the water. They wearied out their good genius and literally fell victims to their love for horseflesh. They had scarcely ridden one hundred yards, (Kenton in the centre, the others upon the flanks with an interval of two hundred yards between them,) when Kenton heard a loud halloo, apparently coming from the spot which they had just left. Instead of getting out of the way as fast as possible and trusting to the speed of his horse and the thickness of the wood for safety, he set the last capping stone to his imprudence, and dismounting, walked leisurely back to meet his pursuers, and thus give them as little trouble as possible. He quickly beheld three Indians and one white man, all well mounted. Wishing to give the alarm to his companions, he raised his rifle to his shoulder and took steady aim at the breast of the foremost Indian, and drew the trigger. His gun had become wet on the raft and flashed. The enemy were instantly alarmed and dashed at him. Now, at last, when flight could be of no service, Kenton took to his heels, and was pursued by four horsemen at full speed. He instantly directed his steps to the thickest part of the woods, where there was much fallen timber and a rank growth of underwood, and had succeeded as he thought in baffling his pursuers, when, just as he

was leaving the fallen timber and entering the open wood, an Indian on horseback galloped around the corner of the wood, and approached him so rapidly as to render flight useless. The horseman rode up, holding out his hand and calling out "brother, brother," in a tone of great affection. Kenton observes that if his gun would have made fire he would have "brothered" him to his heart's content, but being wholly unarmed, he called out that he would surrender if they would give him quarter and good treatment. Promises were cheap with the Indian, and he showered them out by the dozen, continuing all the while to advance with extended hands and a writhing grin upon his countenance which was intended for a smile of courtesy. Seizing Kenton's hand he grasped it with violence. Kenton, not liking the manner of his captor, raised his gun to knock him down, when an Indian who had followed him closely through the brushwood, instantly sprang upon his back and pinioned his arms to his side. The one who had just approached him then seized him by the hair and shook him until his teeth rattled, while the rest of the party, coming up, all fell on Kenton with their tongues and ramrods, until he thought they would scold or beat him to death. They were the owners of the horses which he had carried off, and now took ample revenge for the loss of their property. At every stroke of their ramrods over his head, (and they were neither few nor far between,) they would repeat in a tone of strong indignation, "Steal Indian hoss, hey!" Their attention, however was soon diverted to Montgomery, who, having heard the noise attending Kenton's capture, very gallantly hastened to his assistance; while Clark, very prudently consulted his own safety in betaking himself to his heels, leaving his unfortunate companions to shift for themselves. Montgomery halted within gunshot and appeared busy with the pan of his gun, as if preparing to fire. Two Indians instantly sprang off in pursuit of him, while the rest attended to Kenton. In a few minutes Kenton heard the crack of two rifles in quick succession, followed by a halloo, which announced the fate of his friend. The Indians quickly returned, waving the bloody scalp of Montgomery, and with countenances and gestures which menaced him with a similar fate. They then proceeded to secure their prisoner. They

first compelled him to lie upon his back, and stretch out his arms to their full length. They passed a stout stick at right angles across his breast to each extremity of which his wrists were fastened by thongs made of Buffalo hide. Stakes were then driven into the earth near his feet, to which they were fastened in a similar manner. A halter was then tied around his neck and fastened to a sapling which grew near, and finally a strong rope was passed under his body, lashed strongly to the pole which lay transversely on his breast, and finally wrapped around his arms at the elbows in such a manner as to pinion them to the pole with a painful violence, and render him literally incapable of moving hand, foot, or head in the slightest manner. During the whole of this operation neither their hands nor their tongues were by any means idle. They cuffed him from time to time with great heartiness, until his ears rang again, and abused him for a "tief," a hoss steal, a rascal, and finally for a "d—d white man." I may here observe that all the western Indians had picked up a good many English words, particularly our oaths, which, from the frequency with which they were used by our hunters and traders, they probably looked upon as the very root and foundation of the English language. Kenton remained in this painful attitude throughout the night, looking forward to certain death, and most probably, torture, as soon as he should reach their town. Their rage against him seemed to increase rather than abate, from indulgence, and in the morning it displayed itself in a form at once ludicrous and cruel. Among the horses which Kenton had taken, and which their original owners had now recovered, was a fine, but wild young colt, totally unbroken, and with all his honors of mane and tail undocked. Upon him Kenton was mounted, without saddle or bridle, with his hands tied behind his back, and his feet tied under the horse's belly. The country was rough and bushy, and Kenton had no means of protecting his face from the brambles through which it was expected that the colt would dash. As soon as the rider was finally fastened to his back, the colt was turned loose with a sudden lash, but after executing a few curvetts and caprioles, to the great distress of his rider, but to the infinite amusement of the Indians, he appeared to take compassion on his rider, and

falling into line with the other horses avoided the brambles entirely, and went on very well. In this manner he rode through the day. At night he was taken from the horse and confined as before. On the third day they came within a few miles of Chillicothe. [Of course this was the town from which the horses were taken, and which some have supposed to mean the Chillicothe on Paint creek, Ross county, claiming that McDonald in his account of Kenton so says, but this is an error. Speaking of this expedition of Kenton and his two companions, McDonald says, "they crossed the Ohio and proceeded cautiously to Chillicothe, (now Old Town)." This applies as well to the Little Miami town as to the one on Paint creek. One of these places I have known for more than sixty years, and the other nearly as long. Both were called "Old Town" when I first knew them; and a few weeks ago I inquired of a gentleman who resides not far from Xenia what name the old Indian town was now called. He promptly replied, "Old Town." It is perfectly certain that Kenton first ran the gauntlet at the Chillicothe on the Little Miami, as has already been published in the Historical Quarterly, and made clear to any judicial mind.] Here the party halted and dispatched a messenger to inform the village of their arrival, in order, I suppose, to give them time to prepare for his reception. In a short time, Black Fish, one of their chiefs arrived, and regarding Kenton with a stern countenance, thundered out in very good English, "You have been stealing horses?" "Yes, sir." "Did Captain Boone tell you to steal our horses?" "No sir, I did it of my own accord." This frank confession was too irritating to be borne. Black Fish made no reply, but brandishing a hickory switch which he held in his hand, he applied it so briskly to Kenton's naked back and shoulders, as to bring the blood freely and occasion acute pain.

Thus alternately beaten and scolded, he marched on to the village. At the distance of a mile from Chillicothe, he saw every inhabitant of the town, men, women, and children, running out to feast their eyes with a view of the prisoner. Every individual, down to the smallest child, appeared in a paroxysm of rage. They whooped, they yelled, they hooted, they clapped their hands, and poured upon him a flood of abuse to which all

that he had yet received was gentleness and civility. With loud cries they demanded that their prisoner should be tied to the stake. The hint was instantly complied with. A stake was quickly fastened into the ground. The remnant of Kenton's shirt and breeches was torn from his person, (the squaws officiating with great dexterity in both operations,) and his hands being tied together and raised above his head, were fastened to the top of the stake. The whole party then danced around him until midnight, yelling and screaming in their usual frantic manner, striking him with switches, and slapping him with the palms of their hands. He expected every moment to undergo the torture of fire, but *that* was reserved for another time. They wished to prolong the pleasure of tormenting him as much as possible, and after having caused him to anticipate the bitterness of death, until a late hour of the night, they released him from the stake and conveyed him to the village. Early in the morning he beheld the scalp of Montgomery stretched upon a hoop, and drying in the air before the door of one of their principal houses. He was quickly led out and ordered to run the gauntlet. A row of boys, women, and men extended to the distance of a quarter of a mile. At the starting place stood two grim looking warriors with butcher knives in their hands, at the extremity of the line was an Indian beating a drum, and a few paces beyond the drum was the door of the council house. Clubs, switches, hoe handles, and tomahawks were brandished along the whole line, causing the sweat involuntarily to stream from his pores, at the idea of the discipline which his naked skin was to receive during the race. The moment for starting arrived, the great drum at the door of the council house was struck, and Kenton sprang forward on the race * * * Kenton avoided the row of his enemies, and turning to the east drew the whole party in pursuit of him. He doubled several times with great activity, and at length observing an opening he darted through it, and pressed forward to the council house with a rapidity which left his pursuers far behind. One or two of the Indians succeeded in throwing themselves between him and the goal, and from these alone he received a few blows, but was much less injured than he could have at first supposed possible.

As soon as the race was over, a council was held in order to determine whether he should be burnt to death on the spot, or carried round to the other villages and exhibited to every tribe. The arbiters of his fate sat in a circle on the floor of the council house, while the unhappy prisoner, naked and bound was committed to the care of a guard in the open air. The deliberation commenced. Each warrior sat in silence while a large war club was passed around the circle. Those who were opposed to burning the prisoner on the spot were to pass the club in silence to the next warrior; those in favor of burning, were to strike the earth violently with the club before passing it. A teller was appointed to count the votes. This dignitary quickly reported that the opposition had prevailed; that his execution was suspended for the present, and that it was determined to take him to an Indian town on Mad river, called Waughcotomoco, [Wapatomica]. His fate was quickly announced to him by a renegade white man who acted as interpreter. Kenton felt rejoiced at the issue, but naturally became anxious to know what was in reserve for him at Waughcotomoco. He accordingly asked the white man, "What the Indians intended to do with him upon reaching the appointed place." "Burn you, G—d d—n you" was the ferocious reply. He asked no further questions, and the scowling interpreter walked away.

Instantly preparations were made for his departure, and to his great joy, as well as astonishment, his clothes were restored to him, and he was permitted to remain unbound. Thanks to the ferocious intimation of the interpreter, he was aware of the fate in reserve for him, and secretly determined that he would never reach Waughcotomoco alive if it was possible to avoid it. Their route lay through an unbroken forest abounding in thickets and undergrowth. Unbound as he was, it would not be impossible to escape from the hands of his conductors; and if he could once enter the thickets, he thought that he might be enabled to baffle his pursuers. At the worst he could only be re-taken, and the fire would burn no hotter after an attempt to escape than before. During the whole of their march he remained abstracted and silent, often meditating an effort for liberty, and as often shrinking from the peril of the attempt. At length he was

aroused from his reverie by the Indians firing off their guns, and raising the shrill scalp halloo. The signal was soon answered, and the deep roll of a drum was heard far in front, announcing to the unhappy prisoner that they were approaching an Indian town where the gauntlet, certainly and perhaps the stake awaited him. The idea of the repetition of the dreadful scenes which he had already encountered, completely banished the indecision which had hitherto withheld him, and with a sudden and startling cry, he sprang into the bushes and fled with the speed of a wild deer. The pursuit was instant and keen, some on foot, some on horseback. But he was flying for his life, the stake and the hot iron, and the burning splinters were before his eyes, and he soon distanced the swiftest hunter that pursued him. But fate was against him at every turn. Thinking only of the enemy behind he forgot that there might be enemies before, and before he was aware of what he had done, he found that he had plunged into the center of a fresh party of horsemen who had sallied from the town at the firing of the guns, and happened unfortunately to stumble upon the poor prisoner now making a last effort for freedom. His heart sunk at once from the ardor of hope to the very pit of despair, and he was again halted and driven before them to town like an ox to the slaughter house.

Upon reaching the village, (Pickaway,) [near Springfield] he was fastened to a stake near the door of the council house, and the warriors again assembled in debate. In a short time they issued from the council house, and surrounding him, they danced, yelled, etc., for several hours, giving him once more a foretaste of the bitterness of death. On the following morning their journey was continued, but the Indians had now become watchful, and gave him no opportunity of even attempting an escape. On the second day he arrived at Waughcotomoco. [In Logan county, about fifty miles from Pickaway]. Here he was again compelled to run the gauntlet, in which he was severely hurt, and immediately after this ceremony he was taken to the council house, and all the warriors once more assembled to determine his fate.

He sat silent and dejected upon the floor of the cabin, await-

ing the moment which was to deliver him to the stake. When the door of the council house opened and Simon Girty, James Girty, John Ward, and an Indian came in with a woman, (Mrs. Mary Kennedy,) as a prisoner, together with seven children and seven scalps. Kenton was instantly removed from the council house, and the deliberations of the assembly were protracted to a very late hour, in consequence of the arrival of the last named party with a fresh drove of prisoners.

At length he was again summoned to attend the council house, being informed that his fate was decided. Regarding the mandate as a mere prelude to the stake and fire, which he knew was intended for him, he obeyed it with the calm despair which had now succeeded the burning anxiety of the last few days. Upon entering the council house he was greeted with a savage scowl, which, if he had cherished a spark of hope, would have completely extinguished it. Simon Girty threw a blanket upon the floor and harshly ordered him to take a seat upon it. The order was not immediately complied with, and Girty impatiently seizing his arm, jerked him roughly upon the blanket, and pulled him down upon it. In the same rough and menacing tone, Girty then interrogated him as to the condition of Kentucky, "How many men are there in Kentucky?" "It is impossible for me to answer that question," replied Kenton, "but I can tell you the number of officers and their respective ranks, you can then judge for yourself." "Do you know William Stewart?" "Perfectly well, he is an old and intimate acquaintance." "What is your own name?" "Simon Butler," replied Kenton. Never did the enunciation of a name produce a more powerful effect. Girty and Kenton, (then bearing the name of Butler,) had served as spies together in Dunmore's expedition. The former had not then abandoned the society of the whites for that of the savages, and had become warmly attached to Kenton during the short period of their services together. As soon as he heard the name he became thoroughly agitated and springing from his seat, he threw his arms around Kenton's neck, and embraced him with much emotion. Then turning to the assembled warriors who remained astonished spectators of this extraordinary scene, he addressel them in a short speech, which the deep earnestness of

his tone, and the energy of his gestures rendered eloquent. He informed them that the prisoner whom they had just condemned to the stake, was his ancient comrade, and bosom friend, that they had traveled the same war path, slept upon the same blanket, and dwelt in the same wigwam. He entreated them to have compassion on his feelings, to spare him the agony of witnessing the torture of an old friend, by the hands of his adopted brothers, and not to refuse so trifling a favor as the life of a white man to the earnest intercession of one who had proved by three years' faithful service, that he was sincerely and zealously devoted to the cause of the Indians.

His speech was listened to in unbroken silence. As soon as he had finished several chiefs expressed their approbation by a deep guttural interjection, while others were equally as forward in making known their objections to the proposal. They urged that his fate had already been determined in a large and solemn council, and that they would be acting like squaws to change their minds every hour. They insisted on the flagrant misdemeanors of Kenton; that he had not only stolen their horses, but had flashed his gun at one of their young men; that it was in vain to suppose that so bad a man could ever become an Indian at heart, like their brother Girty; that the Kentuckians were all alike, very bad people, and ought to be killed as fast as they were taken, and finally they observed that many of their people had come from a distance, solely to assist at the torture of the prisoner, and pathetically painted the disappointment and the chagrin with which they would hear that all their trouble had been for nothing. Girty listened with obvious impatience to the young warriors, who had so ably argued against a reprieve, and starting to his feet as soon as the others had concluded he urged his former request with great earnestness. He briefly, but strongly recapitulated his own services and the many and weighty instances of attachment which he had given. In a similar strain Girty continued for some time, and finally asked as "his first and last request that the life of his friend might be spared." Other speeches urged the opposite course and with great animation. But on the final vote by passing the warclub, Girty's friends were greatly in the majority. Girty took imme-

diate charge of Kenton and treated him with great kindness. For about three weeks there was entire quiet; but one day walking with Girty and an Indian named Red Pole, another Indian came from the village towards them, uttering repeatedly a whoop of peculiar intonation. Girty told Kenton that this was the distress halloo, and all must go at once to the council house. Near it they met the newcomer. Girty and Red Pole shook hands with him, but he refused to take Kenton's hand when offered. This action boded no good to Kenton, and he so understood it at once. When in the council house a like refusal was made by half a dozen in quick succession. Kenton, with gloomy forebodings, turned aside and sat down apart from the others. The drift of the speeches was evidently adverse to Kenton, and he saw that Girty was uneasy, his appeals to the new council apparently had no effect. At length he turned to Kenton and said, "Well, my friend, you must die." Kenton was at once seized, and committed to a guard and immediately marched off to the northward. Having proceeded two or three miles, Girty passed them on horseback. He told Kenton that he had friends in the next village and that he would see what could be done for the prisoner. But failing in this effort he returned by another route so as to avoid meeting his old friend. Two or three miles beyond the village the escort passed by a squaw who was cutting wood. On seeing Kenton the master of the squaw seized the ax and dealt Kenton a blow on the shoulder, severely wounding him and breaking his arm. The guard prevented further injury, and reprimanded the savage for trying to cheat them of the pleasure of torturing their prisoner. Reaching a village on the Scioto, Kenton saw Logan, the Mingo chief, the murder of whose family brought on the Dunmore war. Logan spoke kindly to Kenton and said that it was the intention to burn him at Sandusky, but that he would send two runners there to speak a good word for him. He did so, sending the messengers the next morning: in the evening they returned and made their report to Logan; but Logan did not visit Kenton till the following morning. Walking up to Kenton he gave him a piece of bread, and said that he was to go at once to Upper Sandusky: so saying he turned away. The guard conducted the prisoner in the usual way, and sentence

was to be executed on the following morning. But an Indian agent named Drewyer, [some spell the name Druillard, a Canadian Frenchman, in the service of the British,] urged that the British commander at Detroit very greatly desired information in regard to Kentucky, and that this prisoner could give what was required, and so persistent was the agent's demand, the Indians at length consented that Kenton should go to Detroit, but on condition that he should return, after examination by the Detroit officer. The agent set out immediately for Detroit, and informed Kenton of the way by which he had induced the Indians to allow him to go on this errand, but further said that he would not be surrendered again to the savages. From Lower Sandusky the party went by water. Arriving at Detroit, the commandant inquired as to the number of soldiers at Fort McIntosh, lately built on the Tuscarawas, and also as to the forces in Kentucky. Kenton replied that he was not an officer, but only a private soldier, and had no means of knowing. Thus ended the examination. The Indians were paid a ransom for Kenton, who was kindly treated by the military authorities. He had to report each day, and was restricted within certain limits, as usual in such cases. Under this generous treatment his wounds soon healed and his old vigor returned.

In the spring of 1779, several persons were brought in, among them, Capt. Nathan Bullitt and Jesse Coffey, once companions of Kenton. These three concerted a plan of escape. But they had no guns and no provisions, and the distance to Louisville was nearly four hundred miles, through a country inhabited by their deadly foes, always on the alert. To give a full and complete account of this daring journey, and of Kenton's subsequent adventures, would extend this paper too far. From this point, therefore, I shall give only a general outline. The wife of an Indian trader at Detroit was greatly interested in the case of the prisoners. Some give the name as Harvey, others as Eaton. By her aid and her generous and thoughtful expedients, guns, ammunitions, and a small amount of provisions were secured and hidden on the trader's premises. By night, under the supervision of this excellent woman, these supplies were put into the hands of the three men; and they commenced their flight.

Many dangers confronted them from time to time; and they had several very narrow escapes, but by great care and skill in woodcraft, in thirty days they reached Louisville by the last of July. A full account of this trip would show up the sterling qualities of these men, but there must be a limit in respect to these details.

In 1780 Clark made his expedition against the Shawnees on Mad river. On the way he passed near the Chillicothe on the Little Miami. The Indians had fired their wigwams on Clark's approach and retreated to Pickaway on Mad river. After severe fighting the Indians were defeated, and their villages and crops destroyed. Kenton was a scout as usual, and after the battle he led the soldiers to the different towns in the vicinity, for his former experience had given him pretty full information regarding their various settlements. He was, again, in 1782 employed in the same capacity by Gen. Clark in his attack upon the Shawnees at Upper Piqua, on the Great Miami. This expedition resulted in the destruction of the town; and a night foray fifteen miles further, caused the burning of Loramie's store, a place which furnished supplies for the Indians in their marauding excursions. About twelve years later Wayne built Fort Loramie near the site of the destroyed store.

Kenton about 1780 or 1781 made a station on Salt river, having acquired a considerable body of land. His wide acquaintance with the country led to his being often called on to locate lands for other parties. In 1784 Kenton led a small party to his station near Maysville, but threatened excursions by the Indians caused him to return to Salt river till the fall, when he went back and erected a block house at his first station. In 1786 he was with Colonal Logan in the attack on, and the destruction of eight towns on the upper waters of Mad river, towns to which he had been taken eight years before, and where he had run the gauntlet so many times. Marshall, in his *History of Kentucky*, p. 75, says "thirteen" times, but it was eight according to the Kenton account: besides these "elegant pastimes," he had been tied three times to the stake to be burned. And without specifying all the campaigns in which he took part, let it suffice to say that in Wayne's army he and Major McMahon each, as Majors, commanded a troop of about one hundred and fifty horsemen.

McMahon was killed in the attack on Fort Recovery, June 30, 1794. McMahon and Kenton had led the scouting force in front of Wayne, but Kenton was not in the final battle at the Fallen Timbers. In the early part of the century, about 1805, Kenton was made General of Militia, and from that time forward it was customary to call him General Simon Kenton. In the war with Great Britain in 1813, Kenton joined Governor Shelby's Kentucky forces at Urbana, and was in his last battle October 5, 1813, on the river Thames, in Canada, where the British General Proctor was defeated, and the great Chief Tecumseh was killed, forty-two years after Kenton's flight from Virginia. And in these forty-two years the battles, sieges, skirmishes, raids, marauding excursions, alone or in company with others are numbered by the score, not to say by the hundred, and most probably his career has never had a parallel on this continent or any other. "His like we ne'er shall see again."

Change of Name. It will be recollected that in his hurried flight from Virginia, in 1771 Kenton took the name of Butler, and was so known for many years. On this question of resuming his right name, I find various statements, Marshall, without giving the source of his information says, "Having in 1780 met with his brother, John Kenton, they recognized each other and he resumed his family name." Another writer says, "At this period, (1782) he heard for the first time, from his long abandoned parents, and learned that William Veach, (his old rival,) had recovered, and was still living. He now resumed his own name. . . . after thirteen years . . . he had the satisfaction to find his father and all the family living . . . his glowing description of the fertility of Kentucky, induced his parents to accompany him on his return." Both these accounts differ from that related to me by Thomas Kenton when I read McClung's sketches of Simon. At the time of the removal to Kentucky, this Thomas was almost fourteen years of age, and certainly old enough to understand his surroundings. He declared that the family had never heard a word from Simon after his abrupt departure till they moved to Kentucky in the fall of 1783, and found him there under an assumed name, and that then he resumed his right one. All this necessarily implies that

he did not return to Virginia and take his relatives to the West; for this lad was one of the company and explained to me what sort of a conveyance the "horse litter" was. This being direct testimony from the family, by a competent witness who was present, I believe it, and reject both the other unsubstantiated statements. The family record to which I have alluded, was kept by this lad's sister, who subsequently married Ezekiel Arrowsmith, and lived for more than half a century near Westville, universally honored and respected. And testimony of this sort is not to be lightly set aside by mere words without proof.

Lands. In the course of the twenty-five years which Kenton passed in Kentucky, he obtained possession of many thousand acres of land, lying in different counties, but the land laws of Kentucky were not in good shape; so partly by defective title, and partly by prior entries, all his claims fell through, and he lost every acre. One writer says, "The ease with which, as he supposed, he made land induced him to sell out a great amount; and the purchasers, as was the custom of the country paid for it with the most perishable materials. Besides, his locations, like those generally made at early periods, were seen to be vague, subject to dispute, and frequently lost. He thus found himself involved in controversy, and embarrassed in litigation which presented an inextricable labyrinth of hazard, expense, and trouble, with which he became disgusted, and for which he left the state, preferring rather to encounter the Indians on the frontiers of Ohio, than the law officers of Kentucky."

Residence. For two or three years he lived at the station near Springfield, afterward either in Urbana or on a farm a few miles south of Urbana, and near the county line. About the year 1820 he moved to his little home near Wapatomica, in the vicinity of Zanesfield, Logan county, Ohio, and lived there the remainder of his days.

In the year 1824 the Government granted him a pension of twenty dollars a month, in late recognition of the great services which he had rendered the West in its time of need.

Marriage. Simon Kenton and Martha Dowden were married in Kentucky, May 14, 1787. The wife dying after many years, Kenton, married the second time December 11, 1818, the

second wife being a relative of the first, the Dowden family being otherwise related to the Kentons by marriage. There were two daughters and one son by each marriage. The youngest son is still living, I think.

Church. For the last twenty years of his life, Kenton was a member of the Methodist church. A very full and satisfactory account of this connection appeared in this *Quarterly* for July, 1901, p. 192, written by Rev. Mr. King, to which article I gladly refer all who may wish to contrast the stormy and war-laden years of Kenton's vigorous manhood, with the quiet and peaceful times of his old age. A wider difference the world, perhaps, has never seen.

Personal Characteristics. In Collins's History of Kentucky, edition of 1847, p. 393, we find this: "The following is a description of the appearance and character of this remarkable man, by one, [McDonald] who often shared with him in the dangers of the forest and the fight. General Kenton was of fair complexion, six feet one inch in height. He stood and walked very erect; and in the prime of life, weighed about one hundred and ninety pounds. He never was inclined to be corpulent, although of sufficient fullness to form a graceful person. He had a soft, tremulous voice, very pleasing to the hearer. He had laughing gray eyes which appeared to fascinate the beholder, and dark auburn hair. He was a pleasant, good humored, and obliging companion. When excited, or provoked to anger, (which was seldom the case,) the fiery glance of his eye would almost curdle the blood of those with whom he came in contact. His rage, when roused was a tornado.

"In his dealing he was perfectly honest; his confidence in man, and his credulity were such that the same man might cheat him twenty times, and if he professed friendship, might cheat him still."

The correctness of this description could be affirmed by all who knew the man; and in addition to this description, he had a sense of justice and fair play which nothing could turn aside. In the course of the war of 1812, some friendly Indians came to the vicinity of Urbana, on legitimate business; and some men, in

experienced in the matter of Indian warfare, proposed to kill these men, considering all Indians bad. Kenton attempted to dissuade the men from so high-handed a measure, but his words, apparently not having the desired effect on them, he grasped his rifle and took his position in front of the Indians, and in his impressive and emphatic manner declared that whoever attacked the Indians would do it over his dead body. It is sufficient to say that the Indians were not further molested.

As before stated, his long contest with the Indians had taught him the value of quick decision and instantaneous action; and these things he had so long practiced that they became a part of his nature. I will give one instance outside of the domain of war. In the spring of 1807, my father and eight or ten other men, with their families, left the counties of Bourbon and Harrison, Kentucky, for homes in the Mad river valley. Simon Kenton was employed by the company to pilot them to their destination, and to procure them a supply of fresh meat daily from the forest. He gave his instructions for the day each morning, before he started out for the hunt. One morning, with gun on shoulder he started, and by some inadvertence stumbled over a wagon tongue, and fell sprawling to the ground. One of the party broke into a hearty laugh. This enraged Kenton, and quick as lightning he pointed his gun and pulled the trigger, but the fall had knocked the powder from the pan, so that the gun was not discharged. Kenton immediately begged pardon for his hasty action, and asked the man never to do so again, lest in the moment of anger, he might do what everybody would regret. My father was a witness of this incident and told me of it years before Simon's death.

Monument. This is a substantial structure, seven or eight feet high and over four feet square at the base; and in every way is a most befitting memorial of the dead. In the forests of Ohio Kenton had confronted Indians, bears, wolves, and panthers. On the south face of the monument, is carved, life size, the head of an Indian chief, decked out in regular savage style: on the west face is the head of a bear, as life-like as stone can be, and appearing as if the head had just been thrust through the face of stone: on the north side is the head of a wolf, similarly carved:

and on the east side is the head of a panther. The design is by J. Q. A. Ward, the celebrated sculptor, now of New York, but a native of Urbana. His grandfather originally owned the land on which Urbana is built, and for many years the elder Ward and Kenton were intimate friends. One cut shows the south



face and the west ; the other the north face and the west. It was found that in this way the little old-fashioned grave stone seen near the north face, could be better brought into view. By means of a magnifying glass, the greater part of the inscription can be read. It is given below. On the south face we find,

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1755-1836
SIMON KENTON

On the north face near the top are the words,

ERECTED BY THE STATE OF OHIO,
1884.

I understand that the small grave stone above mentioned was brought from the graveyard near his residence in Logan county, where the body of Kenton had lain for nearly half a century.

Here is the inscription on the old grave stone:

IN
MEMORY
OF

SIMON KENTON

Who was born April 3, 1755 in Culpepper Co., Va., and died April 29, 1836, aged 81 years and 26 days. His fellow citizens of the West, will long remember him as the skilful pioneer of early times, the brave soldier, and the honest man.

An epitaph written by Collins on another occasion may fittingly close this brief sketch.

"How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
By all their country's wishes blest!
When Spring with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallow'd mould,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.
By fairy hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell, a weeping hermit, there."



JOHN BROUGH.

OSMAN CASTLE HOOPER.

John Brough is generally thought of as the last of Ohio's war governors, the sturdy Union man who, as a candidate for the executive office in 1863, defeated Clement L. Vallandigham by the then unheard of majority of more than 100,000 votes. He was all that, but he was more than that, and it is the duty, as well as the pleasure of Ohioans to recognize it.

If ever a masterful man sat in Ohio's executive chair, it was John Brough. No general in the field was more stern or more zealous, more watchful of others, more careless of himself. Those days of 1863 were dark and gloomy for the Union cause; the election of Brough was like a sunburst. It proved that Ohio, though not without its falterers, and palterers, was steadfast for the Union; and it steadied the whole line of northern states, cheered the heart of Lincoln and put a new enthusiasm into the armies in the field. The power that the people of Ohio gave to Brough on that election day, he exercised to the fullest extent—to his temporary discomfiture, perhaps, but to his lasting glory.

It is for this that John Brough is best remembered, but there are other things for which he should be honored. Before he stood like a giant at the head of a patriotic state during the Civil War, he had stood as the especial champion of the state when it was beset with debt and had helped to save it from the shame of repudiation, and before that, he had served in the legislature, striving to rescue the state from cheap money and ruinous speculation.

As journalist, as clerk of the senate, as member of the house of representatives and as auditor, as well as in the capacity of governor, John Brough bore himself well and with a sturdy honesty and a vigorous intelligence which, while they won for him the invective and sometimes the ridicule of his contempo-

rarities, clearly entitle him to the highest regard of all who have come after him.

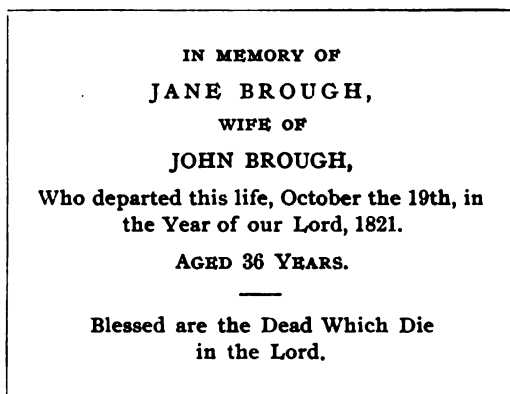
In the early years of the nineteenth century, there came across the ocean from England, John Brough, a native of the British capital, and his frail English wife. They were accompanied by several other men and their wives, all seeking home and fortune in the domain of the vigorous young nation that had recently won its independence. They settled in Washington county, Ohio, on or near the Little Muskingum three or four miles east of Marietta, and entered on the life of pioneer farmers.

Of these first American Broughs, all too little has been recorded, but it is known that they commanded the respect of their neighbors and that the regard in which they were held was continued to their children and their children's children. There is the record of the death in 1807 of the frail English wife in her forty- eighth year and of the subsequent marriage of Brough, already a man past middle life, to Jane Garnet, who was born in Pennsylvania in 1785.

John Brough, while not a thrifty farmer, was a commanding figure in the Marietta settlement. He was looked up to in a double sense, for he was six feet tall and of fine physique; and, besides, was philosopher in a homely way. It was natural that he should be chosen Justice of the Peace and equally so that the "Squire," as he was commonly called, should be elected sheriff of the county. That distinction came to him in 1811. Then the Broughs moved into the court house and jail building which also contained living quarters for the sheriff — a structure erected in 1798 and demolished in 1846 to make room for the present jail. In the former building John Brough, the future governor, was born September 17, 1811. He was the second of five children — Jane, the eldest having been born in 1810, Charles in 1813, Mary Ann in 1818 and William in 1820.

The mother of this family died October 19, 1821, when her baby was scarcely a year old and the eldest child was but eleven and when she herself was but thirty-six. Her life record is unhappily meager. She was born, she was married, she bore five children, and she died. She was buried in Mound cemetery, now

near the geographical center of Marietta, and a sandstone slab, inscribed as follows, marks the spot :



In the following March 'Squire Brough married Mrs. Bridget Cross, but twenty-nine days after the wedding, the third Mrs. Brough died and was followed six months later by 'Squire Brough himself, at the age of 75. No stone marks his burial place; only to the mother of his children is that distinction vouchsafed.

Whatever "Jack" Brough's life had been up to this time, it was different and more difficult from this out. His education had been begun in the Marietta school. At 11, an orphan, he found it necessary to do for himself. 'Squire Brough had left no estate. He had been in his last years but a tenant on the Cleona farm, about a mile above Marietta on the Ohio river and his savings had been small, if any. "Jack" turned instinctively to the printing business and, as an apprentice, he entered the office of *Royal Prentiss's American Friend*. His home was beneath his employer's roof, and later with Isaac Maxon, another printer. "Jack" worked, but he also played, and one still encounters in Marietta the stories of "Jack" Brough's wonderful feats in all the athletic games upon the common. No one could "raise" the football as he could, and his associates who lived to see him governor delighted to recall those games in which he played

so well. The last of his school education was secured at Athens, where for a short time while working in the office of the *Mirror* of that place, he attended the Ohio University. It was at best a meager training for it did not last long, but for a youth of his quick perception, boundless energy and sturdy purpose, it was enough, taken in connection with his work in the newspaper offices, to make him a lucid thinker and a ready and forceful writer and speaker. There are some minds that absorb learning at the very touch, and "Jack" Brough's was one of them.

Before "Jack" Brough was twenty, he was an editor. He had learned the printing business and had been to school. He had seen other men edit, and he had an ambition to be an editor himself. Besides he had some opinions and a hero, General Andrew Jackson. So it happened that on January 8, 1831 — Jackson's day — there appeared in Marietta the *Western Republican*, a weekly edited and published by John Brough. It was published weekly at Marietta for two years and then was sold and moved by its new editor and publisher to Parkersburg. In the fall of 1833, Brough went with his brother Charles to Lancaster, O., and bought the *Ohio Eagle*. Here he quickly made his strong individuality felt and, as the editor of a partisan paper, entered heartily into the politics of the day. That was a time of hard blows, and he neither spared nor was spared; but there are not wanting the evidences that, even though he made enemies, he commanded their respect, so sincere was he in all that he did and said. Referring at a later date to this period of his career, Brough wrote that he had no apology for the asperity into which party conflicts had led him; he had always acted on the defensive and held in supreme contempt the authors of the base attacks upon him.

Brough made his formal entry into Ohio politics in 1835 when he was elected clerk of the Ohio senate. He was the candidate of the Democratic majority and received 19 of the senate's 35 votes. Seven of the Whig votes went to Warren Jenkins and the other nine were recorded as "blank and scattering." Among Brough's supporters, it is interesting to note, was Samuel Medary, just beginning a service in the senate as the member from Clermont county — a man who was for many years Brough's close

political friend, but destined in the crisis of the civil war to take a widely divergent course.

Robert Lucas was governor of Ohio. Thomas Ewing and Thomas Morris represented the state in the national senate, while in the house of representatives at Washington, Thomas Corwin, at the opening of his third term, was growing in Whig favor. Andrew Jackson, as president, had begun his warfare on the United States bank; Martin Van Buren was looming up as a presidential quantity, and William Henry Harrison, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay were striking figures in the political foreground. It was a time of stirring politics, and Brough, as clerk of the Ohio senate and correspondent of the *Lancaster Eagle*, swung the partisan cudgel with all the zeal of his young manhood. He served as clerk of the senates of 1835-6 and 1836-7, and then was retired by the election of a Whig senate. But the loss of his position did not take him out of politics; it was only an incident in the political war for which he had enlisted. For a time he reported the senate proceedings for the *Ohio Statesman*, at the same time writing for his own paper, the *Eagle*, which was widely quoted and, under his management, took rank with the leading exponents of Democracy. He sat as a delegate in the convention in 1837 which nominated Wilson Shannon for governor. He was a member of the committee on resolutions and drafted the plank denouncing the Whig attitude toward the banks as a betrayal of the people and declaring that those banks that had suspended payments had forfeited their charters.

In the fall of 1837, Brough was elected by the Democracy to represent the Fairfield-Hocking district in the Ohio house of representatives, receiving a majority of 1,422 votes. At that time he was but 26 years of age, but so marked and generally recognized was his ability that he was made chairman of the important committee on banks and currency. This distinction he owed in part to the fact that his party was dominant, but it was certainly a personal triumph that of the 38 Democrats in the house, he, so young and at the very beginning of his active legislative career, should be placed at the head of a committee into

whose hands the most important legislation of the session was to be given. www.libtool.com.cn

Governor Shannon, in his inaugural address a few days after the legislative session of 1838-9 began, sounded the keynote of party alarm at the general financial conditions. He directed attention to the mania of speculation and the over-issue by banks, saying that "almost the entire circulating medium of the state is composed of bank notes," which he described as "not money, but promises to pay money." He advocated a currency of gold and silver coin and paper which should be safe and convertible into coin without loss. He also proposed a long corrective program including the following: To increase the liability of bank stock-holders; to limit the power of banks to contract and expand the currency at will; to require banks to redeem their notes when they have the means of doing so; to prohibit them from issuing notes of a denomination less than \$5; to compel them to publish quarterly sworn statements of their business; to prohibit stock-holders from borrowing money out of their own banks; to prohibit the issue of post notes; to provide penalties for banks that hereafter suspend specie payments or in any manner violate their charters; to authorize courts of chancery, on a bill filed by any one interested, to restrain a bank that had violated its charter or had become insolvent from exercising its powers, and to appoint trustees to take charge of all the effects of the bank, collect claims and pay creditors; to prohibit, under suitable penalties the establishment within the state of any branch, office or agency of the Bank of the United States, and to make it a penal offense for any director or stock-holder of any bank in the state to purchase or receive, directly or indirectly, the notes of the bank in which he is interested for less than the face value for which they purport to be issued. "The policy of creating a United States Bank to act as the fiscal agent of the government, is," he said, "more objectionable, in my judgment than any other plan which has been prepared for keeping the public money. I view the creation of an institution of this kind as fraught with the most fatal consequences to the liberties, as well as the prosperity of the people of this country, and a violation of the constitution of the United States." Contin-

uing, he maintained that from the time when money is received by the government to the time when it is needed for public use, it should remain in the hands of public officers who shall give bond and security and shall be subjected to severe penalties for misusing it.

It was a great task that Shannon proposed to the legislature in general and to John Brough's committee in particular. But Brough was ready for it. On the fourth day of the session and before the inaugural had been delivered, he offered a resolution requesting the auditor to report on the condition of the banks in the state. This, he followed, two days later, with a resolution instructing his own committee to inquire what violations, if any, there had been of the act to prohibit the issue and circulation of unauthorized bank paper. No one could have done more than did Brough to put Shannon's bank policy into execution. He immediately introduced a bill to prohibit the issue and circulation of small bank notes; and a little later reported from his committee a bill prohibiting the establishment in Ohio of any branch office or agency of the United States Bank, or any bank or corporation not incorporated by the laws of Ohio. His committee was zealous in the cause of reform, and the reports which he, as chairman, made were, if at times prolix, vigorous and clear-cut. He argued that the state banks had long resisted a national bank and, having at last lost in the struggle, had, partly through its overmastering influence, entered upon a financial orgy in which "all considerations of public welfare have been discarded, all laws evaded and all justice trampled under foot, whenever either or all stood in the way of the grasping and over-reaching schemes of these moneyed institutions." Further on in the same report, he exclaimed:

"What cause, we would ask, have the banks had to complain of the people? None. Every indulgence has been extended to them, even when, by the results of their own acts, they had no right to demand anything. They have trodden down the laws of the land, yet the people have forborne; they have violated their most solemn obligations to the state and community, yet the people have forborne; they have been driven by the wantonness of their own acts, to close their doors and suffer their paper to depreciate or die in the hands of the holders, yet the people have for-

borne; they have assumed an attitude of defiance and threatened to bring pressure, panic and distress upon the community, yet the people have not raised the hand of violence against them, nor attempted the 'vandal' act of their annihilation. The people seek reformation, not destruction, and sooner or later it must be extended to them."

With such invective as this Brough assailed the evils that Shannon pointed out, earning at once the envy of some of his fellow partisans and the ridicule of his political antagonists. But, however much they called him demagogue, all were forced to admit that he was terribly in earnest.

Brough did not stop with denunciation, he proposed reformation. Wherever he smashed existing things with his vehement rhetoric, he suggested a substitute or a corrective. He proposed a broader application of the principle of individual liability, on the part of directors and stock-holders, for the debts of the banks, and a bill for that purpose was introduced. He proposed the establishment of a board of bank commissioners, and such a board was created, with power to supervise all banking institutions and see to it that they observed the law, and that the interests of the public were in all legal respects protected. He pressed to passage the bill prohibiting the operation in the state of any branch of the United States Bank. He scented a loss to the state through the payment of interest on the canal debt in depreciated bank paper, and introduced a resolution which was adopted and revealed a deplorable condition of affairs. He fought the practice of issuing bank notes payable on a future date — a practice by which banks were taking from their borrowers interest on their own paper, payable six, nine and twelve months after date and bearing no interest, and with the further and more important result of depreciating still more the character of bank paper. He reported, after committee inquiry, that the state has inherent power to tax bank capital and urged that the existing tax on dividends be transferred to capital. He advocated and voted for an anti-usury bill, which was defeated.

While the state administration and the legislature were thus operating to reform the banks, a considerable element, chiefly Whigs, was clamoring for a state bank as an institution which

would give to finances the stability so much needed. Petitions from this element reached the legislature and were naturally referred to Brough's committee. He might have pigeonholed these petitions which were addressed to a hostile body. But he did not, and this ought to be taken as an evidence of his entire sincerity and his zeal in a cause which he believed to be right. In a voluminous report on these petitions, he said that there was something in the idea that the state might as well profit by the banking business as to give the gain to individuals; but the project was, on the whole, objectionable because, first, of the creation of a vast money power with great influence in public affairs; second, of the difficulty of keeping it out of the hands of the dominant party as a weapon, and, third, of the impropriety of the state raising and investing capital and managing intricate and hazardous banking operations.

Other petitions for an increase in banking facilities, Brough also treated at some length in the same report. He feared that "the mania for banking now prevalent has very little to do with mere facilities of trade;" he characterized it, instead, as speculative and inveighed against it, as he did against all get-rich-quick schemes and fictitious values. "The fixed and settled principles of natural and animal economy that all sudden and unnatural growths are but evidences of a diseased state," he said, "applies with no less force to all the walks of business, the rise of cities and towns and the prosperity of states." "We turn," he said, further on, "with a ready ear to the demands which are made in the name of commercial greatness and wealth, while the voice of labor and industry falls with the dull sound of a heavy, tedious tale; we dwell with greedy eyes upon the picture which self-interest too frequently gilds with the brightness of public advantage and prosperity, while the great interests of the greater mass, whose capital is toil and whose dividend and speculation its reward and return, are looked upon as mere shadowing of the picture, put in to fill up the background, and oftentimes, we are prone to conceive, with unseemly taste." If that sounds sophomoric, here is something that bumps the earth at least once or twice:

"The only safe criterion by which to judge of the necessity for an increase of banking facilities is the close application of our present means to the trade, commerce and business of our state. It is vain and delusive to argue the necessity of increase from the 'demand,' in the usual acceptance of the term. The increase of bank money only increases the



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means of its expenditure in speculation or in extravagance, and, increase as far and fast as you will, the cry will still be that of the hungry leech, 'Give, give!'

Concluding this phase of the report, he says that "the change which will in some measure result from the several acts passed this winter for the reformation of the banking system will effect a reduction in the present circulation and a diminution of the

facilities afforded banks;" but he hopes the change will be accepted by the banks in good part and that they will withdraw from speculation and devote their means to legitimate trade, adding that, if they do not, the creation of additional capital or the perfection of another system will be imperious on the legislature.

Brough was one of the most active members of the legislature. His work as chairman of the committee on banking and currency, arduous as it must have been, did not exhaust his energy; and the records show that he participated in all the important debates and was rarely absent at the taking of a vote. His opinions were most positive and his support of them most determined — so much so that he, more than any other member of the majority party, became the target of the opposition.

One of the subjects before the legislature that winter was the negro question—the rights of those blacks who lived in Ohio and the duty of the state toward those who had escaped from slavery in the South. Abolitionists were comparatively few but very active, and were loved by neither of the great parties. They were generally held to be mischief-breeders whose activity was weakening the Union and injuring, most of all, those whom they sought to set free. Brough, it is interesting to note, in view of his later career, shared this sentiment and gave free expression to it. The question arose on the presentation of petitions from negro residents for the removal of the existing legal disabilities. Brough met this appeal by introducing the following resolution which was adopted:

"That the blacks and mulattoes who may be residents within the state have no constitutional right to present their petitions to the general assembly for any purpose whatever, and that any reception of such petitions, on the part of the general assembly, is a mere act of privilege or policy, and not imposed by any expressed or implied power of the constitution."

Brough voted, not only for this, but for other resolutions maintaining the rights of the several states, declaring that congress has no jurisdiction over the institution of slavery, asserting that agitation of the slavery question was a violation of the faith

which ought to exist among the states, denouncing the plans of the abolitionists as impracticable and dangerous and declaring that it was unwise to repeal the laws imposing disabilities upon negroes. Nevertheless, his views on the question were more advanced than those of most of the politicians of the day. He had been thinking and he saw the right. In one of his speeches he said:

"I am no friend to slavery. I wish most ardently that it had never existed, or that we had some means of ridding ourselves of it; but I regard these philanthropists as the worst enemies of the slave. Neither do I wish to restrict or injure any of the rights and privileges which the blacks already enjoy in our state. They have the protection of our laws in their lives and property and, when left to their own action, are disposed to be grateful. They would never have sought the notoriety which is given to them here; they would never of themselves have dreamed of violation of their rights or restriction of their privileges, but for the instigation of wicked men who might learn, with benefit to themselves, the principle of gratitude and regard for protection bestowed, of those over whose bleeding rights they shed so many hypocritical tears."

In another speech he said:

"Already has the question of abolition shaken the fair fabric of our freedom from center to center—aye, sir, it has rocked it till brave and good men have looked on with mingled feelings of dread and admiration—dread lest the next convulsion should rend it in ruins, and admiration that the noble structure has so well withstood the assaults directed against its most pregnable part. I would not speak lightly of the danger of this Union, or allude carelessly to the fear of its dissolution; but, if ever that bond be rent asunder, if chaos come again over the bright hopes and prospects of the friends of human freedom throughout the earth, the besom of that destruction will have been hurled and guided by the reckless spirit of fanaticism that broods in darkness and gloom over our happy land.

"The states of the south are looking to their sisters of the confederacy with weary and anxious eyes. They ask us to let them alone in their domestic relations; they beseech us not to trample with rude feet upon the rights which they have acquired under the constitution. What shall we say to them by our action here? Shall we hold out to them the empty mockery of friendship and neutrality, while at the same time we do an act which must put our professions to the blush? Shall we say to them that we seek no interference with your domestic relations, that we do not interfere with your property in your slaves nor their allegi-

ance to their masters, while at the same time we elevate this class of people in our own state to our own rights and privileges, admit them within our legislative halls and acknowledge their rights as citizens to instruct us, their representatives in the course of our duty? This would be mockery, indeed! How it would add to the security of the slave-holder who is cursed (for I regard it as a curse) with the care and possession of property of this kind!

"The doings of wicked men have already planted apprehension and agony where peace and security reigned before. The Virginian, the Kentuckian, the Carolinian are ever haunted by the terrors of servile insurrection. As we regard our own high character, as we love the union of these states, as we respect and would protect the lives and property of our southern brethren, let us not as a state join in this unholy warfare."

Those words were spoken in 1838. Twenty-three years later the terrible reality of that prophetic vision presented itself. Then the conservative Brough had disappeared and the aggressive Brough had taken his place. Finding that the Union could not be preserved by conciliation, he gave himself heart and soul to its preservation by force.

Brough was elected auditor of state by the legislature, as the custom then was, February 8, 1839, for three years from March 15, 1839. On the latter date, the house of representatives adopted resolutions which, after humorously recognizing "the unpleasant situation into which John Brough has been forced by his friends against his own wishes and expectations," together with the "necessity either to abandon the people who sent him to the legislature or the office to which the legislature appointed him," cordially thanked him for the "able and indefatigable manner in which he has carried out the great measures of reform in which the present general assembly has been engaged."

Thus, three days before the end of the session, Brough's legislative career ended. Taking a leading part at the very opening of the session, he maintained it to the end. The Whigs had ridiculed him when they could and feared him as a political opponent all the time. Frank and masterful, he had made enemies in his own party. He was ambitious, of course, but not beyond his deserts. He had a mind for finance; he thought deep and spoke well. He was industrious, business like and clever. His ambition to be auditor was mentioned in the newspapers

as soon as the session began, and it may have been to prove his worth that he had sought the chairmanship of the committee on banking and currency. A hostile press early dubbed him the "chancellor of the exchequer," even as it referred to the house of which he was a member as "Brough's department." He was accused of rank partisanship, and his oratory was likened to the "roaring of a gored buffalo." But neither ridicule nor abuse seriously affected him. He knew what he wanted to do and proceeded to do it and in the doing excited so much admiration that, at the time of his election as auditor, his severest critics in candor admitted that he would make an efficient officer.

Though by his election as auditor Brough was removed from the swifter partisan currents, he was by no means obliterated. He had identified himself with a financial policy that the Whigs abhorred and continued to be a target for their campaign practice. Shannon in his second message had swung just far enough back toward the Whig financial idea to excite some Democratic criticism. It was, therefore, thought that there would be some opposition to his renomination, and the political speculators of Whig faith early surmised that Brough would be the choice of the anti-Shannon men. "He will be a hard man to beat," they said, "but the Whigs of Ohio must not permit themselves to be frightened, even by John Brough." The gossips followed him to Cincinnati, whither he went, as auditor, to get specie to pay the interest on the public debt; and in his every movement and even in his silence, they found evidence of the correctness of their guess. Referring to Brough as the "Jupiter Tonans of Ohio Locofocoism," the *Ohio State Journal* on Christmas day, 1839, thus gave him standing:

"While a member of the house, he stood forward, the very head and front, the champion, the directing spirit of the Bentonian party in Ohio. There was his small bill law, his bank commissioner law, his law against the paper issues of the Bank of the United States. Wherever credit and confidence were susceptible of a stab, there did Mr. Brough stab. He succeeded but too well. There was a pliant legislature at his heels and he made the most of his power. Some have vainly supposed that he has been shorn of his locks. It is not true. There are, it is true, men of his own party—his former friends and co-laborers in the work of the Bentonian frenzy—who now wish to hurl him from his high estate. They

wish to make room for themselves and they, therefore, seek his destruction; but take our solemn word for it—as long as Locofocoism has an abiding place in Ohio, Mr. Brough will be its master spirit.”

Brough allowed the governorship gossip to go on till it ceased to amuse him and then he knocked down the house of cards with a communication in which he explained that he was not a candidate for governor and could not be since he had not yet reached the constitutional age of 30. He was then but 28.

Shannon was renominated for governor, January 8, 1840, with none of the predicted opposition. On the following February 22, Thomas Corwin, then a member of the house of representatives at Washington, was nominated for governor by the Whigs and resigned his seat to accept. Then with William Henry Harrison and Martin Van Buren contending for the presidency, the great campaign of 1840 began. Brough took the stump for Shannon and Van Buren and, as usual in whatever he undertook, made himself conspicuous to all and obnoxious to those he opposed. He gave and took many hard blows and, if possible, still more embittered the Whig sentiment against him. While he was absent from his office on speaking tours, the Whig press clamored for his return to the duties which he had been elected to perform and sharply criticised the management of his office. But they brought him back only occasionally to answer their charges, generally with success. Now and then a Democratic editor, probably moved by jealousy, joined in the hue and cry against Brough for having a private as well as a public occupation; and every such recruit, one may be sure, brought joy to his Whig critics. The success of the Whig state and national tickets, in opposition to all that Brough had urged on the stump, aggravated rather than decreased the Whig antipathy for Brough. When it became known that he was casting about for another newspaper and had actually bought one the clamor against him for alleged neglect of his official duties was renewed, and there was even a suggestion that the legislature should declare the office of auditor vacant. Another phase of the clamor is revealed in the following from a Whig paper of the time:

"Rarely does the editor go to the State House without seeing Brough in one house or the other, passing away the time for which the state grants him a large remuneration, idly or in private intercourse with members, and under the circumstances calculated to excite the suspicion that he improperly intermeddles in affairs of legislation and seeks to control it for personal or political motives."

Thus, according to his critics, whether Brough was on the stump, or in Cincinnati, or in the legislative halls, he was in the wrong place; and when he was at his desk in the auditor's office, he was being paid too much money. All this is interesting for it shows what a veritable thorn in the Whig flesh John Brough was. When Brough ventured to reply that he was quite as constant in his attendance upon his duties as was Governor Corwin, it was retorted that no governor had ever spent all his time in Columbus and that "the governor hasn't even an office here, burrowing with the fund commissioners when in the city,"—an answer, by the way, which is more interesting as a bit of history than as an argument.

It was in the spring of 1841 that Brough and his brother Charles H. (who had just retired from the legislature) bought the *Cincinnati Advertiser*, an established Democratic paper, changed the name to the *Enquirer* and announced that the paper would "sustain the principles and policy of the great Democratic party and act, hand in hand, with the Democracy of Hamilton county." The paper continued in their hands until 1848, and exerted an influence in politics not less than it does to-day under another management.

The possession of an important newspaper increased Brough's strength as a political factor and brought him more than ever into the public view. Though he had announced that the *Enquirer* would support the principles of the Democratic party, he reserved the right to criticise members of the party when their conduct did not accord with his judgment, and that right he exercised as vigorously as he had ever done before. More than all else, he seemed to be the defender of the financial policy which he had as legislator helped to establish, and when he found Democratic candidates or legislators departing from that policy, he punished them with his invective.

From criticism of Brough for absenteeism in 1840, his foes passed, in 1842 to criticism of him as an autocrat in office. Instead of making him a less figure, their assaults seemed to be making him a greater, and there is a strong flavor of desperation in the following indictment against him which appeared in an editorial in one of the Whig papers of the day:

"The constitution strips the governor of nearly all power and patronage and, in comparison with the powers of other governors, renders that high functionary but little more than a cipher. But power in a political community must exist somewhere, and in Ohio it is fast clustering in the hands of a subordinate of the executive department, whose tenure of office is independent of the popular favor and is by a year greater than the governor's. * * Mr. Brough's predecessors have not aspired to a concentration of all powers in their hands, but have been content to pocket their salaries and perform their simple duties without encroachments upon other departments. * * But the present incumbent perceives that the office of auditor is really the highest and most important in the state, and he is determined to make it still more efficient. It is through his influence, therefore, that the board of fund commissioners has been abolished and another created, of which he has been constituted the life and soul. * * When the fund commissioners' board was first established, its duties were considered to be of such a nature that they could not be mixed up with the affairs of the auditor's office, but the present auditor thinks otherwise; and he has been gratified in his ambition to have the whole power of the board imposed on his hands.

"Mr. Brough has made some large strides, this winter, toward monopolizing official places and placing himself conspicuously before the public. He found means to crowd himself into the board of trustees of the Ohio university; he got himself elected a trustee of the Blind asylum, and finally persuaded the legislature to vest in his hands, in effect, all the powers and duties devolved upon the fund commissioners. In his last capacity, he is now absent among the money kings of Wall street to try his hand at financiering, whilst his proper duties are neglected at home. How insignificant has the office of governor become beside this new Colossus of the executive department of the government. * * Indeed, the grasping disposition and accumulating official influence of the auditor of state has alarmed the jealousies of some of his own friends who, apprehensive of the manner in which it is suspected the last may be employed, have begun to call attention thereto."

To this, another paper adds that "he (Brough) has now and for years past has possessed the power to tax the people heavy or light, as suits his sovereign will and pleasure — a power too

dangerous to remain in the hands of any man, no matter how pure he may be, and which rightfully belongs to the law-making power of the state." The same paper refers to Brough as a "mere politician," and expresses the opinion that the auditor should be robbed of four-fifths of his immense power.

There was in all this something more serious than personal or party opposition, something radically different from the assumed alarm at the concentration of power. That something,



Governor John Brough, his wife and two sisters. From a daguerreotype taken about 1840, now in possession of Governor Brough's niece, Mrs. K. A. Simpson, of Millburn, N. J.

In a note Mrs. Simpson says: The lady standing by Gov. Brough is his second wife, Caroline; the elder one sitting, his sister Mrs. Jane Terry; the younger one standing, his sister Mrs. Mary A. Hand. This portrait is produced by the courtesy of Ohio State Library.

Governor Dennison in later years called repudiation. It took the form of an effort to keep down the taxes which would have resulted in a failure to meet the canal debt interest and in the defeat of a proposed loan to complete the public works. This spirit had its expression in the legislature of 1843 when it was

sought to add to the appropriation bill an amendment prohibiting the auditor from levying a greater rate of taxation for canal purposes than was levied in 1842. That would have kept the levy down to 2½ mills, whereas a 5-mill levy was necessary to meet the canal obligations. Only 17 representatives and four senators voted for the amendment and it was defeated. The battle had been fought and won. The ease of the victory, however, did not prevent alarm in financial circles, and Brough's mission to New York, whither he went to place an additional loan of \$1,500,000 was not an easy one. The state's paper was selling at 67 cents on the dollar, and there was a marked indisposition, on the part of capitalists, to risk more money in a state where the repudiation spirit had appeared even in so mild a form. But Brough was not to be discouraged. The commission, of which he was rightfully enough said to be the head, went personally to the capitalists and laid before them a circular in which the weakness of the repudiation movement was fully exposed. The proposition before the legislature and the votes in each house for it were set forth, the financial condition of the state was revealed and the plan of levying taxes to meet the interest on the debt was explained. The auditor made an excellent impression in New York, as the prints of the day show, and some of his bitterest critics at home, finding how their previous comments had hampered him and actually misrepresented their own real purposes, hastened to condemn at home the repudiation that he was fighting in New York. After a month's labor, Brough succeeded in placing \$600,000 of the proposed loan at 7 per cent., giving an option on the remaining \$900,000. That, too, was taken, all at par. Thus the crisis in Ohio finances had been successfully passed, thanks to an honest legislature, but thanks, also, to the sturdy auditor, whose critics at times thought he was doing too little and at other times that he was doing too much for the state.

Brough's reports as auditor are an interesting study. They are precisely what might be expected from a man who had played so important and conservative a role in the legislature. There he had sought to stay mad speculation and restore the currency to a sound basis; here he did what he could to punish official dis-

honesty, prevent extravagance, secure the payment to the state of all that was justly due it and to defeat repudiation. When he became auditor, the state debt was \$12,500,000; when he left the office six years later, the debt was nearly \$20,000,000, but the canals had been completed and nearly half a million had been invested in the stock of railroads, the then new mode of transportation. That the increase would have been greater under a less watchful auditor is probably true. His admonitions were often disregarded, if not resented, by the legislature; but his repeated protests must have been in some measure a check upon expenditure.

In his first report, Brough urged the legislature to stop expenditures until "some of our numerous public works shall assume a productive character." He pointed out lands that were evading taxation, exposed school fund defalcations and indicated banks that were delinquent in taxes. The energy of his executive work is shown in the fact that the amount of tax arrearages paid in jumped in one year from \$400 to \$5,000, while the school fund defalcations made good amounted to \$12,000.

He sounded the alarm again in 1840. Urging economy on a legislature which had increased the debt by two and a half millions, he argued that a public debt is not a public blessing in a republic, though it might be in a monarchy, by holding the people together and preventing revolution. Said he:

"The accumulative character of public burdens is one of the most serious diseases by which the vitality of free institutions can be attacked; for no generation will do more than to change the character of these burdens, removing them from one position to another where they will be more easily borne, until at length the confidence and satisfaction of the public mind are destroyed and public liberty, weakened by long continued endurance, sinks beneath the weight of accumulated grievances, a victim to the power of money which has subverted it under the guise of public good."

1841 he repeated his warning as to the debt, which he found still increasing. He reported continued embarrassment through the suspension of banks, whose currency, since the national government would not take it for postage, had to be exchanged for

specie at a loss. The revenues from the public works had fallen off and there were defalcations in canal tolls amounting to \$15,420. The turnpike companies, too, were misbehaving and received a severe and probably just excoriation. The one bright spot in the report was the collection of \$11,768 back taxes. It is interesting to note that in this report Brough suggested to the legislature the creation of the office of attorney general that the state might have always at its command an officer to promote and guard its interests in the courts.

In 1842, he reported that the public debt had increased \$1,500,000, that the annual interest charge was \$950,000 and the deficit in interest was \$281,650. In this report he took up the question of taxation and urged the appraisalment of all taxable property at its actual cash value.

In 1843 he advocated a better law governing the sale of land for taxes and the granting of deeds to the same. He argued at length that the power of the state was ample and its right manifest. It was, he urged, unjust to sell one man's chattels unconditionally and withhold the penalty from another who owns land. It was an indignity to the state to permit land-owners to refuse just tribute and mock the commonwealth. How the taxdodgers must have writhed under his lash!

Again and again he called attention to the increase in the public debt, the interest on which had grown to \$1,000,000 per annum, \$600,000 of which had to be raised by direct taxation because the public works were unfinished and unproductive. But the state debt, he pointed out, was not one-third the burden; the greater portion was made up of county, township, road, poor and other charges. Blame, he insisted, could not be laid at the door of the civil administration of the state, for its cost was less than \$200,000 a year. "You may look in vain," he said, "over the states of the union for an instance of even half our population, our territory, our interests, our business character and relations, our trade or our commerce, being governed with the same expenditure." "Considerations of duty," however, prompted him to say that the expenditures for repairs on the canals were disproportionately large, that there were too many officers and retainers, too much favoritism and too little economy

and accountability. Recurring to the debt, the nightmare of which seemed to be ever with him, Brough wrote in conclusion:

"In relation to the debt in the aggregate, now that our works are completed, sound policy requires that here it should be stayed. * * Our ability to sustain what we now have is undoubted; it is the increase which will again prostrate our credit for the reason that, whilst it will add to our obligations, it will at the same time violate our faith. It is useless to multiply words on this theme. Prudence, discretion, sound financial policy are no longer arguments that enter into the consideration of the subject. It is now the stern command of duty—duty to the state, its honor and its faith which are yet untarnished, and duty to its people who have thus far borne the burdens without repining, and whose honesty and integrity have spurned the very idea of repudiation. To the requirements of that duty, thus imposed by the state and the people you represent, I am convinced that you will not turn a deaf ear. Be firm in this, and the character of our great state will be maintained; whilst the accumulating revenues upon our great works will gradually relieve our people of the taxation that now rests upon them. Depart from it, and the end is at hand. It is written in a few words—a state dishonored and a constituency disgraced."

In his last report as auditor, made in 1844, Brough was still urging reforms, the chief of which were the adoption of the principle of a cash valuation as a basis for taxation and the enactment of more efficient laws for the sale of delinquent lands.

It was a splendid service that Brough performed as auditor. If there was grudging recognition of it at the time, it was not always so. The words of William Dennison, the first of Ohio's war governors, spoken at the Brough memorial services, August 30, 1865 are here pertinent:

"It has fallen to the lot of few men to perform such a financial service as Brough performed while auditor. Eighteen hundred and forty-two was the gloomy year in Ohio finance. Charters of banks were expiring by limitation; banks were preparing to close up their affairs and draw in their debts; and to that extent the community was denied the currency it had formerly enjoyed and was under serious apprehension as to what would be the condition of the state after the banks should close. Added to this and of graver moment was the fact of the state being then under a large public debt, accruing out of the construction of the public works. A considerable portion of the works was unfinished and other portions, finished, were yielding little toward the cost of their construction. * * The duty then devolved upon Brough, in connection with

the commissioners of the sinking fund, to devise ways and means of meeting the accruing indebtedness of the state. He could have accomplished this, it may be, without any extraordinary effort, if there had not been another evil intervening that was even more alarming than those to which I have adverted. It was the threatened spirit of repudiation in Ohio. * * The course of Governor Brough in this matter did more than anything else to save the good name of the state.

"Prior to 1842 there was no proper system of taxation in Ohio. Assessments were made without any system or rule, not according to the value of the property, but according to the whim or caprice of the assessor. Brough discerned the necessity of a radical change in the system. He then announced as the only just principle of taxation that which has been incorporated in the financial policy of Ohio—that of assessing all property according to its true value in money. Very much of the financial prosperity of Ohio is attributable to the recognition and establishment of that principle in our financial policy."

By the election of 1844, the Whigs gained a sweeping victory. They elected Mordecai Bartley governor and gained control of both houses of the legislature, insuring the election of a Whig United States senator and a Whig auditor of state. Over no part of the victory was there more gloating than over the certainty of now being able to displace Brough. John Greiner, the Whig song-writer and campaign singer delighted his friends with a post-election song on the sailing up Salt river of the Loco steamer, "Governor Tod." A part of it follows:

"Her noble commander is Medary, the great,
And his worthy friend, Hamar, the red-headed mate;
For fear they'd run foul of the bank in their zeal,
Old gimlet-eyed Tappan takes charge of the wheel,

* * * * *

And to keep the boat trim for Polk and for Dallas,
They threw Jack Brough into the hold for the ballast."

On January 30, 1845, the legislature elected John Wood auditor, the vote standing: John Wood 52, John Brough 34, blank and scattering 8. In welcoming Mr. Wood as auditor, a Whig organ, which had periodically for years expressed a keen apprehension that Brough was not earning his salary, said:

"With a paltry salary attached to the office—one hardly worthy of a clerkship, wholly unworthy of the state and disproportioned to the labors and responsibilities of the place—the people of Ohio, as well as those abroad feeling an interest in the management of our affairs, have reason to congratulate themselves on being able to secure the services of so able an officer."

Brough transferred the office to his successor, March 15, and retired to private life after ten years of strenuous politics. The Whig press followed him out with jibes and indulged in much raillery when he went to Washington, as they reported, looking for a place under the Polk administration. There is no tangible evidence that Brough went to Washington as a place-hunter; he probably had in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* a private business that laid claims to all his time and efforts. His acquisition of that paper was no accident, but, instead, was probably part of a well-laid plan for profitable and congenial occupation when he and political office should part.

Brough now transferred his headquarters to Cincinnati where he continued, in association with his brother Charles, to publish the *Enquirer*. His liking for finance and his high executive qualities naturally led him, however, into the railroad business then developing; and in 1853, having in the meantime sold the *Enquirer*, he was elected president of the Madison & Indianapolis railway. He continued in this business up to and after the breaking out of the civil war and in the early days of that great conflict contributed greatly to the Union cause by facilitating the transportation of troops. In this service, which he performed with his customary zeal, he again loomed up in the public eye. His sterling qualities were recalled, and those who felt the need of a strong man at the helm of state instinctively turned to him. Two years of the fierce struggle had passed and the union arms had not achieved the expected victory. Some hitherto ardent defenders of the Union were grown lukewarm; those who had at first hesitated were now sure that the Union could not be saved. Failure in the field had bred something very like treason at home. Ohio needed a strong leader, but not more so than did the nation need the help of a thoroughly loyal Ohio. Brough was aflame with zeal for the Union cause and was invited to speak to his

former fellowtownsmen at Marietta. He accepted the invitation and on June 10, 1863, delivered a stirring speech before the largest audience that had ever gathered in Washington county. In the course of that speech he arraigned some of his old party associates on the score of disloyalty, declared that slavery was destroyed by the very act of rebellion and earnestly appealed to all patriots, regardless of former party adherence, to unite against the insurgents of the South. His vigorous words reached every corner of the state and found repetition far beyond its borders. They were a trumpet call to duty and stayed the mental retreat as no other single incident of the year had done. What had been a request for Brough's candidacy now became a demand. He had not sought leadership, but he could no longer refuse it. A week later he was nominated as the Republican Union candidate for governor and in the following October was elected over Clement L. Vallandigham, the Democratic candidate, by a majority of 101,099.

The story of that campaign and the term of service that followed it would itself fill a book. It must suffice here to say that this victory was the wild joy of the time and has been the pride of every succeeding year. In his "Ohio in the War," Mr. Whitelaw Reid says:

"It is no mere figure of speech to say that the eyes of the nation were upon Ohio, as her sons at home and in the field cast their ballots. It was felt that on the result at the polls hung the fate of the Union. It was Brough and Union or Vallandigham and disunion. As Ohio should decide, other states would be apt to decide. Ohio voted that October day and a mighty victory was won for the Union—as mighty as any that had yet been won by bullet, shell and bayonet. Brough was elected by the unheard of plurality of 101,099. Of this the home majority was 61,920. Of the 43,755 votes cast by the soldiers in the field, only 2,288 were given to Vallandigham. Of the citizens who remained at home, 180,000 voted for Vallandigham. Startling figures which it is well to remember. How many are the faint-hearted! How error spreads and takes root in spite of Truth's most earnest efforts!"

Thus the occasion found the man and Brough found his last and greatest opportunity. Brough was inaugurated governor, January 11, 1864, and entered upon his work declaring

that there were but two ways in which the war could end — unconditional surrender by the South, or the absolute destruction of the military power of the South. His first recommendation to the legislature bore upon the welfare of the families of the soldiers in the field. A tax was already being levied for the maintenance of these dependents but the governor insisted that it was not half large enough; and the legislature, though it hesitated to go as far as he indicated, did pass a bill levying a tax of two mills on the dollar and permitting county commissioners to add another mill and city councils to add half a mill more. Having secured this measure of relief, Brough proceeded with his customary zeal to see that the officers whose business it was to distribute the relief performed their full duty. Where he found them derelict — and there were not a few flagrant instances of the kind — he relentlessly pursued them with all the forces at his command, exposed them and deprived them of their power. When he found that with all his watchfulness and zeal, the fund was still too small to meet all needs, he made an appeal to private charity with excellent results.

This care of the soldiers' families was fairly supplemented by his jealous watchcare of the soldiers themselves. When he took office the state had its own relief agencies in different parts of the country conveniently near the armies. On his recommendation the number of these was increased and special pains were taken to make them efficient. They were the ministering hands of the state and, while they were carrying comforts to Ohio troops, they were also answering thousands of queries about them from the dear ones at home. This beneficent work was not prosecuted without clashing with similar agencies of national scope. The officers of these latter perhaps naturally thought that all relief should pass through their hands, but the governor would not leave the matter to them and there was much acrimonious correspondence with regard to it, in the most of which the governor was considerate but immovable from his purpose to make the Ohio soldiers in the field the state's special care.

The hospitals, too, were brought under his inspection and the sick or wounded Ohio soldier found in Brough the sternest kind of a champion. Neglect or maltreatment was the occasion

of instant protest, made with such vigor that correction promptly followed. He demanded for Ohio's sick and wounded soldiers not only the best medical and surgical attention, but also good food and removal to hospitals within the state at the earliest possible date. Everywhere he insisted on service unmarred by the delays of red tape. To this untiring watchfulness was due much of the superior comfort of the Ohio soldiers and to it many of the wounded may attribute early recovery, probably life itself.

But there was still another phase of Brough's usefulness in that last year of the war—his splendid aid in recruiting the armies already in the field. The cry was for more men. The critical moment in the war had arrived and it was proposed to overwhelm the Confederate armies, at the same time protecting the borders against incursions. It was believed that the thing could be done, if at all, in three months, and the project of the 100-days men was devised. At Brough's suggestion there was a conference of the governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, as a result of which 85,000 such men were offered to the government—30,000 of them by Ohio. Ohio's quota was raised by the appointed time, at what expenditure of energy by the military officials of the state it is not easy to estimate and at what personal sacrifice on the part of the recruits may never be known. But it was done and done nobly, and none was more prompt and generous in praise of those who did it than Brough. Meanwhile the regular drafts were being made and were being attended by remarkable manifestations of disloyalty. Bounties, together with bribery and trickery were doing their worst, and an organization known as the "Order of American Knights" or the "Sons of Liberty" was formed to resist the draft. Brough learned of the organization and fathomed its purpose and plans by sending secret agents among them. Having got this information, he proceeded resolutely to undermine the organization and succeeded, with the inspiring influence of the soldiers then returning from the field, in thwarting their purpose without bloodshed. All this was accomplished by strengthening the prison and arsenal guards, arresting the ringleaders of the organization and seizing large quantities of arms known to belong to the organization.

With the aid of the 100-day men not all was done that it was hoped to do, but that was not their fault, nor the fault of the governor who suggested the service. They served admirably and at the end of the period of their enlistment were discharged with the thanks of President Lincoln. While they were performing the duties to which they were assigned, Brough was fighting still another battle—this one, over the system of promotion among the Ohio troops. Hitherto there had been no system of promotions. Brough could not work without one and he early decided that he would promote regimental officers to vacancies according to seniority of service therein except in cases of intemperance. He would give every man a chance and leave it to the regiment to rid itself of incompetents. This set the governor at odds with the commanding officers of the regiments because it took away their power to recommend for promotion. Whatever the justice or injustice of the governor's system, it provoked a long and acrimonious controversy which resulted in an organization of the regimental officers and their friends to defeat the governor for renomination. It embittered his last days without moving him one jot or tittle from his position, and brought the administration to an end which no one, judging by the enthusiasm of its beginning, would have predicted. On February 20, 1865, Brough wrote in the course of a long letter to a friend:

"Personally, I am indifferent as to the political consequences to myself on account of this or any other of my public acts. The most earnest desire I have is to be permitted to retire from a position I did not seek and really involuntarily assumed. I am equally indifferent as to who may be my successor, though I confess to some anxiety that he shall be one who will make it a cardinal principle not to put in the military service or continue there officers who disqualify themselves, by intemperate habits or immoral conduct."

Added to the resentful antagonism of the regimental officers was a certain unpopularity because of his brusqueness. Brough was no courtier. He was a plain, blunt, honest and determined man with some personal habits which those who admired

him for integrity and his sterling patriotism could not condone. He was importuned, in spite of all these things to make the canvass for re-nomination; but, after taking the matter under consideration for a time, he declined in a characteristically frank statement, in the course of which he used these words, so soon to acquire significance:

"I very much doubt whether my health—much impaired by close confinement to official duties—would sustain me through a vigorous campaign; while increasing years and the arduous labors of a long life in public positions, strongly invite me to retirement and repose during the few years that may yet remain to me."

It was about this time that, while walking, he suffered a severe sprain of the ankle and bruised one of his feet. Owing to the condition of his blood, inflammation set in and he went to his home in Cleveland, a very sick man. He never returned to Columbus. After a period of incredible suffering, he died August 29, 1865, four months before the expiration of his term of office. The deathbed scene is thus described in a newspaper of the time:

"On Monday evening at about 9 o'clock the governor awakened from his insensibility in which he had lain for some days and at the request of his family who had gathered about his bedside, Surgeon General Barr informed him that all which human skill could do for him had been attempted and in vain, and that now he was in the hands of Almighty God. He could not live 48 hours. The governor was greatly shocked at this announcement and, looking General Barr in the face, desired him to repeat what he had said. General Barr again stated that he had not 48 hours to live. The governor then requested that all except his family and General Barr should leave the room. After this had been done, he conversed calmly and rationally with his family for some time on private family affairs.

"Turning to General Barr and apparently addressing his remarks more particularly to him, the governor proceeded to speak of his religious views and hopes. He said in substance that he was no theologian and had never made any profession of religion. He had, however, always endeavored to live honestly and uprightly in his relations with his fellow-men and he hoped and believed that he had so done. He confessed that he had sinned greatly, although he denounced as false and slanderous the rumors of his drunkenness and licentiousness. But though he acknowl-

edged he had been a great sinner in the sight of God, he stated that every act of his in discharging his duty as governor had been performed with strict conscientiousness and with prayerful regard to his responsibility, not only to the country, but to God. He also stated that he had never gone to bed at night for 20 years without first praying to God for forgiveness and protection, and that he died penitently acknowledging his sins and trusting in Christ for pardon.

"As he spoke the governor raised his eyes, and as though death lent supernatural keenness to him, exclaimed that he saw the Mediator standing on the right hand of the Father, making intercession for his sins. He concluded with the emphatic declaration several times repeated, 'I die happily and gloriously.' The scene was deeply affecting and at the close of it the governor put his arms around the neck of General Barr and, with deep emotion, thanked him for his care and attention, expressing perfect satisfaction with his medical treatment. He then took his farewell of his family. About midnight he relapsed into insensibility which continued without intermission until his death."

"While death was upon him remotely," said one of Brough's eulogists, "for death respected his great intellect and began to devour him at the extremities — his mind was upon the country and all its interests. While death was gnawing away at his feet, he was contemplating our country's trials and the process by which she might come safely through them." Said another: "In the death of Brough, my judgment is that our state has buried the most efficient intellect that she has had upon her theater for the last quarter of a century. In most regards he was the peer of the best; in many regards, superior to any of the distinguished gentlemen I have ever known in Ohio."

John Brough's remains lie in Greenwood cemetery at Cleveland where they were buried after services at the residence on Prospect street, at the end of a day marked by incessant rain from early dawn to near sunset. In Cleveland and in most cities and villages of the state, business was generally suspended from 10 to 3 o'clock, in compliance with the request embodied in a proclamation by Lieutenant Governor Charles Anderson, who succeeded to the office of governor and filled it till the end of the term.

Brough was twice married. The first Mrs. Brough, whose maiden name was Pruden, died at Lancaster, O., after bearing two children, John and Mary, both of whom are still living.

The second Mrs. Brough was Caroline Nelson, of Columbus. Five children were the result of this union, only one of whom is now living, Mrs. E. B. Gerard, of Cincinnati. The second Mrs. Brough survived the governor a quarter of a century and marked with a monument his last resting place. The spot is not now much talked of, though it might well be, for in the dust there interred, there were manifested, when it was man, very many of the highest qualities of statesmanship.

HISTORIC WORTHINGTON.

MIRA CLARKE PARSONS.

One hundred years ago, in the month of October, the quiet of the wilderness where Worthington now stands, was broken by the arrival of forty families, under the leadership of James Kilbourne. The journey had occupied more than six weeks. They came from Granby and Simsbury, Conn., representing many trades and occupations, and bringing the hope and courage needed in founding a new home in a strange land.

The previous year their leader and Nathan W. Little, as agents appointed by the Scioto Company to explore the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river, had gone through the country between Chillicothe and this place, and decided to locate their colony here.

From a record kept by Mr. Kilbourne, we find that the two men traveled by stage from Granby to Shippensburg, Pa. Thence carrying packs, they walked over the mountains to Pittsburg, one hundred and fifty miles, thence to Wheeling, and on through Ohio.

A description of the land and its products reads like a chapter from the Book of Numbers, when Caleb and Joshua brought to the waiting Israelites their report of the land flowing with milk and honey. Mr. Kilbourne says:

"We found Black Walnut, Hickory, Ash, Honey Locust, Hackberry, Whitewood, etc., which never grow on any but first rate land." He described the rivers as "clear, lively streams of pure water as ever flowed from a fountain." He tells us:

"In one place I saw a thousand acres of the best clear meadow I ever saw in any place whatever." He says: "Plums and crabapples are the principal fruits, of which there are thousands of bushels to be found in any part of the country, and the plums are very palatable fruit." There were also large quantities of grape vines.

The giant which possessed this goodly land, "making it sickly to a considerable degree," was the fever, which lurked in the rich acres lying on the banks of the streams, where it waited to make war upon the settlers living on these low bottom lands for greater convenience to water supplies.

He quotes Col. Worthington,* Register of the United States Land Office at Chillicothe, "a gentleman of first rate information," as saying that he believed that the country would be as healthy as any country whatever, when opened and improved.



STONES FOUND ON THE FARM OF MR. PINNEY,
Supposed to be the remains of a mill for grinding grain, more than a century ago.

And so it came to pass, for, as of old, "by little and little, the enemy was subdued."

The Scioto Company, formed in the winter of 1801-2, originally consisted of eight families, the number being afterwards increased to forty. They delayed purchasing the land, until sure that the new State constitution about to be formed, would prohibit slavery. Then, 16,000 acres were bought at \$1.25 per acre, — 8,000 in Sharon township, and 4,000 each in Clinton and Delaware townships. When the town was laid out, each man was entitled to a town lot of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre, and a farm-lot of $98\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

* From whom the town was afterwards named.

The advance guard of this band of pioneers came to Ohio in the spring or early summer of 1803. It consisted of Samuel Kilbourne and family, Levi Pinney, Alexander Morrison, Adna Bristol, Edward Brown, and Israel P. Case. They were sent to build cabins for the colony. The remainder started on September 15th. Mr. Ezra Griswold arrived first with his family, but by the last of October the whole company had completed the journey.*

The first cabins were built around the public square, and one well supplied the community. The women were restricted



BOARDING HOUSE ONCE BELONGING TO WOOLEN FACTORY OPERATED BY
JAMES KILBOURNE.

to bringing the most necessary articles for pioneer housekeeping. It is told by one of their descendants that three neighbors brought a brass kettle, a wooden chair, and a sieve, to be exchanged for mutual convenience, like the eye of the Three Gray Sisters, in

*NOTE:—The delay of a part of the company was caused by the arrival of a stranger in James Kilbourne's camp. His daughter Orrel, afterwards the wife of I. N. Whiting, of Columbus, was born in an emigrant wagon, in Washington County, Pa., October 15, and was the youngest member of the pioneer band. Another daughter, Cynthia, born a few years later, in Worthington, became the wife of Dr. I. G. Jones, of Columbus, and had the honor of being the first mother in Ohio who offered her son for service in the Civil War. James Kilbourne Jones was the first man in the State to enlist at the first call of Lincoln for troops.

Hawthorne's Wonder Books. The partnership was dissolved when the sieve gave out.

The first Christmas dinner found wild turkey and venison upon their tables, and maple sugar, obtained from the sap of the wild forest trees around their new homes. The climate was much milder than now, and snow was rarely seen.

Before leaving New England, articles had been signed by the company, providing for the appropriation of town lots for an Episcopal church and an Academy at the time when each man's portion should be assigned.



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH,
WORTHINGTON, O.

The first tree felled for building purposes was used in the erection of a log cabin which served for both church and school house. The building was also to be used as a fort, in time of trouble with the Indians. Within its walls, on February 8, 1804, the first marriage ceremony in the new settlement was performed by Zachariah Stephen, Esq., of Franklinton, the nearest Justice of the Peace. It was a double wedding, uniting Abner Putnim Pinney and Polly Morrison, and Levi Pinney and Charlotte Beach, in the holy bonds

of matrimony, amid the rejoicing of assembled neighbors and friends.

Previous to the erection of St. John's church in 1830, the oldest Protestant Episcopal church west of the Allegheny mountains, services were held in the academy building, as soon as it was built. Elnathan Maynard, who recently died in Cincinnati, in his ninety-seventh year, was the last survivor of those who assisted in the building of this historic old church. His father, Stephen Maynard, gave the lumber for the pews as they

now stand. When in later years, the spire was pronounced unsafe, that part of the church was rebuilt, with great loss to its first architectural beauty. In the old records, the founder of this colony is called "Rev." James Kilbourne, though known in later years as "Colonel." He combined both titles, having taken orders in New England. Together with Mr. Erastus Burr, (the first pupil in the embryo college, and afterwards a Doctor of Divinity,) he conducted church services for a considerable time.



RESIDENCE OF BISHOP CHASE. CHASELAND.

Philander Chase, "pioneer bishop and educator west of the Alleghany mountains," was rector of St. John's parish from 1817 to 1822. He built the dwelling house now standing in Chaseland, and laid the foundation of Kenyon College in a room which is a part of the house now occupied by Mr. George Cless. He was closely associated with the educational interests of the town.

The Methodist Episcopal church was formed in 1811, at a class meeting conducted by Revs. Mitchell and Sabin, in a log

cabin on the old factory ground west of the town. It consisted at first of eleven members, and the meetings were held in different dwelling-houses. In 1823 a brick church was built on East State street. This was taken down and the present house of worship erected on Main street in 1828. Within its walls the eloquent young preacher, Frank W. Gunsaulus, won his first laurels.

The Presbyterian church (Old School) was organized June 18, 1816, with a membership of sixteen. Previous to this time, Ebenezer Washburn of Blendon, had sometimes preached in private houses.

The first settled minister was Rev. Hiram Hurlburt, who held services for a time in Masonic Hall. The present church edifice was built in 1829. It was remodeled in 1843.

Worthington Academy was incorporated by the legislature of Ohio, February 20, 1808, with Bishop Chase as president. Eleven years later, a new charter was granted, incorporating it as Worthington College. Bishop Chase soon resigned the presidency of the new institution, and his son, Rev. Philander Chase Jr., took his place.

Col. Kilbourne was largely instrumental in locating a Reformed Medical Institute here. He, with the other trustees of the college, offered the use of their charter and building to Dr. Beach, the founder of eclecticism, for his proposed medical school in the West. It was opened in December 1830, with a fair prospect of success. But by reason of financial difficulties, and the strong opposition of enemies, it did not prosper long. It received its death blow in what is still remembered as the "Resurrection War," although it was not formally closed until three years later.

The college buildings were taken down in '73, to make room for the commodious school edifice which now occupies the spot. The old bell still sounds its invitation for the youth to come and taste the sweets of learning.

A passing word must be said of the private school taught two generations ago by Miss Loiza Topping in the house now owned and occupied by Mr. Nathaniel M. Cleveland. He is the sole survivor of the children who constituted this embryo kin-

dergarten, some of the methods of which were not perhaps strictly Froebellian.

Worthington Female Seminary had its beginning in 1838, in Masonic Hall, where Miss Sarepta Marsh of Chillicothe started a school for girls. She, with Revs. Heath and Young, soon obtained permission from the Methodist Conference at Xenia, to open a Female Seminary. The funds were raised by the united efforts of these friends of education. Four acres of the land centrally located were bought, and a roomy building erected.



**HOUSE OF M. N. CLEVELAND, IN WHICH THE PRIVATE SCHOOL
WAS TAUGHT.**

The school was opened with Miss Marsh as principal, Misses Sarah and Maria Tucker, teachers, and Nancy McGill, assistant tutor. It was highly prosperous for a while as a girls' school, but was unable to compete with the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, after that institution had established co-education. Failing to receive an expected legacy of large amount, its doors were at length closed, to be re-opened for a time as a Normal School, by Messrs Mitchell and Ogden. Since then it has been occupied in turn as a Fresh Air Resort for city children, a sanitarium, and a summer hotel, till now, in the hands of private individuals, as Worthdale, it holds but a memory of former days.

The oldest Masonic Institution, after the one in Marietta, is New England Lodge No. 4, at Worthington. It was organized on the 28th day of June, A. D., 1808, A. L. 5808.



MASONIC HALL.

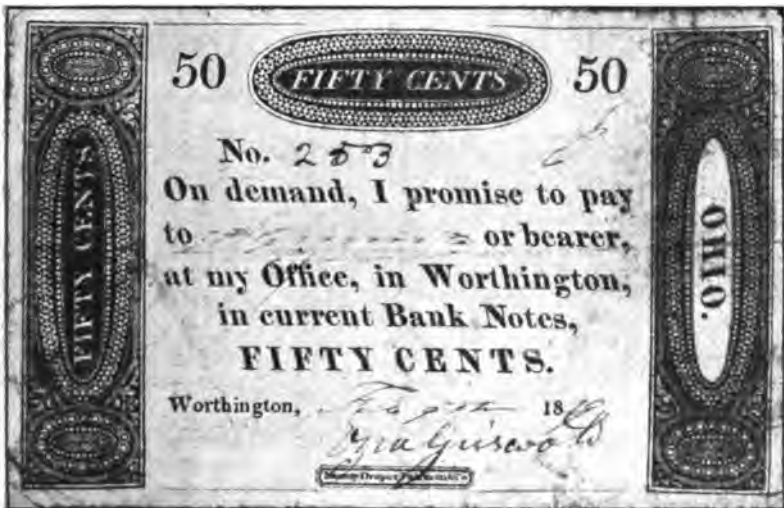
Royal Arch Chapters: Horeb Chapter No. 3 was organized at Worthington, December 18, 1815.

Mt. Vernon Encampment No. 1, of Knights Templar and Appendent Orders was instituted at Worthington, March 15, 1818. This was the first dispensation granted by the General Grand Encampment of the United States, first encampment of the Order organized west of the Alleghany mountains. After February 24, 1844, the meetings of the Encampment were held in Columbus by virtue of authority derived from the Grand Encampment of Ohio.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Ark Lodge No. 270, was instituted in Worthington, April 16, 1855. Of the seven charter members who first composed it, A. S. Wood, the first officer, is the last survivor.

The first newspaper in Franklin county was published in Worthington in 1811, by Ezra Griswold. It was called the "Western Intelligencer." Col. Kilbourne was the original proprietor, but it soon passed out of his hands. In 1814 the office was removed to Columbus, and the paper conducted by Ezra Griswold, Joel Buttles and P. H. Olmstead, took the name of "Western Intelligencer and Columbus Gazette." It was the parent of the "Ohio State Journal." The old printing office is still to be seen in Worthington.

Mr. Griswold was a private banker, and issued paper money in the form of printed notes of six denominations, varying in value from six and a quarter cents to two dollars. Some of these notes were engraved by a Philadelphia firm, others were printed in Worthington. A gang of counterfeiters broke into the Worthington office one night, and made money at a rapid rate. The first date of any of the bills now found, is 1810, the latest, 1819. The Worthington Manufacturing Company also issued money of this kind, but the high tax, and the ease with which it could be counterfeited, soon brought it into disuse.



Orange Johnson, who came to the town in 1812, had a factory in his own yard, where he made combs of every description. Some of them, the beautiful, high-backed, tortoise-shell marvels which ornamented the heads of the fore-mothers of Worthington, are still preserved by their descendants, as rare and curious relics.

In a brick building on Main street, but recently taken down, Potter Wright and his assistants made carding machines from models of Mr. Wright's own drawing, still preserved, and bearing date, "1811." He was a machinist of great ability. He as-

sisted James Russell in the early days, to construct an orrery, the patterns for which were long kept in the old shop.

Mr. Russell, accompanied by George H. Topping, a young lad whose father, Dr. Josiah Topping, was the first physician in the colony, — exhibited this machine through the country, from Worthington to Washington. It was finally destroyed by fire, and never duplicated, on account of the expense attending its construction.

The chief industries of the growing town, however, were carried on in the factory village, situated in the west part, on the



**IN THE WING OF THIS HOUSE THE NUCLEUS OF KENYON COLLEGE
WAS FORMED.**

banks of the Whetstone river now restored to its original name of Olentangy. Here may still be seen the ruins of a building erected by Col. Kilbourne, the first custom grist-mill in the vicinity.

The sites of a lime-kiln, a tannery, a hat-shop, and a distillery are all traceable.

The "Worthington Manufacturing Company" was incorporated in 1811, with Col. Kilbourne as President. It was the pioneer manufacturing enterprise of Central Ohio, making a great variety of articles. In the war of 1812, it furnished woollen fabrics for army and navy. It failed in 1820, sweeping away the

entire fortune of the President. The boarding house connected with this factory is still standing.

There was also a cabinet-makers' establishment which turned out beautiful pieces of furniture made from the native woods. Some of these are treasured in the village, as heirlooms beyond price.

The owner of the hat-shop was assisted in winter by Elias Lewis, a young man who followed his trade of brickmason in summer. In later years, when Salmon P. Chase was Governor



SNAPSHOT VIEW OF AN ELECTRIC CAR ON THE C., D. & M. LINE.

of Ohio, Mr. Lewis was proud to say that the chief executive had worked for him in the capacity of hod-carrier. "Uncle Elias," as Mr. Lewis was affectionately called, was one of the company of emigrants of 1806. Whenever they camped for the night, he entertained the wayfarers with dancing to the accompaniment of a fiddle. After he became a famous Methodist exhorter, it is said that in his highest flights of eloquence, he would unwittingly "cut a pigeon-wing," to the great edification of his hearers.

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For many years he drove the stage on the old tollgate road between Worthington and Columbus.

* * *

When the site for the capitol of the new State was being selected, several different locations were offered. The choice finally lay between Worthington, and the yet unnamed and unbroken territory where Columbus now stands. Capt. Alfred E. Lee, in his "History of Columbus," says:

"Although Worthington was the most elevated, the healthiest, and by far the most comely situation, it was overmatched."

On February 14, 1812, at Zanesville, the temporary meeting-place of the law-makers of Ohio, the election was made which constituted Columbus the future capital.*

To-day, with the voice of the factories stilled, the seminary converted into a dwelling house, the college a thing of the past, and the printing press silent, must we say that this beautiful old town is asleep?

As in the old fairy tale, Prince Charming is on his way to awaken her. He is coming in a new electric car, and may bring as a marriage portion to his bride two gifts of which she is dreaming,—natural gas, and a complete system of water works. With these, who can prophesy what the future may hold for her?

NOTE:—It is said that the vote which decided the question was bought by a glass of whiskey, but this is not a well authenticated fact.

NOTE:—The writer of this article is indebted for information to Lee's History of Columbus; Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio; Martin's History of Franklin County; Felter's History of the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati, Ohio; The "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly, and recollections of the descendants of the pioneers. The illustrations were kindly furnished by Mrs. Fredonia Case, Frank Welling, Willis C. Parsons, and W. F. Griswold, Esq.

THE BELLVILLE GOLD REGION.

A. J. BAUGHMAN.

Some Mansfield men who have had mining experiences in the West and in the Klondike, recently visited the gold region north of Bellville, Ohio, and although the visits were made more out of curiosity than from business motives, curiosity has been aroused as to whether prospecting will be resumed, and some who are not familiar with the history of the locality, ask "Has gold ever been found in that region?" Yes, it has been found there whenever sought for the past fifty years. It was first discovered in 1853, by Dr. James C. Lee, then a returned Californian. Dr. Lee was an upright citizen who made Bellville his home the greater part of his life. The doctor owned a tract of land up Deadman's run, in the Dew Drop locality, and in that native ravine, he found gold, as others have, there and elsewhere, from time to time, or rather whenever the precious metal was sought for.

The discovery of gold in that region caused considerable excitement at first, and returned miners visited the place and prospected for "color," which they found in nearly every pan of dirt. Leases were taken on all the land and mining in a small way has at different times been carried on, but never with paying results. However, the mining experiments made there were never of a thorough or systematic character, and the question, "Will it pay?" is still an open one, upon which people can theorize, pro and con.

The Bellville gold is of a fine quality — four karats finer than that of the Klondike. It is usually found in small particles, but a few instances have been reported where nuggets valued at from one to five dollars have been taken out. Several attempts at mining have been made, one of which was by a Mr. Tims, of West Virginia, who undertook to sink a shaft at Long's ravine, but struck a strong vein of water, and as pumping had to

be done ~~by hand, the work~~ progressed but slowly, was quite expensive and was soon abandoned. Mr. Tims' theory was that the gold found is from disintegrated quartz of that locality, and not glacial deposits, and claimed that he took quartz from the shaft at a depth of forty-seven feet. For lack of means to buy machinery to carry on the work, he abandoned the same and left the town.

The origin of this gold deposit has been perplexing even to the state geologist. He attributes it to an ancient drift agency, which brought in the pebbles of the Waverly conglomerate. But, he says at Bellville the Waverly rock is comparatively free



LONG'S RAVINE, WHERE NUGGETS
WERE FOUND.

from pebbles. This he does not account for, but expresses belief that the gold was brought in by the same agency that transported the granite pebbles and boulders. If referred to the Waverly conglomerate it should be found in greater quantities at the base of this deposit. But it is found most abundantly about on the level of its upper sur-

face, and in perceptible quantities on the slopes of the hills fifty to one hundred feet above it. If it came from the Waverly conglomerate it should be most abundant where the quartz pebbles of this conglomerate are most numerous, but at Bellville this is not the case. The gold is found in minute flakes, associated with black sand, small garnets and fragments of quartz. It is most abundant at the bottom of gorges opening to the south. On the hills above large quartz boulders are occasionally seen and angular fragments of quartz are obtained in washing for gold. Pieces of copper are sometimes found and rarely minute quantities of native silver.

At the stone quarry, near the Moody mill, a partially decomposed fragment of quartz was found some years ago, called

“wire gold,” interlaced through it. It had evidently fallen from the gravel towards the top of the quarry. A plausible theory of the presence of gold and of the condition in which it is found in Deadman’s valley is that the transporting agencies which brought in and deposited the surface drift on the southern slope of the water-shed passed over veins of gold-bearing quartz which were crushed and broken, and the quartz becoming thus disinte-



THE BELLVILLE GOLD REGION—VIEW OF THE CLEARFORK AND THE DUTCHMAN’S BRIDGE AT THE MOUTH OF DEADMAN’S RUN.

grated the gold found protecting covers from which “color” can be obtained from almost every panful of dirt, and on account of the specific gravity of the metal, may be found in greater quantities on bed-rock — forty to one hundred feet below the surface, according to the dip.

While it is claimed that every pan of dirt taken from the Bellville gold region shows color, no coloring has been given to the foregoing sketch of that locality.

The view given of Bellville is from the south, looking north over the village, with the gold region lying amid the foot hills and ravines of the south slope of the divide, whose hills rise to an elevation of 932 feet above Lake Erie. The other view shows the Clearfork of the Mohican, just north of the town; the bridge spanning Deadman's run near its mouth, in the midst of the gold region.

The bridge shown in the picture is called the "Dutchman's bridge," from the following incident: Two-thirds of a century



BELLVILLE — LOOKING NORTH, WITH THE GOLD REGION IN THE DISTANCE.

ago, Judge Jackson's hired man, when upon an errand, attempted to cross a bridge at this point, at the time of a freshet. The stream was so swollen that it washed the bridge away while the man was in the act of crossing. His body was recovered some days later, and the stream has ever since been called "Deadman's run," and the bridge is called "Dutchman's bridge." The man, however, was not a Dutchman but a German.

In the old bar-room days, stories were told of apparitions that could be nightly seen about Dutchman's bridge — ghostly

forms that made men tremble and horses careen. Such tales were usually told in the presence of travelers who would have



**BELLVILLE—LOOKING NORTH, WITH THE GOLD REGION AND THE
HILLS OF THE 'GREAT DIVIDE' IN THE DISTANCE.**

to drive to Mansfield after the darkness of a starless night had settled down upon Deadman's valley. And the jokers would sometimes go and play ghost to frighten men who had seemed incredulous to their yarns.

GOVERNORS OF OHIO 1803-1903.

JEAN DICK CHEETHAM.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution of 1802, (Schedule, Sec. 6), an election for governor, members of the general assembly, etc., was held on the second Tuesday of January, 1803, Edward Tiffin being elected Chief Executive. The General Assembly convened at Chillicothe on the first Tuesday of March, 1803, but it was to hold regular sessions thereafter "on the first Monday in December, in every year." (Article 1, Sec. 25, Const. 1802.)

The following day, March 3, Governor Tiffin took the oath of office, which office he was to hold "until the first Monday of December, 1805." (Article 2, Sec. 3, Const. 1802.)

The constitution of 1851 provided for biennial sessions of the General Assembly and that all regular sessions should commence on the first Monday in January; (Article 2, Sec. 25, Const. 1851); while the term of office of the Governor was to commence on the second Monday of January, (Article 3, Sec. 2, Const. 1851).

GOVERNORS OF OHIO, 1803 to 1903.

Name.	Politics.	County.	Elected.	Served.
Edward Tiffin	Democrat-Republican	Ross	1803	1803-1805
Edward Tiffin	Democrat-Republican	Ross	1805	1805-1807*
Thomas Kirker,†	Democrat-Republican	Adams	Acting	1807-1808
Samuel Huntington	Democrat-Republican	Trumbull	1808	1808-1810
Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr.	Democrat-Republican	Washington	1810	1810-1812
Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr.	Democrat-Republican	Washington	1812	1812-1814*
Othmell Looker	Democrat-Republican	Hamilton	Acting	1814
Thomas Worthington	Democrat-Republican	Ross	1814	1814-1816
Thomas Worthington	Democrat-Republican	Ross	1816	1816-1818
Ethan Allen Brown	Democrat-Republican	Hamilton	1818	1818-1820
Ethan Allen Brown	Democrat-Republican	Hamilton	1820	1820-1822*
Allen Trimble	Federalist	Highland	Acting	1822
Jeremiah Morrow	Democrat-Republican	Warren	1822	1822-1824
Jeremiah Morrow	Democrat-Republican	Warren	1824	1824-1826
Allen Trimble	Federalist	Highland	1826	1826-1828
Allen Trimble	Federalist	Highland	1828	1828-1830
Duncan McArthur	Federalist	Ross	1830	1830-1832
Robert Lucas	Democrat-Republican	Pike	1832	1832-1834
Robert Lucas	Democrat-Republican	Pike	1834	1834-1836
Joseph Vance	Whig	Champaign	1836	1836-1838
Wilson Shannon	Democrat	Belmont	1838	1838-1840
Thomas Corwin	Whig	Warren	1840	1840-1842
Wilson Shannon	Democrat	Belmont	1842	1842-1844*

GOVERNORS OF OHIO, 1803 TO 1903—Concluded.

Name.	Politics.	County.	Elected.	Served.
Thomas W. Bartley	Democrat	Richland	Acting	1844
Mordecai Bartley	Whig	Richland	1844	1844-1846
William Bebb	Whig	Butler	1846	1846-1849 ⁸
Seabury Ford	Whig	Geauga	1848	1849-1850
Reuben Wood	Democrat	Cuyahoga	1850	1850-1852 ⁷
Reuben Wood	Democrat	Cuyahoga	1851	1852-1853 ⁸
William Medill	Democrat	Fairfield	Acting	1853-1854
William Medill	Democrat	Fairfield	1853	1854-1856
Salmon P. Chase	Republican	Hamilton	1855	1856-1858
Salmon P. Chase	Republican	Hamilton	1857	1858-1860
William Dennison, Jr.	Republican	Franklin	1859	1860-1862
David Tod	Republican	Mahoning	1861	1862-1864
John Brough	Republican	Cuyahoga	1863	1864-1865 ⁹
Charles Anderson	Republican	Montgomery	Acting	1865-1866
Jacob Dolson Cox	Republican	Hamilton	1865	1866-1868
Rutherford B. Hayes	Republican	Hamilton	1867	1868-1870
Rutherford B. Hayes	Republican	Hamilton	1869	1870-1872
Edward F. Noyes	Republican	Hamilton	1871	1872-1874
William Allen	Democrat	Ross	1873	1874-1876
Rutherford B. Hayes	Republican	Sandusky	1875	1876-1877 ¹⁰
Thomas L. Young	Republican	Hamilton	Acting	1877-1878
Richard M. Bishop	Democrat	Hamilton	1877	1878-1880
Charles Foster	Republican	Seneca	1879	1880-1882
Charles Foster	Republican	Seneca	1881	1882-1884
George Hoadly	Democrat	Hamilton	1883	1884-1886
Joseph B. Foraker	Republican	Hamilton	1885	1886-1888
Joseph B. Foraker	Republican	Hamilton	1887	1888-1890
James E. Campbell	Democrat	Butler	1889	1890-1892
William McKinley	Republican	Stark	1891	1892-1894
William McKinley	Republican	Stark	1893	1894-1896
Asa S. Bushnell	Republican	Clark	1895	1896-1898
Asa S. Bushnell	Republican	Clark	1897	1898-1900
Geo. K. Nash	Republican	Franklin	1899	1900-1902
Geo. K. Nash	Republican	Franklin	1901	1902-1904
Myron T. Herrick	Republican	Cuyahoga	1903	1904-

¹ NOTE—At the October election in 1807, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., was elected Governor. Nathaniel Massie, the opposition candidate contested his election on the grounds of non-residence. General Meigs was declared ineligible. Mr. Massie refused to serve, and Thomas Kirker, then Acting Governor, filled the position until the fall of 1808, when another election was held and Samuel Huntington was elected Governor.

² Resigned March, 1807.

³ Resigned March, 1814.

⁴ Resigned January, 1822.

⁵ Resigned April, 1844.

⁶ The General Assembly met on the first Monday in December, 1848, but the House of Representatives did not complete its organization until January 2, 1849, and on January 22, Mr. Ford received official notification of his election, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties as Chief Executive.

⁷ The last election under the old constitution was held in October 1850; in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution, the first election under it was held "on the second Tuesday in October 1851." (Constitution 1851, Schedule, Sections 2, 3, 4.

⁸ Resigned, July, 1853.

⁹ Died August 29, 1865.

¹⁰ Resigned March, 1877.

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THE RICHLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Richland County Historical Society was organized in 1898, and has accomplished much during the five years of its existence. A public meeting is held in June of each year. The first annual meeting was held in June, 1899, and was addressed by local speakers. The meeting of June, 1900, was addressed by the Hon. Rush R. Sloane, president of the Firelands Historical Society, and others. At this meeting the late Hon. John Sherman gave a talk to his old neighbors. This was Mr. Sherman's last appearance at a public meeting. He died four months later. At the annual meeting of 1901, the Hon. E. O. Randall, secretary of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, was the principal speaker, who delivered an address upon "Tecumseh," and Mrs. Ida Eckert Lawrence read her poem, "Launching the Ship." The meeting closed with a banquet. The annual meeting of 1902, was addressed by Judge A. W. Patrick, of New Philadelphia, and the Rev. E. J. Craft, of Massillon, and Miss Sade E. Baughman gave an original poem on the life and character of the pioneers. The guests were entertained at the hotel Southern. At the meeting in June, 1903, Mrs. Marion Douglass presented a paper on the "American Soldier."

Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, president of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, is also president of the Richland county society; the Hon. M. B. Bushnell is vice-president; Hon. W. S. Cappeller is treasurer and Mr. A. J. Baughman is secretary. Mr. Baughman has published several historical works. He is a newspaper man, and has just completed in the *Mansfield News* an historical serial of fifty chapters.

Within the past year the society secured photographs of 1,194 of the early settlers of the county. These pictures were taken by a local photographer in 1876, as an advertising scheme for the Centennial year. He offered to take a picture free for every person who had attained the age of 60 years and had been a resident of the county 50 years. The Historical Society purchased the collection, which is, perhaps, the only one of the kind in the state. The youngest person represented, if still living, is now eighty-seven years old.

WHO WERE THE MOUND BUILDERS?

J. P. MACLEAN, PH. D.

An ancient and unknown race of people possessing a well-developed type of civilization, once inhabited the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. This race has left no written history, but the testimony of its existence and advancement in the arts and sciences is attested in the stupendous structures, consisting of mounds, walled enclosures and domestic implements, which have long attracted the attention of observers, scientists and the public generally.

The origin of this race, known as the Mound-Builders, is still an unsolved problem. The evidences of its origin have either been obliterated, or else so carefully concealed as to escape the closest scrutiny. The ethnologist has been intensely interested as to the type of mankind that constructed the remains. Many are the theories that have been propounded; but certain testimonies exist which enable us to arrive at plausible conclusions. It may be considered that the first and most important step in this consideration has been definitely settled.

It was in the year 1833 that Dr. Samuel George Morton published his monumental work, "*Crania Americana*," in which he identified the crania of the Mound-Builders with that of the American family. Adopting the classification as given by Buffon, the American family is characterized by "a brown complexion, long, black, lank hair, and deficient beard. The eyes are black and deep-set, the brow low, the cheek bones high, the nose large and the lips turned and compressed. The skull is small, wide between the parietal protuberances, prominent at the vertex, and flat on the occiput." This family is divided into two grand classes, the American family and the Toltecan family. Morton's investigations rested upon the crania. It is possible that Morton did not have before him a sufficient number of unquestionable Mound crania. However, his results do not rest upon inconclusive evidence. Take the skull found near Chilli-

cothe, discovered by Squier and Davis in a mound, reposing in a deposit of buried earth, as an evidence. Dr. Morton declared that its characteristic features resembled the Toltecan. Nott and Gliddon state that it is exceedingly characteristic of our American races, although more particularly of the Toltecan. According to both Doctors Morton and Nott, the peculiarities of this consist of the "forehead, low, narrow and receding; flattened occiput; a perpendicular line drawn through the external meatus of the ear divides the brain into two unequal parts, of which the posterior is much the smaller. Viewed from above, the anterior part of the brain is narrow, and the posterior and middle portion, over the organs of caution, secretiveness, destructiveness, etc., very broad, thus lending much support to phrenology; vertex prominent."

The celebrated Dr. John C. Warren pronounced the Mound and Peruvian crania to be alike. This would agree essentially with Morton for the Peruvian is a fair representative of the Toltecan type.

Aside from this science of craniology a strong showing may be produced from that class of structures known as "temple mounds." These are large, truncated mounds with graded ways leading to their summits, the most noted of which is the great Cahokia mound, about nine miles from East St. Louis, Illinois. This mound has four terraces. The temple mounds are more numerous in Kentucky than in Ohio. The farther south, the greater is the number. Their development from north to south gradually passes over to the higher structures of Mexico, and bears a striking resemblance to the Mexican Teocallis, which early suggested the name "temple," by which they are almost universally designated.

The ancient Mexicans and Mayas were much given to serpent worship, or at least the serpent was a common symbol in their religious rites. What relation the great serpent mound of Adams County, Ohio, has to the symbolism of the Mexicans and Central Americans may, of itself, have no significance, but when considered with other phases, it must be a very strong link in the chain of evidence.

At this juncture, it should be noted that the American family is represented by all types of civilization, from the wild, or savage tribes to that people who constructed the wonderful houses and temples of stone in Yucatan and Chiapas. The ruins of the temple at Palenque must ever remain as one of the wonders of the world. If the ancient Mayas had not passed the semi-barbarous state, they certainly were encroaching upon the dividing line.

The wild tribes did not erect the squares and temples at Marietta, Ohio, nor the squares, circulars, octagons, parallelograms, parallel lines of walls, etc., so characteristic of the mound-building race. The North American Indian has no habits of progressive industry. He is restless, revengeful, fond of war, and reactionary. There is not one scintilla of evidence that the Indians built these mounds. Their own testimony is against it. To say the least, they were incapable of the task.

Indian traditions, like all others cannot be relied on. In them there may be germs of truth, but not sufficient to be relied on as historic evidence. There is a tradition that, many centuries ago, the Lenni-Lenape swept in a flood of migration from the far west, but on reaching the valleys east of the Mississippi, they were confronted by a well-intrenched people possessing a mighty civilization. These people they dominated the Allegewi. The progress of the Lenni-Lenape was arrested, and they were driven back, but not discouraged. At the same time, the Iroquois were trying to effect a passage in a more northerly direction. The two migratory peoples now entered into a military league, and proclaimed a war of extermination against the Allegewi. The strongholds of the latter were reduced, the lands desolated, and the people forced to become wanderers upon the shores of the streams they had attempted to defend. Another tradition affirms that the primitive inhabitants of Kentucky perished in a war of extermination, waged against them by the Indians, and that the last great battle was fought at the falls of the Ohio, where the remnant was driven upon a small island below the rapids and "the whole of them cut to pieces." The Indian chief, Tobacco, informed General George Rogers Clark of a tradition in which it was stated that there was a battle at Sandy

Island, that decided the fall of the ancient inhabitants. The Indian chief, Cornplanter, affirmed that Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee had once been inhabited by a white people, who were familiar with arts, of which the Indians knew nothing, and that, after a series of battles with the Indians, they were exterminated. He also declared that the old burial-places were the graves of an unknown people; that the old forts had not been built by the Indians, but belonged to "a very long ago" people, who were of a white complexion, and skilled in arts.

It is possible that the Indians had such traditions. It is also possible that the tradition was formed to suit the occasion. These ancient remains had awakened great interest in the minds of the early explorers, and the Indians, desiring to give such answers as would suit the interlocutor, devised a satisfactory answer. Admitting the genuineness of the traditions, but little can be extracted therefrom. The Indians were almost constantly on the warpath, and were of a more or less migratory nature, and it is not improbable that they engaged in some struggles that made a lasting impression on their minds.

The Indians did have a superstition relative to Kentucky. One Indian expressed great astonishment that white people could live in a country which had been the scene of such conflicts as had taken place there. An old Sac, in 1800, said that Kentucky was filled with the ghosts of its slaughtered inhabitants, and wondered how the white man could make it his home.

That these early people were affirmed to be white, would only indicate that they were not as dark as the narrator. Kentucky was the battle-ground between the northern and southern Indians; but one great fact is always overlooked by the repeaters of these traditions: The strongest military works are north of the Ohio, the best known of which is Fort Ancient, in Warren County, where we have over four miles of walls, varying from five to twenty feet in height. The forts in Ross, Highland, Warren and Butler counties, Ohio, indicate that the Mound-Builders were disturbed by powerful foes, for structures on points of land suitable for defensive purposes would not be erected unless there was a destructive assailant.

There is no proof that the people were assailed at every settlement. The sacred enclosures at Marietta were not protected by military works. Such evidence as we have, judging from the remains alone, indicate that the invasion was from the north, and the people, step by step, retreated southward. And yet, the Indians have no traditions of violence with a primitive people in the valleys of the rivers of southern Ohio, unless that of the Lenni-Lenape be so construed.

Having referred this shadowy race of the mounds to the Toltecan family, it may be worth a passing notice to explain this term. Relying on Doctor Morton's "*Crania Americana*," this group embraces the civilized nations of Mexico, Peru and Bogata, extending from the Rio Gila, thirty-third degree north latitude, along the western margin of the continent, to the frontier of Chili; but in North America this people was spread from ocean to ocean, through Mexico, Yucatan, Guatamala, Nicaragua, etc. From this it is not to be inferred that all the people embraced in this region were Toltecan, because a very large proportion of the inhabitants were of other tribes, both exotic and indigenous.

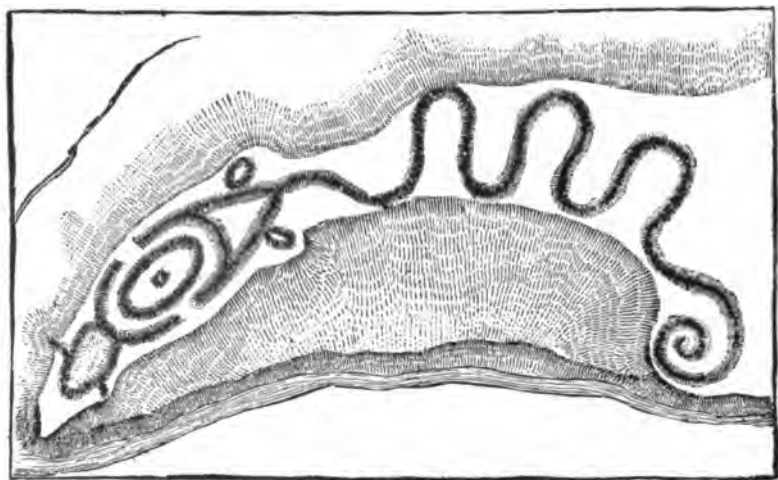
At the time of the discovery the people were divided into two distinct classes, constituting nobles and plebeians. There appears to have been as much objection to the amalgamation of these two classes as ever existed in any aristocratic court of Europe. The advent of the Spaniards reduced both classes to one and imposed an equal servitude on all alike.

The Toltecan family had a powerful priesthood, which, practically, was the governing power. The great structures of Mexico and the Central American states were built under the direction of the priests. Only a powerful government, among a semi-civilized people, could effect such monuments.

The temple mounds and geometrical works of the Ohio would indicate a government of the priesthood. When the vast amount of labor required, by primitive methods, is considered, it must be apparent that the ancient priesthood of the Ohio Valley was absolute and despotic. Such a condition, uncurbed, must enervate the nation, and a less civilized people must fall a prey, or be driven from their homes.

The problem of the mounds must, of necessity, remain an interesting one, because of the uncertainty surrounding it. To this must be added the unfortunate fact that whoever pries into this question must needs project a theory, however unsupported it may be by facts. The evidences as to who the Mound-Builders were must rest upon the crania and the character of the monuments.

Much labor has been bestowed upon the mound problem. Ohio is the most prolific in the remains of this people. The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, is doing good service in placing information before the people, as well as investigating the remains. It owns both Fort Ancient and the Serpent Mound now made free to the public.



M'LEAN'S FIGURE OF THE SERPENT MOUND.

HISTORY OF FORT HAMILTON.

W. C. MILLER.

Butler County, Ohio, the eighteenth county established in the seventeenth state of the Union, can present many points of interest, archæological and historical. Chief among these is Fort Hamilton, the first of a chain of forts established by the Government, in the Miami valley, for the protection of the pioneers.

In compiling this sketch of Fort Hamilton the writer, a resident of Hamilton for fifty years, has had access to the official records, the manuscript of that early historian, James McBride, and this, together with his personal information gathered from the lips of the leaders in this community in the first half of the nineteenth century, still living, in the young manhood days of the writer, such men as Judge Chas. K. Smith, Elijah Vance, Jesse Corwin, Nehemiah Wade, John Knox, Fergus Anderson and Wm. N. Hunter, and in later days the personal reminiscences of Hon. Wm. R. Cochran, John M. Millikin, Thomas Millikin, Jacob Stillwaugh, Samuel Shafer, Joshua Delaplane, Augustus Breitenbach, Thomas Moor, Henry S. Ehrhart, George W. Tapscott and Stephen D. Cone. The writer has spared no pains, and here furnishes as complete and exhaustive a history as possible to compile at this day.

That an ancient race once inhabited the site of old Fort Hamilton, and the Miami valley, and in fact the central portion of what is now the United States, there is no doubt. They left no written history. All that we can gather is from their monuments, consisting of earth-works, mounds, and implements, evidences that they possessed certain degrees of civilization, and were a peaceable people. According to the book Oahape pub-

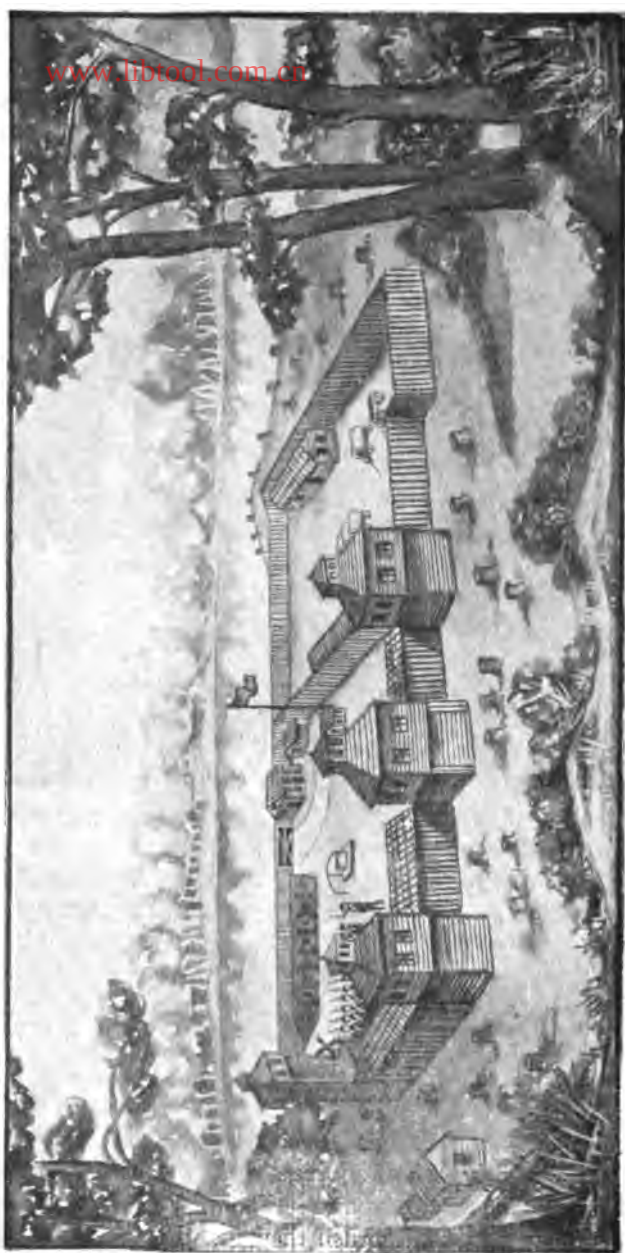
lished in Mexico whence they migrated, they were short in stature, white, and were religious, had a profound respect for woman, almost looked upon her as a goddess. They permitted no towns of over 3,000 population, presided over by a father, in order that all might know each other, considering large cities a curse to mankind. They were called Ihuans, and the country Guatama. Following this people came the Tollecks, and they were driven from their homes by warlike tribes from the north, and took refuge in Mexico in 596. When the white man first cast his eye on this locality, it was covered with dense forests, and inhabited by the Shawnee and Miami tribes of the Red man. LaSalle in 1660 first explored this region. In 1750 Christopher Gist and George Croghan, explorers, left Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, crossed the country to the Maumee, to the village of the Ottawas, held a counsel with the chiefs and secured their friendship, and proceeded south to the village of the Piquas, secured their friendship and separated, Croghan going to the Scioto and Gist passed down the Miami, then up the broad waters of the Ohio to Pittsburg.

In 1780 during the revolutionary war Col. Bird with a detachment of 600 Indians and Canadians, with four pieces of artillery, left Canada, passed up the Maumee over to Laramie creek, thence to the Miami, down the same, passed the site of what eleven years later was Fort Hamilton, all a wilderness, to the Ohio, up the Ohio to the Licking, reduced several American frontier stations and returned by the same route with prisoners and plunder.

Peace being declared in 1783 and congress having provided land bounties to every soldier or his family if slain by the enemy, Gen. Putnam at once sent a memorial to Gen. Washington for numbers of such claims. He approved them, but owing to conflicting claims of the various original states to Ohio territory nothing was done until 1784 when congress acquired the title to all lands northwest of the Ohio river. Thomas Hutchins, a noted geographer, was appointed surveyor general, to proceed at once. The Indians, although ceding the territory, were bitterly opposed to its survey and settlement, and became so hostile that nothing could be done until the spring of 1786, when military aid

was secured from Gen. Harmar, and hostilities on the part of the savages were somewhat abated, and work again began in 1787. John Cleves Symmes in the meantime contracted with the government for one million acres of land lying between the two Miamis. On the 15th of May, 1788, the contract was closed, and Judge Symmes at once appointed Israel Ludlow to survey the land thus bought. Harrassed by the Indians the occupation of Ludlow was all but pleasant.

From this time on a continuous flow of adventurous immigrants, coming down the Ohio in flat bottomed boats, settled in these wilds. But so hazardous did this become, owing, to the continued hostility of the Indians, often successful and inflicting terrible barbarities against the early settlers, that on April 18, 1790, General Harmar with 310 Kentucky volunteers marched to the Ohio and again for the time secured safe navigation. Fort Washington, in the meantime, being established, an army of 1400 men was organized in the fall and marched against the Indians. They however, were defeated in two successive encounters and lost over 300 men. The frontiers men became alarmed and panic-stricken. In 1791 congress ordered an army of 3,000 men, General St. Clair commander, for the protection of the pioneers. On September 8th he left Fort Washington with 2,300 men with General Richard Butler second in command, Col. Darke leading the advance. On the 17th they reached a point twenty-five miles from Fort Washington, latitude 39 degrees, 26 minutes and longitude 7 degrees, 29 minutes. Here they halted and erected the first chain of forts and named it Fort Hamilton. The circuit of the fort was about one thousand feet, through the whole extent of which a trench was dug three feet deep to set the pickets in, of which it required about two thousand to enclose it. The trees were tall and straight and from nine to twelve inches in diameter. To secure this particular size they were compelled to go over considerable space of woodland. When found they were felled, cleared of their branches, and cut into lengths of about 20 feet. They were then carried or dragged by oxen to the ground—but the woods being so thick and encumbered by underbrush they found the former to be the most expeditious method. Thus, the labor of building the fort



FORT HAMILTON AS ORIGINALLY BUILT.

was most entirely done by the men. These logs were then butted, that they might be placed firm and upright in the trench, with the ax or saw. Some hewing was necessary, for some trees were not perfectly straight, and when stood upright their sides had to be made to come together. A thin piece of timber called a ribbon, was run around it all, near the top of the pickets, to which every one was pinned with a strong pin. The earth was returned to the trenches and well packed, to keep the pickets firm. On the outside about three feet distant, a trench was dug to carry off the water and prevent the removal of the pickets by rain. About two thousand pickets were set up, on the inside, one between every two of the others. The work was then enclosed. The fort was built on the first bank east of the Miami river.

But there was another bank where the court house now stands, and used by the garrison for a graveyard, that was much higher, within point blank shot, which rendered it necessary to make the pickets on the land side higher, sufficient to prevent the enemy from seeing into the area of the fort. There were four bastions or block houses erected, one on the river front and three on the land side. In the one at the southeast corner, and the one at the southwest corner a platform was set made of trunks of trees, and a cannon placed in each. They were thus enabled to cover the land on the east and command the ford on the west. Planks were sawed for the platforms and the gate which opened to the ford. The ford was at what is now the foot of Ross and Court street. A barracks was built in like manner for one hundred men, a guard room, two storehouses for provisions and a magazine, and all this was done in two weeks.

September 30th it was named Fort Hamilton in honor of Alexander Hamilton, who was then secretary of the treasury in Washington's cabinet.

General St. Clair's army being defeated on November 4th near Greenville, Darke county, they retreated to Fort Hamilton, with a loss of over 600 men, including Gen. Butler and Col. Darke, and a number of women, wives of officers, who accompanied the army and dared to suffer the hardships of this perilous campaign. Capt. Armstrong had been left in command at Fort

Hamilton, and most of the fortifications and interior buildings were erected under his superintendency, and the wounded were here provided for until they could reach their homes. A portion of the Garrison, was sent out at once to hunt and assist the wounded who were unable to reach the fort. Gen. St. Clair feeling the odium resting upon him, resigned, January 8th, 1792, although congress upon investigation had relieved him of any blame. Gen. Wilkinson was appointed to succeed him.

On the 28th of January General Wilkinson with 200 regulars, and two companies of militia, left Fort Washington for the battlefield to bury the dead and recover what he could of artillery, tenting and supplies. John Reily, was one of these, so, also, Wm. H. Harrison, then an ensign in the regular army, and later President of the United States.

They arrived at Fort Hamilton next day, crossed the river at this point and followed the trace road cut through the forest by Gen. St. Clair's army, evidences of which can yet be seen. They returned on February 5th, having recovered 78 bodies and one piece of artillery. General Wilkinson ordered Captain Armstrong to have another flatboat built with utmost dispatch to facilitate transportation of men and horses across the river. On the 15th of March he was here again, but left next day to establish an intermediate fort between Forts Hamilton and Jefferson. This became a matter of extreme necessity in order to shorten the distance for the men, who, upon swift horses, carried dispatches from one fort to another and known as the "express." The express was always considered a matter of great peril, and many a gallant soldier lost his life serving in that way.

Fort Hamilton at this time was in a perfect state of defence. On the 17th of March they began the digging of a well, which is still in existence situated on Water street about fifty feet south of High and for years known as Sohn's well. At this well often appeared Gen. St. Clair, Gen. Wayne, Gen. Wilkinson and Lieut. Wm. H. Harrison later Gen. Harrison. On the 19th of March Gen. Wilkinson sent word to Capt. Armstrong that he had succeeded in establishing a fort 25 miles north of Fort Hamilton and named it Fort St. Clair. He furthermore ordered Capt. Armstrong that when Col. Elliott came up the river with supplies of

provision for Fort St. Clair to detail a sergeant and twelve men to meet him at Dunlap station and act as an escort. He was also instructed to build houses for one thousand barrels of provision for the fort.

On the 26th of April Capt. Armstrong informed Gen. Wilkinson that the enemy were lurking in the neighborhood and again on May 7th that James McDonald whom he had sent to Fort Washington with dispatches, a week ago, had not returned, and he feared that he had been captured or killed by the Indians.

On the 6th an escort from Fort Washington with provisions consisting of a drove of bullocks arrived at the fort destined for St. Clair. Indians were again seen on the west side of the river for several days. Capt. Armstrong detached Lieut. Gaines with 20 men five miles on the road to Fort St. Clair with directions to re-cross Four mile, then Joseph creek and form an ambuscade until the party with provisions had passed. Express (Serg. Brooks) arrived on the 9th from Fort St. Clair. He reported seeing an Indian half mile north and upon the Indian discovering him, he gave a yell and four others appeared. A raft on which three or four might have crossed the river, floated by the fort in the afternoon and the horse on which McDonald was sent, on the 23rd of April returned without its rider to the post, the rider therefore must have been slain by the Indians. On May 11th two experienced woodmen, Reason Baily and Joseph Shepherd were added to the post and two to each of the others, for the purpose of reconnoitering and scouting. An order was also issued by Gen. Wilkinson, awarding \$20 for the apprehension of a deserter, and if found making for the enemy, he was to be shot, and his head brought in and set on a post on parade day. June 28th, General Wilkinson visited the fort again. The garrison were fearing an attack any day by the Indians. On the 27th of July, Captain Peters with his company and six wagons arrived as reinforcement. The savages were becoming bolder and bolder as the days passed, and the hardy frontiersman fled in terror to the fort.

On the 15th of November a soldier was fired upon at his post and an attempt made to steal the cattle, by removing some pickets. In December Captain Armstrong resigned his command of Fort

Hamilton and Major Michael Rudolph succeeded him. He arrived on the 10th with three companies of light dragoons, one of riflemen and one of infantry, re-inforcement to the post. The depredations of the Indians were becoming more and more frequent. A general alarm seized the pioneers, whose exposed situation was inviting conflagration, massacre, and untold cruelties at the hands of the revengeful savages. Scarcely a week passed but what the incendiary blazing fagot, the deadly rifle the murderous tomahawk and dreaded scalping knife had been wielded by the stealthy, un pitying, vindictive savage. The government, however, took prompt action and proceeded to inaugurate vigorous and effective measures, looking to the early, adequate and permanent support and security of the frontier. President Washington appointed General Wayne as commander-in-chief and ordered him to raise an army of five thousand men, to the end that an everlasting tranquility might be established in the Miami country. Gen Wayne began recruiting at once, December, 1792. April 20, 1793, he moved his legion from winter quarters to Fort Washington and in a few days visited Fort Hamilton, having heard of the cruel treatment of seven deserters of Rudolph's command and although General Wayne was considered a most stern and arbitrary officer, he was so displeased with Major Rudolph's cruelty, that he gave him the choice of resigning or being cashiered. He resigned and left for his home in Virginia. The circumstances connected with the desertion of seven of Rudolph's soldiers were most distressing. Smarting under Rudolph's cruelty, they deserted early in March of this year. They were captured near the falls of the Ohio, where they had gone in a canoe and returned to Fort Hamilton. Major Rudolph sentenced two to be put in irons, two to run the gauntlet and three to be hung, namely Bliss, Brown and Galager. They lie buried in the southwest side of the fort, where the gallows stood, and where the United Presbyterian church now stands. The depredations of the Indians continued unabated. In June of this year A. W. Prior, business partner of John Riley, in company of two others, set out on a trip to convey provisions from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton. They encamped for the night at Pleasant Run, six miles below the fort. The Indians fired

on them, killed Prior, the other two making their escape to Fort Hamilton. A few weeks later a brigade of wagons transporting provisions from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton, guarded by a detachment of forty men, was attacked by the Indians with a galling fire about where Prior was killed. They charged upon the Indians and made them retreat, but lost eight men. October 15th Lieutenant Lowry with ninety men, was attacked by a party of Indians and defeated with a loss of fifteen men and seventy horses carried away. Late in December an express on his way to Fort Hamilton from Fort Washington was waylaid near Symmes Corner. The Indian was concealed behind a forked oak near the ministerial corner. In the spring of 1794, Col. Robert Elliott, contractor for supplies to the U. S. army, on his way to Fort Hamilton, was waylaid and killed near the county line at the big hill. The servant made his escape riding at full speed, Elliott's horse following, arriving at Fort Hamilton safe. The Colonel wore a wig and the Indian in his haste to scalp him tore it off to his utter astonishment. The next day a party left Fort Hamilton with a coffin, and the servant with them to the scene, and secured Elliott's body. After traveling a mile or so, they were again attacked, the servant killed and the others fled. The Indians broke open the coffin, thereupon the soldiers rallied, retook the body and proceeded on their journey. Early in July of this year, 1794, a soldier was despatched to Fort Jefferson as an express from this post. He was tomahawked and scalped near Two Mile, not far from Deloraca's house where Blum's shop is now located, although within sight of the fort. They knew nothing of it until informed by Col. Mathew Huston, who the previous night lodged in a camp, nine miles above and came to the fort next morning. He said the Indians were concealed on the side of the road in a bush and sprang upon their victim as he passed. Early in November following, an escort of dragoons who were guarding a party taking provisions from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton were attacked at the big hill at Pleasant Run. Eight men were killed and a number wounded; the Indians burned the corn and carried away the horses.

Several days later the Indians killed and scalped two pack horsemen near Bloody run on their way to Fort Hamilton — two

of the wagoners escaped. In December eight pack horse men on their way from Fort Hamilton to Fort St. Clair encamped for the night near Seven mile on the west side of the creek. Early next morning they were fired on by the Indians. Seven were killed



SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' PIONEER MONUMENT, HAMILTON, OHIO.
(IN PROCESS OF ERECTION.)

and one escaped to Fort Hamilton. A party of soldiers went next day to bury the dead.

General Wayne in July, 1793, visited Fort Hamilton and had an addition built to the fort on the north side. Artificers' shops

and stalls for horses of the dragoons were erected on the west side of the addition and barracks for the men.

On the 8th of September General Wayne with his army left Fort Washington and marched to Fort Hamilton. October 7th General Wayne took up his line of march to the north, leaving Major John Cass in charge of Fort Hamilton. He took a different route from what General St. Clair did in order to take the Indians off their guard, and crossed the Miami at what is known as old river, the river having changed its course during the flood of 1805. He arrived at the St. Clair battlefield December 25th, erected a fort and named it Fort Recovery. General Wayne during the winter tried to treat for peace with the Indians, but they having been promised British aid, were defiant. He sent Christian Miller, who had been naturalized by the Shawnees, as a messenger of peace, but the olive branch was rejected. He therefore made arrangements for the final blow. On the 20th of August, 1794, the decisive blow was struck, known as the "Battle of Fallen Timbers." The Indians were commanded by Blue Jacket, the Shawnee chief. The charge of Mad Anthony's troops with their glistening bayonets was complete. The Indians fled in dismay.

The Canadians and English were their allies and the woods were full of them, dead and wounded.

Gen. Wayne's loss was thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded. General conflagration and devastation of Indian villages marked the track of the return of the victorious army. They arrived at Fort Hamilton October 28th. The Kentucky volunteers preceded them several days. The major part entered winter quarters at Fort Greenville. The year 1795 came with the fair prospects that the white winged messenger of peace would hereafter hover over the Miami valley. Major Jonathan Cass was still commander of Fort Hamilton.

Judge Symmes and his associate, Jonathan Dayton, had received his patent for 248,540 acres of land and Israel Ludlow had surveyed it. Darius C. Orcutt, a soldier of St. Clair and Wayne's army, who shortly before married Sallie McHenry, the second marriage at this post, erected the first log cabin beyond the confines of the fort at the north end. It stood there and was

inhabited as late as 1865. Jonathan Dayton sold to Israel Ludlow the site and surroundings of Fort Hamilton, who thereupon, appointed D. C. Orcutt to lay out and contract, with purchasers. Among these were John Greer, Isaac Wiles, Benj. Randolph and John Torrence. In June Wayne's volunteer army was disbanded, and quite a number of officers and men came to Fort Hamilton for their permanent abode. Numbers purchased lots and began to build. John Torrence built a house near the northwest corner of the fort, which still stands, and opened a tavern, the hotel of that day.

August 3d the treaty of peace was signed between the United States represented by General Wayne and the twelve tribes of Indians, represented by their respective chiefs. John Southerland, who had been a packhorse man in St. Clair and Wayne's campaign, settled here in the spring and opened a store just beyond the north end of the fort, in the house where Mrs. Dr. McNealy now lives. General Wayne ordered Fort Hamilton to be vacated in the fall of this year. The public property, and stores were sold at public auction, and the fort abandoned.

Archibald Talbert built the first log cabin on the west side of the Miami near the corner of Park avenue and B streets and established a ferry, and a few years later Isaac Falconer, father of Dr. Cyrus Falconer, erected a building and opened the first public house now occupied by Dr. Wm. C. Miller as a drug store.

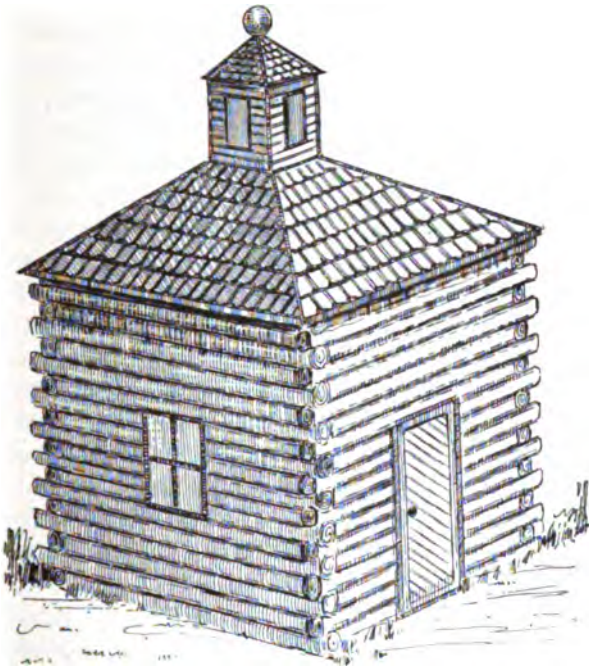
The two store houses built by Gen. Wilkinson for the accommodation of the officers together with the stables just north were sold to Wm. McClellan, who opened a tavern in it, and at the organization of the county it was used as a clerk's office, office of the common pleas and supreme judges, treasurer, coroner, surveyor and postoffice. The clerk's desk used in this building was later purchased by Jesse Corwin and is now in possession of Dr. Miller. John Reily was the first postmaster.

It was the general rendezvous of the picked men of the town, the headquarters where the best society spent their evenings and leisure hours.

The court was held in one of the buildings of the fort formerly used as a mess room and occupied as such until 1810.

The following year the Rev. W. G. Wallace opened a school in the building, also organized a Presbyterian church.

All the buildings of the fort had been constructed of sound hickory logs with the bark peeled off except the magazine, a building about fifteen feet square constructed of heavy logs, hewed square and laid close together, having a hipped roof, and a blue ball on top. In 1803 the magazine was converted into a



THE POWDER MAGAZINE AT FORT HAMILTON, 1791.

jail. The door was of heavy two-inch oak plank and driven full of spikes and nails with a hole in the center in the shape of a half-moon for the admission of light, air and food for the occupants. it was fastened with an iron hasp and padlock on the outside.

The old soldiers of St. Clair and Wayne, residents of Hamilton and vicinity, formed themselves into military companies. Whenever there were any prisoners in the jail a detachment of ten or twelve of one of these companies would be employed by

the county commissioners to guard the prison. John Wingate was captain of one of these companies, James Blackburn another, and John Gray another. April 8th, Captain Gray was paid \$14 for himself and ten privates of his company for guarding the jail in January. June 10th, Captain Wingate received \$27.75 for himself and company, and Captain Blackburn received \$6.75 for the same for his company. The building stood opposite to where the United Presbyterian church now stands.

After its abandonment as a jail in 1810, it was used as a house of worship for some two years. Here Loronzo Dow preached a sermon in 1824. It was there after 1828 until 1840 used as a school house, and then again as a magazine for the two political parties, Whigs and Democrats, where they kept their cannons to celebrate their victories. Amongst these was a mounted, six-pounder brass, the property of Capt. Nathaniel Reeder, given to him as a prize for valiant service in the United States Navy. It was turned over to the government in 1861. In 1849 this last relic of Fort Hamilton was removed from its original location and turned into a dwelling house. As such it continued to be until 1902, when it was about to be torn down. The Daughters of the American Revolution secured it; the city authorities granted them within the confines of the old fort a location in the heart of the city. The patriotic citizens contributed liberally to its restoration, and to-day situate upon the banks of the Blue Miami, in the city of Hamilton, Ohio may be seen the only relic of Fort Hamilton. The Fort that had to contend with the Miami Indians, who as LaSalle two hundred years ago said "were the most civilized of all Indian nations, neat of dress, splendid of bearing, haughty of manner, holding all other tribes as inferiors." Of all the Indians of America, the Miamis approached nearest to the ideal of an American aborigine than all others.

Little Turtle was their greatest chief in the days of Fort Hamilton. It was he who formed that powerful confederation of six nations to resist the pale face, and inflicted the crushing defeat to General Harmar, October 19, 1790, and to General St. Clair, November 4, 1791. As a warrior, statesman and orator, he was only second to Tecumseh the Napoleon of the Red man

one hundred years ago. After the treaty of peace at Greenville a young chief of the Miamis went east to see the great father. He was a young man, noble in bearing, brave, just, generous and scrupulously honest. His intention was to adopt the ways of the white man. Alexander Hamilton took an interest in him and presented him with his seal, a mark of great honor in the early days. He had adopted the name of James McDonald. Had become a classical scholar, and about 1825 returned to the home of his childhood, the Miami valley. Here he entered the law office of Jesse Corwin at Hamilton, then Prosecuting Attorney of Butler county, and brother of Tom Corwin, one of Ohio's illustrious sons. McDonald lived with Mr. Corwin until 1833, when one day, filled with fire water, his savage nature all came up, and with one great war whoop he jumped into the Miami river and was drowned. The writer, a son-in-law, of Jesse Corwin, now has in his possession at the old Corwin homestead, an oil painting 10x20, of one of this last chief of the Miamis, together with all his books, nearly all of a classical nature, Greek and Latin.

Francis Godfrey, another of Miami's chiefs, next to Little Turtle as a warrior, was known and honored by all the distinguished men of his day, but never as a scholar, as James McDonald. To Mrs. W. C. Miller, Regent of the John Reily Chapter D. A. R, and her associates, the Mrs. C. W. Gath, Lou Beauchamp and Charles Huntington must be given the credit of the preservation and restoration of the last relic of Fort Hamilton. To O. M. Bake, all honor is due. It was he who gave these patriotic women a clear title to the property. It will be used by these noble and patriotic women as a place of meeting, and the second floor as a repository for all revolutionary relics. All honor to the Daughters of the American Revolution.

COMMERCIAL VS. SCIENTIFIC COLLECTING. A PLEA FOR "ART FOR ART'S SAKE."

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD,

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It occurs to me that so far as it could be accomplished without infringing upon the rights of individuals, museum curators should combine against dealers in archæological specimens. There seem to be two classes of these men and the one should not be confounded with the other. Of recent years the dealers of archæologic specimens have increased to an alarming extent. If these men confined their wares to surface-found objects or to things procured from Tom, Dick and Harry, scientists could have no just grounds for complaint.

Scattered throughout the United States there are at least six thousand archæological collectors most of whom make no pretension to scientific collecting. A card index of these names, which I have compiled during the past five or six years also includes some seven or eight hundred persons who may be considered as students of science. From time to time many of these men become tired of collecting and sell their exhibits to the museums, to more pretentious collectors, or to the dealers. Now that the museums have more objects thus obtained than they need, it is almost impossible for one to dispose of an ordinary collection. As an illustration, ten years ago a gentleman residing in Indiana had a cabinet made up of specimens gathered by himself from all parts of the United States. Some were recorded, others were not. He disposed of his exhibit to one of the museums. Another collector residing in the same town has approached all of the museum curators, so he informed me, but none of them cared to buy his cabinet and therefore he proposed to sell it to the dealers. These two collections are but typical of the conditions that obtain to-day. Neither of the exhibits was of great value to archæologic science although both of them deserved a place in some fire-proof building.

Naturally the museums prefer to expend their funds in original research, and it is not necessary for one to enter into either a discussion or an explanation regarding this preference. If all the collections that fall into the hands of the dealers were such as the two from Indiana just mentioned, it seems to me that no one could in justice frown upon the business of the dealers. Dealers often obtain rare specimens that were originally found upon the surface by farmers, were gathered into the local collections and then drifted into the hands of these commercial gentlemen. Museum curators frequently purchase such specimens and it is right and proper that they should do so. But as I previously remarked, there is a tendency to-day to "go into the relic business" on the part of many persons. That none of them make as much as they would did they expend the same amount of time and energy in some more legitimate or dignified calling, is a matter of congratulation to all who wish to see archæologic testimony preserved. But what these men lack in individual success they make up in quantity. That is, there are at least 100 of them and in the aggregate they do an immense amount of damage.

The various museums and scientific institutions desire to stimulate the study of American antiquities. To achieve this end endowments have been made by self-sacrificing men and women. And it is discouraging to the founders and to museum officials when their motives are misunderstood. Yet from every portion of the United States come letters asking, "What do you pay for relics?"

In the past most of us have referred those who wished to purchase collections or specimens to the three or four dealers who were known to be responsible or to individuals who wish to sell their collections. Every museum receives many offers of collections and it is perfectly proper for these officials to refer these persons who wish to sell an entire cabinet to an inquirer who desires to buy.

But it seems to me, the more we refer the one to the other and the more letters we write, the more wide-spread becomes this commercial spirit.

For the local student who collects for his own pleasure, we should have nothing but commendation, for at some future date his cabinet may be preserved. His expenditures, his trips to favorite localities that he may personally roam over freshly ploughed fields, his hours spent in arranging his cabinet during winter evenings are all labors born of love. He knows his region and takes satisfaction in that knowledge. He places no fictitious value on his cabinet. That there is no such thing as an arbitrary value on a pipe, tube or jar he is aware. He wishes to have his cabinet preserved, not scattered, and when he dies, it will be of real value to future generations.

Not so the commercial collector. When out "exploring" this person cares not for the attractiveness of his surroundings. Neither the songs of the birds nor the freshness of advancing spring appeal to him. If he be out in August he heeds not the broad acres heavy with fragrant clover. Nature is nothing to such a person. And he is bad enough, but the man who demolishes mounds or cliff houses in order that he may sell the specimens found therein is worse. The latter is too lazy to work, and ekes out a miserable existence by selling the "relics" of a vanished people to such as may buy. I know a score of these men. They render the lives of curators miserable by their frequent requests — "buy this" or "let me sell you that."

To continue the parallel between the students and the commercial collectors; the latter have ransacked the graves, mounds and cliff houses, dragged forth the humble arts of simple aborigines long since dead and sold them for a few paltry dollars. The destruction of archæological testimony wrought by these vandals is something beyond compute.

Speaking of vandals, no state has suffered more at the hands of reckless, careless mound diggers than Arkansas, and especially the "pottery belt" of that state. The fine clay vessels found in considerable numbers are highly prized by wealthy collectors. Four or five adventurers, trappers and men who have a superficial education and no regard for science, floated down the Mississippi on house boats and carried on explorations in the past. A number of large collections have been made, and perhaps twelve or fifteen thousand pieces of pottery are now in museums, in the hands of collectors

and otherwise scattered throughout the country as a result of their labors. No notes, drawings or photographs accompany the specimens. No reports have been published. One simply sees the long rows of "pots" on the shelves and a general label, "From mounds in Arkansas," accompanying the exhibit. Future generations will have only these vessels to study, and our knowledge of prehistoric life in Southern Arkansas will be more scanty than that of any other region of the country.

Some years ago I published "The Bird Stone Ceremonial," a monograph of 32 pp. But 800 copies were printed and the edition was soon exhausted. Now, the purpose of the discourse was to call attention to these peculiar stone objects and to interest students in their preservation. However, the paper had a curious effect. The dealers sent out circulars broadcast, bought up all bird-stones available and then sold them at exorbitant prices — now plain ones are quoted at \$15.00 each. Advanced collectors took them greedily and to-day none are to be had.

Curators are continually requested to pass opinions on specimens. As this may be considered a part of their duties most curators cheerfully accede to such requests, but it is very discouraging when one discovers that his opinion has been used as a club by some dealer or commercially inclined collector to extort more money from purchasers. This evil is increasing. The remedy lies with the curators. If they would refuse to pass opinions on specimens in the hands of dealers, the nuisance would be reduced to a minimum.

Many students and collectors exchange duplicates with each other or with the museums. The Department at Phillips has made more than 160 such exchanges during the past two years and, with two exceptions, the parties concerned have all been satisfied. This is a high average. Our correspondence indicates a general honesty and generosity and an appreciation of the aims and purposes of museums. Over 900 collectors had nothing available for exchange or to donate, yet they expressed themselves as friendly to the museums and not a few said that when through collecting their cabinets would be presented to local, historical, or scientific institutions.

While the above is true, it must be recorded that more than 1500 collectors whose names are in our card index are prompted

by entirely different motives. No curator would expect them to present their exhibits to his museum, but he could reasonably expect them to co-operate with him as far as possible. But they will not. They receive pamphlets, reports, and communications and these are of no little value in assisting them to better understand the artifacts, etc., in their possession. Yet if one writes one of these men and endeavors to obtain a certain object, the very fact that he wants it causes the collector to refuse to either sell or exchange. That he has a perfect right to do so, no one can deny. On the other hand, he is indebted to the curator or author and his attitude is one of pure selfishness.

What the museums need (as of great value to archæologic science) are collections from a special section, including everything found in that locality. They want the finds of the village sites, the studies in unfinished specimens, the poor and the good, the imperfect as well as the perfect. In this regard the collectors make a great error. Most of them do not save everything, but cling to the "pretty relics" and discard the rough and the rude. Personally, I would give more for a collection, provided it contained all the finds of a certain valley, than for just the fine, perfect objects of that valley. From a collection of the latter I would be misled, for, if I accepted as indicative of the status of culture of the people of that valley, I would say that they made most beautiful works of aboriginal art, nothing rude or unfinished being turned out by their artisans. In such a statement I would be unpardonably wrong.

Correspondents frequently ask: What are specimens worth? They have no standard value. They are worth to a museum just what the buyer and seller agree upon. The catalogues of dealers give not only fictitious values, but no museum recognizes them.

The cash values should be discouraged. They are incentives to fraud and conducive of destruction of monuments. As an instance of the latter, I know a man in Tennessee who has become active in the destruction of mounds and graves, and has done archæologic science an injury. He makes a specialty of "mound and grave relics," and has destroyed more than a hundred monuments.

Imagine a beginning collector or one who has spent some time in gathering specimens. If this young man wishes to

accomplish ~~something of real worth~~ in the world, let him fit himself through a liberal college education, followed by a two or three years course in some museum. Then he is prepared to occupy a dignified position in his chosen profession. There are opportunities for all who will do this, new museums are building and curators and assistants are needed.

The specimens are gradually drifting to the permanent museums. Every year sees new museums founded. Each season an increasing proportion of archæological cabinets finds its way into permanent quarters in fire-proof buildings, and there these things can be studied and protected. The collector, who faithfully preserves with correct data the material discovered in his neighborhood, enjoys through many years his archæologic pursuits, and when he is through with his collection presents it to a worthy institution, renders science a service and perpetuates his own name.

Persons having these ancient specimens in their possession should be influenced by that sentiment or quality recognized by the patron of art — and the art collector — who wish to preserve a painting or other object not because of its monetary value but because it is a thing of beauty and interest and deserves a better fate than to fall into the hands of some sordid dealer who will regard it merely as so much merchantable property and sell it as he would a load of corn or a horse!

In this commendable work of preservation are all the museums and scientists interested and while sometimes they do buy collections it is only to prevent their becoming scattered, and not because those collections have any especial value in dollars and cents.

It is to be hoped that collectors will appreciate the motives that inspire the collecting and study of pre-historic material by scientific institutions. In this prosperous age it is not necessary for any person to regard his cabinet as a commercial asset. I would that all students might be persuaded to place their collections in state or local fire-proof buildings. Thus they will be assured of a worthy and lasting memorial to their interest in the subject; and last, but by no means least, they will advance science and confer a favor upon future generations.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XIII. No. 1.

E. O. Randall

JANUARY, 1904.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

Since the annual meeting of the society held on June 5, 1903, the proceedings of which were published in volume twelve, pp. 187-218, the meetings of the trustees have been as follows; that of the executive committee held June 30, (1903) in the rooms of the society, Page Hall, Ohio State University. After the determination of the compensation to be accorded the different salaried officers of the society, the standing committees for the year were agreed upon as follows: finance, S. S. Rickly, G. F. Bareis, D. J. Ryan; Serpent Mound, John W. Harper, A. R. McIntire, R. Brinkerhoff; Fort Ancient, B. F. Prince, J. P. MacLean, G. F. Bareis; Museum and Library, G. F. Wright, B. F. Prince, W. H. Hunter; publication committee, E. O. Randall, D. J. Ryan, J. Warren Keifer; St. Louis Exposition, G. F. Wright, W. C. Mills, E. O. Randall; memorial committee, R. Brinkerhoff, George B. Wright, D. J. Ryan.



RUSH R. SLOANE.

General Wright made a verbal report of a visit which he and the Secretary made to Serpent Mound on June 9th. The Mound Park was never in more excellent condition. Mr. Daniel Wallace, the custodian, was greatly interested in his work and took pride in having everything in tip-top order.

Prof. Mills submitted his proposed plans for the summer's explorations at the Gartner mound in the vicinity of Chillicothe, Ross County.

The executive committee met again at the office of the secretary in the Judiciary Building on September 3, (1903). The trustees present, with the officers of many other organizations, had just attended the funeral services at the First Congregational Church of General George B. Wright, trustee and first vice-president of the society. An obituary notice of General Wright appeared in the Quarterly for October 1903. The vacancy created in the memorial committee by the death of General Wright was filled by the appointment of Mr. D. J. Ryan. Mr. G. F.

Bareis was elected first vice-president of the society, to fill the place also made vacant by the death of General Wright.

The secretary was authorized to make a contract with Mr. Daniel Wallace as custodian of Serpent Mound for two years from September 1, 1903, on the terms of the previous contract with him. The secretary was also directed to terminate on October 1, (1903) the privilege hitherto existing of permitting Mr. George W. Seaman, of West Union, to have a right of way from his land east of the Park through the same to the pike running north and south west of the Serpent Mound Park.

Prof. B. F. Prince reported that some weeks previous he and Prof. MacLean had visited Fort Ancient and made an inspection of its condition and the care being given it by Warren Cowen. The superintendence of Mr. Cowen was every way satisfactory, and many improvements and some expenditure of funds therefor were advised.

Prof. W. C. Mills made an extended verbal report of his explorations at the Gartner mound. That report will be published in due time in the society's publications. Messrs W. C. Mills and E. F. Wood were authorized to visit St. Louis at their earliest convenience for the purpose of arranging for the proposed exhibit by the society at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904.

Mr. Vause Harness, of Chillicothe, and Mrs. Jessie M. Davis, of Columbus, were elected life members of the society.

On November 17, (1903), there was held in the society rooms, Page Hall, Ohio State University, a special meeting of the entire board of trustees. Those present were Messrs J. H. Anderson, M. R. Andrews, R. Brinkerhoff, G. F. Bareis, J. W. Harper, R. E. Hills, W. H. Hunter, J. P. MacLean, B. F. Prince, H. A. Thompson, E. O. Randall, G. F. Wright, E. F. Wood and W. C. Mills.

Prof. G. F. Wright was elected second vice-president to fill that position made vacant by the promotion of Mr. G. F. Bareis to the first vice-presidency at the meeting of September 3d.

The secretary announced the death of trustee A. R. McIntire, which occurred on September 21, 1903. The funeral was held at his late home, Mt. Vernon, Thursday, September 24. The society was represented at the services by the secretary. Several of the trustees expressed their regret at the loss of their fellow-trustee, Mr. McIntire, and paid tribute to his worth as a man and his interest in the affairs of the society. Judge Rush R. Sloane was elected to fill the vacancy in the trusteeship caused by the decease of Mr. McIntire. The election of Mr. Sloane would be, however, only until the next annual meeting (in 1904), although Mr. McIntire's term would not have expired until the annual meeting of the society in 1906. Colonel John W. Harper, of Cincinnati, was chosen a member of the executive committee in place of Mr. McIntire.

The secretary announced that on November 13th, (1903), Governor Nash had appointed Prof. Martin R. Andrews, of Marietta, trustee to fill the vacancy caused by the death of General George B. Wright. General Wright's trusteeship would have terminated in February, 1904. Prof. Andrews being present, he was introduced to his fellow-trustees, who gave him a hearty welcome.



M. R. ANDREWS.

The secretary reported the publication in book form of volume twelve of the society's annual publications. This volume comprised the Quarterlies for January, April, July and October, 1903.

Prof. W. C. Mills made a brief report of the visit made by himself and Mr. E. F. Wood to St. Louis on September 19th. The authorities at the Exposition had accorded our society unexcelled quarters in the Jefferson University building, anthropological department, and every opportunity would be afforded for a satisfactory display of our exhibit.

The matter of the desired appropriations by the incoming legislature for the society for the years 1904 and 1905 was referred to the executive committee.

The matter of a proposed permanent building for the society, after being discussed at some length, was also referred to the executive committee for it to take such initiative in the matter as it thought best.

A report was made of a visit to Fort Ancient on October 17th, by Profs. B. F. Prince, J. P. MacLean, and the Secretary, accompanied by Profs. V. G. Tressler, O. F. Weaver and C. G. Shatzer, of Wittenberg College. A careful inspection was made of the work being done by Mr. Warren Cowen, and many important improvements were directed to be perfected by the custodian.

The secretary reported that he had given the notice, as previously directed, to Mr. Seaman, concerning his right through the Serpent Mound Park, and had effected a contract for the next two years with Mr. Daniel Wallace as custodian of said property.

At the conclusion of the meeting of the trustees, they and the officers of the society dined at the Chittenden Hotel, after which they attended a lecture given by Prof. Albert T. Clay, at the auditorium of the Ohio State University, under the auspices of the society. Professor Clay, of the University of Pennsylvania, was associated with Professor Herman V. Hilprecht in his famous discoveries in Babylonia. His lecture was an account of the explorations at Nippur, and was entitled "Recent Discoveries in the Home of Abraham." The lecture was illustrated by stereopticon views, and was exceedingly informing and entertaining. The University auditorium seating some fifteen hundred people was practically filled by an audience composed of professors and students of the University and hundreds of cultivated citizens of Columbus.

On December 11, 1903, the executive committee held a meeting in the reference room of the Columbus Public Library. Prof. J. P. MacLean made a tender to the Society of the plates and copyrights of his "Manual of the Antiquity of Man," and "Fingal's Cave." They were gratefully accepted. The committee requested Professors Mills and Randall to prepare and publish concise and convenient pamphlets descriptive of Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound; such pamphlets to be for sale by the Society and at places described for the benefit of visitors and those who wished to obtain brief popular knowledge of those interesting pieces of property in charge of the Society.

The history of George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois, published under the auspices of the Society was announced to appear January 1, 1904. This is the publication of the famous manuscript history by Consul Wilshire Butterfield, undoubtedly the most scholarly and accurate student that ever fully described the unique campaign of the intrepid Clark. This book will be an inestimable contribution to the historical literature of the Northwest Territory.

The Secretary reported the publication by the Society of the volume of the complete proceedings of the Ohio Centennial Celebration at Chillicothe on May 20 and 21, 1903. Complimentary copies of this volume would be sent to the members of the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth general assemblies, to members of the Society, and speakers at the Centennial. The issuing of this volume of seven hundred and sixty-four pages was the final work of the Society in connection with the State Centennial. The total expense of the proceedings at Chillicothe, including the publication of the so-called Centennial Syllabus, was \$6,449.12, the expense of the publication of the Centennial volume amounts *in toto* to \$2,866.09 (this includes the cost of plates for future issues), making a total expenditure in connection with the Centennial of \$9,315.21. As the appropriation by the general assembly for the purpose in question was \$10,000.00 that will leave a balance of \$684.79 to revert to the general fund of the state. Certainly an economical and commendable expenditure on the part of the Society of the fund placed at its disposal.

Mr. Osman Castle Hooper of the *Columbus Evening Dispatch* was made a life member of the Society, as was also the Shaker Society of Union Village, Ohio.

Secretary Randall was requested to represent the Society at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association to be held at New Orleans, December 29, 1903 to January 1, 1904. This meeting of the Association will be devoted to the subject of the Louisiana Purchase. Representatives from the various state historical societies are expected to be present and the plan is in contemplation of having the state societies effect an organization as a section or branch of the American Historical Association. Such a scheme would undoubtedly be of great benefit both to the chief association and subordinate organization.

The executive committee approved the request of the forthcoming (seventy-sixth) general assembly for the following appropriations for the continuation of the work of the Society.

Requested for 1904:

Current expenses	\$2,700 00
Field work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound....	2,000 00
Publications	2,800 00
	\$7,500 00

Requested for 1905:

Current expenses	\$2,700 00
Field work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound....	2,000 00
Publications	2,800 00
	\$7,500 00

Total asked, (1904-5)\$15,000 00

Amounts secured in 1902 and 1903, compared with appropriations asked for the forthcoming two years:

Amount secured in 1902:

Current expenses	\$3,000 00
Field work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound....	3,750 00
Publications	2,500 00
	\$9,250 00

Amounts secured in 1903:

Current expenses	\$2,500 00
Field work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound....	2,000 00
Publications	2,000 00
	\$6,500 00

Total secured (1903-4)\$15,750 00

It will be observed that the items for publications for 1904 and 1905 are placed at \$2,800.00, making a total of \$5,600.00, as against \$4,500.00 for 1902 and 1903. This increase is for the purpose of sending the Quarterly to each of the leading newspapers of the state of Ohio, some seven hundred and fifty in number. The items for Field work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound make \$4,000 for the years 1904 and 1905, as against \$5,750.00 in 1902 and 1903. Less is asked for in these items because special provision was made in the previous appropriations for the repair of Serpent Mound, and the building thereon of a house, which cost in the neighborhood of \$900. These special expenditures will not be required during the next two years. It follows that the total amount desired for the next two years (1904-5) is seven hundred and fifty dollars (\$750.00) less than the total requested for the same items in 1902 and 1903.

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ALFRED R. MCINTIRE.

Hon. Alfred R. McIntire died on Monday, September 21, 1903, near Jewelsburg, Colorado, while a passenger upon a train from Emmett, Idaho, to his home at Mt. Vernon. He was born July 14, 1840, on a farm near



ALFRED R. MCINTIRE

Mt. Hope, Holmes county, Ohio, and at the age of fourteen removed with his parents to Knox county, and settled upon a farm near Fredericktown. His ancestors on both the paternal and maternal sides were Irish. His grandfathers emigrated to America, and his parents were native Americans. His early education was obtained in the country schools of Fredericktown, but aspiring to a broader intellectual development, he taught school until he could obtain sufficient funds to justify his admission, in September, 1860, to the freshman class of the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, from which institution he graduated in 1865. He earned his own way through college, the continuous studies in which were interrupted at the close of his sophomore year by his enlistment in the

ranks of the Union Army. He was a member of company A, 96th Regiment, O. V. I. and served until March, 1863, when he was honorably discharged on account of sickness. In May, 1864, he was again mustered into service as first lieutenant, company H, 142d O. V. I., and served until the following September, when he resumed his course in the University. After his graduation he taught school for a year, and then began the study of law in the office of the late Judge Rollin C. Hurd, of Mt. Vernon, and was admitted to the bar in June, 1869, and continued with marked success the active practice of his profession until his death. The activities of Mr. McIntire's mind, however, were not restricted to the confines of his profession, but embraced a wide range of scientific, historical and literary reading. He ever kept afresh in his memory the technical learning of his classics, recalling in the hours of his leisure the Latin of his Virgil and the Greek of his Homer, as well as a knowledge of the higher mathematics. In the later years of his life he became a devoted student of the archæology and history of his native state, Ohio. He also added to his mental pursuits an exemplary participation in the studies of citizenship. He took an ardent part in the municipal affairs of his city and state, being a close student of the political movements of parties. He was an active and influential member of the Republican

party; served as a member of the Mt. Vernon board of education for many years, and was the Republican candidate of his district for state senator in 1879. His independent temperament led him to follow his ideas of what was right rather than what was partisan, and in 1896 he became affiliated with the Union Reform movement, and was the candidate of that party for attorney general of Ohio, and later a candidate of the same party for judge of the Supreme Court. He took a fearless stand in favor of temperance and the strict enforcement of law. But in all his dealings he was genial, fair-minded, and conciliatory, and ever made friends, even among those whom he opposed in civic and political questions. No one ever questioned the integrity of his character or the purity of his motives. On September 28, 1869, he was married to Helen Richards, of Fredericktown. His wife and two sons, Rollin R. and Heber, survive him. His home life was most delightful and ideal. A faithful and discriminating biographer of Mr. McIntire states that "his religion was that of the philosopher and scientist rather than that promulgated in creed and dogma. He believed in purity of morals, and his daily life was in accord with the principles of strict morality." Almost at the beginning of its organization, Mr. McIntire became a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. At the annual meeting of the Society held February 17, 1897, Mr. McIntire was elected a trustee. He was re-elected at the annual meeting in 1900, and again at the annual meeting held in June 1903, and would have served, had he lived until February, 1906. During the period of his trusteeship he was a member of the executive committee, which has immediate direction of the affairs of the society. Perhaps no member was more faithful to, or interested in the work and progress of the society, and his presence will be greatly missed by his colleagues in their deliberations concerning its affairs. The Secretary will ever recall with pleasure his personal association with the subject of this sketch. Mr. McIntire had a natural fondness for good nature and humor, and it often served as a palliative in the councils of the members of the society. He was buried Thursday afternoon, September 24th, in the beautiful Mound View Cemetery, Mt. Vernon. His grave was located, with no slight significance, at the base of a graceful and well preserved Indian mound, and he was laid to rest beneath the overshadowing boughs of a venerable tree, amid the splendor of an autumn afternoon, surrounded by his comrades in the Grand Army of the Republic, and Knights of Pythias, the members of which paid fitting and sympathetic tribute to their departed brother in the simple and solemn service of their orders.

WILLIAM TRIMBLE McCLINTICK.

Hon. William Trimble McClintick, a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, a cultivated gentleman, and one of the most distinguished citizens of Ohio, died at his residence, Chillicothe, on October 28, 1903, at the unusual age of eighty-four. Mr. McClintick was a man far above the average in ability and intellectual achievement. His long life spanned almost the first century of Ohio's statehood history, and he had the unique experience of having known personally Ohio's first Governor, Edward Tiffin, and with two exceptions, all the rest to and including Governor Nash. One of the most interesting portrayals of personal reminiscence perhaps in Ohio literature is the address by Mr. McClintick, delivered at the Centennial celebration of the adoption of Ohio's first constitution, held at Chillicothe, on November 29, 1902. Those who were present on that occasion will never cease to remember Mr. McClintick as he stood before the audience, with the courtly manner of a gentleman of the old school, and told with genial humor, and rare literary flavor, some of the important events of Ohio's history, in which he was either spectator or participator. Mr. McClintick was the master of wide culture; college bred, an accomplished lawyer, and a man of wide affairs and experience. Ever a close observer and philosophical thinker, he carried with him an environment of marvelous mental acquirement and trained temperament. The publications of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society contain some choice contributions from Mr. McClintick's pen. Perhaps no tribute to him could be better expressed in brief words than that comprised in an address by Judge Archibald Mayo before the Ross county bar, on November 14, 1903. "Mr. McClintick's success was manifold—that of the professional man, the business man, the society man, the church man. His life was an illustration of the health-giving, life-sustaining, happiness-creating success of temperate and regular habits; and of the success of persevering application in the accumulation of skill and usefulness, knowledge and wealth. His career manifested what good breeding, good schooling, and an inherited aptitude for business and work are able to bestow upon a man of talents in a period of such opportunity as existed here in his time."

VALUABLE DONATIONS OF MSS.

The museum and library of the Society have been greatly increased by donations from friends interested in the progress and enlargement of the institution. It is but a matter of justice to note the contributions recently made by Prof. J. P. MacLean, one of the trustees, who has been a very active member ever since he joined the Society. At different times he has given books on various subjects, besides quite a selection of Shaker publications. We have just received from him two pairs of saddle-bags, used by the Shaker missionaries in their journey from Mount Lebanon, N. Y. to Ohio in 1805. Also the family Bible of Malcolm Worley, the first Shaker convert in the West. These had been presented to him by Miss Susanna C. Liddell of Union Village. Mr. James H. Fennessey, manager of the Shaker community, gave the loom—seventy years old—the two looms for making bonnets, and a secretary at Watervliet, besides the North Union and Watervliet archives, all of which Dr. MacLean has generously donated to the Society. Among the manuscripts of particular value are the autobiographies of Richard W. Pelham and David Spinning. The list of bound volumes relating to North Union embrace seventy in number, comprising R. W. Pelham's diary, 1837-1840; another for 1852-1867, which contains a journal of a tour to the eastern societies in 1852; and a diary from 1866 to 1872. Samuel S. Miner's diary embraces six volumes, covering the periods from 1847-1862; 1854-1861, with account book, 1888, and the breaking up of North Union. Diaries without authors named are for the years 1858-1860; 1859-1863; 1859; 1869; Sept. 1869; 1870; 1871-1878; 1875-1877. One diary does not designate the year. James S. Prescott's tour to Union Village in September and October, 1842; tour to eastern communities in September and October, 1860, with an appendix containing theological selections. The same author has left notes for 1886, which also gives an account of the blowing up of the grist mill. Besides these are his remarkable events for 1845-1846; selections of calamities for 1847-1850; and abuse of dumb animals. There is an account of a visit to White Water, but without date. There are nursery and garden diaries and journals for 1856-1862; 1861-1863, and 1863-1868. There is a book on aphorisms by R. W. Pelham presented to Samuel S. Miner. There are two books of poems, and a selection in prose and poetry for 1852-1870. The hymn and tune books number seven, are for 1833, another 1845-1846, and another for 1855, being funeral hymns with names of the departed. Six volumes are devoted to the novitiate covenant, and contain the signatures of five hundred and fifty-six persons, which is exclusive of the thirty-three signatures on loose sheets. Spiritualism that broke out in 1837 among the Shakers, forms an important episode in the history of North Union. Five volumes are preserved, which are revelations in 1843; Life of Christ, January 6. 1843; Margaret Sawyer, Me-

dium; revelations beginning March 11, 1846, closing February 28, 1847; revelations, 1846-1847; select communications, 1843-1859. There are also twenty-three detached communications. One book contains the school record for 1869-1874; another the business meetings for 1870-1886; another the business meetings for 1870-1871, with circular epistles from Mount Lebanon Ministry for June 23d and July 25th, 1870; another the tailor's book for 1849; another, the names and ages of Believers in 1852, 1858, 1860, 1864; another, the general index book, 1861; another on the final sale of chattels in 1889; another contains list of subscribers to The Manifesto, with per capita tax for supporting same in 1876-7; the same 1885, and another on Biblical text books on death, 1847. Besides all these there are forty separate indentures of children. Much history may be gleaned from ledgers or account books. Of these, we find for the East family, the ledgers for 1873-1878; 1880-1881; 1880-1884; day book without date; and joint accounts of East and Mill families for 1860-1863. There are ledgers for 1860-1867; 1861-1869; 1868-1869; 1874-1881; 1882; ledger and daily journal for 1868-1879; deaconesses of Center family accounts for 1844-1865; tannery accounts, 1839-1841; 1835-1836, with Hermann Kimball's scrap-book; office day-book, 1871, and Saluda Iowa account book for 1867, 1868. The archives of the Water-vliet Community (near Dayton, Ohio), are more defective. In short are quite scant. Among the diaries are those of Nathaniel Taylor, 1823-1830; Henry Reynolds, 1853-1856; Moses Eastwood, 1865-1868, and 1871-1877; diary author unknown, 1890-92. Ledger, 1802-1822; 1840-1860; 1849-1882; 1857-1872; 1865-1877; 1881-1882; 1881-1884; 1888-1891; 1892; Ledger North family, 1882; A. E. Doyle's ledger, 1883; Moses Eastwood's bank account, 1877; Hester Frost's "Book of Poems," 1846, and Frederick Kromer's "Book of Selections," 1859. On detached papers there are accounts of spiritualism, 1838-1847, sixty-eight communications, Peggy Patterson being the principal medium; thirty-seven indentures of children; one binding out of a colored girl as a servant by trustees of Dayton township, to James Ball, November 5, 1832; thirty-seven indentures of children; five novitiate covenant members; eight testimonies to Shakerism; three court subpoenas, etc. There should also be enumerated thirteen other MSS. books, such as those containing rules and government for 1860; also 1887; instructions concerning schools; day journals of eight Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, Shakers' tour through Ohio in May, 1870; Nathan Sharp's account book (Union Village), 1824-1829; the famous Shaker "Harvard Book," revealed in 1841; "Holy Laws of Zion," revealed by the angel Vikalen in 1840; Divine Judgments Concerning Confessions of Sins, 1859; Youth's Guide in Zion, revealed January 5, 1841; "Instructions to Gathering Order," revealed February 26, 1842; "Revelations to Mount Lebanon Ministry on their responsibility," given May 3, 1844, etc., etc. These MSS. contain valuable historical matter other than that relating to the Shakers. The Society is exceedingly fortunate in securing so large an amount of material that must be of value to the future historian.

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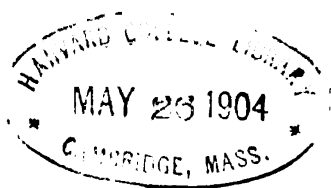
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AT WORK IN THE CARTNER MOUND.



EXPLORATIONS OF THE GARTNER MOUND AND VILLAGE SITE.

WM. C. MILLS, CURATOR OF THE STATE ARCH. AND HIST. SOCIETY.

The Gartner mound, located partly upon the land of Mr. Adam Gartner and partly upon that of Miss Elizabeth Lievy, is situated about six miles north of Chillicothe, on the east side of the Scioto river. The river bank, at this point, is quite high, upward of 70 feet above low water mark, and is very irregular, with here and there spurs running up to the river, which in several instances are almost perpendicular. The mound in question is located upon one of these spurs. However, this particular spur is quite large and the banks are not quite so abrupt as in other places along the river. The north side of the mound, or the part situated upon the land of Miss Lievy and which constitutes about one-third of the mound, had never been disturbed by the plow and was covered with a dense tangle of grape vines and small trees; while the other two-thirds upon the land of Mr. Adam Gartner had been under cultivation for a number of years, consequently that portion had been lowered about ten inches. The mound at the time work began was 7 feet 6 inches in height, having a diameter of 75 feet. Surrounding the mound is the prehistoric village site similar to the Baum village site, which surrounds a large truncated mound*. Around the mound, upon all sides, particularly to the south, are traces of former Indian occupation. Numerous fragments of pottery, similar in texture and ornamental feature to those found in the mound, bestrew the ground. Intermingled with these were the valves of mussel shells, arrow-heads, pitted stones, implements and ornaments made of bone, stone, and shell and the bones of various wild animals, which were used for food.

*The village site is situated along Paint Creek a few miles southwest of the small village of Bourneville, Ross County, Ohio. A preliminary account is given in Vol. X. page 78, of the Society's publications.

The soil from which the mound was made had evidently been collected from the village site and from the subterranean storehouses as they were dug from time to time as evidenced by thin layers of fine gravel and sand placed over a number of the burials which had been procured from the bottom of these pits. But, in every portion of the mound, various implements and ornaments were found intermingled with the soil and gravel. Here also were found animal bones and mussel shells which had evidently been gathered up with the soil from the village, as each successive burial was added to the mound.

The mound was made up of three separate and distinct sections as, is shown in Fig. 1. The burials in the first section differed greatly from those in the second and third, which were similar. In the first section the bodies had been cremated and

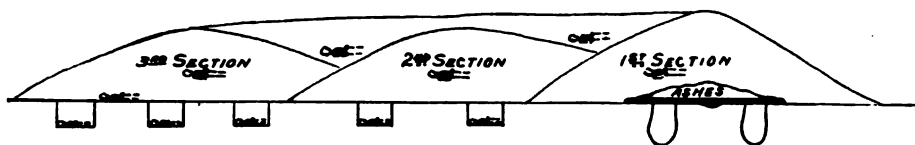


FIG. 1. SHOWS MOUND SECTIONS AND BURIALS.

the ashes with the personal belongings had been deposited upon a prepared platform of earth; while in the second and third sections the inhumation of the bodies were in every portion of the mound as well as below the base. Section No. 1, which is to the north, covers the site of an aboriginal domicile and was begun by carrying earth over an area 34 feet east and west, and 23 feet north and south to a depth of six inches. Over the top of this was placed tamped clay, which had evidently been secured while digging the subterranean pits used for the storage of corn, beans, etc., and which occur in every portion of the village. This clay had no doubt been puddled and then placed in position and made as level as a floor and this served as a platform to receive the ashes of the cremated dead, which ashes irregularly covered the platform to a depth of from six inches to two and one-half feet. With the ashes were unburned animal bones, which had been intermingled with the incinerated human bones as well as implements and ornaments made of bone, stone, and shell,

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A MOUND BURIAL.

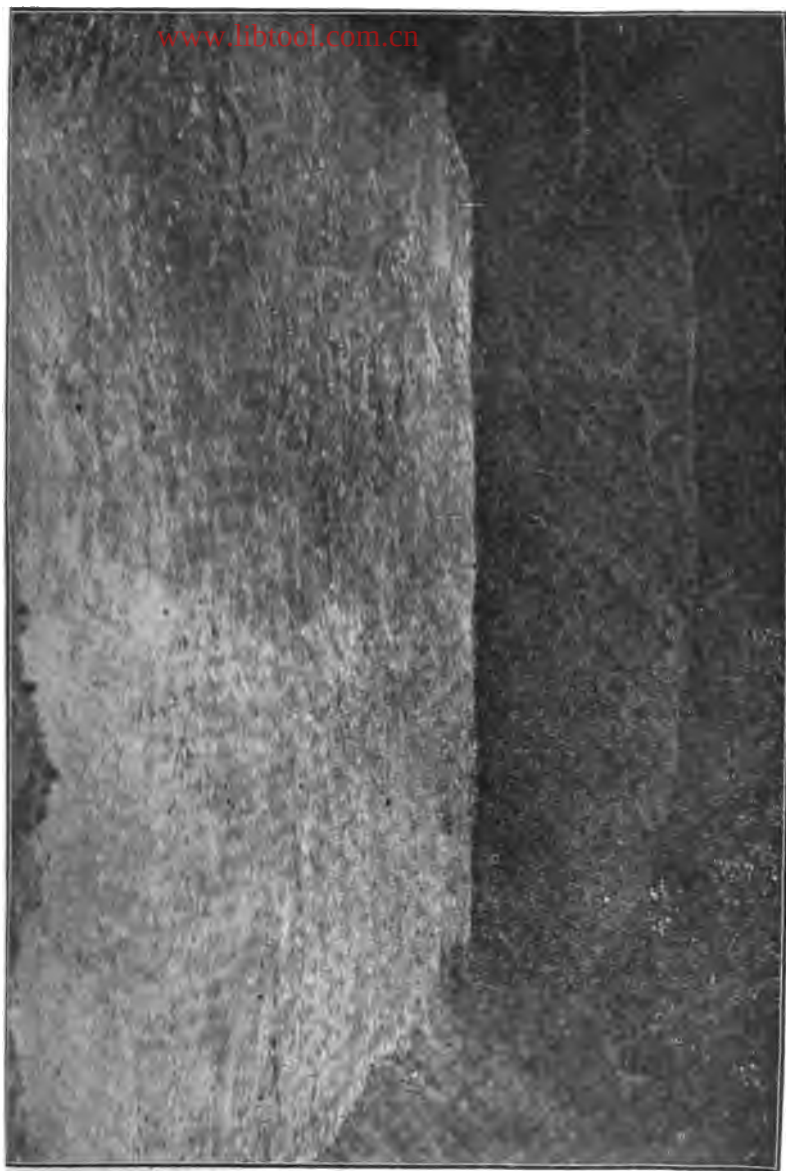


which were no doubt the personal property of the deceased. The animals identified as they were removed from these ashes were the black bear, beaver, deer, elk, raccoon, wolf, gray fox, musk rat, ground hog, opossum and mink. The bones of various birds such as the wild turkey, great horned owl, trumpeter swan and wild goose, were also found. Quantities of mussel shells, as well as the bones of the fresh water drum, were also removed. Of the implements, the awl, made from the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey, was perhaps the most frequently met with. These awls were found in every portion of the ashes and in fact every stage in the manufacture of this most useful implement was procured. Scrapers, made of the metapodal bones of the deer and elk were also removed in a perfect state from the ashes. However, the broken halves of these scrapers were very abundant in other portions of the mound, but only a few were taken from the ashes on the platform. Perfect fish hooks made of bone, as well as those in various stages of the manufacture of this implement were found intermingled with the ashes. Shell disks or gorgets, varying in diameter from one to two inches, were frequently found. These were made of shell both foreign and of the common fresh-water mussel shells from the river. They are circular in form, having two small perforations near the edge for attachment and a much larger perforation near the center, which was, no doubt, set with pearls as we were able to find in a grave in section 3 of the mound, a small shell gorget set with a fresh-water pearl.

The mound was entirely removed from the platform previously described and its extent fully known before examination was made of the soil beneath. Fig. 2 shows a photograph of the platform. Beneath the platform, as is shown in Fig. 1, were found the remains of the refuse pits, fireplaces, and even the post molds of their little tepees were visible. The pits, also the implements and ornaments taken from them, were similar in every respect to those found in the village surrounding the mound as well as those found in the Paint Creek valley. No burials, other than those of the cremated, were placed directly upon the platform, and a thorough examination of the ground beneath revealed no burials there, but $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the surface of the platform were

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FIG. 2. SHOWING LARGE PLATFORM IN SECTION 1.



three burials which had been placed there before the second section found, was begun. In the second section the burials were placed below the base line as well as above it, but none were found directly on the base line. An interesting feature of several of the burials was the finding of clay mixed with broken quartz pebbles and broken shell ready to be made into pottery placed in a niche in the grave near the head. Fig. 3 shows one of these graves. In several instances this prepared clay was accompanied by a large mussel shell and perhaps a well-wrought awl; in other instances this clay was surrounded with small river boulders varying in diameter from two to three inches. The small boulders were usually piled in the form of a pyramid over the top of this clay. In one instance sixty of them were removed. The burials that were placed above the base line were usually about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the base. The burials in the third section were mostly below the base line and consisted for the most part of adults, resembling both in stature and mode of burial those of the first and second sections. However, one skeleton measured 5 feet $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, the largest taken from the mound; the average height of adults taken from this mound being 5 feet $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The third section excelled in the number and quality of the ornaments and implements placed with the dead. One grave contained a necklace made of 27 perforated canine teeth of the gray wolf and mountain lion; another a shell gorget set with a large fresh-water pearl; another an earthen jar which was removed in a perfect condition, the only whole piece of pottery taken from an Ohio mound in a number of years; from another a number of perforated and worked wild turkey's heads, each containing from three to five small quartz pebbles. The heads were attached to the leg just below the knee and perhaps served as an ornamental rattle. During the explorations at the Baum Village along Paint Creek, these perforated heads of the wild turkey, as well as several specimens of wild duck, were found in goodly numbers and caused much speculation as to their use. However, the find in this mound has practically solved the problem.

The examination of this mound has been of two-fold interest: First, the village existed before the mound was built, as evidenced by the existence of the remains of a domicile beneath

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FIG. 3. SHOWING GRAVE CONTAINING PREPARED CLAY.



the platform, which was the first portion of the mound that was built and which was used as a depository for the ashes of the dead; second, that cremation of the dead was practiced for a long period as shown by the great accumulation of incinerated human bones piled upon this platform, which was 23 feet wide by 34 feet long to the height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the center. Further proof of this method of disposing of the dead was furnished by finding the crematory in which the bodies were prepared for the last sad rites. This crematory was 16 feet wide and more than twice that in length and contained the half-charred remains of a human body surrounded with charcoal and ashes, showing that the work of cremation had been brought suddenly to a close and the crematory with its half-burned human skeleton was covered with earth, and a mound heaped over the ashes upon the platform, blotting out all traces of the practice of cremating the dead, and inhumation in the regular way followed. The question naturally arises, What caused this sudden change in the mode of disposing of the dead? The answer can only be conjecture. It occurred to me that perhaps the first occupants of the village were driven away by an enemy and the newcomers had different rites and ceremonies in disposing of their dead. But a comparison of the artifacts taken from the refuse pits beneath the platform and from the ashes upon the platform, with those taken from the other sections of the mound shows definitely, that they are similar both in design and workmanship. Consequently, this cannot be assigned a reason for the sudden change in the manner of disposing of the dead. However, I am inclined to believe, from the evidence obtained by the explorations, that the inhabitants suddenly left their village either voluntarily or were driven away by an enemy and sojourned for a time with a tribe having a different mode of disposing of their dead and upon their return they continued the practice of their neighbors.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE MOUND EXPLORATION.

The work of examining this mound was begun at the base line on the east side and carried forward due west until the large platform was found and partly uncovered, then the examination continued from the north and west in order to uncover the platform so its extent might be fully ascertained. The portion

of the mound located upon the land of Miss Lievy was covered, near the base, with a leaf mold from seven to ten inches thick. Beneath the leaf mold was a dark earth filled with animal bones, such as the deer, which constituted 75% of all the bones, the raccoon, gray fox, mountain lion, wild cat, beaver, musk rat, opossum, squirrel and Indian dog. Bones of the wild turkey were quite abundant, yet the bones of the wild goose and great horned owl were also mingled with the black soil. This dark earth was also rich in implements such as bone awls, scrapers, celts, flint arrow-points, as well as ornaments made of bone and shell. At the very edge of the mound was found the skeleton of an adult lying upon the right side with the head bent forward and the legs flexed so that the knees were in close proximity to the head. The body had been placed upon the base of the mound and was covered with less than one foot of earth. However, it could not be considered an intrusive burial, as the small layer of gravel which covered the mound about six inches above the burial had not been disturbed. No implements or ornaments of any kind were placed with this burial. It was found in section 2.

Skeleton No. 2 was that of a child about one year old. It was placed directly to the east of the center and on the base line.

Skeleton No. 3 was that of an adult and was placed $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the base line. The mound at this point was five feet high. This skeleton was found in section 3 of the mound.

Skeleton No. 4 was placed in close proximity to skeleton 2 in section 2, but was placed in a grave two feet below the base line. It was that of an adult male. In a niche near the head of the skeleton were found a large number of round boulders varying in diameter from two to three inches. These were placed in a pile in regular order around a mass of clay which had been mixed with broken quartz and this clay was, no doubt, intended to be made into pottery. Near the pile of boulders was also placed several valves of mussel shells and a well-wrought awl six inches in length. At the back of the head was placed a fine discoidal stone made of granite porphyry $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 2 inches thick, each side hollowed out and pierced with a hole one-half inch in diameter at the center. The outer edges are convex. The whole specimen is highly polished with the ex-

ception of the concave sides, which seem to have been freshly pecked. This is readily seen on both sides of the stone. See Fig 4. At the right side was placed a large stone implement, perhaps a war club, made of limestone. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 3 inches wide and 2 inches thick. The stone is smaller at one end and the edge has been rounded and has the appearance of being water worn with the exception of a few places which show the hand work of man. Fig. 5 shows the skeleton with the discoidal at the rear of the head and the war club lying on the right side of the head. From around the neck of the skeleton was removed



FIG. 4. DISCOIDAL FOUND WITH SKELETON NO. 4.
ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

three perfect crescents made of mussel shells; these are shown in Fig. 6. The largest one, which is pierced with two holes, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and is not decorated. The second crescent, which was hung directly below the first, is two inches in length and pierced with one hole, but is decorated with notched edges. The third crescent, which is 1-3 inches in length, is pierced with three holes and the edges are also ornamented with notches. Attached to these crescents below were found three triangular pieces of ocean shell perforated for attachment and four beads made of small ocean shells.

Skeleton No. 5 was an adult and was buried in section 2. It was placed three feet below the base line. Around the neck was a crescent two inches in length and pierced with two holes and ornamented with notched edges. The crescent was similar in every respect to those found with skeleton No. 4, differing only in the material from which it is made. Those in No. 4 were made from common fresh-water mussel shells from the river, while the one from No. 5 was made from the body whorl of an ocean shell. Near the left hand were two small arrow-points,



FIG. 5. PHOTOGRAPH OF SKELETON SHOWING WATER WORN STONE AND DISCOIDAL PLACED NEAR THE HEAD.

both showing that they were made by a skilled artisan, one being of the triangular form $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and the other having a notched base and being $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length.

Skeleton No. 6 was buried three feet below the base line. With it was found puddled and tempered clay ready to be made into pottery. This clay was placed in a niche in the grave near the head of the skeleton and with it were two large mussel shells, a few broken bones of the deer, and the humerus of the wild turkey.

Skeleton No. 7 was buried $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the base line and was that of an adult. Near the head was placed a fine large awl, 8 inches in length. This awl was decorated with incised lines entirely encircling the awl near the point, and about two inches from the point was an enlargement in the body of the awl. This mode of ornamentation seems to be the usual method of decorating the large awls.

Skeleton No. 8 was that of an adult and was placed four feet below the base line. A large awl was found at the head, this was $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and made of bones, one end of which was ornamented with a carved head representing that of a fox. This is shown in Fig. 7. On the right side of the grave near the head was a quantity of clay mixed with broken shells and a few small boulders placed around it similar to skeleton No. 6.

Skeleton No. 9 was an adult male buried four feet above the base line. The skeleton was in a good state of preservation. Near the left hand were several small arrow-heads of the triangular type, beautifully chipped and made from flint ridge chalcidony.

Skeleton No. 10 was that of an adult placed $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the base line. This was the only skeleton in the mound that I considered an intrusive burial. The grave shows that it was dug through the regular strata of earth, sand and gravel, that was used in the construction of this portion of the



FIG. 7. EFFIGY AWL FOUND WITH SKELETON NO. 8. LENGTH EIGHT AND ONE-HALF INCHES.



FIG. 6. SHOWS THREE PERFECT CRESCENTS MADE OF MUSSEL SHELL. TWO-THIRDS NATURAL SIZE.

mound. With this burial was a small arrow-point and a few cut bear teeth, placed near the head.

Skeletons Nos. 11, 12, 13, and 14 were all adult burials placed above the base line about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. No implements or ornaments of any kind were placed with these burials.

Skeleton No. 15 was an adult male, placed in section 2, four feet above the base line. The skeleton was headless, as shown in Fig. 8. However, a number of fine bone beads were taken from near the left shoulder. Upon the right arm were a number of well-wrought beads made of shell, one-fourth inch in diameter. Near the foot was placed two fine arrow-points made of chalcodony.



FIG. 8. SHOWS HEADLESS SKELETON.

Skeletons 16 and 17 were in section 3; both were adults and placed three feet below the surface. No implements or ornaments were placed with them.

Skeleton 18 was that of an adult male, placed in section 2 and was buried five feet below the base line. Upon the right arm were a number of beads made of ocean shell and near the head was placed a platform pipe; around the neck was a necklace of beads. The platform pipe is far different from any of the pipes found in this section. It is made of a reddish brown compact sandstone with a circular base $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness. The bowl extends from the center of this circular base and is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height and $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in diameter at the base of the bowl, gradually tapering to $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch at the top. The diameter of the hole in the bowl is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, which gradually

tapers to the bottom and is connected with a hole from the platform, which is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter at the edge of the base and gradually tapers, similar to that of the bowl. The platform is ornamented with three deep cut lines which encircle the outer edge. The bottom of the base is marked with incised lines. The pipe is shown in Fig. 9. The grave showing the skeleton and pipe is shown in Fig. 10.

Skeleton 19 was that of a child about ten years of age. The burial was upon the base line of section 3 and the skeleton was fairly well preserved. Around the neck was placed a necklace consisting of 46 canine teeth about equally divided between those of the dog, raccoon, and wild cat. Fig. 11 shows a few of the teeth.



FIG. 9. PLATFORM PIPE FOUND WITH
SKELETON NO. 10. ONE-HALF
NATURAL SIZE.

Skeleton 20 was that of an adult female and was buried $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the base line in section 3. It was in a good state of preservation. The skull on the left side near the top was crushed in such a manner as to form almost a circular hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and had the appearance of having been made with some blunt instrument and no doubt caused the death of the individual. Around the neck were a few bone beads made from the wing bones of the wild turkey.

Work was now commenced on the west side of the mound in order to aid the workmen in carefully uncovering the skeletons so that photographs could be made. No burials were found near the western edge of the mound, but as the center was approached, skeleton 21, that of an adult male, was found three feet above the base line. Near the head and at the back was removed a large ocean shell gorget 4 inches in diameter and

made from the body whorl of the massive conch (*Fulgur per-
versum*). The gorget was pierced at the center with a hole
 $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter and near the edge two small holes were



FIG. 10. SHOWS POSITION OF PLATFORM PIPE NEAR HEAD OF SKELETON.

placed for attachment. The gorget was not in a good state of preservation, as the portion containing the perforations was near the head and was very brittle, consequently it crumbled slightly in removing it from the burial. Fig. 12 shows a photo-



FIG. 11. SHOWS A FEW OF THE PERFORATED CANINE TEETH
FORMING A NECKLACE FOUND WITH SKELETON NO. 19.
ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

graph of the gorget. Directly beneath this gorget was a large bone awl 6 inches in length and made of one of the heavy bones of the deer or elk. At the side of the gorget was another awl

of about the same size and shape. The skeleton was well preserved. www.libtool.com.cn

Skeleton 22 was that of an adult male placed three feet above the base line and partly over the platform which covers the base of section 1. This skeleton was in close proximity to skeleton 21. Two shell beads $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter were found near the left hand.

Skeleton 23 was that of an adult male placed three feet above the platform, and was in a good state of preservation. No implements or ornaments were placed in the grave.



FIG. 12. SHELL GORGET FOUND WITH SKELETON NO. 21. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

Skeleton 24 was an adult male placed in section 3. It was buried in a grave four feet below the base line. With the skeleton were two perforated canine teeth of the elk, which are exceedingly rare in the graves of this mound.

Skeleton 25 was an adult male buried four feet below the base line in section 3. One large spear-point was placed upon the right

side near the hand. The point was 4 inches in length and made of reddish brown flint.

Skeleton 26 was that of a child and was placed in section 2. It was buried $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the base line. Around the lower legs were placed small ocean shell beads, varying in diameter from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch and about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in thickness. All were finely wrought and well polished. Upwards of 700 beads were removed from this grave. On the breast was found a large ocean shell gorget, 4 inches in diameter, made from the apex portion of the massive conch (*Fulgur perversum*). Near one

edge it is pierced with two holes for attachment, the central portion having been removed. This gorget is shown in Fig. 13.

Skeleton 27 is that of an adult found in section 2. It was placed two feet above the base line. No implements or ornaments were placed with this skeleton.

Skeletons 28, 29, 30, and 31 were all placed in graves below the base of the mound in section 3. The graves ranged in depth from 2 to 3 feet. No implements were placed with these skeletons.

Skeleton 32 was placed near the west side of section 3 and was two feet below the surface. It was that of an adult male. At the head were placed two large bone awls 6 and 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches respectively in length. These were placed directly under the head and were badly decayed.

Skeleton 34 was that of an adult male and was buried two feet below the base line. From around the neck was removed a necklace made from 27 canine teeth, 19 of which were those of the gray wolf and 8 of the mountain lion. Each tooth was pierced with a hole near the end of the root, for attachment. Each tooth was ornamented by having from 3 to 4 deep lines cut across the concave surface. A representative collection of these teeth is shown in Fig. 14.

At the side of the head were placed two badly decayed bone awls 5 and 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, respectively. Near the arm a number of shell beads were found; these were made from small ocean shells.



FIG. 13. SHELL GORGET FOUND WITH
SKELETON NO. 26. ONE-HALF
NATURAL SIZE.

Skeleton 35 was placed very near 34 and at about the same depth below the base line. Around the neck were a number of cut pieces of ocean shell, made from the body whorl. These were triangular in form. With these were a number of small ocean shells.

Skeletons 36 and 37 were also placed below the base. No implements or ornaments were placed with them.

Skeleton 38 was buried three feet below the base line. The skeleton was placed on the right side, facing the east. Near the



FIG. 14. CANINE TEETH OF WOLF AND MOUNTAIN LION FOUND WITH SKELETON NO. 34. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

head was found a perfect piece of pottery, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 7 inches in diameter at the largest part of the bowl. The opening on top is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The top portion of the bowl is decorated with incised lines made in the form of a scroll which entirely encircles the vessel. Directly beneath the scroll work are two incised lines running entirely around the vessel. The lower part shows the impression of the cloth used in the hands while being fashioned. Fig. 15 shows this vessel. At the side of the vessel was a spoon made of mussel shell. Fig. 16 shows the skeleton and vessel before they were removed from the grave.

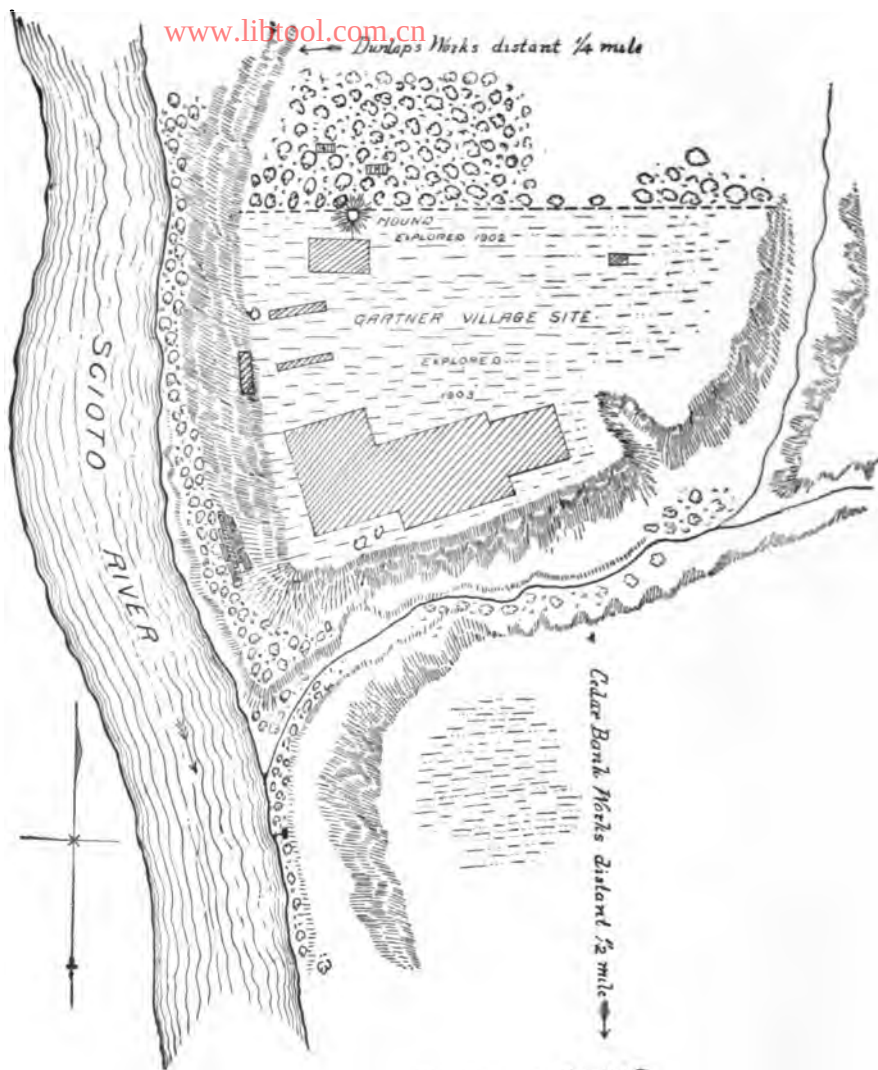
Skeleton 39 was that of an adult female and was buried three feet below the base line in section 3. Around the right leg below the knee were found 14 wild turkey heads pierced with holes for attachment. Inside the heads were found small quartz pebbles, showing that they had been used for rattles. Upon the left leg at about the same place was a turtle back. This was also perforated for attachment and contained 15 small quartz pebbles. Upon the breast was found a small gorget pierced with two holes near the edge and one in the center. This gorget is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and made of mussel shell.

Skeleton 40 is that of an adult female. Around the neck were a number of shell gorgets similar to the gorgets found with skeleton 39. One of these, however, had a pearl setting in the large central hole. The gorget with pearl setting is shown in Fig. 17.

Skeleton 41 and 42 were also adults and were placed below the base, but near the edge of the mound. No implements or ornaments of any kind were placed with these skeletons.



FIG. 15. PERFECT POTTERY FOUND WITH SKELETON NO. 38. SIX AND ONE-HALF INCHES HIGH.



GARTNER MOUND
 AND
VILLAGE SITE
 Ross County, O.
 SCALE
 100 feet

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GARTNER VILLAGE SITE.

The village site which surrounds the Gartner mound, just described, was examined during the summer of 1903. Fig. 18 is a drawing of mound and village site, showing the extent of the field explorations during 1903. The village site proper, occupies between three and four acres of land and entirely surrounds the mound. However, directly south and south-east of the mound, surface indications are richest; for here our examination showed the earth was intermingled with the refuse from their homes to the depth of from one foot to twenty inches, indicating that they occupied this place for a long period.



FIG. 16. SHOWS POSITION OF EARTHENWARE NEAR HEAD OF SKELETON.



FIG. 17. SHELL GORGET WITH PEARL SETTING. ONE-HALF SIZE.

Directly to the south and less than one-half mile is what is known as the Cedar Bank Works, which has been described by Squier and Davis on page 52, in "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley." We made a thorough search of this enclosure of 32

acre as well as the immediate surrounding territory, in search of a village, but found no evidences of a former habitat other than the Gartner village. Therefore, it seems reasonable to believe that the inhabitants of the Gartner village were the builders of the Cedar Bank Works. However, no explorations have been made within the works to verify this statement. Upon a spur of the hill between this village and the Cedar Bank Works are also indications of a former habitat, as flint implements, broken pieces of pottery and animal bones of various kinds are sparingly scattered over the surface. As the examination progressed it was soon discovered that the inhabitants of this village lived in small clans or family groups. Although only fifteen skeletons were unearthed in the examination of this village, there is no doubt but that burials were made along the hillside which surrounds the village on three sides.

The refuse pits, which are so abundant in the villages of the Paint Creek valley, were present in great numbers and distributed over the village site surrounding the habitats of the various families. Fig. No. 19 shows ten of these pits open at one time. During the examination in the village, more than 100 pits were found and thoroughly examined. The evidence produced by this examination shows that 20% of the pits examined were originally used for storehouses for grain, beans and nuts, and perhaps for animal food. These pits were lined with straw or bark and in some instances the ears of corn laid in regular order upon the bottom; in other instances the corn was shelled and placed in woven bags; in others shelled corn and beans were found together; in others hickory nuts, walnuts, chestnuts and seeds of the pawpaw were present in goodly numbers. All this was in the charred state, accidentally caused, no doubt, by fire being blown into these pits and the supplies practically destroyed before the flames were subdued. Fig. 20 shows charred cobs and lumps of charred shelled corn. The burning of these supplies must have been a great loss to these primitive people and may have caused them great suffering during the severe winters, but it has left a record of their industry which never could have been ascertained in any other way. The great number of pits found, which show conclusively by their charred remains their early uses, would lead

one to believe that all the pits found were used originally for underground storehouses and by spring time, when the supplies were likely consumed, a general forced cleaning up of their domiciles and surroundings would occur and the empty storehouse would serve as a receptacle for this refuse, which was henceforth



FIG. 19. SHOWING REFUSE PITS.

used for that purpose until completely filled. During the autumn, when the harvest time came, a new storehouse would be dug and the grain and nuts gathered and stored for winter use. The examination of the pits has brought out the above conclusions as evidenced by the refuse found therein. Near the bottom of the pits will invariably be found the heads of various animals such

as the deer, with antlers attached, black bear, raccoon, gray fox, rabbit and the wild turkey, as well as the large, heavy broken bones of these animals such as would likely be found around a winter camp. Further, some of the large bones showed that they had been gnawed in such a manner as to indicate the presence of a domesticated dog, whose presence was further corroborated by

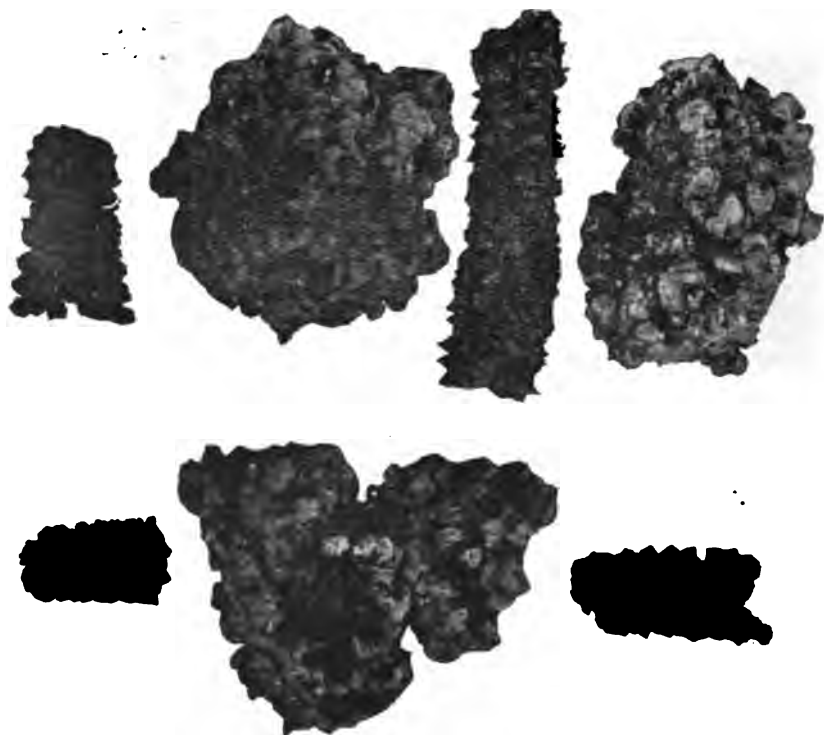


FIG. 20. SHOWING COBS AND LUMPS OF CHARRED CORN.

finding his remains in every part of the village. Therefore, taking all these facts into consideration, one must necessarily infer that the spring cleaning took place and animal bones, broken pottery and the general refuse was thrown into the pits. Further, the remains of fish are seldom ever found near the bottom of the pits, but usually occur from the top to about the middle. Mussel shells are never found at the bottom of the pits, but are usually

found near the middle or half way between the middle and top of the pit. Fig. 21 shows how mussel shells are sometimes present in the refuse pits. We know that fish and mussels must be



FIG. 21. SHOWING MUSSEL SHELLS IN REFUSE PIT.

taken during the spring, summer and autumn and are certainly very hard to procure during the winter. A drawing representing a cross section of the village site showing the location of the



FIG. 22. SHOWING CROSS SECTION OF VILLAGE SITE.

tepees, fireplaces, refuse pits and burials is shown in Fig. 22. This represents a cut of sixty feet which was carried forward in the examination of the village. This drawing shows the fireplaces

to have been made at different periods of time. Some of these fireplaces are directly above the refuse pits and it is also shown that in digging the pits, that they dug down upon previous burials, but even this did not cause them to abandon the pit, but to remove the bones and dig on to the necessary depth and place the dislodged bones in the bottom of the pit and cover them slightly with soil. In some, the burial was made directly over an old pit and the refuse in the pit being porous the body would naturally sink into the pit, leaving the legs and head higher than the other portions of the body. The accumulation of bones of various animals and the implements and ornaments of these primitive people found through the soil was caused by the covering up, from time to time, of the debris in the tepees and surroundings which would naturally be greater during the winter season.

Another interesting feature of this village was the finding of the remains of two mussel bakes. One only will be described, as they were similar in every respect. These bakes were made by digging a hole in the ground 5 feet deep and 4 feet in diameter. A fire was built in the bottom of this pit; so great was the fire that the clay forming the sides of the pit was burned to a deep red and several inches in depth. Four hundred and fifty small river boulders varying in diameter from 3 to 10 inches were thrown upon this fire and then the fresh-water mussels of small size were piled upon the stones and the entire pit filled with these mussels. The top was then, no doubt, covered over with grass and the mussels left to bake. After the feast, for it was no doubt a feast, the shells were thrown back into the pit as well as into a number of surrounding pits that were open. We made a careful estimate of the number of mussels required in these mussel bakes by counting the mussel shells in a given space, and found that more than 10,000 mussels were used in the two bakes. They were all of small size and in the two bakes only a few large shells were present. The mussels had, no doubt, been procured from the Scioto river, only one hundred yards distant. Fig. 23 shows one of these pits. In the rear is a pile of charcoal taken from the bottom of the pit, at the side are the boulders. In one of the refuse pits we found evidences of a great animal feast, as the pit was filled for several feet with a mass of broken bones, showing

that they had used the deer, bear, elk, beaver, raccoon, opossum and wild turkey in this great feast. A number of individual animals of each were used, but more especially the deer, as seven jaw bones of this animal were removed from this great pile.

Another interesting feature of this village site was the finding of a great fireplace or crematory, over 40 feet in length and varying in width from 16 to 17 feet. It was directly south of



FIG. 23. SHOWING REMAINS OF MUSSEL BAKE.

the mound, not far from the edge of the bank, which gradually descends to the river below. The fire had evidently been kindled on this hearth for a long time, as the earth was burned to a depth of 14 inches. The crematory occupied a slight depression in the ground, no doubt caused by the careful removal of ashes from time to time. Not a particle of ashes, charcoal or burned bones was present in this fireplace except at the west end nearest

to the river, where the portions of a half-charred human skeleton surrounded with charcoal and ashes were found, showing that the cremation had been brought to a sudden close and the partially incinerated skeleton, as well as the crematory and its surroundings, was covered with about 6 inches of earth as if to remove from sight all traces of a once practiced mortuary custom. Gradually, as our explorations show, a little home was installed near the edge of the crematory, to the north, and in due time the site became covered with the refuse which accumulates about their domicile.

FOOD RESOURCES.

Animal Remains. — In all, the remains of 17 different animals were procured in this village. The most abundant was that of the Virginia deer, which constituted fully 50% of the animals taken from the pits and which were used for food. The other animals identified were the raccoon, rabbit, black bear, beaver, gray fox, wild cat, mountain lion, gray wolf, opossum, mink, musk rat, elk, skunk, groundhog, otter, and Indian dog. The small box turtle (*Cestudo virginia*) was in great abundance. The wild turkey constituted fully 80% of the birds taken from the refuse pits while the trumpeter swan, wild goose, great horned owl, bald eagle and bittern were found in small numbers. The Scioto River, near by, teeming with fish and fresh water mussels must have been an excellent source of animal food as shown by the presence of fishbone and mussel shells. The Indian dog found in this village resembles in every respect the remains of the Indian dog found at the Baum village site, which is described in Vol. X, page 81, of the Society's publications.

Vegetable Food. — The vegetable substances usually found in the bottom of the refuse pits and which had been preserved by being charred, consisted of corn, beans, hickory nuts, walnuts, butternuts, hazelnuts, and the seeds of the wild plum and pawpaw. Of this, the corn (*Zea mays*) was the most abundant and was always found in the bottom of refuse pits that had, no doubt, served as storehouses until destroyed by fire. These pits were usually lined with bark or straw and the corn was frequently scattered through the charred remains. However, in a number of instances the corn and beans had been placed together in a

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SECTION OF THE MOUND SHOWING SIX BURIALS EXPOSED AT ONE TIME ALL ABOVE THE BASE.



heap and were removed in large lumps. In a number of instances corn and beans had been placed in earthen vessels that had become broken and the charred corn was still clinging to the sides of the vessel. Burned corn was also found in a vessel that had been broken, no doubt, by the action of the fire, as the corn was in a charred mass in the pieces of a broken vessel which had been scattered through the refuse pit, showing that the burning of this corn had taken place outside of this pit. Beans (*Phaseolus*, sp.,) were also found in quantities in the bottom of the storehouses. From the quantities of these two food articles found, there is no doubt but that corn and beans were a staple article of food for this primitive people. Hickorynuts were very abundant; three species were found, *hicora minima* (Marsh.) Britt., *hicora ovata* (Mill.) Britt., and *hicora laciniosa* (Mx.) Britt. Only small quantities of butternuts (*juglans cinerea*, L.) and black walnuts (*juglans nigra*, L.) were found. In some places great quantities of the charred pawpaw seed (*asimanan tribola*, L.) Dunal, were found, stored in connection with corn and nuts. In several other pits the wild hazelnut (*corylus Americana*) Walt., and the wild red plum (*prunis Americana*) Marsh., were present in small quantities.

Preparation of Food. — In every portion of the village were found stone pestles, which served for crushing the corn and beans and were, no doubt, also used in crushing the dried meats, berries, etc. Many of these pestles are merely natural pebbles slightly changed by a little pecking or rubbing, or perhaps both. Some have been pecked into shape and resemble a conchoid body with an enlarged and flattened base, bell-shaped, and running to a point at the top. None of the pestles are ornamented, but are all quite plain. Large stone mortars made from slabs of sandstone, from 12 to 14 inches in length, from 10 to 12 inches in width, and from 4 to 6 inches in thickness with a depression on one side, several inches in depth, were taken from the pits. The mortar must have been universally used in this village, as great numbers of the broken and perfect ones have been found in the pits and tepee sites. Another article that was, no doubt, universally used in the preparation of food is the pottery. Broken pieces of this domestic utensil are found everywhere in the village and refuse

pits. In many instances hundreds of pieces were taken out of one pit and they were universally abundant around the fireplaces. There is no doubt but that the potters' art was practiced by each clan or family in the village, for the broken pieces of pots found in these clans were similar in every respect, but differing slightly in ornamentation from those of the neighboring clans. The earth from which the pottery was made was procured while excavating for the large storehouses, as the clay found in the pits, which had been tempered with broken shells and crushed quartzite, were identical with the clay thrown from the pits. The majority of the pottery was made by crushing shells and tempering the clay, but now and then a piece would be found, which had been tempered with crushed quartzite and pebbles. However, near the west side of the village a small quantity of the broken pottery was made from clay tempered with broken quartz. Only one perfect piece of pottery was found in the mound and none in the village site, except the small vessels which had been molded in the hand. Yet broken pieces, resembling in every way, the perfect pieces, were found in abundance in the village. The size of the pottery varied greatly, one piece especially that was taken from the refuse pits, if perfect, would measure $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, while several very small pieces that had been molded in the hand were found in various sections of the village. The small pieces of pottery varied in size from that of a thimble to a small cup 2 inches in diameter. These small vessels were without ornamentation and were of common use, for a number have been found, both perfect and broken, in all sections of the village. These are shown in Fig. 24. The marks on the pottery differ somewhat in the different clans and practically all of the pottery had textile marks upon the side. In several instances, impressions of a woven fabric, which had, no doubt, been used in the hands while fashioning the plastic clay, were found. In other instances the marks of the textiles were evidently made by modeling paddles which had been wrapped with cord, as this is plainly shown upon the handles of the vessels as the handle is usually fashioned and put in place after the vessel is practically formed. A further ornamentation of a number of vessels is made by incised lines. Some of these encircle the vessel, while others appear in scrolls; this

is shown in Fig. 15. Still other vessels are ornamented with small round indentations made by a blunt instrument, as is shown



FIG. 24. SHOWING SMALL POTTERY. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

in Fig. 25. Other vessels show indentations made with a reed or some hollow instrument; this is shown in Fig. 26. The aborigines of the Gartner village seem to have possessed the artistic faculties attributed to the early races in America, for rude forms of art in clay decorated their pottery as shown in Fig. 28. This effigy of a lizard was executed

with considerable fidelity to nature and perhaps served as a handle as well as to ornament the vessel. However, the majority of the pieces have plain tops ornamented now and then with indentations. Practically all of the larger vessels were supplied with handles which were invariably ornamented with incised lines and indentations. In size the handles



FIG. 25. ORNAMENTATION BY SMALL INDENTATIONS.

were usually in proportion to the vessel. The larger handles were attached at one end by first piercing the vessel with a hole

and inserting a small plug of clay which was carefully clinched upon the inside of the vessel. On the outside the handle was molded to this plug; this is shown in Fig. 28. In Fig. 29, several pieces of pottery are shown which represent a few of the many examples of native ceramic art.

Implements. — The implements used for the procuring of food and for domestic purposes were made of bone, stone, and shell and are found in great abundance in the village site. These implements were in proportion of about ten of those made from bone to one made from shell or stone. In fact, many of stone were duplicated in bone or horn, such as scrapers, arrow-points, spear-points, and large celt-like forms made from elk horn.

FIG. 26. INDENTATIONS MADE WITH HOLLOW INSTRUMENT.



FIG. 27. EFFIGY OF A LIZARD.

Stone Implements. — The chipped implements were, no doubt, made from flint, procured from the Flint Ridge locality. The chipped points for arrows were, for the most part, of the triangular form and plainly shows that the peo-



FIG. 28. SHOWS MANNER IN WHICH HANDLES ARE ATTACHED TO VESSELS.

ple inhabiting this village were versed in the art of flint chipping. A typical series of these arrow-points is illustrated in Vol. XIII — 11.

Fig. 30. The chipped implements used for spears and knives were also made of Flint Ridge material; these are of all colors,



FIG. 29. SHOWING POTTERY DECORATIONS.

from the perfectly semi-transparent waxy, yellow, chalcedony, to the red and variegated jasper forms. These are shown in Fig.

31. Numerous caches of roughly fashioned implements made of this same material were found throughout the village. These caches would number from 10 to 25. Some of these show that they were large flakes from the manufacture of implements. However a number of them show secondary chipping along one or more of the edges. In a number of graves these pieces were

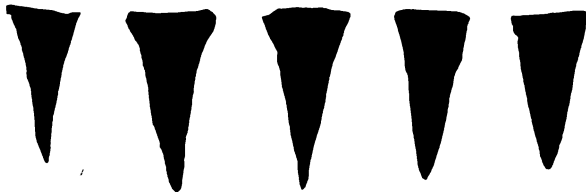


FIG. 30. TRIANGULAR ARROW-POINTS. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

placed near the head of the skeleton and were undoubtedly used in the manufacture of the numerous bone implements which are so abundant throughout the entire village.

Celts. — Stone celts were found in every portion of the village. They were made, for the most part, of granitic boulders, however, a few were made from banded slate and flint.. They



FIG. 31. SPEAR POINTS. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

varied in length from 2 to 6 inches and were highly polished. None were grooved, but many were roughly pecked for the attachment of a handle. These implements, as all others, were found in all stages of manufacture. Specimens were found where the pecking had just begun, in all cases boulders that were near the form of the object to be made; were selected. In other specimens the pecking was completed on one side, while the other had not been

touched. In other specimens the pecking had been finished, while in others the grinding had just begun and so on up to the perfect specimens. These were found more numerous in the sites of their tepees. However, in a number of graves they were placed by the side of the skeleton; in one instance four were taken from the same grave. Fig. 32 gives a good illustration of the celt procured from this village.



FIG. 32. TYPICAL CELT FROM
VILLAGE SITE. TWO-THIRDS
NATURAL SIZE.

Hammer Stones.—The hammer stones were very abundant in the village. Some of these are quite small and battered at one end, others at both ends, while still others are battered at both sides and ends. A number of these hammer stones are quite smooth upon one side, while on the other side they are slightly polished, showing that they were used in pounding some soft material, or had been covered with a skin and perhaps used as a club head. But the greatest use to which this hammer stone was, no doubt, placed was the breaking up of the various animal bones, for it is a very rare thing to find a perfect bone of any animal in this village, even to the very smallest.

Net Sinkers.—A number of specimens have been found which were merely pebbles that had been notched or grooved on two edges. These do not show any battered ends, as there is no doubt but that they were used as sinkers for the nets used in fishing.

Hoes.—A number of large pieces of slate broken into form with notches or grooves cut on the sides were frequently found. These were, no doubt, used for agricultural implements. However, the shell hoe, as shown in Fig. 33 is found in abundance

and must have been universally used. The shell selected was that of the *Unio plicatus*, a very thick and heavy shell.

Bone Implements. —

Points for arrows and spear-heads made from the tips of horn and the toe bones of the deer, as shown in Fig. 34, were very common, in fact more numerous than the chipped flint points. However, the majority of those found had been broken, but many perfect pieces, as can be seen in the illustration, as well as specimens showing every

stage of the manufacture of this useful implement, were found. Although well versed in the art of flint chipping, these people

were a considerable distance from the source of supply of this much valued article, flint, and were compelled to resort to the supply of deer horn, that was brought to their very door. This would necessarily be procured during their hunting expeditions as well as finding them scattered over the surface during the season of the year when the deer shed their horns. Although more difficult to make, requiring to be

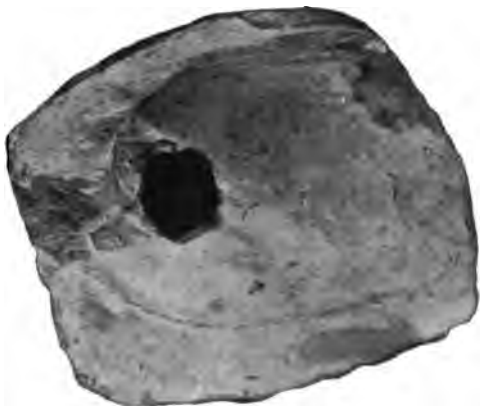


FIG. 33. SHELL HOE. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.



FIG. 34. BONE ARROW POINTS. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

drilled, dressed and polished to make a perfect point, they were more numerous than the flint-chipped points. Small caches of the tines of deer horns occur in various portions of the village, showing that these were collected and kept in store to be made into arrow-points as required. The tines are shown in Fig. 35 (a). The size of the point varies greatly, from $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 3 inches in length and is made by taking the broken tine and cutting a crease about 1-32nd of an inch in depth entirely around the horn at the desired length and then breaking off the point. This is shown in Fig. 35 (b). The first step after procuring the end of the tine was to drill a hole for the attachment of the wooden arrow-shaft. No work in fashioning the point seems to have been done until after this drilling was completed. The hole for the attachment of the shaft varied in depth from one-half to two-thirds the length of the point, see Fig. 35 (c), and always pyramidal in form with a base diameter averaging about one-third of an inch. The majority of unfinished specimens show that the fashioning into form was done by cutting away the superfluous horn with a heavy piece of flint, as shown in Fig. 35 (d). Some writers have expressed the opinion that this cutting was done with a steel knife, but a careful examination by means

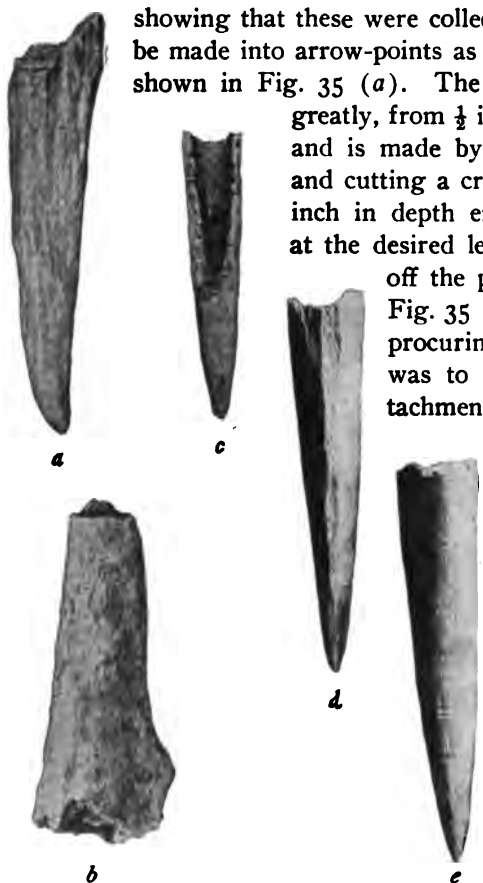


FIG. 35. a. SHOWING TINE. b. CUTTING OF TINE. c. DEPTH OF HOLE DRILLED. d. CUTTING AWAY OF SUPERFLUOUS HORN. e. PERFECT POINT. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

perfluous horn with a heavy piece of flint, as shown in Fig. 35 (d). Some writers have expressed the opinion that this cutting was done with a steel knife, but a careful examination by means

of a good hand glass will reveal the concave appearance of the cuts and the small scratches caused by the uneven fracture of the flint. The final finish upon the arrow-point was done by rubbing the arrow-point upon a piece of fine-grained sandstone, thus removing all traces of cutting as is shown in Fig. 35 (e), which shows a symmetrical and well-wrought point.

Bone implements were found which, no doubt, served in the preparation of skins and in the manufacture of their wearing apparel. Of these implements, the scraper, as shown in Fig. 36 (a), and made of the anterior and posterior metapodal bones of the deer and elk were found in small numbers in a perfect state. However, the broken parts were found throughout the entire village in great numbers, showing that this implement was universally used. Illustration Fig. 36 (c) shows a perfect anterior metapodal bone, and I may here state that this is the only perfect bone of the kind found in the village, as all others had either been broken or showed some stage in the manufacture of the scraper. Fig. 26 (b), shows a process in the manufacture of this implement and by careful examination of the specimens showing these stages, I am convinced that they were made by using a blunt-pointed flint implement. Scrapers made from the shoulder blades of the elk were also found. The spine of the shoulder blade was usually sharpened into a knife-like form, while the posterior and anterior border and the postscapular, as well as the prescapular portions, were entirely removed. In several instances instead of the spine being sharpened, it was removed and the suprascapular border would be sharpened into a knife-like edge. Very few perfect specimens of the shoulder blade of the elk were found, as they were universally used in the manufacture of scrapers or awls. The shoulder blades of the deer were sparingly used for scrapers. However, they were finished very much like the scrapers made from the shoulder blades of the elk. A few very fine and perfect scrapers made from the antlers of the elk were found in various portions of the village. These were made from the heavy portions between the beztine and the trestine of the elk antler. They vary in length from 3 to 6 inches and in width from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches. These are of two kinds, those sharpened at both ends, which were, no doubt, used in the hand



FIG. 36. a. PERFECT SCRAPER. b. PROCESS IN MANUFACTURE OF SCRAPER. c. PERFECT METAPODAL BONE. TWO-THIRDS NATURAL SIZE.

and were usually from 4 to 5 inches in length (see Fig. 37), and those sharpened at one end which were usually from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 inches in length. A number of them have notches cut on the side at the unfinished end, showing that they were hafted in a wooden handle (see Fig. 38. Scrapers made from the heavy metapodal bones of the elk were also found, these were made similar to those made from the antlers. A specimen of this implement is shown in Fig.



FIG. 37. DOUBLE BITTED SCRAPER. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

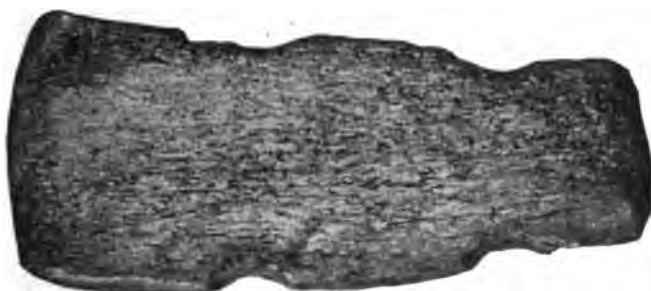


FIG. 38. NOTCHED SCRAPER. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

39. These are from 2 to 3 inches long and were, no doubt, hafted in wooden handles.



FIG. 39. SCRAPER MADE FROM METAPODAL BONE OF THE ELK. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

Awls were required for the manufacture of garments. Fig. 40 (a) is made of one-half of the distal end of the metapodal bone of the deer. This specimen was, no doubt, manufactured from a broken scraper. The awls made of this bone are very similar; none of them have sharp points, but gradually taper, as

is shown in the illustration. Fig. 40 (*b*) is an awl made from the ulna of the deer. Awls of this kind are invariably sharp pointed and are found in every portion of the village. Fig. 40 (*c*) is an



FIG. 40. *a*. AWL MADE FROM METAPODAL BONE OF DEER.
b. AWL MADE FROM ULNA OF THE DEER. *c*. AWL MADE
FROM ULNA OF THE ELK. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

awl made from the ulna of the elk; this was highly polished, as is shown in the specimen. Fig. 41 shows four awls which may be taken as types found in every portion of the village; these are

made from the shoulder blades of the deer. Fig. 42 is a good representation of awls made from the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey. These awls are beautifully made and highly polished. Some of them are ornamented with incised lines and grooves, while others are perfectly plain. Awls made from this bone are the most common and are found in the graves, refuse pits and sites of the tepees. In the mussel bakes, previously described, scattered promiscuously among the shells were found a great

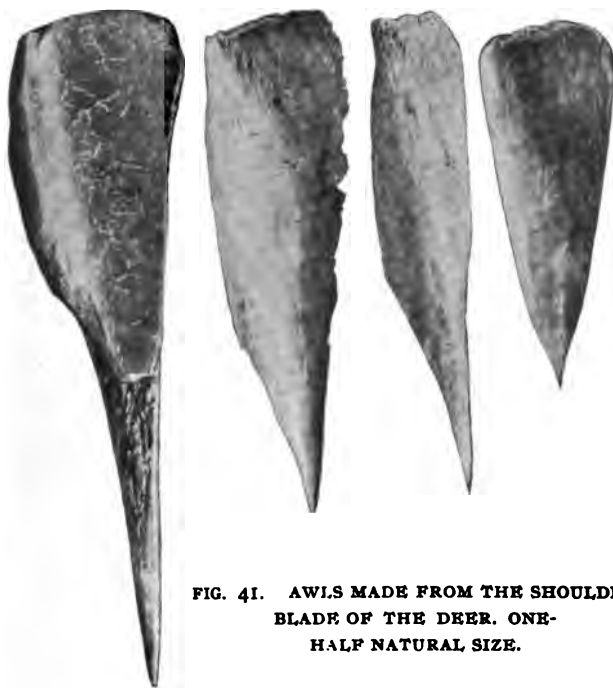


FIG. 41. AWLS MADE FROM THE SHOULDER BLADE OF THE DEER. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

number of these bone awls and I am inclined to believe that these awls, as well as those shown in Figs. 7 and 43, may have been used for awls, but at the same time served a double purpose of awls and forks. Fig. 7 shows a large awl taken from a grave in the mound which is upward of $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and is decorated at one end with a carved head of a fox or some closely allied animal. These large awls are very abundant and found in every portion of the village. Fig. 43 shows specimens which are

quite numerous, both in the graves and tepee sites. One of the most interesting of the bone implements found in the village site and graves is the double pointed awl. These vary in length from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 inches. All are beautifully wrought and highly polished. The larger ones may have been used as perforators or hair pins. Fig. 44 (*a*, *b* and *c*) were taken from graves. These were invariably found directly beneath the skull; (*a*) is made from the tibiotarsus of a bird; (*b*) is made from the heavy leg bone of the



FIG. 42. AWLS MADE FROM THE TARSMETATARSUS OF THE WILD TURKEY. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

deer and (*c*) is made from antler. Fig. 45 shows two large double pointed awls which may have been used for spear-points; these two specimens were evidently made from the heavy leg bone of the elk or like animal. Fig. 46 shows two specimens which were no doubt used for pins. From one grave seven were taken from around the head and in another five, still others from two to four. In one of the refuse pits was found a concretion with seven of these small pins placed in regular

order on the inside; with these were placed three bone beads. This is shown in Fig. 47. These pins are found in every portion of the village in great numbers and must have been generally used. Needles, in the perfect state, made of bone are sparingly found in the village site. However, many broken needles were in evidence, especially in the refuse pits. All are provided with a circular eye, which is always placed at the largest end of

the needle. Fig. 48 illustrates a very fine needle, which is 11¼ inches in length and made from a rib of the elk, from which most



FIG. 43. LARGE BONE AWLS. ONE-THIRD NATURAL SIZE.

of the needles are made. However, the greater part of the needles found are perfectly plain and highly polished; a few are orna-

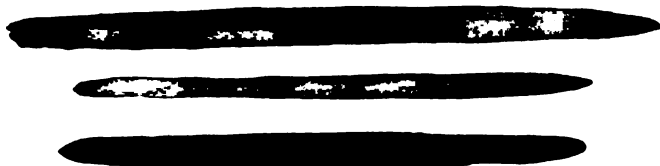


FIG. 44. DOUBLE POINTED AWLS. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

mented with incised lines. Another implement of bone found in this village is the knife. This is invariably made of the shoulder

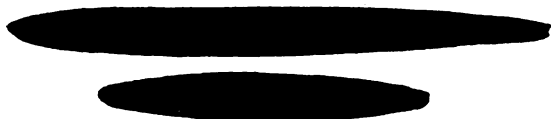


FIG. 45. LARGE DOUBLE POINTED AWLS. ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

blade of the deer and elk. However, a few have been found made of the posterior portion of the metapodal bone of the deer,

Fig. 49 (a). Fig. 49 (b) shows a knife from the shoulder blade of the deer, the spine is cut away and the poscapular and pre-scapular portion are sharpened into a blade-like double edge knife. These were found in goodly numbers in various portions of the village and were, no doubt, commonly used, Many bone tubes, made from the

FIG. 46. DOUBLE POINTED PINS. NATURAL SIZE.

wing bones of the various large birds are found in refuse pits. Fig. 50 shows the cut wing bones of the trumpeter swan. These

specimens were found together within a tepee site. Fig. 51 shows the end of one of these bones which had been cut off and thrown into one of the refuse pits some ten feet away.

Fish Hooks. — The remains of fish, such as bones and scales found in the refuse pits, shows that fish formed one of the articles of food of these primitive people, and further that they employed

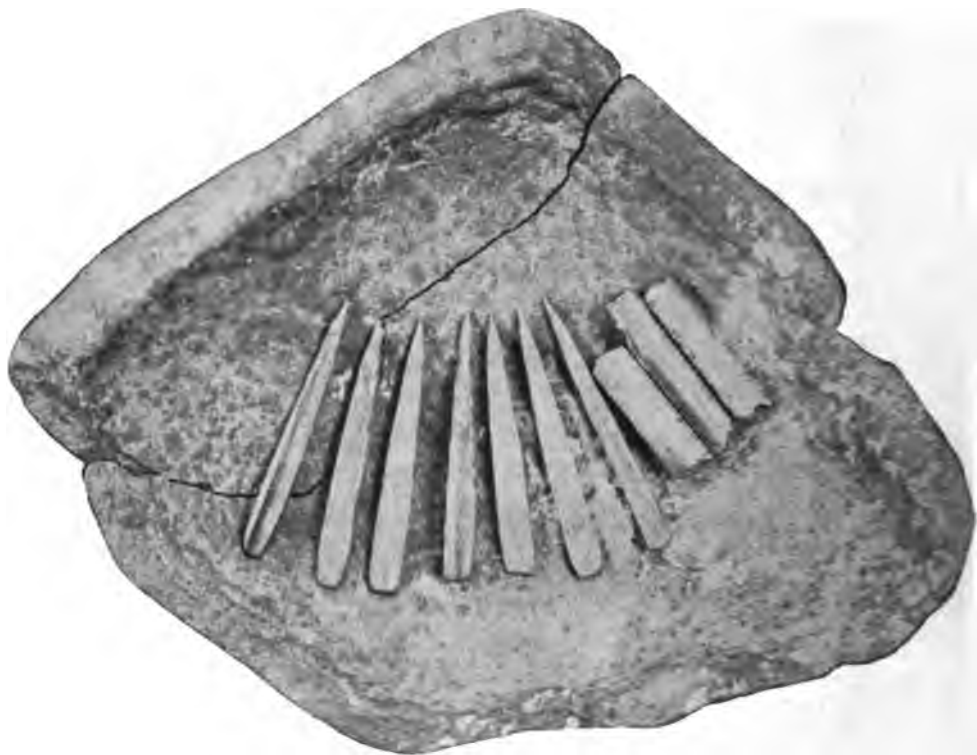


FIG. 47. SHOWING IRON CONCRETION, CONTAINING PINS AND BEADS.
NATURAL SIZE.

fish hooks, made of bone, as one means of procuring food, as evidenced by the finding of perfect and broken hooks in this village. Less than one dozen perfect hooks have been found, while more than a score of broken ones were taken from the village as well as every stage in the manufacture of this implement. The hooks are similar in every respect, the only noticeable difference being

FIG. 48. LARGE BONE NEEDLE. ELEVEN AND ONE-QUARTER INCHES IN LENGTH.

that ~~the end of the shank is~~ usually enlarged or grooved for the attachment of the line. Fig. 52 (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*) shows five fish hooks. These were taken from the graves and refuse pits; (*a*) was taken from a burial in the village; it was placed near the head and with it were placed a number of the incisor teeth of the beaver and pins made of bone and horn. The hook is made from the tibiotarsus of some bird, perhaps that of the wild turkey. This hook is of fine workmanship and well polished. It has a round shank and two well-cut grooves in the upper end of the shank. The point of the hook is sharp and finely polished. Viewed horizontally from the end, this hook shows the marrow cavity of the bone. (*d* and *e*) are two finely wrought hooks which were found together. They were taken from near the center of one of the refuse pits and had, no doubt, been accidentally lost. These hooks are made from the heavy bone of some animal, perhaps that of the deer or elk, as neither side shows the marrow cavity. They are perfectly finished, of fine workmanship and perhaps excel in that particular any that we have so far found in the village. The top of the shank, as shown in (*d*) has five well-cut grooves on one side and four on the other; these do not extend entirely around the shank. In (*e*) the grooves extend entirely around the shank and are three in number. (*b*) shows another well-wrought fish hook, made from the tibiotarsus of some large bird. The shank is flat and apparently unfinished, the top is enlarged for the attachment of the line. This was taken from the ashes which covered the platform in the mound. (*c*) is a very small hook with a long shank and enlarged top. The base of the hook is finely wrought and highly polished, while the upper part of the shank is practically finished, but rather rough and is not so highly pol-



FIG. 49. BONE KNIVES. TWO-THIRDS
NATURAL SIZE.

ished as other specimens found in the village. This was found with a burial from the village site. Not only were the broken and perfect hooks found, but every stage in the manufacture of this implement was brought to light. In Fig. 53 (a) is a piece of the tibiotarsus of the wild turkey, which may be considered the first stage in the manufacture of this hook; (b) is the second stage when the work of cutting out the center has begun; (c, d, and e) are the next stages when the work has proceeded farther; (f) might be considered the next stage when the center has been practically cut away; (g) has entered the stage when one end has been practically finished; (h) is the last stage before the bone is cut and the hook made. Here the hooks are practically finished with the exception of the top of the shank for the attachment of the line and the point. By cutting the bone at the proper place at each end of this prepared bone, two hooks could be made instead of one. The hooks found in this village compare very favorably with those found at the Baum village, which is situated on Paint Creek, a tributary of the Scioto.* Of the fish hooks found in the Baum village all can be

*A description of the fish hooks found at the Baum village site with a comparison of those found at Madisonville and other places was given, by the writer, in a short paper before the American Association for

readily duplicated at the Gartner village, as well as the various stages in its manufacture.

Woven Fabrics and Ornaments.—

Fragments of fabrics woven from vegetable fibre were found in the graves, but more especially in the storehouses, where it had been charred and thus preserved. This woven fabric was, no doubt, used for clothing as well as pouches, mats, etc., and in no case was any found except those that were charred so that the fabrics found were too fragmentary to determine the fibre from which they were made. In the bottom of the storehouses great quantities of corn, beans, and hickory nuts, were stored, with them would invariably be found portions of pouches, used for carrying and collecting nuts and grain, and mats which, no doubt, covered the bottom of the storehouses. Closely associated with the fabrics was the pottery, for upon almost every fragment of this much used domestic utensil was the imprint of a woven fabric. However, this is characteristic of the pottery of the Scioto valley. Personal ornaments of great variety were found in the graves and throughout the entire village, but more especially in the refuse pits, where they were, no doubt, accidentally thrown. For the most part they were made of shell, which consisted of two kinds, the common mussel shells obtained from the river, and the

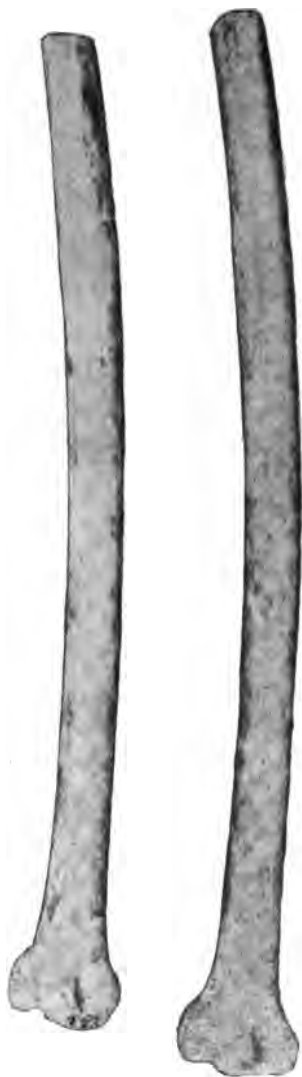


FIG. 50. CUT WING BONES OF
TRUMPETER SWAN. ONE
HALF NATURAL SIZE.

the Advancement of Science, which met in Baltimore, December 28, 1901, and was published in Vol. 7 of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society publications.

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large and small ocean shells, no doubt obtained by barter. The larger ocean shells were cut and formed into gorgets, beads, and pendants, while the small ocean shells were usually pierced with a hole for attachment and no other work done upon them. The larger ocean shell gorgets which are shown in Figs. 12 and 13



FIG. 51. CUT BONE. TWO-THIRDS NATURAL SIZE.

were found with burials in the mound previously described. However, these gorgets were evidently highly polished originally, as in several places this polish still remains. The larger size is always made from the ocean shell and the smaller ones, as

in Fig. 54 are about equally divided between the fresh-water mussel and ocean shells and vary in diameter from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The gorget to the left in Fig. 54 is made from ocean shell and found with a skeleton in one of the mound burials. The other gorget, in the same figure, is made from the fresh-water mussel shell and was taken from a burial in the village site. These are invariably pierced with a hole in the center which varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. These holes were, no doubt, set with pearls or stone, as is shown in Fig. 17. These gorgets are found throughout the entire village as well as every stage in the manufacture of this ornament. The crescent, as shown in Fig. 55, was taken from a grave in the village. The crescents made from shell are quite common in the burials of the Gartner mound, as well as those of the village. But as far as I have been able to ascertain they have not been found in any great numbers outside of this particular place. During the three seasons of explorations at the Baum village, not a single perfect or broken

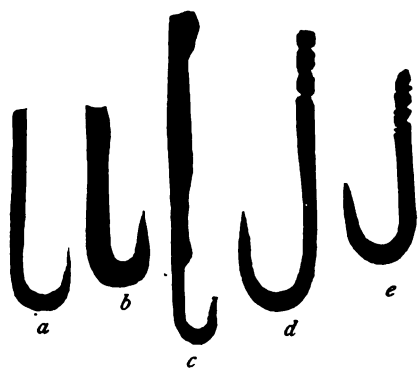


FIG. 52. PERFECT FISHHOOKS. TWO-THIRDS NATURAL SIZE.

crested was found, while every other ornament made of shell can readily be duplicated at the Baum village.



FIG. 53. STAGES OF FISHHOOK MANUFACTURE. TWO-THIRDS NATURAL SIZE.

Shell Beads. — The beads made of shell and averaging from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter with a hole in the center, were very abundant, in some instances between seven and eight hundred were found with a single skeleton. The most of these beads were made from ocean shells. They are highly polished and show a high degree of skill in their manufacture.



FIG. 54. SHELL GORGETS. TWO-THIRDS NATURAL SIZE.

Shell Pendants. — The pendants were frequently made from shell, both ocean and fresh water, but the majority of them were

made from the fresh-water mussel shell. They were cut into long strips averaging from 2 to 3 inches, and were pierced with a hole



FIG. 55. SHELL CRESCENT. $\frac{2}{3}$ NATURAL SIZE.

at the top for attachment. However, a number of them were triangular in form. These were usually from 1 to 1½ inches in length and pierced with two holes at the

top for attachment. The greater number of these were found in the graves.

Pendants and Beads Made of Bone. — Fig. 56 shows pendants made from the digits of the wild turkey.

These occur in great numbers and are associated more particularly with the burials. Fig. 57 is an illustration of a necklace found in one of the refuse pits. It is made up of six canine teeth and six incisor teeth of the elk. Three of the canine teeth are perforated with two holes and three with one hole; three of the incisor teeth are perforated with one hole, while three have a crease cut entirely around the root of the tooth for attachment. The canine and incisor teeth of the elk were invari-



FIG. 56. PENDANTS
MADE OF DIGITS
OF WILD TURKEY.



FIG. 57. NECKLACE OF ELK TEETH.

ably used for ornaments and in a number of instances bone beads and shell were combined to form a necklace, and invariably

the incisor of the elk formed the pendant to this necklace. The canine teeth of the black bear (see Fig. 58) are found in abundance in this village; they were used for pendants and the perforations are drilled from side to side through the base of the root. Many of them are much worn from long use. The most common of the ornaments used is the bone bead. These occur in great numbers everywhere and are associated with almost every necklace taken from the graves. They are usually made from the wing bones of the bird and especially that of the wild turkey and vary in length from 1 to 5 inches. In several instances as many as forty beads have been taken from a single refuse pit. These



FIG. 58. PENDANTS MADE OF CANINE TEETH OF BLACK BEAR.



FIG. 59. BONE BEADS.

were scattered promiscuously through the debris and were, no doubt, lost from time to time. A good illustration of the beads is shown in Fig. 59. Fig. 60 is an illustration of the humerus of the wild turkey. Near the head of the humerus

are three perforations on each side. To these, no doubt, were attached rattles or ornaments, which were carried in the hand.

The perforated humeri of the wild turkey are occasionally met with in all sections of the village. They are not found in the graves, but usually occur in the refuse pits. Fig. 61 shows digit

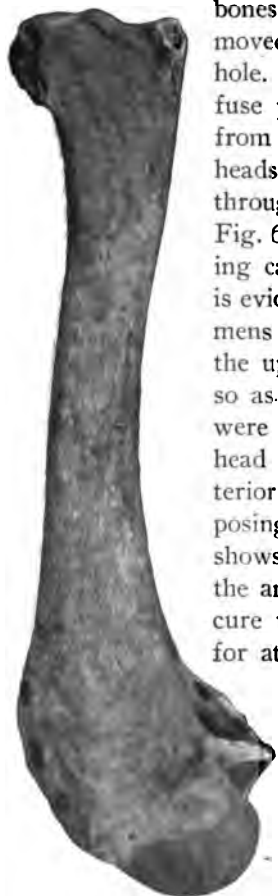


FIG. 60. PERFORATED
HUMERUS OF WILD
TURKEY.

bones of the deer, one end of which has been removed and the other end perforated with a small hole. These are found in abundance in the refuse pits, but none of them have been taken from the graves. Fig. 62 shows cut jaws and heads of various animals. These are found throughout the village, but none in the graves. Fig. 62 (a) is a cut jaw of the gray wolf showing carnalial tooth, and the two molars. This is evidently an unfinished piece, as perfect specimens are found in the village which show that the upper part of the jaw had been cut away so as to expose the ends of the roots. These were used for ornaments; (b) of Fig. 62 is the head and lower jaw of the mink. The posterior part of the skull has been cut away, exposing the brain cavity. The top of the skull shows deep cuts as well as the lower jaw, near the angle. These were, no doubt, made to secure the lower jaw to the skull and perhaps for attachment as an ornament. These specimens were taken from one of the refuse pits. The skull of the dog was also found in one of the refuse pits which had been treated in the same manner. Fig. 62 (c) is part of the left ramus of the mandible of the deer. In this specimen the jaw has been cut at the posterior end of the symphysis, while at the posterior extremity the condyle and coronoid process has been broken away preparatory to the manufacture into some ornament. Fig. 62 (d) shows the anterior portion of the ramus containing the incisor teeth. Fig. 62 (e) is the right ramus of the mandible of the wild cat, which has been cut similar to that of the deer just described. Fig. 62 (f) is a skull of the

wild turkey. These are found in abundance everywhere in the village. The upper surface of the skulls are usually perforated with one or more holes and were, no doubt, used for rattles, as they were found in the graves, where they encircle the lower limbs just below the knee. These heads usually contain from one to five small round pebbles.

Pipes. — The practice of smoking is indicated by the presence of stone pipes, finished and unfinished, found in every section of the village. The pipes were made for the most part of fine grained sandstone; yet several were found made of greenish argillite, while still others were made of clay resembling very much the clay used in making their pottery.

The peculiar platform pipe shown in Fig. 9, taken from the mound, has not been duplicated in the village. However, another form of platform pipe is shown in Fig. 63, which seems to be the prevailing type of platform pipes. This specimen is made of greenish compact argillite. The bowl is placed near the larger end, which is decorated with incised lines. In this particular specimen the bowl has been broken, but it fully illustrates the type and the labor necessary in the manufacture of this aboriginal artifact. Fig. 64 is another type of pipe found in this village. It is made of compact sandstone, while Fig. 65 taken from one of the refuse pits, is made of clay. The unfinished pieces found in this village show that a great amount of work has been required in their manufacture and that the work of pecking and rubbing is done first and the hole is drilled in the bowl next, and lastly the hole is drilled in the stem.

Whetstones. — Whetstones are very common in the village site. They are simply pieces of fine grained sandstone which have been used to sharpen objects made of bone and in the manufacture of ornaments made of shell. The majority of these specimens are flat and have grooves cut into them caused, no doubt, by sharpening the needles and awls. However, some of these whet-



FIG. 61. CUT DIGITS OF DEER.

stones are symmetrically cut, having edges and sides perfectly smooth, while others were simply finger-shaped pieces of fine-grained sandstone, which had been used upon all sides.

METHOD OF BURIAL IN THE VILLAGE.

The dead were evidently buried in close proximity to the habitat of these people and were similar in every respect to the

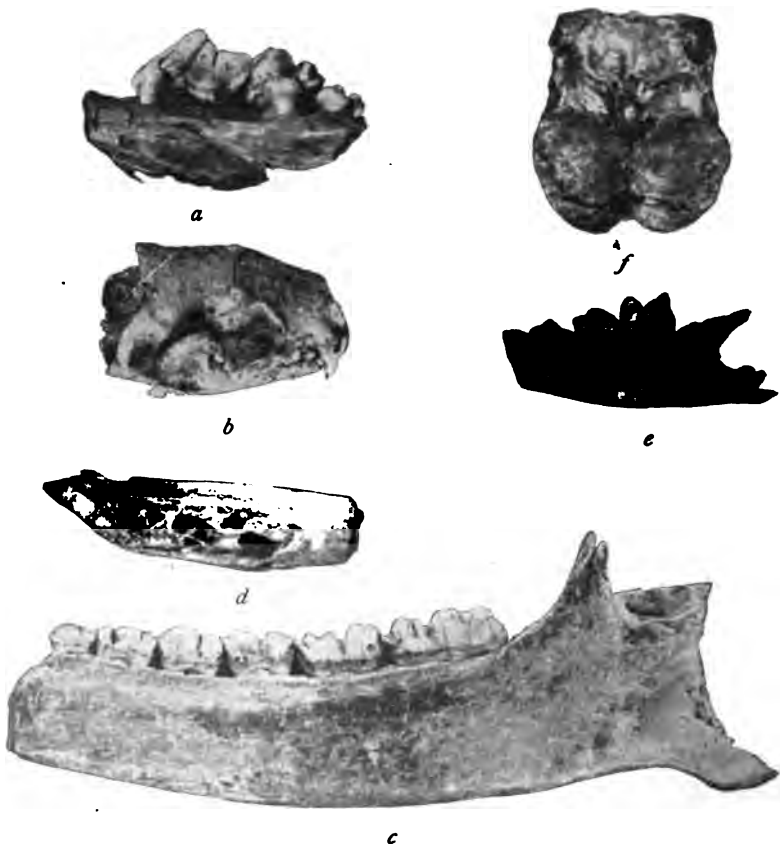


FIG. 62. CUT JAWS AND HEADS.

burials in the Baum village site, along Paint creek. Each family apparently had their own burial ground, which was in close proximity to the home. No evidence was found that the bodies had

been placed upon scaffolds and afterward reinterred. In the majority of the graves the body was placed at full length, as is



FIG. 63. PLATFORM PIPE.

shown in Fig. 66 and with it was placed implements and ornaments which, no doubt, represented the property of the deceased at the time of death. However, a single burial was found in the bottom of a refuse pit; a photograph of this burial is shown in Fig. 67, which

shows that the body was made to conform to the size of the pit. The head is bent forward and the legs are flexed so that the feet are very near the pelvis; one arm is flexed parallel to the body with the hand near the head, while the other lays across the body. However,



FIG. 64. UNFINISHED SANDSTONE PIPE.

not many burials of this kind are found and it occurred to me that perhaps this was an emergency burial, occurring during the winter when the ground was frozen so that excavations could not be made, consequently the storehouse was cleaned out and the body placed therein and covered with a few inches of soil. It was afterward used as a refuse pit. Fig. 68 shows a double burial. By referring to this figure one can readily see that the legs and head are higher than the body. This was caused by



FIG. 65. PERFECT CLAY PIPE FROM REFUSE PIT.

digging the grave over a refuse pit. The head and feet extending beyond the confines of this pit, and as decomposition took place, the body would naturally sink, with the loose material, into the pit, leaving the legs and head higher than the other portions of the body. In this particular burial, which represents two old people, male and female, the bodies were buried side by side. The male to the right with the right arm under the skull of the female.



FIG. 66. ONE OF THE BURIALS IN THE VILLAGE.

With them were buried two finely-polished celts, which can be seen near the pelvic region and near the head two more were found similar to those just mentioned. Only one can be seen in the photograph. At the back of the head and between the two skeletons were placed a number of beads, ornaments of shell, fish hooks, beaver teeth, awls, pins, etc., which were, no doubt the property of these individuals.

No remains of the cremated dead or evidence that cremation was practiced outside of the large crematory was discovered,

which shows that the majority of the dead of the village were cremated and placed in the mound.

The explorations of the Gartner mound, during the season of 1902, followed by the investigation in the village, which surrounds the mound, in 1903, have successfully proven that the primitive inhabitants of the village were the builders of the mound, as evidenced by the artifacts found in the ashes of the cremated



FIG. 67. SHOWS BURIAL IN REFUSE PIT.

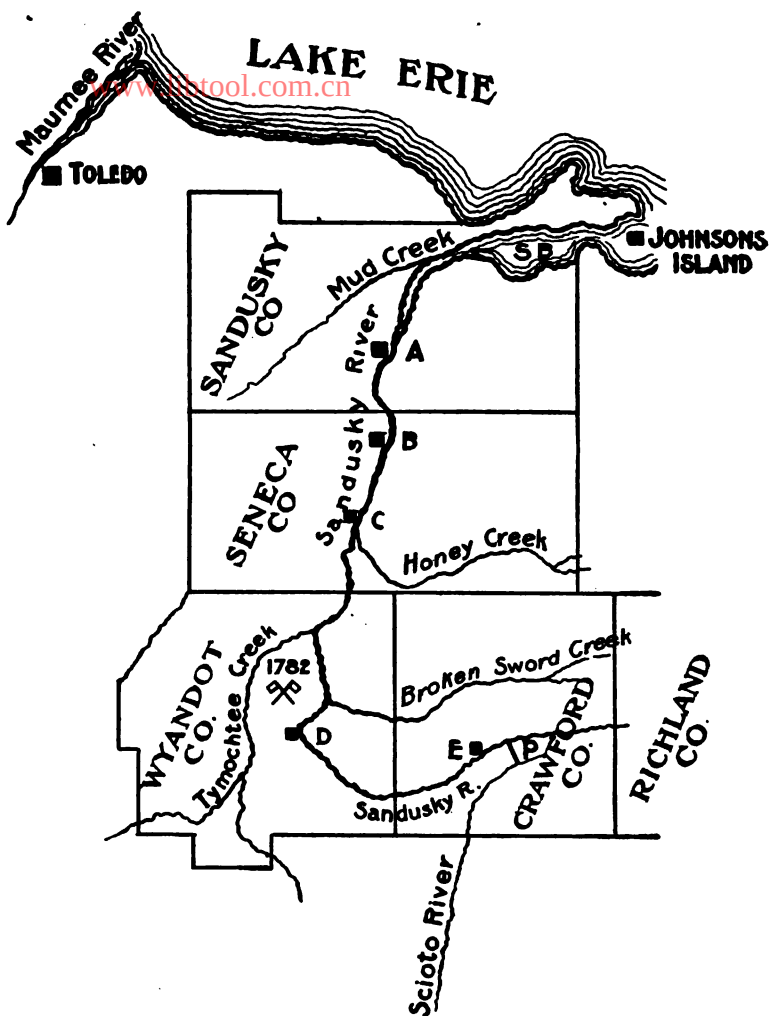
dead and the regular burials of the mound, being similar in every respect to those found in the village. Further, that the culture of these primitive people was quite uniform and resembles in all the essential points the culture of the prehistoric inhabitants in the Paint Creek valley at the Baum village site. In the manufacture of their pottery and especially in reference to their designs and shapes, their products were quite similar. In the manufacture of their implements, such as the fish hooks, scrapers, awls, and needles, and various implements in stone, as shown by the



various stages in the manufacture of these implements that they were in every respect similar to those at the Baum village. The ornaments of bone and shell taken from the mound and village can readily be duplicated at the Baum site with but one exception, namely, the shell crescent, which was found only at the Gartner site. The examination further shows that these people were agriculturists, depending upon the products from the soil to tide them through the long winters, as shown by the storage of corn and beans in the subterranean storehouses dug for that purpose. Further that there was inter-tribal trade, as evidenced by the ocean shells and mica found in almost every portion of the village. This investigation has also brought out the fact that these primitive people had a domesticated dog, whose osteological character accords with that of the dog found at the Baum village site.



SHOWS POTTERY DECORATIONS.



- A FORT STEPHENSON (Lower Sandusky) FREMONT
 B FORT SENECA
 C FORT BALL TIFFIN.
 D FORT FERREE UPPER SANDUSKY.
 E BUCYRUS.
 S.B. SANDUSKY BAY.
 ✕ SANDUSKY PLAINS CRAWFORD'S DEFEAT 1782.
 P PORTAGE TO SCIOTO RIVER

THE SANDUSKY RIVER.

LUCY ELLIOT KEELER.

The Russian peasant's phrase "The road that runs" would have appealed to the primitive people who in generations past paddled upon the waters and occupied the valley of the Sandusky River. For some eighty miles it traces a winding way through northwestern Ohio, rising in the Palmer Spring of Richland county, flowing through Crawford, Wyandot, Seneca and Sandusky counties, its mouth directly north of its source and its general course forming a capital C. For more than a quarter of a century after the white man settled upon its banks ancient earth and stone works were traceable along part of its shores, notably about the marshes bordering Sandusky Bay and the high east banks in Sandusky and Seneca counties. These works generally took circular form, each enclosing several acres of ground with walls of earth or stone, and openings opposite each other. As late as 1838 some of these walls on the banks of Honey Creek were about five feet high, but crumbling down.* The works at the old Indian village of Muncietown, three miles below the present city of Fremont were nearly square. Farther remains of prehistoric fortifications were found on the Croghansville hill at Fremont and on the Blue Banks overlooking the river at Ballville.† Where data are altogether lacking fancy may lift a tentative head. One might imagine that the old mound builders, passing southward from the Sandusky valley, commemorated the devious windings of its picturesque river, their former abode, in that wonderful serpent mound of Adams county!

Emerging from this twilight of antiquity, the student comes upon an age of tradition, when a later race inhabited the Sandusky region. Father Segard‡ says that when the French missionaries first reached the Upper Lakes a neutral nation abode

* Lang's Seneca County.

† Everett's Sandusky County.

‡ Jesuit Relations. (191)

there. The Wyandot Indians of Revolutionary times preserved a tradition that in the 17th century a tribe of Neutral Wyandots built near the Lower Rapids of the River, (Lower Sandusky, now Fremont), two cities of refuge where those who sought safety never failed to find it. All of the Indians west of this point were at war with those east of it. Bands from the west might enter the western town and bands from the east the eastern, but all alike recognized the neutral character of the two places.* Gen. Lewis Cass, whose knowledge of Indian character and tradition was exceptional, affirmed: "Tradition represents them as having separated from the parent stock during the bloody wars between their own tribe and the Iroquois, and having fled to the Sandusky River for safety: that they here erected two forts within a short distance of each other and assigned one to the Iroquois and the other to the Wyandots, where their war parties might find security and hospitality."† Probably one of these ancient forts was at Muncietown, and the Neutral Wyandots adapted to their use the remains of the square enclosure left by a preceding race.

These whilom settlers of the Sandusky valley have vanished in dim obscurity. No historic trace of them now remains. In 1701, the French effected a settlement at Detroit, which became the center of a valuable fur trade with the Indians. The Wyandots, a later race, returned to its vicinity from their half century wanderings to escape their rapacious Iroquois kindred, drawing to their camps the Ottawas from Upper Canada; and the two tribes extended themselves westward to the uninhabited Sandusky valley where they were firmly established long before any European exploration of the country south of Lake Erie. Meanwhile French traders were pitching their habitations along the south shore of Lake Erie and up the valleys of the Sandusky and the Maumee Rivers. Homan's map of 1707 shows the word Sandouski to the bay at the mouth of the river.‡ An anonymous report in 1718 concerning the Indians of Canada says:

* Major Stickney, Indian Agent. Lecture, Toledo, February 28, 1845.

† Lewis Cass. Address Michigan Historical Society, September 18, 1829.

‡ Western Reserve Historical Society. Tract No. 3. Early Ohio Maps.

~~red leagues from Niagara~~
“A hundred leagues from Niagara, on the south side [Lake Erie] is a river called Sandosquet, which the Indians of Detroit and Lake Huron take when going to war with the Flatheads and other nations toward Carolina. They ascend this river Sandosquet two or three days, after which they make a small portage of about a quarter of a league. Some make canoes of elm bark and float down a small river [Scioto] that empties into the Ohio. Whoever would wish to reach the Mississippi easily, would need only to take this beautiful river or the Sandosquet; he could travel without any danger of fasting, for all who have been there have repeatedly assured me that there is so vast a quantity of buffalo and of all other animals in the woods along that beautiful river, they were often obliged to discharge their guns to clear a passage for themselves. They say that two thousand men could easily live there.”*

Long before a white man lived upon the soil of Ohio the Sandusky was a water route of travel from Canada to the Mississippi, of the early French traders and Jesuit fathers. They ascended the main stream to the mouth of the Little Sandusky, thence up that tributary four or five miles to a portage; then across the portage, “a fine road of about a quarter of a league” to the Little Scioto, thence down that stream to the Scioto proper, a tributary of the Ohio. Even before the French had any settlements in the valley of the St. Lawrence or the Mississippi; or before La Salle set foot on any portion of Ohio soil, the northern Indians made the Sandusky and the Scioto their route of travel in their predatory warfare upon southern tribes.

The exact derivation of the name of “the road that runs,” is uncertain. Three Wyandot terms are at our service: Sah-undus-kee, clear water; or Sandoostee, at the cold water; or Sa-undustee, water-within-water-pools. The last name is applicable to the extensive marshes along the river, which are intersected by open water; while the other two would naturally describe the clear, cold water of the Sandusky basin springs, of which Castalia is the best known example. The early French traders called the river Sandusquet. By 1784, when Jefferson drew up

* King's Ohio.

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his Ordinance ~~for the division~~, nomenclature and government of the Western Territory, the orthography was practically settled and he wrote the word Sandusky, suggesting that the district which this river drained be called Metropotamia! The Sandusky is a rapid shallow stream, with two marked rapids, or "falls," at Upper Sandusky and at Lower Sandusky. Its principal tributaries are the Broken Sword and the Sycamore upon the east; the Little Sandusky and the Tymochtee to the west. Its mouth forms Sandusky Bay, the "lake" of the early travellers, and the Lake Junandat of several early maps. In Indian parlance the whole system of rivers, creeks, valley and villages was "the Sandusky." "Kahama's curse on the town baptizers of America," exclaimed an Englishman on a pedestrian jaunt along this valley early in the nineteenth century; "there are five or six places named alike, upper and lower, little and big, great and small!"* Moreover the Wyandots changed their towns from time to time, both in location and in name, though always clinging to the banks of this beloved river. To the west, reaching beyond the Maumee River, stretched the famous Black Swamp. South of this, and about the headwaters of the Tymochtee, lay the Sandusky "plains," Tymochtee itself meaning "around the plains." These natural meadows, forty by twenty miles in their greatest length and breadth afforded extraordinary antithesis to the dense forest through which the river cleared its way. These undulating savannas were covered with a high coarse grass. "Birds of strange plumage flew over them; prairie hens rose, sailed away and dropped into the grass; sand-hill cranes blew their shrill pipes, and the noisy bittern was heard along the streamlets. Wild geese and an occasional bald eagle soared overhead." These plains were always favorite hunting grounds of the Indians. Col. James Smith, the captive, participated in a ring hunt here in 1757. "We waited until we expected rain was near falling to extinguish the fire, and then we kindled a large circle in the prairie. At this time . . . a great number of deer lay concealed in the grass in the day and moved about in the night; but as the fire burned in toward the center of the circle, the deer fled before the fire, the scattered Indians shooting them down. When we came to divide

* Ferrell's Ramble of 6,000 miles. London, 1832.

the deer there were about ten to each hunter, which were all killed in a few hours. The rain did not come on that night to put out the outer circle of fire and . . . it extended through the whole prairie."*

Except where the "plains" smiled to the sun in grass and flowers the Sandusky country was densely wooded. Great oaks, elms, walnuts and hickories were interspersed with beech, basswood, maple and sycamore. Till almost the close of the last century a famous sycamore still stood near the river at Upper Sandusky, its trunk, a yard from the base, measuring thirty-seven feet. In 1875 a single black walnut log, 16 feet long and 62 inches thick, required seven horses to pull it up Napoleon street, Fremont, to the car tracks. Indeed, river and inland combined to form a country which the red man and the white alike admired and coveted. No wonder the savage died to save it.

The Wyandots were Hurons, one of the finest and ablest of the Iroquois nation. "The Wyandots are admitted by the others to be the leading tribe," wrote General Harrison to the Secretary of War in 1814; "they hold the Grand Calumet which unites them and kindles the council fire." In 1793, General Anthony Wayne told a scout to go to Sandusky and take a prisoner for the purpose of obtaining information. The scout replied that he could take a prisoner but not from Sandusky, for only Wyandots lived there and a Wyandot would not be taken alive. Other Indians lived along the Sandusky: a band of the warlike Muncies settled about three miles below Lower Sandusky; Mingoes, to which tribe the great Logan belonged,‡ (and along the Sandusky he spent his last years); Delawares, Cayugas, Onondagas, Tuscarawas. Several of these went by the name of Senecas because of the old Indian villages of that name, although early in the nineteenth century Henry C. Brish, the sub-agent of this band could not find a full blooded Seneca among them."† We may now return to the chronology of our theme.

In 1733, Popple published a map in London, using all the charts at the disposal of the Lords of Trade. This map reveals

* Narrative of Col. James Smith. Published 1799.

‡ Butterfield History of Seneca County.

† Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio.

slight consciousness of the river flowing north into Lake Erie and I. [Lake] Sandoski. Charlevoix's map of 1744 says of the south shore of Erie "Toute cette partie du lac m'est inconnue."

As early as 1745, English traders had penetrated to the Sandusky or "St. Dusky" and established a post on the north side of the Bay near the portage. They were driven away by the French in 1748 or 1749;* though Mitchell makes them say that the post was "usurped" by the French in 1751.† In 1749, La Jonquiere, Governor of Canada, learned to his great indignation, that several English traders had reached Sandusky and were exerting "a bad influence upon the Indians of that quarter."‡ It was in 1749 also that Celeron de Bienville traversed Ohio with three hundred men, buried leaden plates with the French arms at the mouth of the Ohio and other rivers, claiming the whole country for France. He came north by way of our sister river, the Maumee. He told the Indians that the English traders would ruin them and drive them out of their country, and in this respect he told the truth! He was made commandant at Detroit and immediately followed up France's formal claim to the territory between Lake Erie and the Ohio, by taking a fort and trading station erected near the mouth of the Sandusky river. Fort Sandusky, or Fort Junandat, was then in 1750, the only post within the present limits of Ohio, and was doubtless merely an establishment for trade, with perhaps a stockade for defence against the English and their Indian allies. French garrisons probably remained at "Ft. Dusky" for a while after the occupation of Ft. Du Quesne, 1758, by the English; but as the contest in Canada approached its crisis, the troops were gradually withdrawn. When the English got possession of Lake Erie and its tributaries, in 1760, a military post was planted here. In May, 1763, Pontiac's war began, and Fort Sandusky was the first to fall. Ensign Paully, its commandant, furnished particulars of its loss to General Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces. Details as compiled by Parkman and Bancroft are as follows:

On the 16th of May, Fort Sandusky was approached by a

* Western Reserve Historical Society. Tract No. 6.

† Western Reserve Historical Society. Tract No. 13.

‡ Parkman: *Struggle for a Continent*.

party of Indians from the Wyandot village. Ensign Paully was told that seven Indians waited at the gate to speak with him. They were four Wyandots and three Ottawas, and as several were known to him he ordered them to be admitted. Arrived at his quarters, two of the treacherous visitors seated themselves on each side of the commandant, while the rest were disposed about the room. The pipes were lighted and conversation begun, when an Indian who stood in the doorway made a signal. Upon this the astonished officer was seized, disarmed, and tied by those near him, while at the same moment outside the sentry and many of his garrison were murdered. As Paully was led out he saw their corpses, and the body of his sergeant who lay in the garden where he was planting seed at the time of the massacre. Some traders within the fort were also killed and their stores plundered. At nightfall, Paully was taken to the lake, and in the darkness the party pushed off in canoes. At that moment the fort burst into flames. Paully was taken prisoner to Detroit, bound hand and foot, and solaced with the expectation of being burned alive. On landing near Pontiac's camp he was surrounded by squaws and children, and pelted with stones and sticks and gravel and forced to dance and sing. Happily, an old woman whose husband had lately died chose to adopt him in his place. Paully was then plunged in the lake that the white blood might be washed from his veins; he was conducted to the lodge of the widow and thenceforth was treated with all the consideration due to an Ottawa warrior. This forced match took place May 20, and in July came the divorce. One evening a man was seen running toward the fort at Detroit closely pursued by Indians. On his arrival within gunshot they gave over the chase and the fugitive came panting within the walls. It was the commandant at Sandusky who had seized the first opportunity to escape from the embraces of the Ottawa widow. The tragedy at Sandusky did not remain long unavenged. July 26, two hundred and sixty men under Captain Dalzell arrived at Sandusky on their way to the relief of Detroit. Thence they marched inland to the Wyandot villages which they burned to the ground, destroying the adjacent fields of corn.

The Wyandot village was probably in the vicinity of Castalia

www.induol.com.cn
springs. The exact site of Fort Sandusky is unknown. The early maps vary greatly, within an area of five or six miles. In Evans's small map of the Middle British Colonies, 1755, the Sandusky River has Fort Sandusky on the west side of the river, "Wyandots" on the east, with a round lake directly below it. South of the lake, which represents Sandusky Bay, is Junandat, "built in 1754," and another Wyandot village. As Junandat is probably a corruption of Wyandot this repetition of places is confusing. It is probable that this house, post or fort, of Fort Sandusky, the first European settlement in Ohio, was the more accurately represented by the northern fort, at the spot where the trail came out on the bay across the neck of land from the Portage, or Carrying, river. This was the beaten route from Detroit into the Ohio country and commanded the mouth of the Sandusky river. Bradstreet's camp was here, and probably Paully's blockhouse. The present village of Venice, three miles west of the present city of Sandusky, is doubtless not far from the site of this ancient Fort Sandusky. The botanist Mitchell made an elaborate map in 1755. In it Sandusky Bay, unnamed, is at the bottom of Lake Erie; the river is named Blanc; Junandat appears as a town named Ayonanton, on a lake called Otsanderket! Not until the Universal Atlas, London, 1796, do the Sandusky Bay and River both appear with tolerable accuracy. Two other early maps should be mentioned here. One of British possessions, 1763, shows Sandoski as the only settlement between Detroit and Niagara. It stands on a bay, but without any sign of a river. In Hutchin's excellent map of 1764, more accurate than any of its predecessors, Sandusky Bay [called lake] is for the first time in proper shape. Fort Sandusky is on the south side, and a Wyandot town, called Junandat in the text, is just south of it. Junqueindundeh [later Lower Sandusky, now Fremont,] twenty miles inland upon the river, appears mapped for the first time. It, and its sister villages up the stream, henceforth gradually grow in importance while Fort Sandusky, burned in 1763, as heretofore stated, was never rebuilt. With the exception of brief mention of Bradstreet, later, Fort Sandusky now passes from this sketch. An appendix to Hutchin's map notes a route leading from Fort Pitt through Fort Sandusky, and through Junquein-

dundeh. Heckewelder's MS. map of 1796, shows a trail west from Cuyahoga, old town, to Lower Sandusky. The old missionary had reason to remember Lower Sandusky where he first saw the peculiar Indian custom of "running the gantlet."

Before the abandonment of Fort Sandusky, however, our chronology invites attention to the diary of Col. James Smith, who, as a prisoner and then adopted brave, tramped the forest from the lakes to Sandusky river. In 1757 he visited one of the Wyandot villages near Fort Sandusky "on the little lake [Sandusky Bay] named Sunyendeand where we diverted ourselves several days catching rock fish in a small creek, the name of which is also Sunyendeand which signifies 'Rockfish'." They paddled up the river, and "when we came to the Falls of Sandusky [the rapids at Upper Sandusky] we buried our birchbark canoes, as usual, at a large burying place for that purpose, a little below the falls. [This was to keep the canoes from warping.] At this place the river falls about eight feet over a rock, but not perpendicularly. With much difficulty we pushed up our wooden canoes; some of us went up the river, and the rest by land with the horses until we came to the great meadows that lie between the Sandusky and Scioto." Here follows the narrative of the ring hunt given earlier in this sketch. "From the mouth of Sandusky to the Falls is chiefly first rate land, lying level, intermixed with large bodies of clear meadows where the grass is exceeding rank and four feet high. From the Falls to the prairies [up-stream] the land lies well to the sun, it is neither too flat nor too hilly and is chiefly first rate." The summer after this, young Smith and his old Indian brother returned down the river, killing in the passage "four bears and a number of turkeys."*

The game of this region was notoriously fine. George Croghan I. records seeing bison near Lake Erie in 1772; and in 1678 M. de Vandreuil wrote "buffalo abound on the south shore of Lake Erie."† An early settler‡ at Lower Sandusky used frequently to see wild pigeons in a continuous flight, passing so

* Narrative of Col. James Smith.

† Western Reserve Historical Society. Tract No. 36.

‡ I. M. Keeler, Fremont.

low that men stood with long clubs and killed thirty or forty within a few minutes. They would darken the whole air about their roosting places. .

The next noteworthy date after the captive Smith, is 1764, when Bouquet and Bradstreet, of the British army, were sent on an expedition against the turbulent western Indians, and to wrest from them the many prisoners whom they had carried away in their incursions upon the frontier settlements. George Croghan, the deputy superintendent of Sir William Johnson, computed that in four months two thousand men, women and children on the borders of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland had been murdered or carried across the Ohio into captivity.† Beyond results, this paper has nothing to do with Bouquet's wise and effective work south of the Sandusky country. Bradstreet, however, whose course lay to the north, spared the Sandusky villages on a pledge that their Wyandot chiefs would follow him to Detroit to complete a treaty there. This was in August. In September he returned and encamped near Sandusky Bay, probably the site of the old Fort Sandusky. The *Newport Mercury* of November 8, 1764, contains this item: "Colonel Bradstreet was at St. Dusky on the 28th September, waiting for the Indians to come in according to terms. The faithless and malicious creatures are seeking pretexts for delay." This spelling of the place is also used in the abstract of an order book, now in the Western Reserve Historical Rooms at Cleveland, of Captain Degarimo, beginning at "the Camp of St. Dusky Lake, Oct. 3, 1764." A letter in the public records of Great Britain, from General Gage to Lord Halifax, December 13, 1764, reads: "Colonel Bradstreet not finding the troops under his command in a condition to march to the plains of the Scioto, kept the enemy in awe by remaining at Sandusky as long as the season would permit, and spiring up the Indians with whom he had lately made peace to declare war and send out parties against them [i. e. against the tribes who would not make peace]. He had regulated affairs at Detroit, got a vessel into Lake Huron and re-established the post at Missilimackinak. He broke up his camp at Sandusky on the 18th October and had the misfortune to lose

† King's Ohio.

twenty-five of his boats from the violence of the surf at Lake Erie. This accident obliged part of the troops to march along the shore who were for a time relieved by others from the boats.”*

This catastrophe occurred while the army was encamped for the night at the mouth of Rocky River, near Cleveland, a sort of tidal wave wrecking twenty-five of the boats and most of the lading. Bradstreet himself reported to Bouquet, whom he was expected to support by keeping the northern Indians quiet while Bouquet attacked them in the heart of their settlements, that he had passed a month about Sandusky lake, and had gone up the river as far as navigable to Indian canoes, but that he “found it impossible to stay longer in these parts.”† Bradstreet was apparently only half hearted, but at that season the river was low, the Black Swamp malaria had got hold of his troops and the stormy season on Lake Erie was near.

In 1765 we find representatives of our Sandusky tribes joining a council of western Indians in the interior of New York State, summoned thither by Sir William Johnson. What Bradstreet and Bouquet had inaugurated on the waters of the Sandusky and the Muskingum, this great Indian agent consummated by his sagacity. Through him the Indians now delivered up large numbers of captives and agreed to grant to the traders, who had suffered in 1763, a tract of land in compensation for injuries done them. When the Indians returned to their homes, George Croghan, [Johnson’s deputy, noteworthy in himself but mentioned here chiefly because he was great-uncle of that second George Croghan, the hero of Fort Stephenson in 1813.] accompanied them. His object was to conclude a treaty with Pontiac and so prevent a recurrence of the Indian war. On the Ohio River he was captured and taken to Vincennes; but released, and followed the now submissive Pontiac to northern Ohio. At Detroit, our Sandusky Indians again conferred with him. It is a coincidence that the first Croghan was pitted against Pontiac, much as the second Croghan was against Tecumseh. In June, 1766, Pontiac told Sir William Johnson that he had taken Col.

* Copy of letter in Western Reserve Historical Rooms. See W. R. H. So. Tract No. 13.

† Butterfield: Bouquet’s Expedition.

George Croghan by the hand and had never let go his hold, because he saw that the Great Spirit would have him a friend of the English.

The first Croghan was a trader as well as Indian Agent, and the value of the Indian trade may be computed from the fact that in one trip he distributed goods to the value of one thousand pistoles [\$3.920] among Indians on the Ohio and Miami rivers.* Traders on the Sandusky river came from Detroit where they obtained a license to traffic with the Indians from the commandant, who required them to give bond to report at his post at stated times. These traders sold large quantities of powder, lead, flint, firearms, trinkets, blankets; taking in exchange the precious furs which were packed on horses to Lower Sandusky, and thence taken in boats down the river and along the lake shore to Detroit.

By 1782, two English traders, Arundel and Robbins, were seemingly settled † at the Wyandot village at the foot of the lower rapids of the river, Lower Sandusky, which was recorded in Hutchin's map of 1764 as Junqueindundeh. Our next knowledge of the place comes from Samuel Brady, the scout, whom Washington had sent out for information upon the Indian movements. He approached the village under cover of night, forded the river, and hid himself on the island just below the present State street bridge. The next morning he was an unsuspected witness at a horserace. A war party had just arrived from Kentucky with some fine horses. They were lined up along the west bank of the river north of State street. A white mare won race after race. Wearying of the monotony, the Indians put two riders upon her. Still she came in victorious. A third man was added, which load sufficed to defeat her, and seemed to delight the spectators. Brady escaped that night and doubtless reported to Washington that the Indians were engrossed with other matters than war. On a subsequent scouting trip into the Sandusky country, Brady was taken prisoner. The notable captive was taken to Upper Sandusky where a throng of Indians had gathered to see him tortured,—among them the white renegade,

* Taylor's Ohio.

† Heckwelder.

Girty, who had been Brady's child playmate in Pennsylvania. The captive seized an opportunity to push a favorite squaw into the fire prepared for himself, and in the resultant excitement ran off, was pursued one hundred miles and made his traditional leap over the Cuyahoga river.* A year earlier, in 1778, Daniel Boone was led captive through Lower Sandusky; as was also his friend, Simon Kenton, on his way to Upper Sandusky where Kenton was condemned to be burned. Both, however, escaped. Upper Sandusky was at that time the place for the payment of British gifts and favors. The old neutrality theory of that earlier race of Wyandots who lived at Lower Sandusky, at least a century before, was indeed antiquated. Preceding and following the Revolutionary war more Indian captives were brought to Lower Sandusky than to any other place in Ohio. Heckewelder himself was a prisoner here in 1782, and his name brings us to the two darkest deeds in Ohio history,—“twin horrors which marked the last year of the Revolution in the Northwest,”—both of which are intimately associated with the Sandusky River. Fort Sandusky was, as has been said, the first European settlement in Ohio. The first permanent settlements, however, were made in 1772 by the Moravians on the Upper Muskingum river, where they established three villages, built the first church in Ohio, befriended the Delaware Indians among whom they settled and made many converts from among them. The Revolutionary War, violating their principles of peace, was their undoing. The Wyandots of the Sandusky, having definitely decided for the British, made every effort to turn the Christian Delawares from their neutrality. When the Delawares returned the war belt, the Wyandots were angered, and instigated by the renegades McKee, Girty and Elliott, a band of three hundred Indians from Upper and Lower Sandusky and Detroit marched into the Moravian villages. This was in 1781. Under the excuse that the British must needs watch these neutrals in the conflict, all the able-bodied Moravians and their Indian converts were driven off to the Sandusky river, about two miles south of the present Upper Sandusky. Sorrowfully they left their beau-

* Traditions of Brady, Western Res. Hist. Society. Tract No. 29.

tiful villages, their cattle and hogs and ripening harvests, estimated at over \$12,000. What gave them most pain was the loss of all books and writing for the instruction of their young.* These were all burned by the savages. On the back of one of the Indian women of the party was the infant daughter of the missionary Heckewelder, long believed to be the first white child born north of the Ohio river. The march to the Sandusky river, one hundred and twenty-five miles, occupied a month. Here the travellers "pitched upon the best spot they could find in the dreary waste and built small huts of bark to screen them from the cold. The savages had by degrees stolen everything from the missionaries and the Indians on the journey."* In October, De Peyster, the commandant at Detroit ordered the Moravian leaders, Zeisberger and Heckewelder and others, to appear before him. Their route lay through Lower Sandusky, where they were lodged in the houses of the British traders Arundel and Robbins. Late in that winter of intense suffering for the poor Indians, a party of one hundred was sent back to the Muskingum to gather a portion of the corn left standing in their fields. Early in March, when they were about to return, a merciless crew of border Americans appeared upon the scene, took them captive and shut them up in two houses. Details of the hideous massacre of these ninety-six Christian Indians and of the utter destruction of the smiling villages of Salem, Gnadenhutten and Schoenbrunn, fall outside the limits of this sketch. The survivors upon the banks of the Sandusky were at once ordered to Detroit. They walked from Upper to Lower Sandusky where two government vessels met them and transported them comfortably to Detroit. The white savage, Girty, was furious at this consideration shown them in his absence. He had intended them to trudge all the way. There is no blacker deed in Ohio's history than this Moravian chapter; although Crawford's appalling fate follows hard upon and is, in part, its sequel.

The Americans had hoped much from the peace following Pontiac's uprising; but just as the Indians were supposed to be subjugated, they suddenly fell upon the frontier settlements of

* Taylor's Ohio — quoted from Bishop Loskiel's History of the Moravians.

Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, with savage fury and unanimity of design. In these incursions the Ohio tribes from the Sandusky river took the lead, receiving surreptitious aid from the British commandant at Detroit. As stated before, Bouquet and Bradstreet's expedition was to stop such depredations and for a short time was effective. Washington was so exercised that he wrote: "It is much to be regretted that the state of the regular troops will not admit of a detachment sufficient to undertake anything offensive against the hostile tribes." * A voluntary force, however, of about five hundred horsemen was recruited on the border. Col. William Crawford, who though ten years the senior had learned surveying under Washington and had recently, in his humble cabin on the banks of the Youghiogheny, been visited by the commander-in-chief, was chosen leader. The object of this expedition was to punish the Wyandots into quietude, and not, as Heckewelder imagined and as many later historians have been led to believe, to destroy the remnant of the Christian Indians encamped on the Sandusky River. In the words of General Irvine, commander at Fort Pitt, Crawford's expedition set forth "to destroy the Indian settlements at Sandusky, by which we hope to give ease and safety to the inhabitants of this country." † The date is May, 1782.

A word concerning the site of the approaching action. The Upper Sandusky of 1782 was on the west side of the river, on its immediate bank, five miles below the site of the present Upper Sandusky which did not become a Wyandot village till many years later. When the war upon the frontier became serious, the chief sachem of the Wyandots, Pomoacan, the Half King, moved from his village on the Detroit River, to a place on the Sandusky eight miles below the upper village, the place known to Crawford's army. The Indians immediately gathered about him there, leaving the upper village deserted. Meanwhile upon the Tymochtee creek, the principal western tributary of the Sandusky, the hostile Delawares had a village near the present Crawfordsville. This was nearly eleven miles from the old Sandusky of the Wyandots; and here lived The Pipe, chief of the hostile

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence.

† Crawford's Expedition by Butterfield.

Delawares. His village and that of the Half King were the only Indian towns upon the waters of the Sandusky above Lower Sandusky. The present Upper Sandusky is a later village.

News of Crawford's Expedition had speedily reached the Indians on the Sandusky. The villages were soon in a wild state of excitement and runners started to Detroit to get aid from their British allies. The commandant, De Peyster, immediately dispatched Butler's Rangers to support the Indians. They were all mounted and took two cannon and a mortar. Their horses were sent around the lake by land, while the Rangers with their arms and cannon went by boat to Lower Sandusky, where their horses met them. Meanwhile the traders at Upper Sandusky were packing their goods and fleeing to the Lower Town.

Through the dense Ohio forests, Crawford's troopers took their march, growing terrified as they neared their destination, and insubordinate. They passed the deserted Moravian camp — the inhabitants it will be remembered had been sent to Detroit — and the springs of the present Upper Sandusky; and then struck out into the Sandusky plains. Here they were surprised by the waiting enemy at what is still called Battle Island, three and a half miles from the courthouse in Upper Sandusky. A brisk encounter ensued, and the torrid June day closed in favor of the invaders. The following day Butler's Rangers appeared, and with this apparition of a civilized foe, dismay filled the hearts of the assailants. Retreat was decided upon and all the wounded brought off. The inevitable confusion was heightened by attacks from the Indians; the four lines of the force were divided and Crawford with his surgeon, Dr. Knight, and a few others, were captured next day on the banks of the river. Among the spoil gathered by the Indians was a *broken sword*, picked up on the banks of the creek which has ever since borne that name. Meanwhile the British troops having accomplished their object returned at once to Detroit, by way of river and lake, and "the big captain" of the invading army was left to the mercy of the Indians. Crawford, Knight and the five others were marched up the river to Sandusky Old Town, where the Delaware chief, Pipe, painted their faces black — ominous import — with his own hand. As the march was continued to the Delaware village on

the Tymochtee, the five unimportant prisoners were summarily tomahawked, and their reeking scalps flung in the faces of the officers reserved for a worse fate. At the place of rendezvous, a short distance north of the present Crawfordsville, a crowd of eager warriors, squaws and children, with the infamous Girty and Elliott were waiting the victims. Doctor Knight was also an unwilling and horrified witness. The mind shrinks from the details which followed. Crawford was stripped of his clothes and secured to the fire-encircled stake. His ears were cut off. At least seventy loads of powder were shot into his body and then faggots applied as the spectators chased him about the post, over the fire and hot ashes.* He begged Girty to shoot him. The monster laughed. Cut the tale short; and remember that the hostile Delawares were inflamed beyond the ordinary by the treatment of their Christian kindred at the hands of the whites.

It is cheering to record that Doctor Knight effected an escape, as did the main part of the army. The retreat was led by Williamson and a Colonel Rose, a foreigner, who had come into General Irvine's favor. After the close of the Revolution, Rose confided to Irvine that he was really a Russian nobleman, Baron Gustavus Rosenthal of Livonia. Because of having killed a man in a duel he was obliged to flee from his own country, and had sought safety in America. He entered the army as hospital steward; but General Irvine noticed his ability and advanced him to be his aide. He served with fidelity until the close of the war, without having revealed his identity; and then by permission he returned to Europe, was regarded with favor by Emperor Alexander, and became Grand Marshal of the province of Livonia.†

With Crawford's Expedition, "rashly undertaken, injudiciously prosecuted and terminating in almost unparalleled calamity," closed the drama of the American Revolution upon the wilderness of Ohio. The appetite of the Indians for vengeance and plunder was, however, only whetted, and their private fury was unchecked until the victorious Wayne dictated terms of

* The narrative is condensed from Butterfield's authoritative monograph on Crawford's Expedition.

† Crawford's Expedition.

peace. In 1785, the masterful Brandt, fêted the following year in London, assembled a council fire at Lower Sandusky, and there formed the league which in 1791 defeated the army under St. Clair.

A second expedition against the Sandusky villages was planned, though never prosecuted. It is noteworthy here because of a letter on the subject from General Irvine to Washington:

"We may lay out our accounts to have to fight the Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots, Mingoes, in all five hundred. They are all settled in a line from Lower Sandusky to the heads of the Miami, not over seventy-five miles. Upper Sandusky lies near the center. If all these could be beat at once, it would nearly, if not entirely, put an end to the Indian war in that quarter."*

The final contest over the right to occupy the northwest took place in 1794 with General Wayne's triumph at Fallen Timbers on the banks of the Maumee, sister river of the Sandusky. The following summer eleven of the most powerful tribes of the northwest were represented at the council fire at Greenville, when Wayne dictated terms of the treaty. The Indians solemnly promised never again to make certain Ohio lands a cause of war or injury, and were themselves received under the protection of the United States. The effect of this treaty upon settlement was immense. No single or combination of tribes again lifted the tomahawk against the United States until just before the war of 1812.

By the treaty of Fort McIntosh, 1785, the Wyandot and associated tribes relinquished all claim to the Ohio valley; and the United States reserved, of the northwestern hunting grounds, certain sites for trading-posts. One of these was the two-mile square tract at the lower rapids of the Sandusky. This clause doubtless emphasized to the author of the Greenville treaty, ten years later, the importance of this spot. In the Greenville treaty, August 3, 1795, the Indians ceded to the United States forever, the two-mile square tract at Lower Sandusky which the United States, in the McIntosh treaty had rather peremptorily "reserved" to itself. At the close of the War of 1812, the Gov-

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence.

ernment surveyed and sold this tract, but did not survey the surrounding land to which the Indian title was not yet extinguished. So here was this little dot of tentative civilization scooped out of the wilderness. With commendable sentiment the city of Fremont, formerly Lower Sandusky, has never altered its official boundaries, although its population generously overflows the two-mile square tract. The situation is at the head of navigation, a beautiful inland harbor for large boats, and admitting navigation for small boats farther south than any other stream within the lake system. Lower Sandusky was both the military and the commercial center of two races of men. A copy of a petition to the government of Ohio, signed by the white inhabitants of Lower Sandusky, December 21, 1813, has sixteen signatures. Indian cabins dotted the beautiful hill west of the river and council fires lighted the evening sky. Half King, the great chief, lived at Upper Sandusky; but Tarhe, the Crane, the principal war chief, lived at Lower Sandusky. After the treaty of Greenville, Crane led his warriors from this place against Wayne, he himself carrying the Grand Calumet. He was later made custodian of the treaty of Greenville,* Harrison declaring him "venerable, intelligent and upright."† After the treaty of Greenville, the office of Half King was abolished, Crane became head of the Wyandot nation and took up residence four miles north of the present Upper Sandusky, the old Indian town of Sandusky. On his death, the Indians transferred their council house to the present Upper Sandusky, calling the other place Crane Town.‡ At the new village in 1818 an immense company gathered to pay respect to the memory of this illustrious chief. The general council of all the tribes of Ohio, the Delawares of Indiana and the Senecas of New York were present. Red Jacket was there from Buffalo to make the monody. The treaty of McIntosh had the effect of congregating at Lower Sandusky representatives of all the Ohio tribes. The Delawares came in large numbers, and the war-like Muncies established a village three

* History of Fort Wayne.

† Letter of Harrison to Secretary of War, March 22, 1814.

‡ Howe's Historical Collection of Ohio.

miles below ~~at a place where a~~ creek enters the river. The traders dubbed the settlement Muncieville. It was destroyed in the war of 1812.*

A different sort of settlement was effected about 1780 when the Indians brought from Virginia a group of captive negroes whom they placed in charge of the little peninsula ever since known as Negro Point, or in enduring parlance, Nigger Bend.† The first permanent white settlers on the Sandusky, antedating Wayne's Victory, were the Whittakers whose name still lingers upon Whittaker sand-bar three miles below Fremont.

Their story is most romantic. About the year 1780, two Whittaker brothers and a third young man left Fort Pitt to hunt game for the garrison. They were attacked by Indians, one was killed, one escaped, and James Whittaker was captured. He was taken to Ohio and compelled to run the gantlet, escaping unhurt from that ordeal. Not pleased with his success, the Indians decided that he should run it again, when an old squaw came forward, threw her blanket over him and claimed him as her son. He was thenceforth counted as one of their own people. About two years afterward, a girl of eleven, Elizabeth Fulks, was captured by the Indians during a raid into Pennsylvania, and carried into the wilds of the northwest. Whittaker became acquainted with her and the two were married at Detroit. The friendly Wyandots gave them twelve hundred acres of choice farming land on the Sandusky River, the tract since known as the Whittaker farm, three miles below Fremont. He established a trading store there, another at Upper Sandusky and a third not far distant on the Tymochtee. He was a successful merchant and grew rich. One day after drinking a glass of wine with his partner in Upper Sandusky he fell down dead. He was buried on his own farm and his tombstone was for many years moved about, saved from entire destruction by superstitious hands. It was at last taken from a corner of a rail fence and deposited in Birchard Library, Fremont. It records his death, "in the 48th year of his age, December 17, 1804" and affords strong evidence that Whittaker was the first white settler in Ohio.

* Abbott's Ohio.

† Everett's Sandusky County.

This James Whittaker may be regarded as the first educator of this region. About 1800 at a large expense, he hired a teacher from the east to instruct his older children. He then sent his eldest daughter to Pittsburgh where she was well educated and coming home was qualified to teach her many younger brothers and sisters. Whittaker's thorough adoption into the Wyandot tribe is shown by the fact that he joined their war parties. He was present at St. Clair's defeat and at the battle of Fallen Timbers.*

Hon. Isaac Knapp, a prominent merchant and a former mayor of Lower Sandusky, knew in Kentucky early in the nineteenth century, three brothers and two sisters named Davidson who in childhood had been captured by the Indians and brought to Lower Sandusky. They described to Mr. Knapp minutely the lay of the land here, the bends of the river, the high banks on the east, so that there was no doubt of the locality they recalled. The oldest brother was made to run the gantlet and his success so enraged a squaw that she incontinently tomahawked him. According to their story the gantlet ground extended south from the present Wheeling station along the river bank. This was somewhere prior to 1794.

Frequent mention has been made of the Indians forcing their captives to run the gantlet. Our first authoritative description of it is from Heckewelder, who observed it in Lower Sandusky in 1782. "As soon as the prisoners had crossed the river they were told to run as hard as they could to a painted post which was shown them. The youngest of the three immediately started without a moment's hesitation and reached the post without a single blow. The second hesitated for a moment, but recollecting himself he also ran as fast as he could and reached the post unhurt; but the third, frightened at seeing so many men, women and children with weapons in their hands ready to strike him, kept begging the captain to spare his life, saying he was a mason and would build a large stone house for him or do any other work he should choose. 'Run for your life,' cried the chief 'and don't talk now of building houses!' Our mason now began to run, but received many a hard blow one of which nearly brought

* McClung's Sketches of Western Adventure.

him to the ground and which, if he had fallen, would have decided his fate. He however reached the goal sadly bruised and besides he was bitterly scoffed at and reproached as a vile coward, while the others were hailed as brave men and received tokens of universal approbation."

So faithfully did the Indians keep their promises made at Greenville that for the next ten or twelve years peace obtained upon the Sandusky. After the Revolution, the British upon a pretext of obligations toward the loyalists not being observed by the Americans, withheld the posts at Detroit and at Ft. Miami on the Maumee; and from these vantage points kept control of the Indian federation and of all the lake shore from Mackinac to Niagara. The final surrender of these posts in July 1795 marked the last important event of the eighteenth century in the Sandusky valley. Thus for the first time, northwestern Ohio came under the American flag. The county of Wayne was established, embracing Michigan and all northwestern Ohio, including the Sandusky country. In 1803, Ohio became a State; and on St. Valentine's Day, 1812, the capital was voted to be moved farther up the Scioto river, to Columbus. Thus the Sandusky river acquired a fresh significance as a strategic point, the portage between the two rivers being short, easy and universally employed.

Meanwhile the war-inciting voice of the Prophet was heard in the land, and his twin brother Tecumseh was travelling from Florida to upper Canada to unite the Indian tribes. One afternoon Mrs. George Williams, who lived on the Williams Reservation on Negro Point, walked through Muncieville. By a light in a wigwam she saw Tecumseh in consultation with an Ottawa chief and overheard part of the conversation. Being herself an Ottawa she understood Tecumseh to say that "next year when the corn was knee high a war would begin by killing all white people on Indian territory, and the British would join them."* "In 1812, Jacob B. Varnum, jr., Indian Agent at Lower Sandusky came to my father's house† in Bloomingville, Erie

* Homer Everett in conversation with the Williams family.

† Recollections of Judge Israel Harrington, Lower Sandusky Whig, April, 1840.

County, to be sworn in as postmaster at Lower Sandusky,—my father being the nearest officer authorized to administer such oaths. Mr. Varnum's father, then a senator from Connecticut, had written his son that war would certainly be declared against Great Britain very soon, and that a fortification would be built at Lower Sandusky. My father concluded to remove to that point for safety."* In June 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain and the west became the theatre of conflict. July 1 of this year, John Campbell and a company of regulars were ordered to Lower Sandusky where stores were being collected for General Hull, head of the western army. The company embarked from Cleveland in two large batteaux, with decks, and arrived at Lower Sandusky on the 14th. These were doubtless the largest craft hitherto seen on the river. Campbell's men now fell to work to erect a stockade. On the 21st, they were ordered to Detroit and went off in their batteaux, leaving their sick. The order to Campbell as given by Governor Meigs, signifies that there was already a government post at Lower Sandusky. It reads: "you will purchase provisions and ammunition for twenty days. You will take with you the necessary tools for building two blockhouses and piquet them so as to protect the United States trading-house and store at that place. You will treat all friendly Indians well. Tell the Crane you come from me."†

Early in December, 1812, a detachment of Perkin's Brigade arrived at Lower Sandusky and repaired Campbell's stockade, "to protect an Indian store formerly established at that place by the Government."‡ Soon after, the whole of the brigade arrived. By the 20th, Gen. William Henry Harrison, who had succeeded the incompetent Hull as commander-in-chief, reached Upper Sandusky, and there made his headquarters. He had an effective force of about 1,500 men, artillery and large supplies,

* The Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Society was in 1874 presented with a letter from Postmaster General Meigs, appointing Morris A. Newman first postmaster at Lower Sandusky. It is dated July 2d, 1814. Varnum's prior holding of the place was rather by exigency than by governmental recognition.

† West. Res. Hist. So. Tract No. 51.

‡ McAfee History of the Late War. Published 1816.

and the appearance of the camp showed that active preparations were near. A hint of his energy comes in report of a ride he made from Upper to Lower Sandusky about this time, doing the forty miles in seven and a half hours. Information had come too late, however, and though he gathered up all the Lower Sandusky force and started westward, he could not prevent the awful massacre of Americans on the River Raisin in Michigan. In February, 1813, a company arrived at Lower Sandusky, to help build the fort. One of the members who was in the August engagement and lived to a great age, said that their oxen became so poor from want of sufficient and proper food that it was almost impossible to get them to pull the pickets from the woods [near Stony Prairie] to the Fort. Many of the oxen died. Large packs of wolves were almost constantly howling on their tracks, waiting for the opportunity to devour the starved carcasses.*

"In May, 1813," continues this narrator, "farmers to the number of three hundred came from southern Ohio, after corn planting, to see if the American flag still floated on the fort. They picketed their horses on the bottom lands between the fort and Ballville which was then a beautiful meadow. At the foot of the hill between the fort and State Street was a French town of log cabins. The French burying ground was at the foot of the hill between what are now Birchard Avenue and Ewing street." In May, 1813, a general order from Lower Sandusky shows that Colonel Stephenson was in command and the fort and site has ever since borne his name. The first known instance of its authentic use on a letter head is May 22, 1813, in an adjutant's letter to Governor Meigs.† This same month reinforcements marched to the relief of Fort Meigs on the Maumee, Return Jonathan Meigs, Governor of Ohio, at their head. News that the British had retreated reached him May 12, at Lower Sandusky, where Harrison joined him on his return from Fort Meigs. The volunteer troops were therefore disbanded at Lower Sandusky, "receiving the thanks of the commander-in-chief, and were justly applauded for the alacrity and ardor with which they had repaired to the standard of their country."‡

* Mr. Figley of Defiance County, in conversation with J. P. Moore.

† Everett's Sandusky County.

‡ McAtee's History of the Late War.

On the 3d of July a mounted regiment under Col. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, "the man who killed Tecumseh" and the future Vice President, marched from Fort Meigs to Lower Sandusky, to recruit their horses there. "The Fourth was celebrated by the garrison and mounted men together, in great harmony and enthusiasm. Colonel Johnson delivered an appropriate address; and a number of toasts, breathing sentiments of the republican soldier were drunk, cheered by the shouts of the men and the firing of small arms and the discharge of a six-pounder from the fort." This is the first mention of the cannon "Old Betsy," and it also records the first public celebration of the Fourth of July in Lower Sandusky. McAfee's narrative continues: "Considerable exertion was now making to finish the works of Fort Stephenson which had been planned and commenced in April by Colonel Wood. They were soon afterward completed so as to contain a larger garrison and make some formidable resistance. On the 6th Colonel Johnson's regiment left for Huron." Prior to the 16th of July, Major George Croghan arrived with part of the 17th regiment and took command of the fort. Here Harrison, on his way from Cleveland stopped, and with Croghan and several other officers examined the heights which surround Fort Stephenson. It was concluded that as the fort held nothing but two hundred barrels of flour and could not be defended against heavy artillery, that if the British should approach by water, causing the presumption that they had brought heavy artillery, Fort Stephenson should be burned, provided a retreat could be effected with safety.

Harrison then proceeded to Seneca town, nine miles up the river, where he constructed a fortified camp, henceforth known as Fort Seneca. Here he was reinforced by Colonel Ball's squadron of a hundred and fifty dragoons, and Generals Cass and McArthur, making his force about six hundred. The site was admirably chosen, on the west bluff about forty feet above the river just where it makes a sharp turn, and close to the old army road. Here he erected a stockade with a blockhouse at the southwest corner. The pickets enclosed a fine spring of water. The place was accessible either to Upper Sandusky, where the stores were concentrated; or to Fort Meigs on the Maumee, if the safety of

that place required the commander's presence. These two camps were the objects to be defended. Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky was comparatively unimportant. The same month, Colonel Ball with a detachment of men moved farther up the river, where Rocky River enters the Sandusky on the left, and there built a stockade near the old army road, opposite the present city of Tiffin, with which the subsequent village was afterward merged. It was called Fort Ball, and was built as a place of security in case of disaster at the north and as a magazine for supplies. After the battle of Tippecanoe, Harrison, then at Fort Seneca, sent a detachment up the river to strengthen this camp. It was occasionally occupied during the remainder of the war.* Still further south, at Upper Sandusky, Harrison built Fort Ferree, on the high bluff of the river. A mile below Fort Ferree was "the grand encampment" where Governor Meigs rested in August, 1813, with several thousand Ohio militia on his way to the relief of Fort Meigs.†

Throughout the spring and early summer of 1813, Harrison passed back and forth along the line of his camps, Upper and Lower Sandusky, Fort Seneca, Fort Meigs on the Maumee, to Cleveland where the fleet was building, and into the interior to consult with Governor Meigs. Meanwhile scouts were watching Lake Erie for the approach of the enemy, at either Cleveland or Lower Sandusky. On the evening of July 31st, the enemy's fleet was discovered ascending the Sandusky river, — it had suffered delay through mistaking the mouth of Mud Creek for the main channel;—and only a few hours after the news was reported to Croghan at Fort Stephenson, the assailants appeared. Five hundred British regulars, veteran troops from the War of the Peninsula in Spain, landed on the west bank of the river, opposite the head of Brady Island, and the Indians numbering from one to two or even three thousand and led by Tecumseh himself, swarmed in the woods between Fort Meigs and Fort Stephenson. It was quite too late to retreat in safety, and Major Croghan, a handsome, well-born, spirited Kentucky lad, made rapid preparations for battle. His force consisted of but one hundred and

* Butterfield's Seneca County.

† Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio.

sixty men. On the first of August the British opened fire upon Fort Stephenson in earnest, from a point of woods two hundred and fifty yards to the northwest. Croghan replied with his one gun, "Old Betsy," a six pounder, shifted from place to place to convey the impression that he had several pieces. Late in the afternoon of the 2d, the enemy made a united assault. Colonel Short at the head of the principal column, followed by his men, leaped into the ditch surrounding the fort. At that moment, the masked porthole in Croghan's blockhouse was opened and "Old Betsy" at a distance of thirty feet poured forth such destruction that few who had entered the ditch escaped. Meanwhile the other assaulting columns had been routed, and a precipitous retreat began into the woods. Colonel Short and one hundred and fifty British regulars and Indians were left dead, and twenty-six captured. Croghan had one killed and seven slightly wounded. In the night the whole British and Indian force retreated. So great was their haste that they left a sailboat containing clothing and military stores. Wellington medals of the War of the Peninsula were long afterward ploughed up near the river bank.

"It will not be the least of General Proctor's mortifications," wrote General Harrison, in his official report of the affair, "that he has been baffled by a youth who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, Gen. George R. Clarke."

The battle of Fort Stephenson, though not in itself a great battle was the first really brilliant effort of the war of 1812. The youth of the hero, the disparity in numbers on the opposing sides, and the decisive triumph, aroused a burst of enthusiasm throughout the country. This famous repulse of August 2, 1813, marks the last invasion of Ohio soil by the British and Indians.* It was the turning point in the war that ended in sweeping the haughty British navy from our seas and hurling his army from our borders.†

On August 9, "a British boat was discovered coming up the river with a flag. When it landed below Fort Stephenson, Captain Hunter was sent to meet the commander, who proved to be

* King's Ohio.

† Gen. Wm. H. Gibson, speech at Fort Stephenson, Aug. 2, 1886.

Lieut. Le Breton, accompanied by Doctor Banner, with a letter from General Proctor to the commandant at Lower Sandusky, their object being to ascertain the situation of the British wounded and afford them surgical aid. Captain Hunter invited them to the fort. Le Breton seemed to hesitate as if he expected first to be blindfolded, as usual in such cases; but Hunter told him to come on, that there was nothing in the fort to conceal; and when he introduced him to Major Croghan as the commandant of the fort he appeared to be astonished at the youthful appearance of the hero who had defeated the combined forces of his master.

"As the letter of General Proctor also contained a proposition for the paroling of those prisoners who might be in a condition to be removed, the flag was sent by Major Croghan to headquarters at Seneca. General Harrison replied to the letter of Proctor that Major Croghan, conformably to those principles which are held sacred in the American army, had caused all possible care to be taken of the wounded prisoners that his situation would admit — that every aid which surgical skill could give was afforded; and that he had already referred the disposal of his prisoners to his government and must await their determination. Doctor Banner in the meantime had examined the situation of the wounded and was highly gratified with the humane treatment they had received."*

Two days before Croghan's victory at Fort Stephenson a little encounter took place along the river a half mile south of what is now Ballville, two miles above Fremont. Lieut. Col. James V. Ball, with his squadron of Kentucky troopers was carrying dispatches from Harrison to Croghan when they were suddenly fired upon by Indians in ambush. Ball had instructed his men always to charge with sharpened sabres directly at the smoke or sound of a discharged musket in order to close the enemy before they could reload the old flint lock muskets which required priming. The Colonel himself struck the first blow, and a hand to hand skirmish ensued. Within the memory of many still living, an oak stood on the site of this action with seventeen hacks

* McAfee's History of the Late War.

in it, to indicate the number of Indians killed.* Colonel Ball lost not a man. Among his troopers was a young private, James Webb, grandfather of Lucy Webb Hayes, and his old flint lock rifle and hunting horn are among the treasures of Spiegel Grove at Fremont. This week, also, Harrison narrowly escaped assassination by a Shawanese Indian at Seneca. The chief of this tribe so repudiated the attempted murder that he himself kept guard at the General's door every night thereafter until the troops left. The morning after the battle of Fort Stephenson, Harrison arrived from Fort Seneca, to congratulate and consult with Croghan, but returned almost immediately. All the military energies of the State had been roused by this victory, troops from all quarters hurried to the Sandusky river, and both sides made vigorous preparation for the inevitable naval battle which should decide the command of Lake Erie and its shores. Ship carpenters were busily at work, and nine American vessels were ready for service, carrying fifty-four guns and six hundred marines. The fleet anchored just off Sandusky Bay, on Lake Erie, and the resultant battle falls slightly without the territory of this sketch.

The exhilarating news of Perry's Victory set Fort Stephenson and Fort Seneca in an uproar of tumultuous joy. Governor Shelby of Kentucky, with fifteen hundred Kentucky volunteers marching to Harrison's camp, received the news at Fort Ball [Tiffin],† and hastened joyfully on by river and the old army road along part of its banks. Harrison immediately proceeded to Lower Sandusky and issued orders for the movements of the collected troops and the transportation of provisions and military stores to the margin of the lake, preparatory to embarkation. From Lower Sandusky these went principally by river to the portage near the Bay which leads across the isthmus to the Portage River at its junction with the lake. The pleasant peninsula between the mouths of the two rivers was speedily filled with the army, and the horses turned loose to graze on the fine grass. The army was now bound for Canada and the decisive Battle of the Thames.

A final mention of Fort Stephenson from the military stand-

* Butterfield's Seneca County.

† Harper's Magazine, Aug., 1863. B. J. Lossing.

point occurs in the spring of 1814 when Croghan, then commandant at Detroit, ordered on from Lower Sandusky, a point without my limits, two commands," for the expedition against Mackinac and the upper lakes. Croghan bitterly opposed this expedition, "because if Mackinac be taken we are not at all benefitted." The expedition is chiefly interesting to us now from a letter Croghan wrote to Harrison complaining of the action of the Secretary of War in passing orders to Major Holmes over Croghan's head. "Major Holmes has been notified by the War Department that he is chosen to command the land troops which are intended to co-operate with the fleet against the enemy's forces on the upper lakes. So soon as I may be directed by you to order Major Holmes on that command and to furnish him with the necessary troops, I shall do so; but not till then shall he or any other part of my force leave the sod." * The reader smiles at the young officer's righteous heat, and surmises that Croghan's famous dispatch of July 30 to his chief, "We have determined to maintain this place [Fort Stephenson] and by heaven we can," was not entirely to delude the British into whose hands it might fall; but was inherently characteristic of this fiery youth.

Philander Rexford arrived with his father's family in Lower Sandusky in 1815, he being a boy of six years. He soon visited the fort and found guards still stationed within and sentinels without. A mascot in the shape of a live bear was chained to a stake near the center of the fort.|| Thomas L. Hawkins was in 1815 put in charge of the government property at Fort Stephenson. After the battle of the Thames in Canada, the spoils of the victory were brought by Harrison to Fort Stephenson. Among them was General Proctor's carriage. Hawkins used to hitch oxen to it and take carriage rides. Scraping away the paint with his jack knife, he concluded that there had been at least a dozen coats. One was a peach-blow color. The carriage was probably very old.† Other old settlers have recorded seeing this carriage in the possession of Mr. Hawkins.‡

* McAfee, *History of the Late War*.

|| Letter from P. Rexford, *Fremont Journal*, March 28, 1879.

† J. P. Moore in conversation with T. L. Hawkins.

‡ Reports Pioneer Meeting, October 23, 1885. *Journal*.

Frequent mention has been made of the old army road and trail between Upper Sandusky and Lower Sandusky. It ran along the western bank of the river, being the principal thoroughfare for troops and supplies during the war, and was laid out by General Bell, of Wooster, in 1812. For several years after the close of the war, large quantities of provisions for the settlements around Lower Sandusky passed along this road; and many immigrants from Europe who had previously landed in Canada took this course on their way south, making it a main-traveled road before there were white settlers in the country.* This Harrison military trail has been preserved as the main road of Spiegel Grove, the residence of President Hayes in Fremont, and is distinctly marked out not only by the depression but by the elms and oaks which line it, and which have since been named after celebrated visitors. In the celebration of 1877 President Hayes served refreshments to members of his old regiment under five of these great oaks, which were then named after Rosecrans, Sammon, Comly and Stanley Matthews and their old commander, General Sheridan. Subsequently a magnificent elm was named after General Sherman; while three presidential visitors are remembered by the Garfield maple, the Cleveland hickory and the McKinley oaks. The Harrison trail did not follow the river its whole course and was never actually surveyed. The present west side river road from Fremont to Upper Sandusky, was surveyed by David Risdon and made a State road in 1821. It ran as straight as possible, and scarcely ever touched the old army road.† A road along the east side of the river led from Lower Sandusky to Delaware, and was used first for military purposes and then for emigrants. In 1820 it was supplanted by the Morrison State road surveyed by Isaac Harrington in 1820. Morrison for whom it was named was a commissioner who located the road. The surveyor Risdon, named above, was the first appointed postmaster at the office located at Fort Ball (Tiffin). It is said that he used occasionally to go fishing and carry the mail matter with him in his hat. People who were anxious to get their mail and could not wait

* Butterfield: Seneca County.

† Lang's Seneca County.

for his return, would follow him up along the river. Mr. Risdon would then take the postoffice from his head and look for letters and papers.* Roads and mail routes were of incalculable importance in these early days. In March, 1813, Calvin Pease wrote from Lower Sandusky to Major Tod:

"I am ordered by the postmaster-general to run the express-mail twice a week from Pittsburgh to the headquarters of the northwestern army. For that purpose I have brought on a good supply of horses. I wished to have seen General Harrison [who had gone on to Cincinnati]—to get a route from this place to headquarters that he would approve of. Whenever General Harrison moves his headquarters I should be glad to receive the earliest intelligence of it, that I may send on more horses if necessary that the mail may always go to his headquarters."†

During the war of 1812 there was attached as chaplain to Harrison's command, the Rev. Joseph Badger, the first missionary in northern Ohio. In 1801 he began work on the Western Reserve and in the Sandusky Valley. He received a formal appointment from an eastern missionary society to Lower Sandusky.‡ Associated with him was Quintus F. Atkins, a manuscript copy of whose diary is in the Western Reserve Historical Rooms. There we read that in 1806 these two men "sailed up the Sandusky River to Mrs. Whittaker's, where they unloaded and had family prayers, having with them an Indian convert named Barnett. This was three miles below the rapids." A little later in returning from a successful fishing at the Rapids, Atkins heard Crane, the Wyandot chief "expressing his pleasure in granting permission to work their land and to get food, and hoping they would dwell together in peace." February 10, 1807, Atkins assisted Mr. Waterman copy a bill of articles for the factory, buying some powder of Whittaker."¶ Mr. Waterman was evidently the U. S. factor, and the factory seems to have been in the vicinity of the Whittaker farm.

Badger crossed the Sandusky river, June 14, 1805, "swim-

* Lang's Seneca County.

† West. Res. Hist. So. Tract No. 2.

‡ MS. of Cornelius Feather—Ashtabula Historical Society.

¶ West. Res. Hist. So. Tract No. 50. Diary of Q. F. Atkins.

ming his horse by the side of a canoe." In the fall of 1809 when war rumors were afloat, Mr. Badger made an appointment for the Indians to meet him at Lower Sandusky and his address to them was so convincing, and his influence for four or five years had been so powerful for good among them,—that they resolved to take no part in the war if it came.* This was doubtless the principal reason why the Indians of this especial locality kept faith with the Americans during the War of 1812, not joining with the other Sandusky Wyandots in behalf of the British.

In 1816 John Stewart, a mulatto, began missionary work among the Wyandots of Upper Sandusky, and was so successful that the M. E. Church sent out Rev. James Finley who has left his own record of the work. We read that at one time on his way to Quarterly Meeting at Detroit: "I left my horse at Fort Ball and hired two young Indians to take me to Portland [the present Sandusky on the bay] in a bark canoe. We started about noon and the Sandusky River being very full, our bark canoe went over the rapids almost with the swiftness of a bird. But when we got to eddy water which we reached a short distance below Lower Sandusky, we met schools of fish called sheep-head; and they much annoyed us by sticking fast to the bottom of our canoe. Once in a while one of the Indians who steered for us would take his butcher knife out of his belt and slip down his arm into the water and stab one of them and it would almost jump on board. But they not being good to eat, we cared not to take any of them. We had no provisions with us and depended on killing deer. My comrades fired several times but were not so fortunate as to kill any. Night came on and we had no place to stop till we got down into the marshes at the mouth of the river. There was an old Frenchman that lived in this marsh and caught muskrats. We arrived at his poor wigwam that night and found nothing to eat but muskrats." Next evening Finley boarded *Walk-in-the-Water* for Detroit.†

It is extremely interesting to see that the most approved and so-supposed modern method of dealing with the Indian on his reservation — industrial training and lands in severalty — was in

* Rev. E. Bushnell, D. D., History of Sandusky County.

† Finley's Life Among the Indians.

use by ~~Finley~~ almost a century ago. In 1824, Bishop Soule of the M. E. Church visited the mission. "The location [on the west side of the river one mile below Upper Sandusky] is delightful and convenient. The mission has sixty acres of corn growing; has reaped wheat and oats and a crop of flax, and keeps a great variety of vegetables. It owns ten cows. Industrial training is popular. Adult Indians visit the school and imitate its methods in agriculture, building and butter-making."

Finley wrote General Cass, praying for individual allotment of Indian lands: "Heretofore the land belonged to the Wyandot nation. Its equitable division so that each Indian might have ownership in the soil would contribute to make each family stationary and also beget an ambition to improve their property. Thus a new stimulus to the development of civilized life would be secured." In this General Cass heartily concurred. In the summer of 1825 "a surveyor was employed to lay off a certain portion into half sections, and the chiefs request you to finish their work." General Cass formulated a plan to which the Indians assented, and "houses went up in all directions."

Finley visited Washington and had an interview with President Monroe, described the mission work to him and through his influence and that of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, got a Government appropriation of \$1,333. Monroe desired that he should build a church for the mission "of durable materials, so that it might remain a house of worship when both of us are no more." This work was performed and in Finley's words, "the house was built out of lime stone, 30 x 40 feet and plainly finished. So these people have a comfortable house to worship God in ever since. It will stand if not torn down, for a century to come." The building gradually fell into decay, but in 1888, the M. E. Church appropriated \$2,000 to restore it. In the graveyard are buried John Stewart, the mulatto missionary, and the great and good chiefs Between-the-Logs, and Summendewat.

In 1817, Generals Cass and McArthur succeeded, at the Rapids of the Maumee, in purchasing an immense tract of territory from the Indians — all northwestern Ohio, in fact, except a few parcels reserved by some of the tribes. One of these was the Seneca Reservation of forty thousand acres in Seneca and

Sandusky counties. In 1831, the Senecas sold these lands to the United States at three cents, eight mills per acre, and were removed to the far west. To consummate this purchase, Gen. Brish, Indian agent, took the Seneca chiefs on to Washington.* Some years earlier, leaders of the tribe journeyed from the Sandusky to the Missouri river, seeking a favorable spot for their future home. On their return, they found the chief Comstock dead, and his youngest brother, John, ruling in his place. The second and third brothers at once accused Seneca John of having caused Comstock's death by witchcraft. "Said he, in a strain of eloquence rarely equalled, 'I loved my brother Comstock more than I love the green earth I stand upon. I would give myself, limb by limb, piece meal by piece meal: I would shed my blood drop by drop to restore him.' But all his protestations of innocence and affection for Comstock were of no avail."† His two brothers pronounced him guilty and murdered him at sunrise.

Before this time white settlements were increasing up and down the valley. The present city of Sandusky, at the mouth of the bay, was up to 1816 known as Ogontz's Place after the wise chief of that name who had been baptized and educated at Quebec by the Jesuits. He was assigned by their ecclesiastical authorities to the Ottawas. Jay Cooke, born near the site of Ogontz's cabin commemorated the name in his magnificent estate near Philadelphia. Reuben Rice, who as a pioneer lad passed through the place in the fall of 1811, remembered that but one white family lived there—that of an Indian trader named Harrison. The ground now occupied by the city was a thicket of wild plum trees.‡

In 1816 William Wildman laid out the town and called it Portland. In 1818, Wildman and Mills platted it and renamed it Sandusky City, the city being dropped by the Ohio act to incorporate cities years afterward. It is an irony of fate that the Sandusky city best known to the outside world, was never

* Judge Lang, Tiffin, Fremont Journal Sept. 16, 1887.

† Henry C. Brish, Indian Sub-Agent at Seneca. Howe's Hist. Cols. of Ohio.

‡ Reuben Rice, of Elmore, Address before San. Co. Pion. Assn. Journal, Sept. 10, 1875.

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known by that name to the Indians who loved and haunted the Sandusky valley.

A group of French families, escaping from revolution and despotism in their native land, arrived in this country early in the nineteenth century and settled at Monroe, Mich., moving thereafter to the Maumee valley. In January, 1813, the U. S. Government, fearing their disturbance during the British and Indian hostilities, directed the removal of the French colony to the Sandusky valley, and twenty families started. The procession consisted of one horse sleighs, the runners made of boards. The snow was very deep and the order of the train was frequently changed that the horses might take turns in breaking a path. At the mouth of the Muscalonge creek fresh teams were in waiting, and the travellers reached Lower Sandusky and were lodged for the winter in the government barracks. In the spring cabins were arranged for them near the fort, but the hostile Indians threatened their safety and again the government moved them, this time to Upper Sandusky. On the way they heard the British cannon storming Fort Stephenson, August 2d. After the war, these wards of the nation came back to Lower Sandusky in government wagons and gradually dispersed to make individual homes and take up their own support.* Some continued to reside at Lower Sandusky; De Mars and La Point made squatter improvements down the river their names being combined in that of the De Mars Point club house thereabouts. A group of families settled in Rice township on Mud Creek. The land sales of 1821 caused serious confusion among these squatters.

Up the river, Tiffin in 1821 had six cabins, while Fort Ball, just across the stream had developed into quite a settlement. Josiah Hedges was proprietor of the former place, Jesse Spencer of the latter, each striving to secure the location of the county seat. It was awarded to Hedges who thereupon purchased Spencer's tract and named the whole Tiffin, after Ohio's first Governor. Many funny stories are extant about the rivalries of the proprietors before the merger. Spencer had built a brush dam, the first dam erected by man — beavers were at home here — across the river. The water raised by it ran the first saw

* Everett's Sandusky County.

mill on the river. This dam caused numerous fist fights, and its destruction became the cause of the first law suit in the newly established county. *

Farther up the river, Upper Sandusky new town, was not formally laid out until 1843. One year earlier Charles Dickens and his wife passed through the place spending the night in great discomfort at a log tavern and deriving material therefrom for "American Notes."

The last important town on the Sandusky, there but a small stream, is Bucyrus, laid out in February 1822 by Samuel Norton and Col. James Kilbourne, proprietors. Kilbourne's favorite historical character was Cyrus the Great, and with a portion of the prefix "beautiful," he concocted a name. Furthermore the colonel celebrated his town in rhyme:

"I'll tell you how Bucyrus now
Just rising like the star of morn,
Surrounded stands by fertile lands
On clear Sandusky's rural bourne."

In the first years of cellar digging, the bones of mastodon were occasionally found at Bucyrus, one perfect skeleton being purchased by Barnum. An extensive cranberry marsh of some two thousand acres was a feature of this locality, and was long a source of profit; but in 1855 the marsh was drained and largely redeemed to agriculture.

Richland county, in the western part of which the Sandusky has its source, was a favorite resort of Johnny Appleseed, famous throughout Ohio as early as 1811, and it is scarcely to be doubted that some of the old apple orchards along the river were of his planting. Going from place to place, he carried a bag of apple-seeds on his back, cleared a little patch of land along a stream, surrounded it with a rude enclosure and planted his seeds. He had such little nurseries all through Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania. This odd character regarded dog fennel as a medicinal herb, valuable to civilization, and so of that too he carried quantities of seed which he scattered along his way. We could have spared it.

* Lang's Seneca County.

Pioneer life in these upper villages was rich in incident, but since Lower Sandusky was the head of navigation, the tale of the river after the war of 1812 centers largely about that place.

In 1680 La Salle in his *Griffin*, sailed the length of Lake Erie. It is easy to believe that he put into Sandusky Bay, the finest harbor on the Lakes, but we have no record to verify the supposition. The first steamer that we know entered the mouth of our river and landed at Lower Sandusky was the *Walk-in-the-Water*, happily named after the great Wyandot chief of that name who, the day after Perry's victory left the British and came with his warriors to Harrison. Harrison flatly told him that if he wanted peace, he must abandon Tecumseh and get out of the way of the American army; and with these terms he hastened to comply.* The steamer *Walk-in-the-Water* was built for the Maumee river trade, a city — Orleans-of-the-North — having been laid out just below Perrysburg. The *Walk* stuck on the sand-bars, however, and that place is now Toledo harbor, the boat thus unwittingly denoting the precise spot of the future city of the Maumee.† The same year saw a far more extraordinary craft with a no less speaking name, the *Pegasus*, working its way up and down the Sandusky river, from Portland, as Sandusky was still called; to Lower Sandusky. The boat, constructed by Elisha W. Howland and Thomas L. Hawkins, consisted of two large canoes, side by side, separated by a platform large enough to carry a superstructure of machinery, a large amount of freight and several passengers. The machinery was operated by four horses which, moving tread mill fashion, worked paddles at each side of the boat. On one occasion a refractory horse broke his halter, plunged head first over the rail and hung in that precarious situation until cut loose. He then swam triumphantly ashore "to the great delight of the whole crew." ‡ The *Pegasus* aimed to make three trips a week. The passage of forty miles constituted a good day's work under the most favorable circumstances. She continued to run until June 29, 1824, when in a severe storm

* McAfee History of the late War.

† Address Hon. Clark Waggoner before Sandusky County Pioneer Association. Fremont Journal, Sept. 26, 1879.

‡ From MMS. of Dr. Brainard and Clark Waggoner.

she was beached on the bay shore and damaged beyond repair. Her cargoes consisted of furs, pork and whisky on the down trip; and on the return salt and limited amounts of merchandise for traders in the interior. The *Pegasus* was not the only boat that testified to the inventive genius of Thomas L. Hawkins. Before a bridge had been provided at Lower Sandusky, he constructed a ferry which was propelled by paddle wheels, driven by dog power, after the style of the dog churn. Persons living in 1879 had used both the horse-boat and the dog ferry.

The "horse-boat," however, was not the first advance upon the light canoe. So propitious did the heavily timbered district appear for boat building, that just after the battle of Fort Stephenson the national government reserved a strip of land along the east side of the river for a government navy yard. This reservation extended from State Street a mile down stream, and east to the present Sandusky Avenue. It was never used as a navy yard, and soon after the civil war Congress passed a bill turning this government land over to the city of Fremont. The city council, before offering it for sale, reserved a charming plot along the bank for a city park. A succeeding council, less mindful of future needs of a thriving city, fatuously gave away this reservation to a manufacturer who thought he would like to build a saw mill there!

In 1816, according to Dr. Brainard's manuscript, a small sloop was built nearly opposite the upper end of Brady island, on the west bank. She was of twenty tons burden and was called the *Nautilus*. Succeeding the "horse-boat" the schooner *Cincinnati* and the *Ohio* were built, in 1828, where the sash factory now stands; and the *Wyandot*, at the mouth of Muscalonge creek.

What the people along the river most wanted in those early days was salt, more especially as the river teemed with fish. "Every spring," says Dr. Brainard's manuscript, "the pickerel and white bass were found in such multitudes all along the rapids, that it was often quite impossible to ride a horse across the ford till much exertion was made to drive them away and make room for his feet. Fish had in the meantime become a

good article for traffic with southern teamsters, who occasionally came in with six horse wagons loaded with flour to exchange. Hence in addition to the much-needed flour, at times a good deal of cash was paid for our choice fish, and our town became noted not only for its romantic situation, its productive soil, the history of its inhabitants, but for its extensive fisheries."

The *Fremont Freeman* of May 24, 1851, has this item: "This has been one of the most prolific seasons for fishing for years. On one ground there were about 100,000 white bass caught in one week, about three hundred barrels. There have not been far from a thousand barrels caught within the past two weeks."

I. M. Keeler, who came to Lower Sandusky in 1840, says that it was difficult to cross the river in a boat, in the spring season when the fish were going up. They filled the whole channel of water. He frequently saw three or four wagon loads of white bass taken out with one draw of the seine. The barrels of packed fish branded Dickinson, Birchard and Grant were to be found all through the east. Sturgeon weighing from seventy to a hundred pounds were common; cat fish and muscalonge from twenty to fifty pounds. The fishermen would haul a sturgeon up on the banks and cut his throat like sticking a pig. The carcasses would lie there till dry and then be piled up and set afire. They burned like a pitch-pine log.

Before the year 1800, James Whittaker had traded with the Indians along the river, and his whilom partner Hugh Patterson kept a store at Muncietown. The first real stock of goods, however, brought to Lower Sandusky was by J. S. and G. G. Olmstead, in 1817. It came from Albany to Buffalo by land, thence by lake, bay and river. It consisted of merchandise, groceries, hardware and liquor to the amount of \$27,000. The brothers brought with them carpenters to build a store, coopers to make fish barrels; with glass, nails and pine lumber. The first season the firm shipped 20,000 muskrat worth 25 cents each; 8,000 coon worth 50 cents each; 2,000 deer, 50 cents; 150 otter, \$5 each; and 200 bear skins at \$5 each.* In 1830 the first wheat was shipped east. Later, loads of wheat were brought in from forty

* Everett's Sandusky County.

to fifty miles around for shipment down the Sandusky. In the early forties, Mr. Keeler remembers seeing loads of wheat "reach from the present Wheeling station to the wharves, so thick that you could step from one to another, four or five hundred of them unloading from ten to fourteen thousand bushels in a day. There was a whole row of warehouses near the present wharf." That this traffic had periods of depression, an article in the *Lower Sandusky Freeman*, July 7, 1849, would seem to show. The editor wrote:

"Lower Sandusky for the last four or six years has remained dormant hardly doing enough business to supply the demands of the inhabitants and the surrounding country. This was owing in part to the negligence of its antediluvian citizens to the facilities which nature had placed within their reach. Always boasting and priding themselves upon the fact that they enjoyed one of the best localities for business in the western country and flattering themselves with the belief that the place would be built up in a few years from the fact that the Sandusky river was navigable up to their doors, they looked with astonishment and dismay when they saw their neighboring villages spring up into large towns and outstrip them in all kinds of business. They had more men of capital than either of their neighbors. They had not learned that \$10,000 laid out in making good roads would do more toward building up a town than ten times that amount locked up in their drawers. They had not learned the charm of the nimble six-pence. The improvement of the river has at last excited their attention and now dredging has made it navigable for vessels drawing seven or eight feet of water. During the present season there have been more vessels in our port than for two years combined."

Lower Sandusky was made a port of entry, with a customs collector, in the early thirties. Sailboats could tack their way up the winding channel. When winds were contrary, the captains sometimes sent out men in canoes with windlasses to put around the trees and so wind the boat around the bends. The first published list of boats which I can find is in the *Freeman* of May 4, 1850, headed "Port of Fremont. Arrivals:

April 1. Brig Castalia from Sandusky City.

April 2. Schooner Butts from Cleveland.

April 2. S. S. Islander from Sandusky City.

April 2. Sloop Louisa from Cleveland.

April 10. Schooner London.

April 10. Schooner Hero.

April 22. Schooner Virago from Buffalo.

Local newspapers of the next few years contain these items :
"March, 1851: The steamboat *Islander* has begun her regular trips between Sandusky and this place. She left Wednesday last with three thousand bushels of wheat." Wheat was then selling at a dollar a bushel. June, 1851: A propeller, the *Fremont*, is building here to run between this port and Sandusky City.

In July, 1851, the *Freeman* records that the schooner *Hamer* ran between this port and Buffalo in seventy-eight hours, the quickest trip ever made by a sailboat over that route. The same month Captain Orr "gallantly gave the Ladies and Gentlemen of Fremont a free ride on his fast sailing upper cabin steamboat *Islander*. The day was beautiful and at an early hour one hundred persons were on board and were soon gliding down the smooth waters of the Sandusky, leaving the marts of shipping far behind. The scene on the boat was of unusual animation. Sweet smiles of the fair ladies, kind attentions of the nice young men, little chit-chats, flirtations, songs, polkas and promenades."

In December of this same 1851, the deputy collector makes his report of the port of Fremont for the season. Its value of exports is \$337,279.58; its imports \$201,026. There were eighty-eight boat arrivals and departures. The list of exports included 163,871 bushels of wheat; 43,241 of corn; 265,086 staves; 1,009 kegs of butter; 201 barrels eggs; 28,580 pounds of bacon and hams; 2,613 deer skins; 250 black walnut crotches; 14,942 pounds of leather. The principal import is salt of which there were 2,990 barrels.

The *Journal*, May 19, 1854: "But few cities in northern Ohio have better facilities for the speedy and direct shipment of produce than Fremont. With her river and railroads she has four direct connections with the lake. The river, however, is the natural outlet and will do the freight business. That it is com-

petent to handle any amount of it is seen from the following statement: The schooner *Rush* has just taken on the following cargo: 5,680 bushels oats; 2,500 bushels corn; 320 barrels pork; 58 casks ashes; 93 casks hams; 18 rolls of leather; 30 kegs of butter, 19 barrels of lard. With this ponderous cargo she passed down the river without lighters and in thirty-six hours was safe in Buffalo harbor. But few vessels on the lakes venture out with a heavier cargo in proportion to their capacity than this; and yet she was towed down the river by the *Islander* with perfect ease. The *Alwilda*, the next day, took on 3,500 bushels of corn and other freight. A quantity of black walnut timber and staves has also been shipped and there is yet in the neighborhood of 300,000 feet of black walnut timber and 800,000 staves, and produce of every description waiting to go forward. The Sandusky river as it regards the business of Fremont is of vast importance. And as the depth of the channel across the bars is affected by south winds it will be necessary that the channel there be deepened and widened. In consequence of its serpentine course it will always be necessary to have boats towed back and forth. In view of this fact we should either procure a tug boat or build propellers with sufficient capacity and of sufficient number to do the business. Our opinion is that both are needed."

September 22, 1854. The *Journal*: "Our port presented a lively appearance Monday morning, there being eight vessels at the wharves receiving and discharging freight."

Journal, July 13, 1855: Captain Orr with his new steamer the *Island Queen* was in port Saturday. Now that he has a brand new craft and a fast sailer he cannot help being a greater favorite than ever before. The *Island Queen* will make regular trips to this port; may she always have a full cargo and fat freight bills."

Journal, July 11, 1856: "A hundred of our citizens left on the *Island Queen*, July 4, for Kelley's Island. The Fremont band enlivened all with their music. On the return trip at six o'clock the company assembled on deck under the folds of the flag now radiant with thirty-one stars, and were called to order by B. J. Bartlett. On motion, the Declaration of Independence was then

read by I. M. Keeler. Lewis Pike made a short and pretty address, followed by Mr. Oscar Ball."

The *Journal*, September 12, 1856: "On the 10th, about one hundred and fifty Republicans of Fremont took passage on the *Island Queen* for Sandusky to join in the mass gathering of Free-men. We were accompanied by Old Betsy. It talked some, and had many admirers and with the Fremont delegation was received by the thousands with three tremendous cheers. The day was a glorious one for the cause of freedom." This, of course foreshadows the Civil War.

The *Journal*, January 23, 1857. "Who used Old Betsy last? It has been standing in the street for several weeks now. Capt. Parrish should see to this old servant."

This cherished cannon which lifted her voice in the first public celebration of Independence Day in Lower Sandusky, 1813, and which the following month did such valorous work in the defense of Fort Stephenson, was removed after the war to the Pittsburgh arsenal. Some years afterward Congress ordered its return to the scene of its early triumphs. Owing to the duplication of village names it was missent to Sandusky City where the authorities naturally wished to keep it, and for better concealment buried it. Mayor Brice J. Bartlett of Lower Sandusky put detectives on its track, traced it and sent men and wagon to bring it home. It was the ingenious Thomas L. Hawkins who identified the gun in Pittsburgh, recognizing it by the scar on its breech which he believed was made by a cannon ball while in action. He said it was an old French cannon captured from the French in the French and Indian wars of 1756-63.*

April 16, 1859. "The launch of Capt. Totten's new vessel came off Wednesday. It slid into the water without the slightest mishap. Her dimensions are deck 145 feet, beam 30, depth 10 feet 8 inches. She is capable of carrying 20,000 bushels of wheat."

In a long article on the celebration of August 2d, 1860, the *Journal* says: "At six o'clock Captain Parrish brought out Old Betsy and fired a salute of thirteen rounds. Soon after the people

* Hawkins in conversation with J. P. Moore. *Journal*, Sept. 9, 1892.

of the county began to pour in. The Cleveland and Toledo railway [L. S. & M. S. R. R.], brought a large delegation from the west, and at nine the Norwalk Light Guards and Bugle Band with delegations from all the towns on the line. A little later the steamers *Bonnie Boat*, *Swan* and *Island Queen* arrived from Sandusky and Plaster Bed, bringing hundreds more." Cassius M. Clay was the orator of the day.

Journal, March 25, 1859. Several vessels are now in port—the *Bonnie Boat*, the new steamer from the Plaster-Bed (Marblehead), to take the place of the *Fremont* burned last summer, was in port Monday. She is a beautiful boat designed for the river and bay trade and will make tri-weekly trips to this port..

February 6, 1861. G. W. Dwelley shipped the past two months 100,000 pounds of fresh fish from his fish house in this village. June 21, the schooner *Ben Flint* of this place sunk in the Cleveland harbor, loaded with 14,000 bushels wheat; the first serious accident to the Fremont fleet.

August 1, 1862 occurred a band excursion to Kelley's Island on the *Island Queen*. "We slowed it by 'secessia,' the band playing Yankee Doodle and Hail Columbia, and the prisoners waving a black and a red flag. On August 22, the government advertised in the *Journal* for 2,000 cords of wood for the rebel prisoners on Johnson's Island. November 28, over one thousand rebel prisoners exchanged and put on cars for Dixie, "just in time to save the Government a huge wood bill."

Total clearings for the month of July, 1864, at the Fremont port were valued at \$151,975. In March, 1866, the new propellor, *City of Fremont*, to take the place of the old *Fremont* which had burned, began making weekly trips to Buffalo. She was owned by the Fremont Transportation Company; capital \$10,000. Charles Foster was president of the company. Her sister boat, the *Saginaw* also left weekly, the *Saginaw* being owned by the New York Central R. Ry. line. "The Propellor *Fremont* is an honor to the Lakes, fast, substantial, and convenient; with her 155 foot passenger cabin, twenty state-rooms, kitchen, etc., and all built by Fremont money."*

* *Journal*, August 11, 1865.

In 1877, the *Young Reindeer* was still making tri-weekly trips from Fremont to Sandusky, carrying freight and passengers.

These items read oddly enough to residents of Fremont at the beginning of the twentieth century, who seldom see a large boat upon the Sandusky River. The magnificent fleets of all our western rivers melted like snow before the fatal rivalry of the railways. Travel deserted them and traffic sought the swifter transportation of the shore. The Ohio Railway must here have brief mention. This famous structure, built on stilts, was one result of the wild financial craze and bad state legislation of 1836 and '37, by which Ohio's credit was generously lent to railways, turnpike and canal companies. The Ohio railroad was to extend from Ashtabula to the Maumee and beyond, and it crossed the Sandusky river at Lower Sandusky. Its novel construction is the only part that intimately concerns this sketch. The foundation was to be on piles driven into the ground by a traction machine. The whole thing was "a unique travelling railroad construction circus." The pile-driver locomotive worked also a horizontal buzz-saw which cut off the pile when thoroughly set. Behind the pile driver and saw mill was a peripatetic boarding-house for the work hands, and the whole train was trundled along over the rails laid on top of the finished piles. The cross-ties were laid from pile to pile and upon this superstructure extended the iron track. Meanwhile a superb trestle of solid oak timber was erected across the river from hill top to hill top and huge piers rose out of the water to receive the woodwork of the bridge which was located about fifty rods below the present State Street bridge. The pile-drivers went merrily on for about two years, booming, screaming, pounding their way through our magnificent forests; Ohio railroad money was the general circulating medium; when the bubble burst, the machines stopped, and the people had the worthless Ohio railroad money in their pockets.* It was nearly a half century before the last vestiges of the double row of piles finally disappeared from the marsh lands of Lower Sandusky.

The first bridge across the Sandusky river, anywhere on the stream, was constructed about 1828, under the direction of the

* Condensed from Homer Everett and King's Ohio.

Hon. John Bell, superintendent of the Maumee and Western Reserve Road. This bridge was where the present Fremont bridge crosses State street. It was all of timber, without cover, and rested on bents. It stood till February, 1833, when the extraordinary freshet of that year moved it bodily and bore it on a mass of ice and driftwood to the upper point of the island where it lodged and lay stretched almost from bank to bank. By the help of a few timbers and planks it was used some time as a footbridge. It remained in this position till the river had frozen over, about April first of that year. During the next summer another bridge was built upon a similar plan by Judge Howland. In the spring freshet of 1843, Presbyterian services, which were held on the east side of the river, were dismissed early, because word came that the bridge could not long stand. Many of the people refused to trust themselves to it and crossed on the ice, dangerous as that was. Among the crowd of the more daring was Judge Howland. "I built this bridge," he said, "and the Lord and the flood can't budge it." Soon afterward it broke away. "The Lord's beat me this time," was his remark when he came ashore. Many persons were carried down and some thoroughly drenched, though none were hurt. Soon after, the more permanent bridge designed by Cyrus Williams was erected, the timbers taken from the abandoned trestle work of the Ohio Railroad bridge. This bridge stood over thirty-five years, until the present iron bridge supplanted it, in 1877, at a cost of \$20,357.

A long communication on Sandusky river improvement, signed by James Justice, John R. Pease, R. P. Buckland and A. J. Dickinson, appeared in the *Freeman* October, 1850, in which these eminent citizens say that as commissioners of the river improvements they had received over \$7,600, and expended \$6,400. The unexpended money was loaned to La Q. Rawson and Sardis Birchard at six per cent. "The committee called to its aid the late Hon. Rudolphus Dickinson who had long been connected with the public works of the State and was supposed to know more about such matters than any of the commissioners. He assisted in making an examination of the bars in the river and fixing upon the points where the work was done. The money was expended with all possible economy, and the commissioners

have received no compensation for their time and trouble save the abuse of those who make it a point to find fault with everything in which they have not a hand. Every one who will look at the matter with unprejudiced eyes must see that this improvement had already been of great benefit to the county. The improvement of the Whittaker bar is completed so that all the larger class of vessels pass without difficulty. This alone is worth all the money which has been expended. The lower bar is not completed, but has been greatly improved. But for these improvements vessels could hardly get over the bar empty, in the present low stage of water in the lake and bay, it being lower than for many years. The full extent of the benefits will not be perceived until warehouses and vessels are built to facilitate the forwarding of produce. These will come but not in a day or year, at least by the few individuals who are undertaking them against the opposition of those who ought to aid instead of opposing these improvements."

Ten years later, December, 1860, an editorial in the *Journal* says: "With the exception of two bars the average depth of water is from twelve to fifteen feet. The Whittaker bar is 800 feet across and is principally sand. The average depth on the bar this summer is seven feet. Eighteen miles below is the second bar, a clay barrier, 1200 feet across with an average depth of six feet of water." In August 1865, a committee was appointed by citizens for river improvement. Before October, \$17,000 had been raised, the contract let and dredging machines were at work, "with a result that farmers get about two cents more a bushel for wheat than before." In October, 1866, through the perseverance of R. P. Buckland, Representative, the Government made a survey of the Sandusky river and the following March appropriated \$20,000 for dredging and improving the channel.

By 1849, the confusion attending the repetition of the name Sandusky up and down the river had become so serious that the business prosperity of Lower Sandusky seemed to require a change of name. Croghansville, the name of the settlement on the beautiful high land east of the river, was the natural choice; but the local hero had pronounced his name as though it were spelled Krawn, and the discrepancy between its pronunciation

and its spelling would work havoc with frontier orthography. The name of the "Pathfinder" was at that time in everybody's mouth, and by Fremont's name the place was henceforth known. The matter was presented before the local courts by a young lawyer, Rutherford B. Hayes.

Three miles north of Sandusky, in her land-locked harbor, lies Johnson's Island, nearly a mile long, originally covered with timber. It was a favorite resort of the Indians from up-river who came here in fishing season, and also when they had prisoners to torture. In 1861, the property was leased by the national government as a depot for Confederate prisoners, the necessary buildings erected and the first prisoners installed in April, 1862. The number constantly changed, three thousand being the most detained there at any one time, but the records show a total of over 15,000. Owing to the supposed security of the place, the prisoners were largely officers. So considerate was their treatment that their wants were said to have been better filled than those of the Union soldiers guarding them.* The *Michigan*, the only U. S. vessel on the lakes, was stationed at Johnson's Island as guard. In September, 1864, the Confederates took advantage of the prevailing gloom among the Unionists to set on foot a gigantic scheme for the release of the Confederate prisoners in the northwest. Camp Douglas, near Chicago, with 8,000 prisoners; Camp Chase, near Columbus, with a like number; Camp Morton, near Indianapolis, with 4,000; and Johnson's Island with nearly 3,000 officers, were the points of conspiracy. The time chosen was when the Democratic national convention had just declared the war a failure. The plan was for this great body of soldiers, officered from Johnson's Island, to seize horses and hurry south, raiding the country, and join the rebels in Virginia. At the same time the steamer *Michigan* was to be captured and co-operate with the released prisoners on land. A Confederate Captain, Cole by name, who had been posing as a rich oil man from Titusville, and figuring largely in social circles in Sandusky, was entrusted with this task.

On the 19th of September, the steamer *Parsons*, plying between Detroit and the island was boarded on the Canadian shore

* Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio.

by a number of men bringing an old trunk. Off Kelley's Island, the officer in command of the boat was confronted by men with revolvers, the old trunk opened, the whole party armed therefrom, and the boat taken over. At Middle Bass Island the *Island Queen*, a boat plying between the islands and up the river, mentioned frequently heretofore, came alongside to exchange passengers. She was boarded by the conspirators and captured, the *Island Queen* being then sunk, while the *Parsons* cruised about the Bay awaiting the signal from accomplices on the *Michigan*. That part of the plot, however, had failed. Cole delayed the signal a few moments too long and through some indiscreet movement was arrested by the captain of the *Michigan*, whose guest he was. The *Parsons* soon suspected the situation, and fled to the Canadian shore. There the boat was scuttled and the conspirators escaped. Cole was confined in Fort Lafayette but escaped to Canada and afterward joined Maximilian in Mexico. He was eventually pardoned. Beall, "the pirate of Lake Erie," the prime mover in the conspiracy, who with his forces waited in the *Parsons* outside the Bay, was hung as a spy, on Governor's Island, February 1865.*

No history of the Sandusky river can ignore its varying volume of water. Usually water stood in the Black Swamp all summer, keeping the river up, while the heavy forests equalized and conserved the moisture. In the high water of springtime, there was but half a mile of portage between the Sandusky and the Scioto rivers, and that very level and clear of rocks. In 1838 occurred the greatest drought in the history of Ohio. The wet prairies of even the redoubtable Black Swamp, from the Sandusky to the Maumee were evaporated; the bottoms cracked open from the shrinkage; the tall grass died by the acre, and trees growing in the swamps were killed.†

In April 1860, the *Fremont Journal* says: "For three nights and two days the fall of rain has been unprecedented. The Sandusky contains more water than for twelve years — two feet above the high water mark of 1854. The highest ever remembered was in 1847, when the river was at least two feet

* Condensed from *Lake Shore Magazine*, and Cole's Narrative in *Philadelphia Press*, February, 1882.

† Crawford's Expedition.

higher than this morning. There was also notably high water in 1821, and in 1904.

Before dawn on the Sunday morning of February 4, 1883, the Fremont fire bell aroused the citizens who found hundreds of their dwellings surrounded or already inundated by water. Heavy rains of two days, falling upon a frozen ground, with ice gorges formed below town, had caused a sudden rise of water in the river four or five feet above any previous high water mark. The water flowed through Front street, the principal business street of the city, with a mighty current which no boats could stem. The whole third ward between the river banks and the foot of the hills was several feet under water; huge ice blocks floated in, packed and froze solid. Two thousand persons were driven from their homes. There were many narrow escapes and several deaths from drowning and exposure. Several bridges along the river were carried away, and that of the L. S. & M. S. Railway collapsed under a freight train, thirty-seven cars being precipitated into the river. The damage to property in Fremont alone amounted to about \$100,000.* Loss in the upper towns of Tiffin, Bucyrus and Upper Sandusky was also large.

While the river was the recognized thoroughfare for pioneers travelling north and south, the only land route between the east and west was the Maumee and Western Reserve Road which crosses the river at Fremont, at right angles. In 1822 the government authorized the State to construct the turnpike road from the Western Reserve to the Maumee river, deeding it, in consideration, certain adjoining lands.† In May, 1830, the State offered these lands for sale — about 40,000 acres, “handsomely situated on said turnpike and in a section of the country which is rapidly improving.”‡

In the winter of 1832-3, Judge Jeremiah Everett, being in the Legislature, obtained an appropriation of \$20,000 to macadamize this thoroughfare through the Black Swamp. The improvement was needed. Water stood from ankle to knee deep

* Fremont Journals, February 9 and 16, 1883.

† Journal, August 20, 1875.

‡ Sandusky Gazette, May 18, 1830.

from Fort Stephenson to Fort Meigs, and the road was a terror to travellers. For several years a leading business of the settlers on its line was tavern-keeping, and at one time within its thirty-one miles there were thirty-two taverns — all primitive and limited in accommodations.*

In 1823, three families travelling to the Portage river, "were the first teams to go through on the line of the present road. It took us five days, camping in the wood every night.†

Rights to mud holes were recognized. A young man started in a wagon with a team of mules for Michigan, to buy land. He had one hundred dollars. He got stuck so often and had to pay one dollar so often to people who lived near the mud holes to help pull him out, that long before he completed his journey his money was exhausted. He was not discouraged, however, and said the place to find what you have lost is where you lost it. He accordingly located himself beside a mud hole and stayed there till he had earned his hundred dollars back!‡

So effective was the improvement of the road, that in 1835 it was nothing unusual to count ninety pioneer teams passing in one day. The Four Mile house was habitually full of people from floor to garret. Those that the landlord could not accommodate, would camp on the road side.

In the Harrison campaign of 1840, enthusiasts of Bellevue had a log cabin on which hung out the sign 'Cider and Cold-water: do your duty and drink hearty.' "We had a procession a mile and a half long when we started on our travels, and it lengthened till it reached from Bellevue nearly to Clyde. Thirty ladies rode in a long canoe on a wagon, drawn by a yoke of cattle, with a team of horses in front. We went clear through to Maumee, and stayed there a week. The mud was almost knee deep, but we had a wonderfully good time. I often saw men going through mirey roads with teams and horses where the mud and water would rush together after them, leaving the road as level as the floor."§

* Clark Waggoner's Speech. Sandusky County. Pioneer Meeting.

† Reuben Rice, Elmore, speech Pioneer Meeting. Journal, September 10, 1875.

‡ Judge Wm. Caldwell, Speech Pioneer Meeting. Journal September 17, 1876.

§ Alvin Anderson, Bellevue, speech Sandusky Co. Pioneer Meeting.

Even in the fifties, J. B. G. Downs kept a bed-room fitted up in his Fremont mill to accommodate the Black Swamp customers who in certain seasons required ten or twelve hours of good daylight to pick their way through deep and mirey paths back to their homes. They said the mud was so deep that bottom could be found only by using a ten-foot pole."

Reference to the picturesque presidential campaign of 1840, recalls the part played therein by Col. Richard M. Johnson, then vice-president of the United States, and everywhere known as "the man who killed Tecumseh." It was he who made the speech to the garrison at Fort Stephenson on the Fourth of July 1813, and he stopped again at Lower Sandusky, October 5, 1813, on his way back to Kentucky after the Battle of the Thames. On this second occasion he stopped at the tavern of Israel Harrington on Front street, adjoining the present site of the First National Bank. In the campaign of 1840, both parties had great meetings at Lower Sandusky. The Whigs held theirs August 22d, when Governors Ewing and Corwin addressed large numbers. October 4th following, the Democratic meeting took place in the yard of Capt. Samuel Thompson's hotel east of the river. This occasion was marked by special demonstrations, including the firing of cannon, the premature discharge of which cost John Jacobs an arm [Was old Betsy the offender?] Speakers were U. S. Senators William Allen and Benjamin Tappan, and Vice-President Johnson was present. His part was to be ready when Senator Allen referred to him, to strip his arm and show the scar of a wound received in the war, as proof that he was a greater hero than Harrison. The Whig papers always spoke of this part of the regular programme as Allen's menagerie, and of Colonel Johnson as the lion of the show.* It is interesting to know that in this campaign, Sandusky county, otherwise invariably Democratic — went for Harrison by a majority of one vote. The old General was not repudiated in the Sandusky valley to the salvation of which in his younger manhood, he had given such arduous care.

In April 1823, subscriptions of money, produce, labor and material aggregating about \$1,800 were secured for the erection

* Hon. Clarke Waggoner, *Fremont Journal*, August 10, 1888.

of the first court house in Sandusky county. In July the commissioners contracted with Thomas L. Hawkins to erect the building. Work was commenced in the fall of 1823, the frame was raised and the chimney partly built. The location, [the Pease place, on Hayes and Park Avenues,] proved unsatisfactory to the subscribers; and the *Sandusky Gazette*, of May 18, 1830, contains an advertisement for bids to move the frame to another site. The result was that twenty-five yoke of oxen were harnessed to rollers and the unfinished building moved bodily out of the woods to the brow of the hill northwest of the present city hall. This old first court house is still standing with all its timbers sound and strong, and is the parsonage of St. John's Lutheran Church. Everett's Sandusky County history is in error in saying that the first jail was erected about 1832 and the court house earlier. The advertisement for the bids of moving shows that the jail had been erected prior to 1830 and the court house was not completed until after that date.

The county jail stood a few feet south of the court house. Here Sperry, of Green Spring, who had been sentenced to be hung, committed suicide. Sardis Birchard once asked Rev. Henry Lang, who, as pastor of St. John's, later occupied the house, if he were not afraid of spooks, coming home late and putting away his horse in the old jail. Lang replied that he did not allow himself to be scared by evil spirits, when Birchard said:

"What! not afraid of spooks in the old jail where Sperry killed himself? It is a capital place for spooks, Sir, a capital place." This old jail was taken down in 1865, a prison having been prepared under the court house, and eight men worked long and industriously to level it with the ground. It was built of logs two feet square. The foundation remained up to a late day, as the border of the parsonage flower garden.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, jails and even courts of justice had been regarded as rather superfluous appendages to the settlement. An old record says that a man by the name of Avery stole an axe about the year 1820. He was arrested and there being no jail in which to confine him till he could be tried, the citizens decided to give him a sound thrashing. He was tied to a tree down by the river and a hundred lashes "well laid on." After being released, he swam the river

"and never came back." It was a border life and justice strangely executed. "An honest man," said one of the early residents "could hardly live here. I heard of a Frenchman, La Cost, who coming into these parts to buy land and supposed to have considerable money, was taken suddenly ill in a tavern and died there. His portmanteau was cut open and the money extracted. His wife and son came on to settle his affairs. The wife was taken sick and she died, and the son thinking to bring things to light instituted a lawsuit. He found the law 'dead and insufficient in Sandusky, however, and hastily departed lest he too decease.' "*"

An old record tells how one Anderson by cunning management, was appointed collector of the customs here, but the appointment was not liked. Judge Howland, a famous character, especially disliked Anderson, and got John R. Pease appointed in his place. Whereupon Howland would say to his friends, "It's a fine sight to see a wicked man repent and do penance for his sins. Anderson is going about with a face as long as your arm and has Peas in his shoes!"

The first mill along the Sandusky river for grinding corn was built at Lower Sandusky by Thomas L. Hawkins and Thomas E. Boswell in 1818, where June and French's mill now stands. It was a rude structure, and John W. Tyler used to say, "it cracked three grains of corn into one."

The first carding mill in this vicinity was bought by Judge John Bell, who commenced carding wool in the year 1827 "on the river at what was then called Chamber's Hill a few rods above the first plank road gate." Can some reader identify the spot?

Thomas L. Hawkins is a name familiar to all who have the least knowledge of the early annals of Fremont. He was the town rhymster and the fact that his father was associated with him in building a mill dam near the site of the old June dam; in digging a mill race and constructing the first grist mill;—not to mention the horse-boat and the dog-ferry—makes some mention of these two eccentric characters a legitimate part of river annals. The elder Hawkins spent a season or two here about 1817 and 18. His dress, according to Mr. Homer Everett,

* Reuben Rice, Elmore. Journal, September 10, 1875.

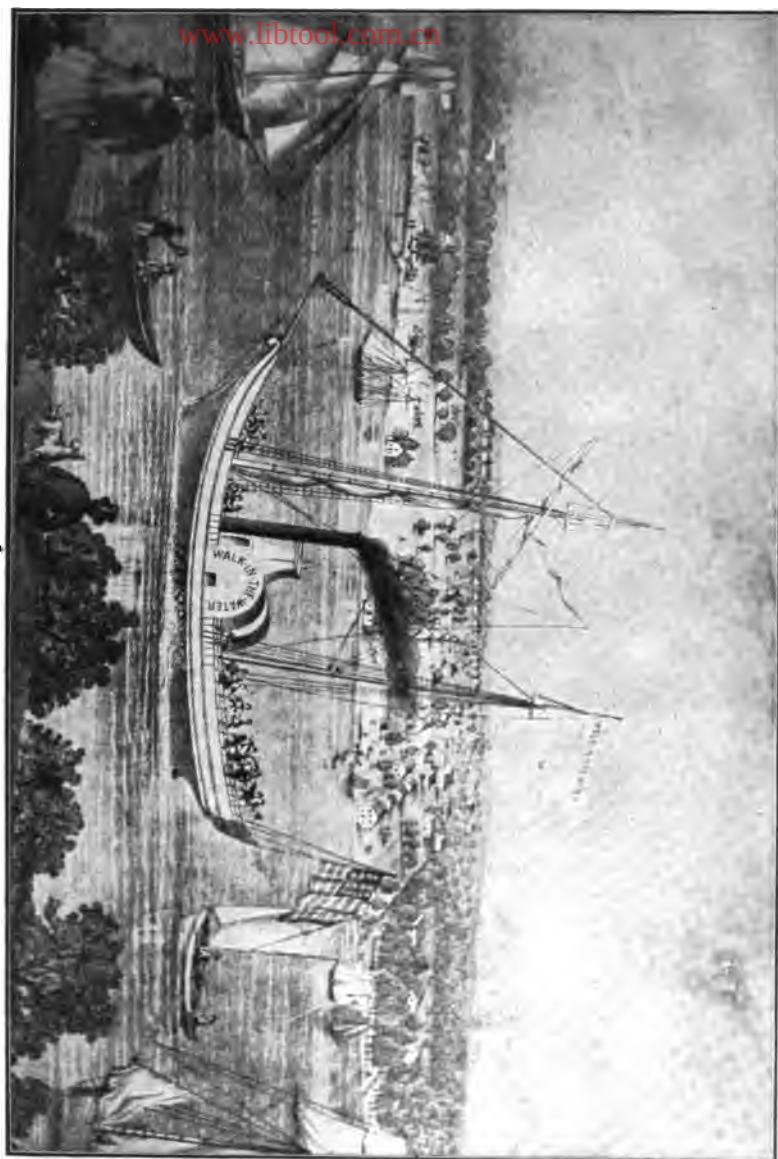
was of the fashion of 1776. One year he made the whole journey from Kentucky, where he resided, to Lower Sandusky, on a short-horned ox, using a side saddle tightly girthed on. After the grist mill was built and the spring freshet came the old gentleman watched the ice and water with great anxiety. At last his dam began to move steadily down stream. The old man lifted his hat from his head and exclaimed: "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord; but the Devil take my precious soul if I do not built it up again."

This elder Hawkins kept a canoe in his mill pond. One day a Frenchman took it to hunt ducks and after landing on the opposite side left his gun in it and went off to gather plums. The old man waded the river and got his canoe; fired off the Frenchman's gun, and paddled back. Fastening the canoe he hastened to Judge Harrington and had the Frenchman fined fifteen dollars for taking one canoe. But the Frenchman was his equal. He laid a counter claim for the same sum for shooting off his gun one time for nothing. Unfortunately early annals failed to relate the outcome of this suit.

The old man missed slabs and fancied they were appropriated for firewood. He bored some long ones and filled them with powder. The next morning a tremendous explosion in a neighboring log cabin took out the whole gable end. The townspeople naturally concluded this was dangerous and though the culprit owned up to stealing the slabs, Hawkins was arrested and arraigned. His plea was that his slabs were green and wouldn't burn without some powder to help them, and he claimed the right to treat his own slabs just as he pleased!

Such were some of the eccentric characters who walked our streets and plied our river nearly a century ago. Trivial, indeed, are many of these annals, and yet, if by their presence, the reader sniffs up something of the essence of local history, no apology is required for their insertion. The scrawl and the blot are inherent parts of the original autograph which the past has written all over our Sandusky Valley; who would wish them copied out in fair chirography? Frontier life has passed far on:

"We may build more splendid habitations,
Fill our rooms with paintings and with sculpture,
But we cannot buy with gold the old associations."



SKETCHED FROM CANADA SHORE, OPPOSITE DETROIT, 1820.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

E. O. RANDALL.

In that striking and stirring century known as the sixteenth, began the voyages of discovery and the expeditions for occupancy, by the Anglo Saxon and the Gaul, of the North American continent. The French were led by Jacques Cartier, who in 1534 entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Other chivalrous and adventurous Frenchmen followed with various experiences, until 1608, when Samuel Champlain encamped upon the Heights of Quebec, and established a colony on that famous Canadian site.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

With equal energy and daring the Englishman, the inveterate rival of the Frenchman, was slowly but surely getting a firm foothold on the American shore. In the year 1498, more than a third of a century before Cartier's little vessel plowed her way up the St. Lawrence, and before Columbus had made his last voyage, the Cabots, John and Sebastian, father and son, coasted along the continent of North America and claimed it by discovery. In 1607 the Jamestown (Virginia) colony became the first permanent English settlement in America. In 1666 Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle sailed up the St. Lawrence, traversed the Great Lakes, and in 1682 descended the Mississippi to its mouth and gave the name Louisiana, in honor of his sovereign Louis XIV., to the vast region comprising the basin of the great "Father of Waters," and took possession of a great undefined territory in the name of France. Meanwhile the

British settlers were establishing New England colonies along the Atlantic coast. The charters and patents of these English colonies granted by the English sovereigns gave the colonists not only the land bordering on the Atlantic coast, but also its extension west as far as the land might reach. Both France and England therefore claimed much of the same territory, the great triangle formed by the Mississippi river on the west, the Atlantic coast on the east, the Great Lakes on the north, and the Gulf of Mexico on the south. The contest between the two racial rivals culminated in the dramatic battle on the Heights of Abraham in 1759, when the invincible English forces under Wolfe overcame the intrepid French army under Montcalm, both leaders bravely sacrificing their lives in the bloody encounter.

As a result of the English victory, by the treaty of Paris (1763), France yielded all her possessions on the American continent. She ceded to England, Canada and all her claimed dominion east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes, but at the same time transferred to Spain, for her friendly alliance and other considerations, the country west of the Mississippi, including the portion at its mouth known as New Orleans. The French settlement of New Orleans was founded in 1718 by Bienville (Jean Baptiste La Moyne). It became the French metropolis of the south as Quebec was of the north. The Spaniards were slow in taking possession of their new American acquisition, leaving the French administration undisturbed for more than five years. Not until 1768, while the French colonists were still objecting to their transfer from France to Spain, did the Spanish governor appear. This gentleman was Antonio D'Ulloa, who was succeeded by Count Alexander O'Reilly, Don Louis Unzaga, Bernardo de Galvez, Estevan de Miro, Baron de Carondelet, Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Marquis de Casa Calvo, and Don Juan de Salcedo. These governors were a picturesque, gay, rollicking, and more or less efficient and sometimes oppressive set of rulers, who failed however to reconcile the French inhabitants to Spanish allegiance. Under their administrations a numerous contingent of Spanish emigrants settled in the territory of Louisiana, more particularly in the city of New Orleans.

France never ceased to regret that she had parted with her

Louisiana possessions, and several times her government contemplated plans peaceable or otherwise for its recovery. Thus matters stood until "the sublime rogue," Napoleon, emerged from the upheaval of the French Revolution. The victory at Marengo (June, 1800) of the invincible Corsican, then posing as First Consul, aroused his ambition for illimitable territory. He coveted not only power in the Orient, but looked longingly to the Spanish possessions in America. In his rapid European conquests Spain became hopelessly dependent upon France, the Spanish king falling into impotent subserviency to Napoleon. Within six weeks after his Marengo victory, Bonaparte set his agents at Madrid busy with the idea of bringing about the retrocession of Louisiana to France. A glorious New France was to be built up beyond the sea, and for three years the First Consul pursued the scheme with ardor. Berthier, the instrument of Bonaparte, became Minister at Madrid, and under his direction the form of a treaty (August, 1800) grew definite. France was to have Louisiana and also the two Floridas, while the consideration to Spain was to be a kingdom of at least a million people made up of French conquests in the north of Italy, over which was to be set the Duke of Parma, husband of the Infanta, daughter of Charles IV., nominal king of Spain. This treaty, negotiated by Berthier, dated October 1, 1800, Mr. John Adams pronounced one of the most interesting documents in the history of the United States, for it is the source of our subsequent title to Louisiana; indeed all sequential arrangements were but modifications of that treaty. Charles IV. refused the surrender of the two Floridas, but was persuaded to yield Louisiana because Napoleon demanded it, and he (Carlos) would receive in return a royal province (Tuscany) for his daughter and son-in-law. It was a good real estate trade. Early in 1801 Lucien Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, succeeded Berthier as the French manager of affairs at Madrid. Lucien Bonaparte proceeded (March 21, 1801) without delay to negotiate at San Ildefonso, the then residence of the Spanish court, a new treaty which did little more than define and confirm that of the preceding October. In return for the elevation of the Duke of Parma to the sovereignty of Tuscany the retrocession of Louisiana to France was to be

at once consummated. The king of Spain, however, at the last moment balked and refused to sign the treaty, and it could not be fully effective without his signature. In the fall of 1801 came peace between France and England, and the First Consul was free, as he had not been before, to pursue his great schemes for internal improvements, and colonial accessions. Napoleon, with characteristic impatience and exercise of powers of appropriation, wrote (July, 1802) to his Minister of Marine, Decres, "My intention is to take possession of Louisiana in the shortest time possible." He then summarily proceeded to organize an expedition for the forcible occupation of Louisiana. There was assembled at Dunkirk a sufficient army of infantry and artillery which was to be sent in transports to the mouth of the Mississippi and take things. To the command of this expedition Bonaparte at first named Bernadotte, but the storm of a European war suddenly threatened and gave Napoleon pause. Bernadotte would be needed at home, and General Claude Perrin Victor was placed in command of the American squadron. But before the fleet could get under way, King Carlos yielded, and signed the treaty of retrocession upon the conditions: first, that the new kingdom of Etruria, as the Italian appanage of the Infanta and her husband was to be called, must be distinctly recognized by Austria, England, and the dethroned Duke (Ferdinand) of Tuscany, whose lost territory was incorporated in the new domain; second, France must pledge herself not to alienate Louisiana, and to restore it to Spain in case his son-in-law, the king of Etruria to be, should lose his power. Carlos proposed to have the bargain fixed to stick.

At this point the United States began to take a hand in the transaction. John Adams, who as the head of the Federalists, leaned strongly toward England, and nearly involved the United States in a war with the French Directory, was succeeded in the presidency March 4, 1801, by Thomas Jefferson, the Anti-federalist. The new president entertained a favorable disposition not only toward France but also toward her ally Spain. As the situation in Europe over the proposed retrocession of Louisiana became known to the Americans, it became a question of great national interest and importance. It assumed a political issue.

New Orleans was the commercial gate and outlet of the Mississippi, which was the natural highway of traffic for hundreds of miles into the interior of the great West. The right to traverse unimpeded that water-course, unload and deposit goods at New Orleans, and there sell and re-ship to the other ports, was a matter of vital importance to the people of the young American Republic. Under Spanish rule this right had been granted only under severe restrictions of custom duties. Efforts had been made to secure by treaty with Spain greater privileges of navigation of the river and re-shipment at New Orleans. The duties had been excessive till 1795, when a treaty was secured "to make use of the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit for their (American) produce and merchandise and to export the same free from all duty or charge except for storage and incidental expenses." The transfer of Louisiana and New Orleans to France imperilled this prized and priceless privilege. American western commerce would be at the mercy of France, the stability of whose government was uncertain, and with which nation the relations of the United States would be problematical. Pending the negotiations between Spain and France, the Spanish civil officer at New Orleans (1802) abrogated the "right of deposit," closing absolutely the Mississippi to the United States. The people of the West and South were hostile to the Spanish occupation of Louisiana. It ought to be American territory. Its sale now to France by Spain heightened this anti-foreign feeling. It would only confirm its alienation to non-American possessors. France could, and probably would, control the situation with a despotic hand. The people of the West and South, being those most closely and materially interested, opposed the transfer to France, and excitement ran so high that it was suggested an armed organization of western Americans proceed to New Orleans and attempt its seizure at the first sign of the French advance. The people of the East and North, being farther removed from the section affected, and having the Atlantic seaboard as a maritime outlet, were less agitated over the situation. But a war with France was not improbable. Jefferson was in hot water. He decided to solve the difficulty by buying New Orleans

and Florida.* Jefferson appointed James Monroe an envoy extraordinary to France to negotiate jointly with Livingston, for the cession of New Orleans and Florida to the United States. He was authorized to expend, if need be, a sum of \$2,000,000 for the purpose. If no purchase could be effected, then Monroe was at least to secure the old "right of deposit" at New Orleans. Monroe sailed March 8, 1803. Pierre Clement Laussat, the colonial prefect, had meantime been placed by Napoleon in charge of the French fleet to be sent to America to take possession of New Orleans as the practical capital of Louisiana. Napoleon feared, with good cause, that England, knowing the situation, would despatch vessels to New Orleans and secure possession before the French fleet could arrive. When Monroe reached Paris he found Napoleon in hot water. His dream of a colossal and colonial empire was growing dim. His Egyptian campaign had failed. His San Domingo campaign was a frightful nightmare. The European powers were gathering for a combine against him. England was preparing for the great struggle. Napoleon needed money and needed it bad. He caught at the idea of selling Louisiana. It would replenish his coffers and strengthen the United States as against England his most dreaded foe. Robert Livingston was the American Minister to France. He had seen the advantage of this purchase and advocated it to Jefferson and to Bonaparte.

* Florida discovered in 1512 by Ponce de Leon and claimed for Spain. The domain of Florida under Spanish occupancy extended indefinitely westward and included the southern extremity of Louisiana. Early in the 18th century the English in the Carolinas and Georgia made war on the Floridians. By the treaty of Paris (1763) Florida was ceded by Spain to England in exchange for Cuba which had been conquered by England in 1762. The English divided Florida into East and West Florida, the Appalachicola River being the boundary line. By the treaty resulting from the American Revolution (1783), Florida was retroceded to Spain, and the western boundary fixed at the Perdido River. When in 1803 Louisiana was ceded to the United States by France, its domain was regarded as that which it had been in the hands of Spain when ceded by that country to France. The United States therefore claimed the country west of the Perdido River and in 1811 took possession of the same. Finally Florida (east of the Perdido) was purchased from Spain in 1819 and American possession was taken in 1821.

Napoleon, rather than trust the wily Talleyrand in the matter, made the Marquis de Barbe-Marbois, minister of the Treas-



NAPOLEON.

ury, his agent in the negotiations. Barbe-Marbois had been consul general to the United States and his wife was an American. Napoleon grew more and more anxious to sell as war between France and England became more imminent. He proposed to destroy England's chance of further acquisition in America. He said to his ministers that, "to free the world from the commercial tyranny of England it is necessary to oppose to her a maritime power which will one day be-

come her rival. It must be the United States. The English aspire to dispose of all the riches of the world. I shall be useful to the entire universe if I can prevent them from dominating America as they dominate Asia. * * * * The English shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their aggrandizement in all parts of the globe; but the jealousy they feel because of its return under the dominion of France warns me that they intend to seize it, and it is thus they will begin the war. They have already twenty vessels in the Gulf of Mexico. The conquest of Louisiana will be easy if they will only take the trouble to descend upon it. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their power. I do not know but what they are already there. That is their usual way of doing things: and as for me, if I were in their place, I certainly would not have waited. I wish to take away from them even the idea that they will ever be able to own this colony. I contemplate turning it over to the United States. I should hardly be able to say I had ceded it to them, for we are not yet in possession of it. But even a short delay may leave me nothing but a vain title to transmit to these Republicans, whose friendship I seek.

They are asking me for but a single city of Louisiana (New Orleans) but I already regard the whole colony as lost, and it seems to me that in the hands of this rising power it will be more useful to the politics and even to the commerce of France than if I attempt to keep it."

On April 12, (1803) Monroe reached Paris and joined Livingston. Conferences between the American envoys and the French authorities were fraught with difficulties. Jefferson's representatives were uncertain of their powers. The negotiators for Napoleon were hampered by his vacillating dictation and his frequent change in the price demanded, first asking 50,000,000 francs and then rising to one hundred million. The compact of sale was finally signed April 30, 1803, by the agents of the two nations: Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe for the United States and Barbe-Marbois for France. Said Marbois: "As soon as they had signed they rose, shook hands, and Livingston, expressing the satisfaction of all, said: 'The treaty we have signed has not been brought about by finesse nor dictated by force. Equally advantageous to both the contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into a flourishing country. To-day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank. Moreover, if wars are inevitable, France will have in the new world a friend increasing year by year in power, which can not fail to become puissant and respected on all the seas of the earth. These treaties will become a guarantee of peace and good-will between commercial states. The instrument we have signed will cause no tears to flow. It will prepare centuries of happiness for innumerable generations of the human race. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them prosper and increase in the midst of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition, from the scourges of bad government, and truly worthy of the regard and the care of Providence.'"

Napoleon, when he signed the treaties declared that this accession of territory which he had bestowed "assures forever the power of the United States, and I have given England a rival who, sooner or later, will humble her pride." It was an anomalous proceeding by both parties. In this transaction Napoleon conducted himself with his characteristic high-handed, lawless

and autocratic manner. He acted independent of his advisors, of his Parliament, the wishes of his people, with whom the sale was unpopular, and in defiance of the conditions under which he had bought it from Spain, viz., that it be not parted with by France without consent of Spain. On the other hand Livingston and Monroe were only authorized to buy the island of New Orleans, and expend therefor two million dollars. So that the people of the United States had obtained to their surprise a territorial acquisition which they had not asked and indeed which they were in doubt about desiring. When the extent of the purchase was known Jefferson was greatly embarrassed and the citizens of the country were not a little amazed. Both president Jefferson and secretary of state Madison "were dazed at the audacity of their agents, the immensity of the sum paid and the enormous magnitude of the whole transaction." Mr. Jefferson at first declared he would not approve the treaty, because, if he did, he would make "waste paper of the constitution." He had long been teaching that "the strict construction of the constitution permitted nothing to be done under it except what was expressly authorized. There was hence no authority in express terms for the nation to grow in size, to enlarge its boundaries, to add new territories. Ohio had been admitted into the Union that very year (1803) with his approval, but this was carved out of an acquisition gained by another peaceful or peace treaty—with England—made before the constitution became operative. The supreme organic law, according to this literal expounder, hindered growth, development, progress, expansion." But while the president was halting over constitutional questions, Napoleon was catching his breath, through a lull in the war business, and beginning to repent of his disposal of Louisiana. He began searching for technical loopholes in the contract of sale whereby he might rescind his agreement. He even instructed Marbois to find a pretext for repudiating what he concluded was a bad bargain for France. Livingston becoming alarmed at the situation urged Jefferson to clinch the matter before too late. The president was persuaded that constitutional quibbles must be ignored, and on October 17 (1803) called a special session of congress, and two days later the

Senate ratified the treaty of purchase. The bargain was closed. Louisiana was ours. The price paid was eighty million francs, or something over fifteen million dollars. But of this amount, the United States in its payment to France was to deduct twenty million francs and in lieu thereof pay that sum to the American citizens in settlement of the spoliation claims which they had against France.* Congress proceeded to provide for a provisional government for the newly acquired territory, and also for ways and means to raise the money to pay the purchase price.

In all this while in these various sales and barter, as Mr. Hosmer notes, no human being possessed any definite idea of the extent or the boundaries of the territory called Louisiana. In the last transfer between Jefferson and Napoleon, the indefiniteness was as great as ever. In the language of the treaty the cession was to be of the "province of Louisiana with the same extent it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it." On the north Louisiana was understood to go to the sources of the Mississippi, but those were not then ascertained; on the northwest to the mountains, which no explorer had yet been known to traverse. The southern boundary was certainly the Gulf—that was, perhaps, the only thing fixed in all the province save the Mississippi, which in its upper course fixed the limit on the east; but on the southeast the uncertainty also prevailed for this pertained to the territory known as the Floridas. "The territory, however, when made definite was discovered to be in extent more than seven times that of Great Britain and Ireland; more than four times that of the German empire, or of the Austrian empire, or of France; more than three times that of Spain and Portugal; more than seven times that of Italy; nearly ten times that of Turkey and Greece. It is also larger than

* By amount of claim on Government of France, admitted by said Government as due to citizens of the United States, and which, pursuant to the provisions of the Louisiana Convention of April 30th, 1803, were payable by bills drawn by said minister (John Armstrong) on the treasury of the United States, including sundry embargo cases, as per list certified by the minister of the French treasury, etc., 19,609,839.63 francs, at rate of five and one-third francs to the dollar, or \$3,692,055.69.

American State Papers vol. 8, Finance vol. II, page 561.

Great Britain, ~~Germany~~, ~~France~~, Spain, Portugal, and Italy combined."*

The close of the year 1803 witnessed the dramatic scenes that sealed the series of events in the negotiations. The stage of this final act was the cosmopolitan city of New Orleans, the Spanish, French, and American officials vying with each other to render brilliant and impressive the parts played by their respective nations. The news of the proceedings at Paris, in those days, was slow in reaching the people of the United States, and especially those most interested at the distant port of New Orleans. Pierre Clement Laussat had arrived (September, 1803) in the capital city of the Louisiana district to make the announcement to its people of the re-purchase by France from Spain of the Louisiana country, and upon him devolved the delicate mission of announcing to the Spaniards living in that colony that they had now become the subjects of the French republic, at whose head was the daring first consul. But as General Victor was alone authorized by Napoleon to receive the colony from the Spanish government, the colonial prefect, Laussat, found his office informal and chiefly ornamental. The news of the re-annexation of New Orleans and its province to France was welcomed by the French of the city with the wildest excitement and rejoicing. Five weeks after Laussat's arrival Marquis De Cassa Calvo landed in the city, sent by the Captain General of Cuba to act with the Spanish Governor Salcedo in transferring the province from Spain to France. A season of great festivity ensued in which the courtly Spanish grandees and the chivalric French officers competed for the splendor of ceremony and the extravagant expression of

*Jefferson, in order to learn what really had come into possession of the United States through his treaty, arranged for an exploration, choosing for the leaders Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, the latter the younger brother of the famous George Rogers Clark. These two daring explorers proved to be ideal pathfinders. They had been army officers of military experience under General Anthony Wayne. Lewis, a kinsman of the President, had been for a time his private secretary. They set out from St. Louis in May, 1804, with a company of some fifty men, made their way by the Missouri and its tributaries to the Rocky Mountains, and thence followed the Columbia from its head springs to the Pacific, reaching the latter point November 15, 1805.

mutual good will. General Victor was expected any day, when the transfer of the gay city from the allegiance of Spain to France was to be consummated. Suddenly, and to the consternation of both parties, there came by the arrival of a vessel from Bordeaux the news that the province had been sold by France to the United States.

It was a strange and unexpected shifting of the scene. Instead of the arrival of Victor came the instruction from Napoleon to Laussat for the latter to act as the commissioner to receive the colony from Spain and then pass it over to the United States authorities. On November 30th came the ceremony of the cession by Spain to France. Eye witnesses recorded that it was an elaborate, but rather heavy, ceremony. The day was gloomy and wet, the Spaniards were depressed and the French dismayed. The formality took place in the square of the Place D'Armes and the council chamber and balcony of the Cabildo — an imposing building erected some years before and at that time the most stately, if not the most spacious, in the United States, the meeting place of the municipal council of New Orleans. On that day the Spanish Alcalde and his suite yielded the colonial and municipal authority to the French Mayor and his council. The yellow flag of Spain was lowered from the flag staff in the Place D'Armes and the Tricolor — the red, white and blue — of the French republic hoisted in its stead. The Spanish officials withdrew with all the stately circumstance that they could assume. Seventeen days later the American commissioners, with their escort of troops arrived and encamped two miles outside the city walls. Three days afterwards, on December 20, the second great ceremony took place, in which was consummated the transfer of the city and the territory it represented, from France to the United States. It is recorded that it was a day radiant with natural beauty and sunshine, in strange contrast to the rain and gloom of weather which prevailed when the previous transfer from Spain to France had occurred. At nine o'clock the American militia marched with flying banners and beating drums into the Place D'Armes, General James Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, and Governor C. C. Claiborne, Governor of Mississippi, the American commissioners,

mounted upon prancing chargers headed the column of American soldiers comprising a detachment of dragoons in red uniform with contingents of artillery, infantry and carabineer. The Americans drew up in parade form opposite the French troops, who had likewise assembled in the open square. The authorized officials with the city dignitaries, ecclesiastics and distinguished civilians then ascended the broad stairway of the Cabildo to the council chamber. Laussat placed himself in the elevated chair of honor, Governor Claiborne and General Wilkinson seating them-



LOUISIANA TERRITORY PURCHASE.

selves respectively on his right and left. The legal formalities of the previous three weeks were then repeated; Laussat delivered the keys of the city to Claiborne who was to be the first territorial Governor of Louisiana, and Laussat publicly absolved the French inhabitants from their oath so recently taken of allegiance to France and announced their transfer from citizenship in the French republic to citizenship in the American republic. Secretaries read the treaty of cession in both English and French; Laussat read his credentials from the first consul; Claiborne then read Jefferson's command to him to receive the province; the commissioners then

arose and passed out upon the elevated balcony of the Cabildo, which overlooked the open square, upon which was now formed the international tableau of the French, Spanish and American soldiers, and the crowds of citizens of the three nations. A bizarre setting to the brilliant scene was created by the intermingling crowds of black slaves and the groups of native American Indians, the latter arrayed in all the plumage of their ceremonial attire. At a given signal the French Tricolor, which had so recently been raised, was slowly lowered from the flag staff, and in its place was raised the Red, White and Blue, this time in the form of the Stars and Stripes — the symbol of the American republic. This imposing and important incident was emphasized by the instant firing of every gun in the city, in the fort, the battery and from the ships afloat in the port; the bands played the American airs, the multitudes shouted and from the balconies and windows of the great square hall and handkerchiefs were waved in applause. This scene however had its pathetic coloring, as writes one witness: "A French officer received the Tricolor in his arms as it came to the ground, and wrapping it about his body strode away with it to the barracks; the crowd fell in behind as at a funeral; the American soldiers presented arms as they passed, and the men in the street uncovered and with great solemnity it was carried to the government house and left in the hands of Laussat." Governor Claiborne then delivered his inaugural, in which he promised the people of Louisiana that they should never be transferred again. Such a pledge, if believed, must have been, indeed, a balm to their wearied feelings, for their country, if such it may have been called, had, in its history, been transferred, counting its bestowal by Louis XIV. on private owners and the swapping back and forth between Spain and France and now America, no less than six times.

The momentous event was at an end. The stupendous territory called Louisiana, embracing an area of 1,200,000 square miles or nearly two-fifths of the total area of the United States passed forever into the possession of the American people. It included all, or nearly all, of Louisiana, Arkansas, Indian and Oklahoma Territories, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, part of Colorado, and

all of Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, in all seventeen states and territories.

"If the Louisiana purchase," says Mr. Sloane, the historian, "revolutionized our national outlook, our constitutional attitude, and our sectional control, it has quite as radically changed our national texture. From that hour to this we have called to the masses of Europe for help to develop the wilderness, and they have come by millions, until now the men and women of Revolutionary stock probably number less than 15,000,000 in the entire country. These later Americans have, like the migrations of the Norsemen in central and southern Europe, proved so conservative in their Americanism that they outrun their predecessors in loyalty to its essentials. They made the Union as it now is, in a very high sense, and there is no question that in the throes of civil war it was their blood which flowed at least as freely as ours in defense of it. It is they who have kept us from developing on colonial lines and have made us a nation separate and apart. This it is which has prevented the powerful influence of Great Britain from inundating us, while simultaneously two English-speaking peoples have reacted one upon the other in their radical differences to keep aflame the zeal for exploration, beneficent occupation, and general exploitation of the globe in the interests of a high civilization. The localities of the Union have been stimulated into such activities that manufactures and agriculture have run a mighty race: commerce alone lags, and no wonder, for Louisiana gave us a land world of our own, a home market more valuable than both the Indies or the continental mass of the East."

DANIEL BOON.

WILLIAM A. GALLOWAY, B. S., M. D., XENIA, OHIO.

In Prof. McFarland's excellent article on Simon Kenton, he mentions Daniel Boon, as having been the most prominent early settler of Kentucky. He also quotes from Boon's own account, giving the date of his first journey, from his home on the Yadkin River, North Carolina, in quest of the country of Kentucky, and the names of his associates on this memorable trip.

Some of Col. Boon's most strenuous experiences occurred in Ohio, and on this account his most valuable contribution to Ohio history is here given. His own narrative may be found in

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OR REPOSITORY OF ANCIENT
AND MODERN FUGITIVE PIECES, ETC., PROSE
AND POETICAL. FOR OCTOBER, 1787.*

Several orthographical points of interest will be noted. The spelling of Old Chelicothet[†] (pronounced by the Shawanese —

*Complete volumes of *The American Museum* from 1780 to 1789 are a part of the valuable historical library of Hon. James Edmund Galloway, Xenia, Ohio.

[†]The pronunciation of Che-li-coth-e comes down through the writer's family, from James Galloway, Sr. It has undoubtedly been preserved correctly. In the *American Pioneer*, June, 1842, occurs the following editorial note by Jno. S. Williams: "Those valleys (the Scioto and Paint Creek valleys) were favorites of the Aborigines also, in each of which they built their *che-le-co-the*, which is understood to be an Indian name, signifying town or city."

In the September number, 1842, of the same in an article on Logan, Felix Renick, Esq., writes: "Captain Parsons informed me that he was at the town where Logan then resided, and where he delivered his speech. He called it *chi-le-coth-e*, sounding each syllable as it would, detached from the rest."

Chê-lî-côth'ê); Peccaway (Piqua); Point Creek Town on Sciota; Shawanese (Shawnees); Kentucke; and the name of Boon. The quaint old-fashioned f, for our present use of s; the circumflex mark connecting c and t; and the use of both small and capital letters in military titles were common to a later date than 1787.

The closing paragraphs tell, in simple, heartfelt words, the sum of his life's story and reflect the shadows of his most eventful career. Boon was indeed "an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness."

Col. Boon, in this narrative, locates Old Chelicothe as "the principal Indian town on Little Miami." His statement, that in 1782 Clark's Expedition destroyed Old Chelicothe, Peccaway, New Chelicothe, Wills Town, and Chelicothe, leaves no doubt that at that time the various Chelicothes had different designations and that the one on the Little Miami river was "Old Chelicothe." The court records of Greene County verify this, and give the exact location of the village in the testimony of James Galloway in the case of

JOHN STEVENSON
vs
PETER VANDOLAH

{ In the Green County Superior
Court in Chancery, before Jo-
siah Glover, Master Commis-
sioner, at the house of Abner
Reed, June 15, 1818.

After testifying that he first saw Old Chillicothe and the Little Miami prairie bottoms in 1782, to the question "Are you now sitting in the place called Old Chillicothe?" James Galloway answered "I am sitting within the bounds where the pickets were." It may here be said that these same pickets had to be broken down with a small cannon, before the town was finally taken and destroyed by Clark.

The house of Abner Reed, in which this trial took place, is a two story brick residence, — still standing. It is situate at the south-west edge of the village of Oldtown, three and one-half miles north of Xenia.

James Galloway removed from Lexington, Ky., with his family in 1797 to a place about one mile north of Oldtown. He

was a Revolutionary soldier and was Treasurer of Greene County, from August 1803 till June 1819.

It should be added to these evidences of the location of "Old Chelicothe" that Simón Kenton made his last visit to his nephew and niece, Orin and Martha North, at their residence in Oldtown, about 1834. From the large porch of their residence — still standing — in full sight of the most famous of all his gauntlet runs, he showed them its course, extending from the foot of the Sexton hill to the door of the Council House. He located the Council House a few yards north-east of the Abner Reed residence. This course is 158 rods bearing slightly east of south from the Reed house. Kenton also pointed out the prairie where he found the drove of horses, which got him into this all but fatal captivity. It is located between the Massie's Creek bridge of The P. C. C. & St. L. Railway and the first steep of foothills east, bearing northward between these two points.

On page 24 of the January 1904 issue of this Quarterly, Prof. McFarland says, "It is perfectly certain that Kenton first ran the gauntlet at the Chillicothe on the Little Miami."

These evidences set at rest all doubts as to the true location of "Old Chelicothe", ordinarily spelled "Old Chillicothe"; now Oldtown, Greene County, Ohio. The article by Col. Boon is here presented, an exact copy, except the use of the letter f for s, and the circumflex mark over ct.

Adventures of col. Daniel Boon, one of the original settlers at Kentucke; containing the wars with the Indians on the Ohio, from 1769 to the year 1784, and the first establishment and progress of the settlements on that river. Written by the colonel.

It was on the first of May 1769 that I resigned my domestic happiness, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucke, in company with John Finley, John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Money, and William Cool.

On the 7th of June, after travelling through a mountainous wilderness, in a western direction, we found ourselves on Red

River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians; and, from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure



DANIEL BOONE.

the beautiful level of Kentucke. For some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather. We now encamped, made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found abundance of wild beasts in this vast forest. The buffaloes were more numerous than cattle on other settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains. We saw hundreds in a drove; and the

numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In the forest, the habitation of beasts of every American kind, we hunted with great success until December.

On the 22d of December, John Stuart and I had a pleasing ramble; but fortune changed the day at the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, in which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a series of wonders and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with numberless animals, presenting themselves perpetually to our view. In the decline of the day, near Kentucke river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane brake, and made us prisoners. The Indians plundered us, and kept us in confinement seven days. During this, we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious; but in the dead of night, as we lay by a large fire, in a thick cane brake, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not

disposing me to rest, I gently awoke my companion. We seized this favourable opportunity, and departed, directing our course toward our old camp, but found it plundered, and our company dispersed or gone home.

About this time my brother, Squire Boon, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding our unfortunate circumstances, our meeting fortunately in the wilderness, gave us the most sensible satisfaction.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stuart, was killed by the savages; and the man that came with my brother, returned home by himself. We were then in a dangerous, helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death, among savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves.

Thus many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderness, we did not continue in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the winter storms. We met with no disturbance during the winter.

On the first of May 1770, my brother returned home by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me alone, without bread, salt, or sugar, or even a horse or dog. I passed a few days uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on my account, would have disposed me to melancholy, if I had further indulged the thought.

One day I undertook a tour through the country, when the diversity and beauties of nature I met with, in this charming season, expelled every gloomy thought. Just at the close of day, the gentle gales ceased; a profound calm ensued; not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and looking round with astonishing delight, beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand I surveyed the famous Ohio, rolling in silent dignity, and marking the western boundary of Kentucke with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance, I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire, near a fountain of sweet water, and seated

on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The shades of night soon overspread the hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. My excursion had fatigued my body, and amused my mind. I laid me down to sleep, and awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleased as at first, after which I returned to my old camp, which had not been disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane brakes to avoid the savages, who, I believe, often visited my camp, but, fortunately for me, in my absence. No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found in this country.

Until the 27th of July, I spent the time in an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Soon after we left the place, and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country, and giving names to the different rivers.

In March 1771, I returned home to my family, being determined to bring them as soon as possible, at the risk of my life and fortune, to reside in Kentucke, which I esteemed a second paradise.

On my return I found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm at Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and, on the 25th of September 1773, we bade farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucke, in company with five more families, and forty men that joined us in Powell's Valley, which is 150 miles from the now settled parts of Kentucke; but this promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity.

On the 10th of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six and wounded one man. Of these my eldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and so discouraged the whole company, that we retreated forty miles to Clench

river. We had passed over two mountains, Powell's and Wal-den's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, in passing from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucke, are ranged in a south-west and north-east direction, are of great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over them nature hath formed passes less difficult than might be expected from the view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs is so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror.

Until the 6th of June, 1774, I remained with my family on the Clench when I and Michael Stoner were solicited by governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to conduct a number of surveyors to the falls of Ohio. This was a tour of near eight hundred miles, and took us sixty-two days.

On my return, governor Dunmore gave me the command of three garrisons, during the campaign against the Shawanese.

In March, 1775, at the solicitation of a number of gentlemen, of North Carolina, I attended their treaty at Wataga, with the Cherokee Indians, to purchase the lands on the south-side of Kentucke-river. After this, I undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlements, through the wilderness to Kentucke.

Having collected a number of enterprizing men, well armed, I soon began this work. We proceeded until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, where the Indians attacked us, and killed two, and wounded two more.

This was the 20th of March, 1775. Three days after, they attacked us again; we had two killed and three wounded. After this, we proceeded on to Kentucke river without opposition.

On the first of April, we began to erect the fort of Boonsborough, at a salt-lick, sixty yards from the river, on the south side.

On the 4th, they killed one of our men.

On the 14th of June, having finished the fort, I returned to my family, on the Clench. Soon after I removed my family to this fort; we arrived safe; my wife and daughter being the first white women that stood on the banks of Kentucke river.

December 24th. The Indians killed one man, and wounded another, seeming determined to persecute us for erecting this fort.

July 14th, 1776. Two of col. Calway's daughters, and one of mine were taken prisoners near the fort. I immediately pursued the Indians, with only eighteen men.

On the 16th, I overtook them, killed two of them, and recovered the girls.

The Indians had divided themselves into several parties, and attacked, on the same day, all our settlements and forts, doing a great deal of mischief. The husbandman was shot dead in the field, and most of the cattle were destroyed. They continued their hostilities until

The 15th of April, 1777, when a party of 100 of them attacked Boonsborough, and killed one man, and wounded four.

July 4th, they attacked it again with 200 men, and killed us one and wounded two. They remained 48 hours, during which we killed seven of them. All the settlements were attacked at the same time.

July 19th, Colonel Logan's fort was besieged by 200 Indians; they did much mischief; there were only fifteen men in the fort; they killed two, and wounded four of them. Indians loss unknown.

July 25. Twenty-five men came from Carolina. About

August 20th, colonel Bowman arrived with 100 men from Virginia. Now we began to strengthen, and had skirmishes with the Indians almost every day. The savages now learned the superiority of the LONG KNIFE, as they call the Virginians; being outgeneralled in almost every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aspect; the enemy did not now venture open war, but practiced secret mischief.

January 1, 1778.* I went with thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking river, to make salt for the different garrisons.

* *Collin's Historical Sketches of Kentucky* under heading, Daniel Boon, contains the following statement: "During this period (from January, 1778 till the 16th of the following June) Boone kept no journal and we are therefore uninformed as to any particular incidents which occurred during his captivity." The entire article follows Boon's narrative closely and leaves an irresistible impression that its author must have had access to Boon's Journal, as here given, although no credit is given

February 7th. ~~www.HuntingLibrary.com~~ Hunting by myself, to procure meat for the company, I met a party of 102 Indians and Two Frenchmen, marching against Boonsborough. They pursued and took me; and next day I capitulated for my men, knowing they could not escape. They were 27 in number, three having gone home with salt. The Indians, according to the capitulation, used us generously. They carried us to Old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town on Little Miami.

On the 18th of February we arrived there, after an uncomfortable journey, in very severe weather.

On the 10th of March, I and ten of my men were conducted to Detroit.

On the 30th, we arrived there, and were treated by governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity.

The Indians had such an affection for me, that they refused 100 £. sterling offered them by the governor, if they would leave me with the others, on purpose that he might send me home on my parole. Several English gentlemen there, sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with sympathy, generously offered to supply my wants, which I declined with many thanks, adding that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity. The Indians left my men in captivity with the British at Detroit.

On the 10th of April, they brought me towards Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth day of the same month. This was a long and fatiguing march, through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine springs and streams of water. At Chelicothe, I spent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom, into a family, where I became a son, and had a great share in the affec-

therefore. The Historical Sketches of Kentucky were published 64 years after Boon's narrative in the American Museum and the narrative is now republished 120 years after Boon wrote it. Boon was born on February 11th, 1731, on the bank of the Delaware river in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. He died in 1820 and was buried at Flanders, Calloway county, Missouri, aged 89. On September 13th, 1845, the state of Kentucky lifted the remains of Boon and his wife and with fitting and beautiful ceremony reinterred them in the public cemetery at Frankfort, Ky.

tion of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting; for no people are more envious than they in this sport. I could observe in their countenances and gestures, the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me; and, when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawanese king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound respect, and entire friendship, often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was in common with them, not so good indeed as I could desire; but necessity made everything acceptable.

I now began to meditate an escape, but carefully avoided giving suspicion.

Until the first day of June I continued at Old Chelicothe, and then was taken to the salt springs on Sciota, and kept there ten days making salt. During this time, I had hunted with them, and found the land, for a great extent above this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucke, if possible, and remarkably well watered.

On my return to Chelicothe, four hundred and fifty of the choicest Indian warriors were ready to march against Boonsborough, painted and armed in a fearful manner. This alarmed me, and I determined to escape.

On the 16th of June, before sunrise, I went off secretly, and reached Boonsborough on the 20th, a journey of one hundred and sixty miles, during which I had only one meal. I found our fortress in a bad state, but we immediately repaired our flanks, gates, posterns, and formed double bastions, which we completed in ten days. One of my fellow prisoners escaping after me, brought advice, that on account of my flight, the Indians had put off their expedition for three weeks.

About August 1st, I set out with nineteen men to surprise Point Creek Town on Sciota. Within four miles we fell in with

thirty Indians going against Boonsborough. We fought, and the enemy gave way. We suffered no loss. The enemy had one killed, and two wounded. We took three horses and all their baggage. The Indians having evacuated their town and gone all together against Boonsborough, we returned, passed them on the sixth day, and on the seventh arrived safe at Boonsborough.

On the 8th, the Indian army, four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by capt. Duquesne, and eleven other Frenchmen, and their chiefs, came and summoned the fort. I requested two days consideration, which they granted. During this, we brought in through the posterns all the horses and other cattle we could collect.

On the 9th, in the evening, I informed their commander, that we were determined to defend the fort, while a man was living. They then proposed a treaty, and said if we sent out nine men to conclude it, they would withdraw. The treaty was held within sixty yards of the fort, as we suspected the savages. The articles were agreed to and signed; when the Indians told us, it was their custom for two Indians to shake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of friendship. We agreed to this also. They immediately grappled us to take us prisoners, but we cleared ourselves of them, though surrounded by hundreds, and gained the fort safe, except one that was wounded by a heavy fire from their army. On this they began to undermine the fort, beginning at the water-mark of Kentucke river, which is sixty yards from the fort. We discovered this by the water being made muddy with the clay, and countermined them by cutting a trench across their subterranean passage. The enemy discovering this, by the clay we threw out of the fort, desisted.

On the 20th of August, they raised the siege.

During this dreadful siege, we had two men killed, and four wounded. We lost a number of cattle. We killed thirty-seven of the enemy, and wounded a great number. We picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds of their bullets, besides what struck in the logs of the fort.

Soon after this I went into the settlement, and nothing worthy of notice passed for some time.

In July, 1779, during my absence, col. Bowman, with 160 men, went against the Shawanese of Old Chelicothe. He arrived undiscovered; a battle ensued, which lasted until ten in the morning, when col. Bowman retreated thirty miles. The Indians collected all their strength, and pursued him, when another engagement ensued for two hours, not to col. Bowman's advantage. Col. Harrod proposed to mount a number of horses and break the enemy's line, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate measure had a happy effect, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two battles we had nine men killed, and one wounded. Enemy's loss uncertain, only two scalps being taken.

June 22d, 1780, about 600 Indians and Canadians, under colonel Bird, attacked Riddle's and Martin's station, and the Forks of Licking river, with six pieces of artillery. They took all the inhabitants captives, and killed one man and two women, loaded the others with the heavy baggage; and such as failed in the journey, were tomahawked.

The hostile disposition of the savages, caused general Clark, the commandant at the falls of the Ohio, to march with his regiment and the armed force of the country against Peccaway, the principal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of the Great Miami, which he finished with great success, took seventeen scalps, and burned the town to ashes, with the loss of seventeen men.

About this time, I returned to Kentucke with my family; for, during my captivity, my wife, thinking me killed by the Indians, had transported my family and goods on horses through the wilderness, amidst many dangers, to her father's house in North Carolina.

The history of my difficulties in going and returning, is too long to be inserted here.

On the 6th of October 1780, soon after my settling again at Boonsborough, I went with my brother to the Blue Licks, and on our return, he was shot by a party of Indians; they followed me by the scent of a dog, which I shot, and escaped.

The severity of the winter caused great distress in Kentucke, the enemy during the summer having destroyed most of the corn. The inhabitants lived chiefly on Buffaloes' flesh.

In spring 1782, the Indians harrassed us.

In May they killed one man at Ashton's station, and took a negro. Capt. Ashton pursued them with 25 men, and in an engagement which lasted two hours, his party were obliged to retreat, having eight killed, and four mortally wounded. Their brave commander fell in the action.

August 10th, two boys were carried off from major Hoy's station. Capt. Holder pursued with 17 men; they were also defeated, and lost four and one wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. The savages infested the country, killing men at every opportunity.

In a field near Lexington, an Indian shot a man, and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy.

All the Indian nations were now united against us.

August 15th, five hundred Indians and Canadians came against Briant's station, five miles from Lexington; they assaulted the fort, killed all the cattle around it, but being repulsed, they retired the third day, having about thirty killed, their wounded uncertain. The garrison had four killed and three wounded.

August 18th. Col. Todd, colonel Trigg, major Harland, and myself, speedily collected one hundred and seventy-six men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking river, about forty-three miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the 19th.

The savages observing us, gave way, and we, ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When they saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage in the situation, they formed their line of battle from one bend of the Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. The battle was exceedingly fierce for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of sixty-seven men, seven of whom were taken prisoners. The brave and much lamented colonels Todd and Trigg, major Harland and my second son, were among the dead. We were afterwards told, that the Indians on numbering their dead, finding they had four more

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killed than we, four of our people they had taken, were given up to their young warriors to be put to death after their barbarous manner.

On our retreat, we were met by colonel Logan, who was hastening to join us, with a number of well armed men. This powerful assistance we wanted on the day of the battle. The enemy said, one more fire from us would have made them give way.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, but sorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of their country led those heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men, to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing, in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback, a few on foot; and being dispersed everywhere, in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled; some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such a putrefied condition, that no one could be distinguished from another.

When general Clark at the falls of Ohio, heard of our disaster, he ordered an expedition to pursue the savages; we overtook them within two miles of their town, and we should have obtained a great victory, had not some of them met us when about two hundred poles from their camp. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, and evacuated all their towns. We burned to ashes Old Chelicothe, Peccaway, New Chelicothe, Wills Town, and Chelicothe; entirely destroyed their corn and other fruits, and spread desolation through their country. We took seven prisoners, and five scalps, and lost only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by ourselves.

This campaign damped the enemy; yet they made secret incursions.

In October, a party attacked Crab Orchard; and one of them, being a good way before the others, boldly entered a house, in which were only a woman and her children, and a negro man. The savage used no violence, but attempted to carry off the negro, who happily proved to strong for him, and threw him on the ground, and in the struggle the woman cut off his head with an axe, while her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly came up and applied their tomahawks to the door, when the mother putting an old rust gun barrel through a crevice, the savages went off.

From that time, until the happy return of peace between the united states and Great Britain, the Indians did us no mischief.

Soon after the Indians desired peace.

Two darling sons, and a brother I have lost by savage hands, which have also taken forty valuable horses, and an abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the chearful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun, and pinched by the winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed: peace crowns the sylvan shade.

DANIEL BOON.

Fayette County, Kentucke.

THE LUDLOW LINE.

R. W. MCFARLAND.

It is well known that Virginia claimed most of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, by reason of the grants made by the sovereign of England to the colonists. In 1784 in accordance with a formal request made by Congress in 1780, Virginia ceded to the United States all her claims to the territory, reserving only the lands between the Scioto and the little Miami rivers. This tract is usually called the Virginia Military District. It was reserved for the purpose of paying the Virginia soldiers who had served in the revolutionary war.

The two rivers flow from different sources, and it was necessary to draw a line from the head of one stream to the head of the other. In 1800 an act of Congress directed the Surveyor General to cause the line to be run from the source of the Little Miami to the source of the Scioto. The line was run by one of the surveyors, named Ludlow, whence the name of the line. For twenty feet on each side the trees were cut down. The source of the Miami thus determined is two or three miles eastwardly from South Charleston, in the southeast part of Clark County. The line runs northwesterly through the counties of Clark, Champaign, and Logan, about forty miles, to the old Indian Boundary Line as fixed by Wayne's treaty in 1795. In 1804 this line, together with its future extension beyond the Indian Boundary to the Scioto, was declared to be the western line of the Virginia Military District, provided Virginia would agree to it within two years. Virginia objected. The land west of the Ludlow line had been by this time, or shortly afterward, surveyed into Townships and Sections as Congress lands. By reason of Virginia's objection, an act was passed in 1812, ordering a new survey of the dividing line. The commissioners of the United States and of Virginia met at Xenia in October of that year, and a new line was run, called the Roberts Line. It began where Ludlow's Line

did, and fell slightly west of the first line, striking the Indian Boundary about four miles west of the Ludlow Line. The Virginia Commissioners wished to draw the line from the source of the Scioto to the mouth of the Little Miami. Such a line does not in any sense comport with the limits of the reserved tract, i. e., the lands between the aforesaid rivers. The Roberts line was extended ten or twelve mile beyond the Indian Boundary to a point taken to be the source of the Scioto — a point difficult to fix definitely by reason of the large extent of swampy land, wherein half a dozen places might well be called the “source of the Scioto.” Between the two lines was a tract of seventy-five or eighty square miles of good land. After 1812 Virginia land warrants began to be located on this strip in defiance of the survey above named. Of course trouble was brewing. Men, who had bought the land, and paid for it, did not propose to give it up peaceably. An act of Congress in 1807 had forbidden the location of warrants on land already surveyed. But this prohibition seems to have been disregarded, for similar acts were passed in 1810, 1814, 1818, and 1823. An act of 1818, however, had declared that the Roberts line beyond the Indian Boundary should be deemed the western boundary of the Military Tract.

The act of 1812 ordering the second survey did not base its validity on its acceptance by Virginia, but implied that it should be final. It is a plain inference that the Virginia lands extended to the Roberts line; but the United States had already sold most of the disputed territory. In order to settle the question definitely a case was made up and decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1824. This declared in favor of the Roberts line. This decision naturally put all the disputed territory under the control of Virginia, and also placed the United States in the position of having sold and received money for lands which belonged to other parties.

Land speculators bought up old land warrants and sought to lay them on land long held and cultivated; or to exact from the farmers large sums of money in order to quiet their titles. With a view to settle these controversies, Congress passed an act on May 26, 1824, authorizing the President “to ascertain the number of acres, and . . . the value thereof, exclusive of im-

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provements, of all such lands, lying between Ludlow's and Roberts's lines . . . and on what terms the holders, (of military warrants) will relinquish the same to the United States." It was done. But the excitement lasted eight or ten years longer, as I can distinctly remember the threatening language used by farmers against those who had tried to take away their lands—especially against one who held many warrants. With this man I became well acquainted fifteen or twenty years afterwards, and I well remember the sum which it was claimed had been paid him.

Although the Court declared that the Roberts line was the true one, events so turned out that the Ludlow line became the real boundary, all the land to the westward of it as far north as the Indian Boundary being reckoned as Congress land. Beyond the Indian Boundary, the Roberts line holds good, as any large map of Ohio shows.

Hinsdale in his history of the old "North West," p. 282, says that the line from the source of the Scioto to the mouth of the Little Miami is the "Ludlow line."

Such an error is unpardonable in a writer of history. Still such are continually made. Justin Winsor, in his *Critical and Narrative History of The United States*, puts Fort Ancient among the forts built to resist Indian incursions, see Vol. 7, p. 455. Schouler in his *History of The United States* and Rufus King's *History of Ohio* both show errors nearly as bad. How far can printed history be relied on?

SIMON KENTON — SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

R. W. MCFARLAND.

Inasmuch as I had personally known only a part of Simon Kenton's family, and the record of the William Kenton family gave only two or three items about Simon, I consulted one of Simon's descendants, and he gave the number of children of each marriage, to the best of his knowledge. The date of the second marriage was taken from the county records. From the same gentleman I got a clue which enabled me to locate Simon Kenton's family Bible — in the northwestern part of Indiana. I have a transcript from that book, which enables me to correct two errors in the article on Simon Kenton: viz. the number of his children, and the second marriage. The information was received too late for the January Quarterly. The name of the second wife was Elizabeth Jarboe, and the marriage took place in Kentucky on March 27, 1798. Of the first marriage there were two sons and two daughters; of the second, one son and five daughters, all now dead.

The county record which I consulted did not give the age of persons obtaining marriage licenses, and the Simon Kenton who was married in 1818 was probably the son of the pioneer. At that date the son was about twenty-five years old; but of him I knew nothing until I obtained the aforesaid transcript.

William Kenton, Thomas Dowden, and Stephen Jarboe married sisters, daughters of Thomas Cleland. These and others were of the colony led by William Kenton to Kentucky in 1783. Martha Dowden and Elizabeth Jarboe, wives of Simon Kenton, were cousins, and both were nieces of Mary Kenton.

The grandson of Simon, who sent me the transcript spoken of, also informs me that sixteen grandsons of the old pioneer served in the army in the civil war, several of whom fell in that contest. My informant, L. G. Kenton, of Monticello, Ind., being one of the sixteen, — worthy sons of the illustrious ancestor.

ASA S. BUSHNELL.*

REV. J. W. ATWOOD.

Asa S. Bushnell was born in Rome, New York, September 16, 1834, and died in Columbus, Ohio, January 15, 1904.



ASA S. BUSHNELL.

He came of a family long and honorably identified with the history and life of New England, which included in its membership Horace Bushnell of Hartford, one of the most forceful and original thinkers that America has produced, its greatest theologian with the exception of Jonathan Edwards, a great citizen and a profound scholar.

The family settled in Connecticut and Governor Bushnell's grandfather, Jason Bushnell, was a soldier in the war for American Independence. His father emigrated first to Rome in New York State where his son Asa was born, and when the boy was only eleven years old, following the "Star of Empire" westward in its course," the family moved once more, this time to Cincinnati, and a little later to Oberlin, where Daniel Bushnell died.

At the early age of sixteen Asa Bushnell came to Spring-

*Governor Asa Bushnell became a life member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society some years before he was elected Governor. He always took great interest in the purposes and work of the Society and especially during his four years of governorship did he render the Society enthusiastic aid. He visited many of the points of historic and archaeological interest in the state and frequently in his addresses paid fitting tribute to the memorable events that occurred in Ohio's past.—EDITOR.

field, with whose life and interests he was to be identified throughout the remaining years of his life. Without fortune of his own but with the rich equipment of his New England ancestry, he began his business career as a clerk in one of the stores of the town. When still a boy of nineteen he became a book-keeper in another business establishment, where he remained until 1857, when for a short period he was employed in the office of the Warder, Brokaw and Child Company, manufacturers of mowers and reapers. In this year he married Miss Ellen Ludlow of Springfield, and for some years was associated in business with his father-in-law, Mr. John Ludlow, who was the pioneer druggist of Springfield.

About 1867 Mr. Bushnell again connected himself with the great manufacturing firm with which all his future business career was to be identified. His keen business ability, his energy, his perfect integrity, were all valuable elements in the development of the great industry of which he became the president in 1886, the name of the firm becoming the Warder, Bushnell & Glessner Company.

In the trying and tragic days of the great Civil War his patriotism and love of country drew him away from his business career, and raising a company of volunteers of which he became the captain, he served in the Shenandoah Valley campaign of 1864. Active in brain, varied in his interests, he could not confine himself simply to a business career, no matter how successful and engrossing it might be. He began to take a deep interest in political affairs. He was a shrewd, capable worker here, and his wide acquaintance with men, his genial and affectionate nature, his hospitality and his generosity made him a man of power throughout the state. In 1885 he was chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee and conducted the campaign which resulted in the election of Hon. Joseph B. Foraker as Governor, and in the choice of a Republican legislature that re-elected to the United States Senate the Hon. John Sherman. In 1887, he was nominated by acclamation in the Republican State Convention for Lieutenant Governor, but he refused the nomination. In 1889 and again in 1891 he declined to become a candidate for the nomination for Governor. He was re-

peatedly urged to become a candidate for Congress in his district, but he declined them all, though on one occasion his nomination and election were assured, had he been willing to accept.

He was Quarter Master General for four years on the staff of Governor Foraker.

In 1896 he was elected to succeed President McKinley as Governor of the State and was re-elected to the same office in 1898. His term of office was noteworthy for the admirable business management of state affairs. Thoroughly trained as a business man, accustomed to dealing with large enterprises in a successful manner, he conducted the business of the state with ability, economy, and unflagging industry. There was not the slightest breath of scandal ever heard concerning his administration. During his term of office the addition to the State House was built.

He was responsive to all calls made upon him, giving generously of his wealth and his strength to almost every demand made upon him. At the expiration of his second term as Governor, he returned to his home in Springfield, a private citizen. From this time forward he was thoroughly identified with his home city. He was its foremost citizen, held in honor and affectionate esteem by all its residents. He was a man of great public spirit and he gave the same attention to all matters that concerned the civic life that he gave to his own affairs. As the head of a great manufacturing establishment, he had accumulated large wealth. When he was freed from the active management of the company of which he had been the president, he turned with ardor to new industries which he hoped would be of great benefit to the city which he loved. At the time of his death he was deeply interested in the construction of interurban railroads which would connect Springfield with neighboring towns and cities.

He was president of the First National Bank of Springfield. He gave generously to every enterprise, public or private, that appealed to him. He was a communicant and vestryman of Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal). He was a member of the Masonic Order, of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of the

Loyal Legion. He was also a member of the Society of Colonial Wars and of the Sons of the Revolution.

Perhaps the two most distinguishing traits of Governor Bushnell's character were his democratic spirit and his cheerful optimism. He was the most approachable of men, simple and cordial in all his relations. He had a warm heart and a sympathetic understanding that made him treat with respect and consideration every man and woman with whom he came in contact. The essential dignity of humanity was no unmeaning phrase in his creed. He was not deeply influenced by considerations of wealth, learning or political or social influence. His courtesy to all, regardless of their position in life, was perfect. He was especially drawn to those who were among the vast number under his employ. He was just and kind in all his dealings with them and in the days of strife between labor and capital, no serious difficulty ever arose between Governor Bushnell and his men. As he walked the streets of Springfield, as throughout the state he came into contact with his fellowmen, they all recognized him gladly and received his friendly greeting.

He was a man of faith and hope. He believed in his fellowmen. He loved his state and was proud of being a citizen of it. There was a certain childlikeness in his nature that made him richly enjoy life in all its aspects. He did not have in his early life the advantages of a higher education, but he loved to read and so acquired a considerable store of information later in life.

His family life was of great interest and charm. In Springfield he built the stately house which was his home for so many years. There he loved to dispense a kindly and gracious hospitality to the many friends who sought his door. In the neighborhood lived his three married children, two daughters and one son. With his grandchildren growing up about him and with the devoted companionship of his wife, to whom he was joined in perfect sympathy of interests, he never seemed to be growing old.

He was a man of soldierly and handsome bearing, courteous in his manner, with sparkling eyes and quick movements.

In January of the present year he came to Columbus to attend the Inauguration of Governor Herrick. At the close of the Inaugural Exercises, he entered his carriage to return to Springfield, but before he reached the railroad station in Columbus, he was stricken with apoplexy. He was removed to one of the city hospitals, where he died four days later, surrounded by his family, and amid the sympathy and grief of the whole city of which he had been a beloved and honored resident for the four years of his administration as Governor of Ohio.

The funeral took place in Springfield on Monday, January 18. It was a notable assemblage of men and women from all parts of the state and even beyond its boundaries that gathered in Springfield that day to show love and respect to his memory. The state was represented by its highest officials. There were the representatives of both the state and the national legislatures. His comrades in the G. A. R., in the Loyal Legion, in the Masonic Order, his associates in business, his faithful workmen, men and women of every rank and condition in society brought together by a common affection and a common grief. It was estimated that ten thousand people passed through the doors of Christ Church, to look for the last time upon the motionless form of their friend who lay cold and unresponsive, his face chiselled in the sharp definition of death. The funeral services finished, the body was carried through the streets of the city lined by the thousands of reverent and grief-stricken citizens, and laid to its final resting place in the beautiful Springfield cemetery.

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E. O. Randall

APRIL, 1904.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

In the historic and picturesque city of New Orleans, on the days of Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, December 29, 30, and 31, 1903, was held the nineteenth annual meeting of the American Historical Association. It proved to be an event of unusual interest and enjoyment.

The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, New York, September 10, 1884, and now numbers some twenty-five hundred members, comprising the leading historical students, professors, and writers in the United States and Canada.

The city chosen for the gathering and the nature of the meeting, it being the 100th anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase, gave a two-fold attractiveness to the members of the Association, to say nothing of the unusual list of distinguished speakers selected for the program.

In the absence of the Hon. Charles Lea, the President of the Association, the Hon. William Wirt Howe, President of the American Bar Association, presided and delivered an address upon "The Civil and the Common Law in the Louisiana Purchase."

The first session of the meeting was held in the council chamber of the famous Cabildo, or municipal building, itself an object of great historic interest, it having been erected more than one hundred years ago, during the days of the Spanish dominion, and in the council chamber of which took place, as related elsewhere in this Quarterly, the transfer of the Louisiana province, first, from Spain to France, and then from France to America in November, 1803. At the opening gathering the Association was welcomed to Louisiana and the city of New Orleans in a graceful speech by Professor Alcee Fortier, professor in the Tulane University and President of the Louisiana Historical Society. The various formal sessions of the Association were subsequently held in the lecture rooms of the buildings of the Tulane University. Papers were read as follows: "New Orleans and the Burr Conspiracy," by Dr. Walter F. McCaleb; "The Story of Lewis and Clark's Journals," by Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites; "Louisiana in the Spanish Archives," by Dr. W. R. Shepherd; "Ethical Values in History," by Dr. Henry C. Lea, read in the absence of the author by Prof. Haskins; "Louis XVI, Machault and

Maurepas," by Prof. E. M. Fling; "Sermons as sources of Mediaeval History," by Prof. C. H. Haskins; "What and When was the Renaissance," by Prof. J. H. Robinson; "Timonides of Leukas," by Prof. H. A. Sill; "Relations of Spain, England and France to the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1800," by Prof. F. J. Turner; "Latest Phases of the West Florida Controversy," by Prof. A. B. Hart; "Texas Annexation," by Prof. G. P. Garrison; "The Treaty of Guadeloupe-Hidalgo," by Dr. Jesse S. Reeves; "Some Unpublished Papers of Baron von Closen of Rochambeau's Staff," by Dr. C. W. Bowen; "The Compromises of the Constitution," by Prof. Max Farrand; "The Constitutional Convention of 1864 in Louisiana," by Prof. J. R. Ficklen; "British West Florida, 1763-1781," by Hon. P. J. Hamilton; "Popular Sovereignty and the Development of the West," by Prof. Allen Johnson.

The American Economic Association also held its annual meeting in New Orleans during the same dates, and two of the sessions consisted of joint meetings of the two Associations. In the latter of these joint meetings "The Relation of Sociology to History and Economics" was the topic for discussion, in which leading members of both Associations took part.

The intervals during the regular meetings were delightfully occupied by visits to the points of memorable interest in and about the time-honored Spanish-French-American City—the series of pleasurable events of the meeting closing with an excursion down the river to one of the typical sugar plantations of Louisiana; the party stopping en route and landing at the site of the famous battlefield where Andrew Jackson with the American forces met and defeated the attacking British under General Packenham on the 8th of January, 1815. The party gathered about the base of the partially completed monument erected in commemoration of the battle, upon the spot where "Old Hickory" held his headquarters. Upon the mound at the base of the column Professor J. B. McMaster, the popular American historian, delivered a short address descriptive of the battle, followed by most felicitous remarks of Professor Alcee Fortier concerning the part which the Creoles took in that conflict. It was an incident long to remembered—the concourse of interested historical students and scholars standing upon the memorable soil, and listening to the recital of the event so calculated to arouse the pride and patriotism of every American, as the story was told in the genial and vivid language of the distinguished speakers.

The good people of New Orleans extended most hospitable southern courtesy to the visitors; the pleasure of the sojourn being enhanced by receptions at the rooms of the Round Table Club, the Athletic Club, and the Boston Club, and private residences; the weather was delightful, and every feature of the meeting was fraught with enjoyment and profit.

The officers of the American Historical Association elected for the ensuing year (1904) were: President, Goldwin Smith, Esq., Toronto, Canada; First Vice-President, Professor John Bach McMaster, Philadelphia;

Second Vice-president, Judge Simeon Eben Baldwin, New Haven, Connecticut; Secretary, A. Howard Clark, Esq., Smithsonian Institute, Washington; Corresponding Secretary, Professor Charles H. Haskins, 15 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Treasurer, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Esq., 130 Fulton St., New York. Chicago was chosen as the next place of meeting, December, 1904.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was represented at the American Historical Association meeting by Secretary E. O. Randall, who was elected a member of the Association in the year 1894. Prof. A. B. Hart, of Harvard University, and Mr. Randall delivered addresses before the students of Leland University, one of the leading colored colleges of Louisiana, located at New Orleans.

AFFAIRS OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

On February 29, 1904, in the Columbus Public Library, there was held a meeting of the executive committee. The members present were, George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin; John W. Harper, Cincinnati; B. F. Prince, Springfield; D. J. Ryan, E. O. Randall and E. F. Wood, Columbus. The meeting was mainly occupied with consideration of the requests which the Society had made to the legislature for appropriations for the continuation of the work of the Society. The propriety of asking the legislature for an appropriation for a building to be located upon the university grounds was also considered, and after a careful discussion and survey of the situation it was decided that it would not be wise, at this time, to press this matter before the members of the legislature, but defer it until a later and more promising date. It was decided to hold the annual meeting of the Society in latter part of May or the early part of June, and to have at that time, if possible, an excursion to Fort Ancient. After the disposal of the usual routine business brought before the committee, adjournment was made to the office of the Governor, where the members of the committee were presented to him. The Governor received the trustees most cordially and spoke of the interest he took in the work they were doing in behalf of the Society and the history and archaeology of the state; he particularly complimented the character of the publications which the Society was issuing, and stated it would be his pleasure to co-operate in the furtherance of the purposes of the Society so far as might lie in his power. He particularly desired to visit Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound and inspect the interesting and famous property of which the Society is the custodian.

THE Library of The Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts, was made a life member of the society, to date from January 1, 1904; and Miss Lucy Elliott Keeler, Fremont, Ohio; Mr. B. F. Smith, Nevada, Ohio; Mr. Louis P. Schaus, Newark, Ohio; Mr. Walter C. Metz, Newark, Ohio, and Major Harry P. Ward, Columbus, Ohio, were made life members, dating from March, 1904.

ON MARCH 25, Governor Herrick appointed Mr. M. S. Greenough, of Cleveland, Ohio, trustee of the State Archæological and Historical Society, to serve for three years, until February, 1907—to succeed Hon. R. E. Hills, of Delaware; and he also appointed as trustee for the same time, Professor Martin R. Andrews, of Marietta, Ohio, to succeed himself, he having been appointed by Governor Nash on November 17, 1903, to fill out the vacancy caused by the death of General George B. Wright, Columbus.

Mr. M. S. Greenough, the new trustee, is a resident of Cleveland, Ohio. He was born in August, 1848, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and resided in Boston until some forty years of age. His educational advantages were the very best. He graduated at the Boston Public Latin School and later from Harvard University, in the class of 1868. He entered the service of the Boston Gas Light Company, remaining with the same until the year 1892, having meanwhile become engineer of the company. He was prominently identified with the public affairs of the city, being councilman and alderman of Boston from 1879 to 1885. For two years he was president of the New England Association of Gas Engineers and in 1887 was elected president of the American Gas Light Association. In 1892 he moved to Cleveland, Ohio, and became manager of the Cleveland Gas Light and Coke Company, of which he was made president in the year 1894, and is still retaining that position.



M. S. GREENOUGH.

Mr. Greenough has taken a very active part in the literary and historical interests of Cleveland. He has been president of the Harvard Club of that city, of the Archæological Society, and of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. He is a member of five of the leading American technical societies, as well as one English and one French scientific society.

Mr. Greenough has been a great traveler, having made trips to Europe upon nine different occasions. He is a member of the Union

Club, the University Club, and the Country Club, of Cleveland, and a vestryman in Trinity church of that city. He enters upon his duties as trustee of the Ohio State Archæological Society with much enthusiasm and without doubt will be a most valuable counsellor and participant in the purposes and work of the Society.

THE Society received, through the courtesy of Mr. George T. Crawford, of Columbus, a box of relics, presumably hand clay articles by a prehistoric race, found upon the property of The Tuxtepec Development Company, situated in the municipality of Chiltepec, state of Oaxaca, Mexico. The relics comprise some beautiful and perfectly preserved specimens of pottery and a hardened clay seal upon which are hieroglyphic figures. These articles are doubtless the productions of the early Mexican race and are interesting studies in comparison with relics of a similar character found in mounds of Ohio.

THE citizens of New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas county, propose to celebrate in September, 1904, the founding of their town in 1804 by Mr. John Knisely. This purpose meets the approval of the trustees of the State Archæological and Historical Society which is invited to participate in the ceremonies of the celebration.

SINCE the issuing of the January Quarterly the State Archæological and Historical Society has met with severe losses by death, in the decease of Governor Charles Foster, who died at the residence of General J. Warren Keifer, in Springfield, on January 9, Governor Foster then being enroute to Columbus to attend the inauguration of Governor Herrick; Governor Asa S. Bushnell, who died at Grant Hospital, Columbus, on January 15, he being stricken with apoplexy on the day of the inauguration while in a carriage on the way to the depot to take his departure for home; and Senator Marcus A. Hanna, who died at the Arlington Hotel, Washington, D. C., on February 15. All three of these distinguished gentlemen were life members of the Society and took an active and personal interest in its progress and welfare. A fitting sketch of Governor Bushnell, by his friend Rev. Julius Atwood, appears elsewhere in this Quarterly. Tributes to the life and memory of Governor Foster and Senator Hanna will appear in the July Quarterly. Another life member of the Society, Mr. Augustus Newton Whiting, died at his home in Columbus, December 22, 1903. An extended notice of his life and character will appear in a later number of this Quarterly.

IN ACCORDANCE with the resolutions passed by the audience at the Centennial celebration at Chillicothe, on May 21, asking Governor Nash to request in his next annual message to the legislature an appropriation for the erection of a monument to Governor Saint Clair, the Governor, in his address to the Seventy-sixth General Assembly, which met on the first Monday of last January, made such a request, in fitting terms; but the legislature, in view of the great demand made upon it for appropriations in what it regarded more important directions, failed to comply with Governor Nash's recommendation.

THE Society acknowledges the gift to it from Mr. B. F. Smith, of Nevada, Ohio, of an unique cane made out of native and historic woods from every state and territory of the Union and the far off islands of the sea. This, with the donations from Oaxaca, Mexico, have been properly placed in the museum of the Society.

ON JUNE 2, next, the Richland County Historical Society will hold its sixth annual meeting at Mansfield, for which occasion Mr. A. J. Baughman, the secretary, has arranged an interesting program of speeches and music. The Crawford County Pioneer Association will participate in the event.

History of Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and of the Wabash Towns from the British in 1778 and 1779, with Sketches of the Earlier and Later Career of the Conqueror, by CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD, author of the "History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet, in 1634"; "History of the Girtys"; "History of Brule's Discoveries and Explorations, 1610-1626"; and other works.

This volume, comprising nearly 850 pages, is the last and most authentic account of the famous conquest of the Illinois by George Rogers Clark. It was the last work from the pen of Consul Willshire Butterfield, who was one of the most profound scholars on the subjects of Western history of the present generation. He spent the best part of his time for some years in gathering the materials for this work, and in putting his information into most interesting and delightful literary form. His recital of the events of the narrative is supported by extensive addendum notes giving his authority and excerpts from letters, previous publications, and personal reminiscences of relatives, and those who came in personal contact with George Rogers Clark or his immediate followers. No work could have been more carefully prepared, and Mr. Butterfield had that indefatigable industry for the seeking of details upon which a

reliable history only can be produced. This book is especially interesting at this time owing to the revival of interest in the achievements of George Rogers Clark in the Northwest Territory and the voyages of research and exploration by William Clark, a younger brother of George Rogers, who, with Meriwether Lewis, led the expedition across the continent from 1803 to 1806, by which the extent and resources of the Louisiana Purchase were first made known to the American people.

The account of the conquest of the Illinois by George Rogers Clark as it is told by Mr. Butterfield has all the fascination and intense interest of a romance while it portrays the exploits of a fearless and patriotic leader who saved the great Northwest Territory to the American Republic. George Rogers Clark was known as "The Washington of the West." He was a huntsman of the trackless forest interior of Kentucky, who with the soul of a patriot, the bravery of an American soldier and the mind of a statesman, hastened on foot, through six hundred miles of wilderness, to Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. There he obtained audience with Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia. Clark proposed to strike the vast power of Great Britain in the Northwest and save that magnificent territory to American independence. His plans were appreciated and approved, but troops could not be spared him from the Continental army; they were needed to a man in the East. Clark gathered two hundred Virginia and Pennsylvania backwoodsmen and while the sun of spring was melting the snows of Valley Forge and hope and courage were again animating the heart of Washington, Clark set out on that famous expedition for the capture of the interior northwest posts of Great Britain. It was the campaign of the 'Rough Riders' of the Revolution. It was the dash of Sheridan in the Shenandoah. It was Sherman's 'march to the sea,' through the interior of the enemy's country. That campaign of Clark broke the backbone of British strength in the West. The British posts of Illinois and Indiana were all taken save Detroit. The Northwest was secured and preserved to the United States.

The book has a scholarly introduction by Mr. W. H. Hunter, trustee of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

Price, post-paid \$1.50. Address all orders to F. J. Heer, Printer and Publisher, Columbus, Ohio.

JUDGE THOMAS J. ANDERSON AND WIFE.

"Life and Letters of Judge Thomas J. Anderson and Wife," including a few letters from children and others; mostly written during the Civil War; a history; carefully edited and copiously annotated by James H. Anderson, LL. B., life member and trustee of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and president of the Old Northwest Genealogical Society.

This book, by Judge Anderson, though intended to be the memoirs of his predecessors, is really an historical monograph of wide interest and value to a large field of readers, inasmuch as the main personages dealt with lived during important epochs of our state and national history, and came in personal contact with most of the leading characters of their time. Judge Anderson, the author, who served under President Lincoln as United States consul at Hamburg, and has had a most conspicuous career, is a gentleman of unusual culture and scholarly attainments, an excellent writer, giving a decided literary finish and flavor to the pages of his book which, it goes without saying, he wrote *con amore*. The work contains a vast amount of interesting correspondence, comprising letters from many of the distinguished officials of our government. These letters throw sidelights upon the events of their time, and furnish the basis for a great many annotating and explanatory statements by the author. It has much of Ohio history which is not easily found elsewhere. For instance, it tells when all the treaties with the Ohio Indians were made, and gives much reliable data respecting Ohio Indians, with an account of the Delaware, the Seneca, and the Wyandot Indians—the last Indians to leave the state—and their reservations in Ohio, Kansas, and Indian Territory. It tells the story of the celebrated slave case tried in Marion in 1839. The work comprises letters from prominent men and women, written during the Civil War and throwing much information of great value upon the events which they describe with the vividness incident to personal experience. It recounts many important and hitherto untold, incidents occurring during the war of the great rebellion, anecdotes of great generals and accounts of some of the chief battles, and is especially valuable as setting forth the forceful part which Ohio enacted in that greatest of civil wars.

Much is said about very many of the leading Ohio families, those who were active in the pioneer settlement of the state, and those who were conspicuous in its subsequent development, and those who became prominent figures in our national history. Mr. Anderson has the literary touch and delineation of an artist; his portrait sketches of the governors of Ohio and prominent characters in the career of the state are deftly and judiciously done; he presents much about these people never before published and arouses anew the desire to peruse the lives of our great state characters.

Judge Anderson is to be congratulated upon his achievement in the scholarly detail of his work and his success in enshrining his own family with leading historical events as a background to their eventful lives. The book is made especially valuable by a very complete and satisfactory index. It is published by the press of F. J. Heer, Columbus, Ohio.

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THE MEMOIRS OF RUFUS PUTNAM.

Compiled and annotated by Miss Rowena Buell, Marietta, Ohio. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

This is a work of rare historical value, and one which every student of history, and particularly of Ohio history, will covet and consult with great satisfaction. It consists mainly of the official papers and correspondence connected with the life and deeds of General Rufus Putnam, who was the leader in the little band of pilgrims who came from New England, and in the later Mayflower sailed down the Ohio and landed, on that memorable 9th of April, 1788, at the present site of Marietta. Next to the settlement of Plymouth by the passengers of the first Mayflower, this second voyage was fraught with greatest results to American history. The "Adventure," as the Mayflower was first called, was to the great northwest empire what that little ship, which landed upon the bleak shores of Cape Cod, in December, 1620, was to the American colonies of the new-born American republic.

The material comprising this book is historical, and admirably arranged and edited by Miss Buell. The first part is autobiographical, giving the family history and descent of Rufus Putnam, beginning with his first American ancestor, John Putnam, who came to Salem in 1634. The second part covers General Putnam's military and public services until 1804. General Putnam was a distinguished participant in the Revolutionary War, enjoying the personal friendship and esteem of Washington; he was an engineer of superior attainment and superintended all the defenses of New York in 1776, and aided in constructing the fortifications at West Point. The War of the Revolution over, he began the second period of his career, perhaps more distinguished, certainly more romantic and not less courageous, by his services in directing the first settlement in the Northwest Territory.

Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, and President Perry, of Marietta College, contribute introductory pages to this volume, which is published under the auspices of The Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Ohio.

It is a volume which should be in every Ohio library, and which will be of value to all students of early American history, and particularly of the foundation and development of the Northwest Territory and the state of Ohio. Miss Buell has contributed a most valuable volume to Ohio literature.

THE VANISHED EMPIRE.

"The Vanished Empire," by Waldo H. Dunn; published by The Robert Clark Co., Cincinnati.

This is a little volume just issued from the press, in which the author recounts "A tale of the Mound Builders." The location of the events of the story is mainly at Serpent Mound and Marietta, at which latter place the author locates the capital or abiding place of the king of the Mound Builders, whom he calls Oko. The story is not intricate, and is simply and speedily told. It is an imaginative portrayal of the life and character of the Mound Builders, whose king is Oko, husband of Queen Gurda. There is a treacherous officer of the court known as Bodo, who becomes the spy and accomplice of the race under King Inca, who came from the south, attacked and vanquished the Mound Builders. The author has, evidently, studied the chief pieces of literature concerning the Mound Builders. He gives a vivid description of Serpent Mound and the ceremony of worship supposed to have been their custom at that place, one Gilgo acting as high priest. Mr. Dunn's book is rather unique, in that it deals almost exclusively with that mysterious race concerning which we really know very little. His book is calculated to arouse an interest in the people of that vanished empire and stimulate the inspection of their remaining works, and the study of such authors as have dealt with this long-buried race. The book has some illustrations, particularly two excellent ones of Serpent Mound, around which the story revolves. The book is honored with an introduction by Prof. J. P. MacLean, the distinguished scholar of American archæology.

ST. MEMIN PORTRAITS.

Dr. William J. Campbell, the wellknown bookseller of Philadelpha, is writing an elaborate work on St. Memin portraits. It will be in eight volumes with over eight hundred and thirty engraved portraits, all on separate pages.

The basis of the book will be the famous "Collection" of 761 proofs, made by the artist himself, which has recently come into Dr. Campbell's possession.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art and the Library of Congress, both of which have extensive collections, are co-operating with the author, giving him the free use of any portraits that they possess that are not in his own collection.

Any of our readers who have information either biographical or genealogical, about any portrait that St. Memin made, or any information as to the present location of any original crayons, coppers or engravings, will confer a favor on the author by communicating with him.

Due credit will be given in the book for all information received. Dr. Campbell's address is 1218 Walnut street, Philadelphia.

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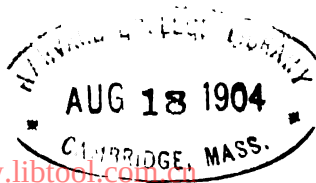
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ZANE'S TRACE.*

CLEMENT L. MARTZOLFF.

The first road maker in our country was the buffalo. His successor was the Indian. Instinct told the buffalo where to make his path. Nature, which is another name for instinct, prompted the red man in marking his trail. The white man came and *reason* told him that the red man and the buffalo had selected the driest, shortest and most practicable routes of migration. This is only another way of saying that the geography of any country determines its history.

Every institution which we have is the product of the centuries. History therefore is the finding of the factors. Ohio, occupying the enviable position she does, in the sisterhood of Commonwealths must consequently have a remarkable history.

In studying the evolution of our state the author believes that he has discovered a prime factor of its development in Zane's Trace.

Behind the historical event stand the actors. In the consideration of the present subject there are two.

On the outskirts of the village of Martin's Ferry, Belmont County, Ohio, is an old neglected grave-yard situated upon a terrace overlooking the Ohio River. Within the barbed wire enclosure is another, surrounded by a substantial brick wall, capped with stone. An iron gate on one side allows you means of ingress. The interior of this enclosure is a maze of briers and brambles. It is the private burial ground of the Zane family. There are monuments in various stages of decay. Upon a stone tomb, about three feet in height rest four slabs, on one of these are the words:

*In the preparation of this article, I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to John B. Overmeyer, Somerset, O.; Chas. W. Hunt, Somerset, O.; Judge M. Granger, Zanesville, O.; Col. Chas. C. Goddard, Zanesville, O.; Captain N. W. Evans, Portsmouth, O.; Mr. Sarchett, Cambridge, O.; and Judge Cranmer, Wheeling, W. Va.

"In memory of Ebenezer Zane, who died 19th November, 1812, in the 60th year of his age. He was the first permanent inhabitant of this part of the Western World, having first begun to reside here in the year 1769. He died as he lived, an honest man."

In the prosperous city of Zanesville, on a hill overlooking what is known as the Terrace, is the John McIntire Children's Home. In a beautiful grove of trees, just as you begin to ascend the hill, your attention is attracted to a tall iron fence inclosing a tomb. On the marble slab is the inscription:

"John McIntire, 1758-1815."

The Zane family originated in Denmark. They certainly possessed one characteristic of their Danish ancestry — their roving, adventurous disposition. At an early date a scion of the family went to England and it is from him that the American Zanes trace their descent. When William Penn came to America, he was accompanied by one Zane, who was also a Quaker. In the new settlement it seems that he was somewhat prominent. Zane street in Philadelphia was named for him. It is said that he became obnoxious to his Quaker brethren. The cause of this disaffection is not known. It may be that the Quakers were obnoxious to him. Philadelphia may have become too crowded for a man of his temperament. He may have longed for the freedom of the woods. At any rate he left Quakerdom and settled on the south branch of the Potomac, near what is now Moorfield, Hardy County, W. Va. but then known as Berkeley County, Virginia. Here the Zanes became characteristic woodmen, and pioneers. They were hunters, scouts and Indian fighters. They possessed that stern sense of justice that such conditions of life can only develop. The social condition of that pioneer day was a distinct evolution of its own. There was no room for the puny weakling. It was a case of the "survival of the fittest." There was no room for sentiment. It was a battle royal for existence. The weak and sentimental succumbed or went back to the settle-

¹ Wiseman's Pioneer, Fairfield County.

ment. The strong remained or pushed further into the interior. There were wild nature, wild beasts and wild men to conquer. Even a Quaker under such conditions could lay aside his sombre gray and from beneath his broad brimmed hat sight along the barrel of his rifle and shoot men. In summing up the character of the Zanes it is enough to say that in this pioneer conflict they not only survived but pushed on toward the setting sun.

Ebenezer Zane was born in the Potomac Valley, October 7th, 1747. He had four brothers and one sister. ¹ The assertion that Ebenezer Zane together with two brothers, was a captive of the Wyandottes for thirteen years has not sufficient evidence behind it to give it credence. His wife was Elizabeth McCul-



JOHN M'INTIRE.



SARAH M'INTIRE.

loch. She was a sister of the McCulloch brothers who were no less renowned as frontiersmen than the Zane family. It is said that she was in every way an estimable helpmeet to her husband.

It was in 1767 that Ebenezer Zane and his brothers, Silas and Jonathan, began to make preparations for a journey to the west. The following spring with all of the family and property, which included some negro slaves, they set out on the old Cumberland Trail, to what is now Brownsville, Pa. The next year they took up the journey again and at the mouth of the Wheeling Creek

¹ See Denny's Journal.

on the Virginia side of the Ohio, they established their homes thus becoming the founders of Wheeling in 1770. Their families came the next year. However the town was not regularly laid out till 1793.

"Zane had chosen one of the strategic points of the Ohio Valley, though this could hardly have been known to him at the time. All that he probably cared to know was that he had found an advantageous spot to trade with the interior of Ohio. It was where the crowding hills left scant room for a town site, but when the Ohio was low, it was practically the head of navigation, even for flat and keel boats. Of course its further advantage as a point of departure for the east had not then been discovered, or that other advantage which it presently assumed as a stopping place for emigrants descending the river."—(From Abbott's History of Ohio.)

¹ Zane soon had title to all the land where Wheeling now is, Wheeling Island in the Ohio River, up the Ohio Valley as far as Burlington, and up Wheeling Creek on the Ohio side for quite a distance.

He became the recognized leader of the new settlement. He possessed the rare elements of leadership. He knew the woods, the Indians, and the pioneer. ¹ In this he was aided by his brothers, who carried into execution his plans. In 1806 he laid out the town of Bridgeport, on the north side of Wheeling Creek, on the line of the old "Indian Trail." He planted the first seedling nursery in the upper Ohio Valley, on Wheeling Island in 1790. He even originated a new species of fruit. "Zane's Greening" was for many years, a popular apple in eastern Ohio.²

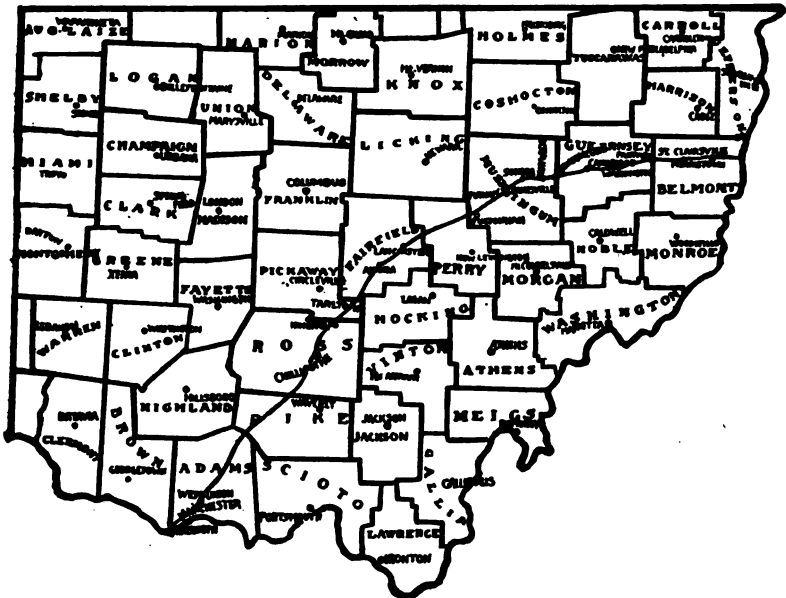
¹ Among the first to brave the dangers of pioneer life was James Maxwell, who was obliged to leave his home in Virginia to avoid prosecution for a murder of which he was subsequently proven innocent. He was a cousin of Col. Zane and it was the Zane settlement he attempted to reach to find security; but such was not the case, as Zane ordered him to leave at once or he would himself convey him to Berkeley County, Virginia, where the crime was said to be committed." * * *

Later. "Zane recommended him to Capt. Hamtramck as a scout for the new fort (Steuben). Zane said his eye was keener and his tread lighter than those of the most wily savage." — Hunter's Pathfinders, Jefferson County.

² History of Upper Ohio Valley.

In the Journal of John Matthews in which he keeps a record of the survey of the Seven Ranges, he frequently mentions the name of Zane, e. g., "went to home of Col. Zane for dinner." "Esq. Zane brought us word of an Indian being killed." "Pitched tent near Esq. Zane's store," etc.

In 1774 occurred what is known as Dunmore's War—short of duration, but pregnant with mighty results. Wheeling was the original storm center of this conflict. Twenty-six years after-



MAP OF OHIO SHOWING ZANE'S TRACE.

ward Ebenezer Zane wrote to Hon. John Brown, one of the senators in Congress from Kentucky, as to the causes of this war. The letter is dated at Wheeling, February 4th, 1800, and is as follows:¹

"I was myself, with many others, in the practice of making improvements on lands upon the Ohio for the purpose of acquiring rights to the same. Being on the Ohio, at the mouth of Sandy Creek, in company with many others, news circulated that the Indians had robbed some of the land jobbers. This news induced the people generally to

¹ History of the Upper Ohio Valley.

ascend the Ohio. I was among the number. On our arrival at Wheeling, being informed that there were two Indians with some traders near and above Wheeling, a proposition was made by the then Captain Michael Cresap² to waylay and kill the Indians upon the river. This measure I opposed with much violence alleging that the killing of those Indians might involve the country in a war. But the opposition party prevailed and proceeded up the river with Captain Cresap at their head. In a short time the party returned and also the traders in a canoe, but there were no Indians in the company. I enquired what had become of the Indians and was informed by the traders and Cresap's party that they had fallen overboard. I examined the canoe and saw much fresh blood and some bullet holes in the canoe. This finally convinced me that the party had killed the two Indians and thrown them into the river.

"On the afternoon of the day this action happened, a report prevailed that there was a camp or party of Indians on the Ohio below and near Wheeling. In consequence of this information Captain Cresap joined by a number of recruits, proceeded immediately down the Ohio for the purpose, as was then generally understood, of destroying the Indians above mentioned. On the succeeding day Captain Cresap and his party returned to Wheeling. It was generally reported by the party that they had killed a number of Indians. Of the truth of this report I have no doubt as one of Cresap's party was badly wounded and the party had a fresh scalp and a quantity of property which they called Indian plunder. At the time of the last mentioned transaction it was generally reported that the party of Indians down the Ohio were Logan and his family; but I have reason to believe that this report was unfounded.

"Within a few days after the transaction above mentioned a party of Indians were killed at Yellow Creek. But I must do the memory of Captain Cresap the justice to say that I do not believe that he was present at the killing of the Indians at Yellow Creek. But there is not the least doubt in my mind that the massacre at Yellow Creek was brought on by the action above stated.

All the transactions which I have related happened in latter end of April, 1774; and there can scarcely be a doubt that they were the cause of the war which immediately followed, commonly called Dunmore's War.

I am with much esteem, yours etc.,

EBENEZER ZANE."

²"The settlers began to gather at Wheeling, the rush being from all points, none of them agreeing to accept the protection offered by scouting parties from Ft. Pitt and return to their plantations. Cresap was elected leader and on April 21, received a letter from Ft. Pitt confirming the rumors of impending war. A counsel was held and Cresap's men at once declared war against the Indians."—Hunter's Pathfinders of Jefferson County.

Lord Dunmore, the titled governor of the old Dominion, determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. He ordered Colonel Angus McDonald to raise a regiment for immediate service.

With a force of four hundred Viriginians McDonald crossed the mountains to Wheeling, where he built Fort Finncastle, in honor of Lord Dunmore. On the 25th of July, he floated down the Ohio to Captina Creek and there with Jonathan Zane, as guide they started for the Indian villages on the Muskingum. At the mouth of the Wappatonica, near Coshocton, they destroyed towns and growing crops and the Indians for the time were subdued.

During this war Col. Ebenezer Zane was made Disbursing Agent of the Militia at Wheeling and was practically the commandant of Fort Finncastle.

¹ Two years later when Virginia renounced her allegiance to the crown and deposed her royal governor, Col. Zane, true patriot, as he was, changed the name of his fort to that of Fort Henry, for the first governor of the Commonwealth. There was no regular militia to defend it. The settlers who were driven within its walls for protection, composed its only garrison.

Here on the last day of August, 1777, four hundred Indian warriors, led by that prince of cut-throats, Simon Girty, under the royal insignia of King George, with the consent and approval of the "Hair-buying" ¹ scoundrel at Detroit, appeared before the walls and gave the garrison fifteen minutes in which to surrender.

Col. Zane replied that before they would surrender or abjure the cause of liberty that every man, woman and child within the fort would rather perish. There were but twelve men and boys besides the women, in the fort. Col. Zane gave everybody work. The women made the bullets and they helped to shoot them. The siege continued for twenty-three hours until reinforcements came and the Indians despaired of reducing the fort. But all of the houses without the fortification were burned and many of the settlers' cattle and hogs were driven away.

¹ Hunter's Pathfinders.

The last battle of the American Revolution was fought here in 1782. www.libtool.com.cn

The conflict is described by Col. Zane in a letter sent to Gen. Irvin by the hands of Mr. Loyd.

WHEELING, 14th of September, 1782.

SIR:—On the evening of the 11th instant a body of the enemy appeared in sight of our garrison. They immediately formed their lines around the garrison, paraded British colors and demanded the fort to be surrendered, which was refused. At twelve o'clock at night they rushed hard upon the pickets, in order to storm but were repulsed. They made two other attempts to storm before daybreak but to no purpose. About eight o'clock next morning there came a negro from them to us and informed us that their force consisted of a British captain and forty regular soldiers and two hundred and sixty Indians.

The enemy kept up a continual fire the whole day. About ten o'clock at night they made a fourth attempt to storm to no better purpose than the former.

The enemy continued round the garrison till the morning of the 13th instant when they disappeared. Our loss is none. Daniel Sullivan who arrived here in the first of the action is wounded in the foot. I believe they have driven the greatest part of our stock away and might, I think, be overtaken. I am with due respect,

Your obedient servant,

EBENEZER ZANE.

Addressed, William Irwin, Brigadier General, Commanding at Pittsburgh."

The fort stood at what is now the corner of Main and Eleventh streets in Wheeling. The spot is marked by a stone, bearing these words:

"By authority of the State of West Virginia, to commemorate the siege of Fort Henry, September 11th, 1782, the last battle of the American Revolution, this tablet is here placed.

S. H. GRAMM,
W. W. JACKSON,
T. M. GARVIN,
Committee.

G. W. ATKINSON, Governor.

Col. Zane's house stood about sixty yards without the fort. He himself remained in his own building which was a sort of

¹ History of Upper Ohio Valley.

block house. His three brothers, Silas, Jonathan and Andrew were within the fort as was also their sister Elizabeth, a young woman of twenty-three. It was on this occasion that she performed that feat, famous in song and story.

"This dauntless pioneer maiden's name
Is inscribed in gold on the scroll of fame.
She was the lassie who knew no fear
When the tomahawk gleamed on the far frontier.
If deeds of daring should win renown,
Let us honor this damsel of Wheeling town,
Who braved the savages with deep disdain,—
Bright-eyed, buxom Elizabeth Zane.

'Tis more than a hundred years ago,
They were close beset by the dusky foe;
They had spent of powder their scanty store,
And who should the gauntlet run for more?
She sprang to the portal and shouted, 'I!
'Tis better a girl than a man should die!
My loss would be but the garrison's gain.
Unbar the gate!' said Elizabeth Zane.

The powder was sixty yards away
Around her the foemen in ambush lay;
As she darted from shelter they gazed with awe
Then wildly shouted, 'A squaw!' 'a squaw!'
She neither swerved to the left or right,
Swift as an antelope's was her flight.
'Quick! open the door!' she cried amain.
'For a hope forelorn! 'Tis Elizabeth Zane.'

No time had she to waver or wait
Back must she go ere it be too late;
She snatched from the table its cloth in haste
And knotted it deftly around her waist,
Then filled it with powder—never, I ween,
Had powder so lovely a magazine;
Then, scorning the bullets' deadly rain,
Like a startled fawn, fled Elizabeth Zane.

She gained the fort with her precious freight;
Strong hands fastened the oaken gate:
Brave men's eyes were suffused with tears
That had been strangers for many years.
From flint-lock rifles again there sped

'Gainst the skulking red skins a storm of lead.
And the war-whoop sounded that day in vain,
Thanks to the deed of Elizabeth Zane.

Talk not to me of Paul Revere
A man, on horseback, with naught to fear;
Nor of old John Burns with his bell crowned hat—
He'd an army to back him, so what of that?
Here's to the heroine, plump and brown,
Who ran the gauntlet in Wheeling town;
Hers is a record without a stain,—
Beautiful, buxom, Elizabeth Zane."

—John S. Adams in *St. Nicholas*.

¹ The heroine of this poem afterwards lived about two miles above Wheeling on the Ohio side. She was twice married, first to Mr. McLaughlin and then to Mr. Clark. She died in 1847 at St. Clairsville, Belmont County, and is buried in the Zane burial ground, but no monument marks the spot.²

It is evident that much of Zane's knowledge of the Ohio country was derived from his brother Jonathan, who it seems had traveled over a considerable portion of eastern Ohio. In 1785 General Parsons from Massachusetts, afterwards one of the judges of the territory north of the Ohio, while on an inspection tour in the interests of the then proposed Ohio Company, made a trip up the Muskingum River. At the "Saltlick," Duncan's Falls, ten miles below the mouth of the Licking, he met and conversed with Jonathan Zane about the Ohio Country; Zane was there making salt.³ Dr. Cutler himself was advised by Col. Zane to make his proposed settlement on the Muskingum north of the Licking.

⁴ When Gen. William Crawford led his expedition against the Sandusky Indians, Jonathan Zane served in the capacity of scout and guide. He was invited to a council before the battle and because of his superior knowledge of Indian prowess and tactics he advised a retreat. His advice was not acted upon and the result was fatal to the pioneer army.

¹ Howe's Historical Collection.

² Wiseman's Pioneers of Fairfield County.

³ Hildreth's Pioneer History.

⁴ Wiseman's Pioneers of Fairfield County.

No better man than Ebenezer Zane could have been found to cut a road through Ohio. His influence in the new settlement, his wealth and his general knowledge of the country made him the logical man to assume the responsibility. His brother Jona-



TREBER TAVERN ON ZANE'S TRACE, ADAMS COUNTY. BUILT IN 1798.

than was his right hand man in everything he did, and this was a great aid to him in all of his undertakings.

The first pioneers to our state settled along the Ohio river. The great interior was still the hunting grounds of the Indian.

The first decade after the Revolution was not a propitious time to make settlements too near the frontier border. It was not till after the decisive victory of Wayne in 1794 that the influx of settlers began to ascend the streams, to any material extent. Wheeling was situated where this pioneer army was apt to diverge from the established water route.

Knowing the land as well as he did, it was natural that Col. Zane should advise people to settle upon the Muskingum. Neither does it take such a great stretch of the imagination to see how he might conceive the blazing of a trail, and the cutting of a road to reach these new lands. A road starting from his town would make it an important factor in the development of the Ohio country.

There was another thing in his favor. There might be another outbreak of the Indians. Governor St. Clair had officially reported to Congress concerning the absence of roads and pointed out their importance in the moving of troops.

Col. Zane had already blazed a trail from Pittsburg to Wheeling and its value to the new settlers only made him more sanguine regarding a road connecting the Ohio with the Ohio and running through what was then the garden spot of the state.

It was early in 1796 that Ebenezer Zane presented a memorial to Congress stating his plans. On Friday, March 25th of that year.¹

"Mr. Brown (Kentucky) presented the memorial of Ebenezer Zane praying liberty to locate such military bounty lands, lying at the crossings of certain rivers, mentioned in the said memorial as may be necessary to enable to establish ferries and open a road through the territory Northwest of the Ohio to the state of Kentucky, which memorial was read.

"Ordered that it be referred to Messrs Brown, Ross and Livermore to consider and report thereon to the Senate."

Wednesday, April 6th, 1796.

The Committee to which was referred the petition of Ebenezer Zane states :

"That the petitioner sets forth that he hath at considerable expense, explored and in part opened a road, northwest of the river Ohio, between Wheeling and Limestone, which when completed will greatly

¹ History of Congress.

contribute to the accommodation of the public as well as individuals. But that several rivers intervening, the road proposed cannot be used with safety until ferries shall be established thereon.

"That the petitioner will engage to have such ferries erected provided he can obtain a right to the land which is now the property of the United States. And therefore prays that he may be authorized to locate and survey — at his own expense — military bounty warrants upon as much land at Muskingum, Hockhocking and Scioto Rivers as may be sufficient to support the necessary establishments. And that the same be granted to him by the United States.

"That they having received satisfactory support of the above statement are of opinion that the proposed road will be of general utility, that the petitioner merits encouragement and that his petition being reasonable, ought to be granted.

"The committee therefore submit the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the petition of Ebenezer Zane is reasonable; that he be authorized to locate warrants granted by the U. S. for military services upon three tracts of land, not exceeding one mile square each, at Muskingum, Hock-hocking and Scioto where the proposed road shall cross those rivers, for the purpose of establishing ferries thereon: and that leave be given to bring in a bill for that purpose.

"On motion it was agreed that this report be adopted and that the committee who were appointed on the petition be instructed to bring in a bill accordingly.

"Mr. Brown from the Committee instructed for the purpose reported a bill to authorize Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, which was read and ordered to a second reading Thursday, April 7th, 1786.

"The bill to authorize Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands in the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, was considered:

"Ordered, That the second reading of this bill be the order of the day Monday next.

(Nothing seems to have been done that day.)

Wednesday, April 13th, 1796.

"The bill to authorize Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands in the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, was read the second time and referred to the Committee appointed on the 8th instant, on the bill entitled, 'An act providing for the sale of lands of the United States in the territory northwest of the river Ohio and above the mouth of the Kentucky River' to consider and report thereon to the Senate.

Wednesday, April 27th, 1796.

"Mr. Ross from the committee to whom was referred the bill 'to authorize Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands in the territory of the United States Northwest of the river Ohio' reported amendments thereto.

which were read and adopted and the bill was ordered to a third reading.

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Thursday, April 28th, 1798.

"The bill to authorize Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands in the territory northwest of the river Ohio was read the third time and being further amended was passed.

"An act to authorize Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands in the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio.

"Be it enacted, etc. That upon the conditions hereinafter mentioned, there shall be granted to Ebenezer Zane three tracts of land, not exceeding one mile square each, one on the Muskingum River, one on the Hock-hocking River and one other on the north bank of the Scioto River and in such situations as shall best promote the utility of a road to be opened by him on the most eligible route, between Wheeling and Limestone, to be approved by the President of the United States or by such person as he shall appoint for such purpose.

"Provided such tracts shall not interfere with any existing claim, location or survey nor include any salt spring, nor the lands on either side of the Hock-hocking River at the falls thereof.

"Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That upon the said Zane's procuring at his own expense the said tracts to be surveyed in such way and manner, as the President of the United States shall approve and returning into the Treasury of the United States plats thereof, together with warrants granted by the United States for Military land bounties to the amount of the number of acres contained in the said three tracts; and also producing satisfactory proof by the first day of January next that the aforesaid road is opened and ferries established upon the rivers aforesaid, for the accommodation of travelers and giving security that such ferries shall be maintained during the pleasure of Congress, the President of the United States shall be and hereby is authorized and empowered to issue letters patent in the name and under the seal of the United States, thereby granting and conveying to the said Zane and his heirs the said tracts of land located and surveyed as aforesaid; which patents shall be countersigned by the Secretary of State and recorded in his office.

"*Provided always*, That the rates of ferriage at such ferries shall from time to time be ascertained by any two of the judges of the territory Northwest of the river Ohio, or such other authority as shall be appointed for that purpose.

Thursday, April 28th, 1796.

"A bill was received from the Senate authorizing Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands northwest of the river Ohio which was read and referred.

May 2d, 1796.

"Mr. Orr, Chairman of the Committee to whom was referred the bill from the Senate authorizing Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands

northwest of the river Ohio, reported the bill without amendment. Referred to a committee of the whole.

Wednesday, May 11th, 1796.

"The bill authorizing Ebenezer Zane to locate certain lands in the Northwestern Territory was read a third time and passed."

Approved, May 17th, 1796.

If Col. Zane could not have accomplished the work he did without the help of his brother Jonathan, it is equally certain that he would have done much less had he not been assisted by his son-in-law John McIntire, who now appears as a factor in the achievements of Ebenezer Zane.



McINTIRE'S HOTEL, 1800. FLINT HOTEL IN ZANESVILLE.

¹ Born of Scotch parentage in Alexandria, Virginia, 1759, John McIntire came to Wheeling in the capacity of a shoemaker. Possessed of a handsome figure and much native ability and address, he succeeded in winning the affections of Sarah Zane, the second daughter of the Wheeling proprietor. She was at this time but fifteen years of age and over twenty years younger than her gallant admirer. The old adage of "true love running not smooth," was verified in this case to an ultimate certainty. For Col. Zane and his wife opposed the match with great vehemence. But the result is the same old story. They were married in spite of parental objection. During the wedding festivities, the father-in-law absented himself, by taking a hunting trip. The

¹ Wiseman's Pioneers Fairfield County.

mother-in-law used her slipper over the shoulders of her daughter to show her disapproval.

It is said that sometime after the marriage Col. Zane in passing the cabin of McIntire saw his daughter chopping wood. He did not hesitate to remind her that if she had stayed at home she would not have had to do such manual labor. But everything was righted before long and McIntire became a favorite of Mr. Zane. Now that he had the contract to cut a road through the Ohio woods, it was but natural that he should leave the real work to this son-in-law and his brother Jonathan.

The experience of Jonathan Zane stood him well in hand, in the laying out of the road. The route determined upon was the result of his advice.

However Jonathan Zane was not the originator of the route, in its entirety, for the Indian had gone over practically the same ground, that the *Trace* afterward covered. The work of blazing trees and cutting out small undergrowth and removing fallen timber began in the summer of 1796.¹

² The party consisted of Jonathan Zane, John McIntire, John Green, William McCulloch, Ebenezer Ryan and several others whose names are not known.

John Green had charge of the pack horses, that carried the tent and provisions. Being also a boot and shoemaker and not used to handling the ax, he was selected to kill game of which there was an abundance. He was also the cook and general service man of the party. At night a fire was built to keep away beasts of prey and two men were kept on watch for fear that a straggling party of Indians might attack them. But there was no need of this precaution for the spirit of the Ohio Indian had been broken by Mad Anthony two years before at Fallen Timbers and the chances for attack were remote.

The route of Zane's trace followed Wheeling Creek for about seven miles, where it climbed the hill and struck the ridge be-

¹ The marking was done with axes; and as far as can be learned now, it was never surveyed, or any part of it returned to Congress or the land office. No report of it was made or can be found in the general land office.

CAPT. NELSON W. EVANS.

Portsmouth, Ohio.

² Archives of Muskingum Pioneer Society.

tween Wheeling Creek and McMahon's Creek. Since the National Road from Wheeling to Zanesville is located approximately upon Zane's Trace, we deem it proper to describe its route in reference to this road.

¹ The "Trace" from St. Clairsville, Belmont County followed the ridge and crossed Big and Little Still Water Creeks, gradually climbed along the side of the hill to Morristown. From Morristown it went north of the National Road and also north of Henrysburg, passed over the ridge at Fairview, Guernsey County, crossing the National Road at this place and kept south of the Pike following Putney Ridge which divides Leatherwood and Salt Creek tributaries of Will's Creek, till about three miles east of Washington, which is the oldest town in Guernsey County.

Following the divide to this town it passed through it, at an angle to the present street.²

Crossing the National Road here it kept on the north side for five miles, when it crossed to the south again, about three miles east of Cambridge and just east of the Crooked Stone Bridge. For a very short distance it continued south of the road, but crossed again to the north at Stone Bridge, crossing Cook's Run. The house standing above the bridge is on the "Trace," Old Wheeling Road and National Road, but by means of a "cut" is somewhat elevated. From here it practically follows the National Road with only a divergence of a few rods until within one and a half miles east of Cambridge. At this point it veers to the north of the Pike, and follows the ridge just north of Wheeling street in Cambridge¹ and just a little north of Steubenville Avenue of the present city.

It crossed Will's Creek at a point above where the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Bridge is now situated. Later the crossing was changed to the east opposite the Marietta Depot. Here a ferry was maintained and later a rude log bridge was built by General Biggs who owned the land upon which the city of Cam-

¹ Sarchett.

² (See old street back of the present one.)

¹ The first tavern in Cambridge called the Bridge House Tavern was situated on the Trace.

bridge is built. Persons crossing this bridge were required to pay toll. The general afterward sold the bridge to Beatty and Gambier who laid out the city. In the sale the right to cross the bridge free from toll was reserved by the seller to himself and his descendants forever.

From Will's Creek the Trace crossed Crooked Creek Bottom,² then the National Road where the Baltimore and Ohio Railway now intersects it, and then continued north of the Pike till about five miles west of Cambridge and a little west of Cassel station, where it strikes the road again. Just before striking the Pike is the residence of Judge Speer. This is situated on the "Trace" and here the judge kept a tavern. About a mile west was another public house known as the Grummond Tavern. Here the "Trace" again crossed the National Road and continued on the south side of it till it reached New Concord.

² It was at first determined to run the "Trace" along the line of the old "Mingo Indian Trail" from Cambridge. This would

² At Crooked Creek, Mr. Sarchett says that the trace went between two oak trees, so close together that they were almost cut off by wagon hubs.

³ "When Ebenezer Zane in 1797 surveyed his road, he passed through the territory now known as Union township (Muskingum County), and opened up a highway in the wilderness along which the tide of emigration passed.

"Old Wheeling Road surveyed by Zane entered Union Township (Muskingum County), in Township 1, "Military Lands, on S. E. of Sec. 10, and passed in Range Six, now Perry Township in the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 16."

"In 1827, the National Road was surveyed. It entered the township (Union), in S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 1, and passed out on the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15. The Wheeling Road (Zane's Trace), was then abandoned."

"After the Cumberland Road had been established the travel over Zane's Trace was diverted toward Columbus."

"So they started from the Schaffer Meeting House in a south west course until they came out by the Evans and Irwin place on the National Road, then to Mill Run, up Mill Run hill south, then nearly due west, then down the steep hill, where the machine house now stands, known as the Cochran Hill. Then they crossed over to Sullivan street between Dr. Brown's late residence and the German Catholic Church; down Main street to the foot, crossed the Muskingum, south of Licking

have made the crossing of the Muskingum at Duncan's Falls, ten miles below Zanesville. But the superior water power at the mouth of the Licking caused Jonathan Zane to leave the "Trail" when he reached Salt Creek and instead of following the "Trail" along that creek he made a direct line for the Licking. He now crossed to the north of the National Road till they reached the Shaffer Meeting House, three miles east of Zanesville on the Adamsville Road. From here they intended going down Mill Run near the Indian trail, then cross Mill Run near the Iron bridge by the old blast furnace, go south to the head of Layhew's hollow, then southwest to the foot of Market Street in Zanesville. Finding that the proposed town could not be laid off to advantage, this idea was abandoned.

¹A survey of December 14th, 1798 of Zanesville Mile Square shows the line of the "Trace" for a few miles east of Muskingum River. This indicates that it crossed the east line of Sec. 7, Township 12, Range 12 about one-third mile south from N. E. corner of said section. Ran northwest across sections 7, 1 and 5 and intersected the south line of United States Military Land just east of Zane's Mile Square, crossed the river within said Mile Square and ran from the branch of the Licking or Pataskala Creek at its mouth, S. W. and then south, again southwest crossing Sections 1, 2, 11 and 14 in Township 16, Range 13. It crossed the south line of Sec. 14 about one-third mile from S. W. corner of said section. From this point to where it reached

Island over Chap's Run; then south east of the stone quarry; through the Springer farm and then south along the Maysville Pike."

"The old Indian Trail" crossed the (Muskingum) river at the foot of Market street at the head of the upper falls near where the old dam was built. Then into West Zanesville over Licking Island into South Zanesville; up Chap's run; through the Fair Grounds to the Maysville Pike. This Indian Trail went from Wheeling, through Zanesville to Chillicothe and the Ohio River. It was a well beaten path, several inches deep.² I have seen it many times as it went through my father's farm in Washington Township," (Muskingum County.)

¹ Judge Munson.

² Zane's Trace did not follow an Indian Trail at least east of the Muskingum.

HULBERT.

² Writer in old Zanesville paper.

the Perry² County line it followed approximately what is now known as the Maysville Pike, through the towns of White Cottage and Fultonham.

It entered Perry county in Section 22, Madison Township, crossed the Pike several times, then took an almost westerly course, leaving Somerset¹ a mile and a half to the south. Upon striking the waters of Rush Creek they went south along the ridge east of the Creek until they struck the Pike again just east of Rushville³ in Fairfield County. From here⁴ to Lancaster the Indian trail leading from the Muskingum Valley by the great Swamp and Standing Rock to the Pickaway Plains was the general route followed. The Maysville Pike is nearly on that path.

In Lancaster it is pretty well established that the "Trace" followed Wheeling street as far as Columbus street, where it diverged to the south and crossed the Hocking at Coate's cabin, where there was a ripple or ford about three hundred yards below the turnpike bridge.

From Lancaster to Chillicothe⁴ with but a few variations, Zane's trace and the Maysville Pike are identical. The route is almost directly southwest, passing through the famous Pickaway Plains.

²"A road was cut in 1805 from Putnam to intersect Zane's Trace in Perry County. It passed diagonally through the township (Newton), from north-east to southwest." The Indians used the Zane's Trail which is a little south of this."—Old writer.

¹Zane's Trace passed School House No. 14 in Reading township, Perry County.

³"It (Zane's Trace), passed through the present villages of East and West Rushville. Edward Murphy kept a hotel near this road a short distance from West Rushville. Among the many distinguished guests who partook of the bounties of this hotel at various times were General Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay. The old hotel, now a rather dilapidated structure is still standing (1883)."—History Fairfield County.

⁴"The first road in Pleasant Township (Fairfield County), was the one leading from Wheeling to Maysville, known as Zane's Trace. It crossed the southern part of the township."

⁴"A post-office was established at Chillicothe in 1799. The mail was brought from the east by Zane's Trace and from the west by Todd's."

² From Chillicothe it followed Paint Creek to the point where it bends to the northwest, four or five miles southwest of the city. Continuing in a southwesterly direction till just after it crosses Black Run where it intersects Todd's Trace up Morgan's Fork of Sun Fish Creek.¹ The remainder of the route to Maysville is virtually the same as that over which Todd's army crossed

² Dawley's Map of Virginia Military District.

¹ In June, 1787, Colonel Robert Todd led a party of mounted men, about three hundred in number, on an expedition against the Indians at Old Chillicothe. The expedition originated with Simon Kenton. He was then at Washington, Kentucky, about three miles back of Maysville. The Indians were quite troublesome. They would make raids, steal horses and sometimes murder the settlers. Kenton sent word to Col. Robert Todd at Lexington, to bring as many men as he could, and he would bring a number and they would join forces and destroy the Indian towns on the north fork of Paint Creek. Kenton commanded a company and piloted the expedition, but Col. Robert Todd had the command.

The party crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Threemile Creek early in the morning and followed it to near where Bentonville now stands. It passed south of the site of West Union, and struck Lick Fork and followed it to its mouth, where it camped on the west side of Brush Creek. The next day the expedition divided and a part, that part under Kenton went up Brush Creek to the site of Fristoe Bridge, crossed Brush Creek and went along the route of the present turnpike to Sinking Springs and thence to Cynthiana, Pike County, where they camped the second night. The right wing, under Col. Todd crossed the creek at the site of the Iron Bridge, and went up the old Chillicothe road to Steam Furnace, to near Cynthiana, where the forces joined. From there they went by way of Bainbridge to within three miles of Old Chillicothe, where they camped the third night out. About five miles from Old Chillicothe, the advance guard met four Indians, two of whom they killed and the remaining two they captured. Kenton's company then advanced to reconnoiter, and sent word back to Col. Todd. Kenton's party surrounded the Indian camp but attacked before it was light enough. Two Indians were killed and seven made prisoners. The remainder escaped. Col. Todd with the force under his immediate command, did not arrive in time to participate in the attack. The town was burned and all the crops destroyed. The army encamped on the north fork of Paint Creek the night after the attack and the next day started for their homes. Where they camped on their return is not known, but they took the route of the left wing in returning. From the Ohio River to Frankfort in Ross County, the entire route was a virgin wilderness. The party had to and did cut out a road for themselves, their horses and pack horses, all the way from the Ohio River to Frankfort. The route from the Ohio River to Old

ten years earlier, with the exception from Locust Grove to a point opposite Sinking Springs, Highland County.²

Between these two places the "Trace" passed through Sinking Springs, over the Todd War Road, and crossed Brush Creek, (the route of Christopher Gist, 1750,) at Dunbarton in Adams County.

It paralleled Brush Creek and one of its southwestern tributaries till it reached the junction of the two streams forming the Big Three Mile Creek which it followed to the Ohio River opposite Maysville or Limestone.¹

Chillicothe by the route of the right wing was afterwards called Todd's Trace. That part of the route taken by the left wing from the mouth of Lick Fork by the Fristoe Bridge to Cynthiana was called Todd's War Road, and the name of that route, "Todd's War Road," was given it by Gen. Simon Kenton. * * * * After Zane's Trace was laid out in 1797, Todd's Trace was forgotten except as used in surveys made between 1787 and 1797, but the route of Todd's War Road was the one used by the stages from the time they began to run."—N. W. Evans, Portsmouth, Ohio.

²"So far as the Trace went through Adams County, it followed the general course of Todd's Trace, except between Bentonville and West Union, where it was located further north and east; and at the crossing of Brush Creek, it went up by Steam Furnace. The first settlers in it were John Treber and Andrew Ellison, who located on it in the spring of 1798 on Lick Fork. These two locations are the earliest known on the line of the Trace in Adams County. They are supposed to have settled there in order to kill plenty of game.

Zane's Trace was the usual route from Maysville, Kentucky to Chillicothe, Ohio, from 1797 until about 1820. When first opened, it only afforded a passway for persons on horseback and packhorses. The first man to ever pass over with a team was William Craig, who drove a wagon and a team of horses through from Maysville to Chillicothe. This was in 1798, and he had to cut his way through for the whole distance."—Nelson W. Evans.

"The Maysville and Zanesville turnpike was constructed along the general route of the old post road over Zane's Trace passing through Bradyville, Bentonville, West Union, Dunkinsville, Dunbarton, Palestine, Locust Grove and Sinking Springs."—History Adams County, (Evans).

¹"Zane's Trace commenced opposite Maysville, came up through Adams county to the ridge in Sun Fish township, along which it continued till it reached Byington; thence down Sun Fish Creek to Big Spring; thence up Kincaid's Fork to Lunbeck's Hill and along that ridge in an

The "Trace" was not completed within the time specified in the Congressional Act. It could hardly be expected when we consider that it covered a distance of something over two hundred miles. While the road was a mere indicator of direction and it followed the ridges where the undergrowth was scantier, yet



M'INTIRE CHILDREN'S HOME.

there were many obstacles to overcome and it was not till well into the summer of 1797 that it was finished.

It is said that John McIntire met with quite a severe accident on the route between Zanesville and Limestone. While loading his gun the stock slipped off a root and the contents went through his right hand crippling it for life.

easterly direction till it passed Mr. Gaull's, in Perry township (Pike county); thence down Paint Valley to Chillicothe or Indian Old Town." — History of lower Scioto Valley.

*This "Trace" only a bridle path as made by Zane soon began to be used. At wet crossings saplings known as "corduroys" were laid. The flood of immigration from tide water poured through this narrow sluice and gradually widened it. It was for years the only thoroughfare east or west. It was so constantly used that at times and places it was worn into ruts so deep that a horse could have been buried in some of them. Travelers soon learned to go round these places. It is said that before the road was accepted Zane was required to drive a wagon over it. We doubt this and place it along side of the other traditional statements that grow up around historical events. It has been further stated that when he attempted to go over his "Trace" with the wagon it could not be done.

Pack horses were driven in lines of ten and twelve. They were tied together so that one driver could handle them all. Each animal carried about 200 pounds. A large forked limb was obtained and was cut off just below the fork and then each limb was cut off about six inches from the crotch and trimmed down to the required dimensions to accommodate the load to be carried upon it. Then a flat smooth board was strapped on the horses' back with a sheep skin pad under it. The art of making pack saddles became quite a backwoods industry.

As settlements grew up along the line of the Trace improvements were quickly made in the route and in the condition of the road.

The "Trace" evaded the marshy bottom lands. Neither did it go around the hills, for digging would have to be done, but it climbed the hills, often in seemingly inaccessible places. But it formed the nucleus of the only highway for forty years, along which passed the trade and commerce of the country.

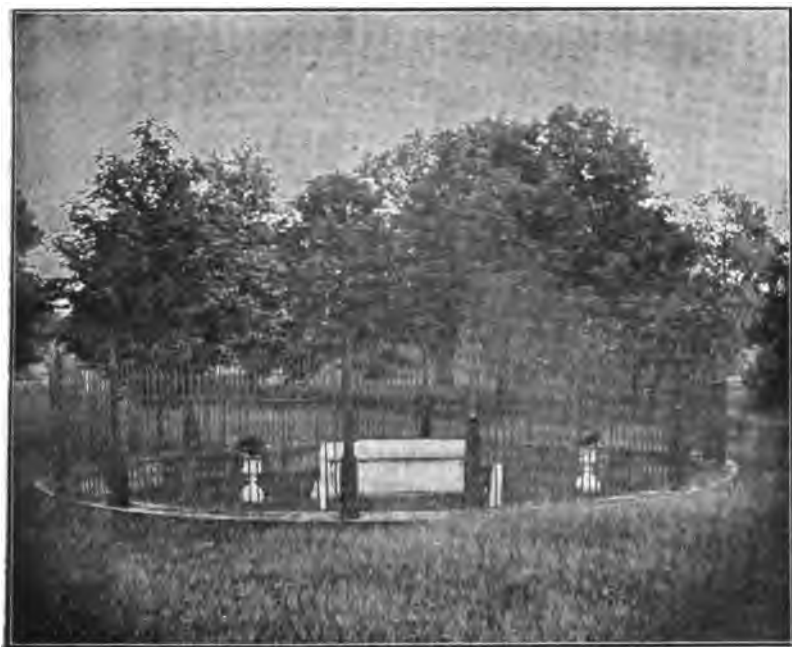
¹ The eastern part of this blazed trail as has been intimated was along the route of an old Indian thoroughfare. Before Zane had been employed, the white settler and trader had passed along this bloody path, the scene of many hairbreadth escapes and thrilling adventures, the memory of which still lingers in the traditions of the people, because from father to son is told

² Drake's Making of Ohio Valley States.

³ History of Upper Ohio Valley.

again and again, before the fireside, the achievements of the "Heroes of the Forest."

"Zane's Trace" might be rightfully considered as the first declaration of the principle of "Internal Improvements." It is true Ohio was not yet a state. The National Government was still the sole power of authority. Possibly a few years later the project would have been opposed by politicians who read dire calamity in "internal improvements."



GRAVE OF JOHN M'INTIRE.

The route of the "Trace" determined the location of the home of the pioneer. The settler's cabin soon evolved into the tavern and the tavern soon became the center of a cluster of houses and a town had been born. At the crossing of a stream a ferry might be maintained. The ferryman might also be the proprietor of a public house. A small stock of goods could be kept for sale and there we have the germ of another town.

The first home within the boundary of Perry Township, Muskingum County, was by James Brown who came from Waterford, Washington County, in 1803, built a cabin and opened hotel where Zane's Trace crossed Big Salt Creek.²

In 1804 Andrew Crooks opened a wagon road along the Trace from Zanesville to where it crossed Jonathan's Creek¹ in Newton Township and opened a public house that for many years was known as Crooks' Tavern.

In 1804 Thomas Warren following the Trace located in Section 13, Union Township, Muskingum County, and opened his house for the accommodation of the traveling public. This was the pioneer tavern of the township and was known as the "Few Tavern."

Caleb Evans the first settler in Pickaway County, came over the Trace from Kentucky.

The first settlement in Highland County was about half a mile north of Sinking Springs on Zane's or rather Todd's Trace.⁴

² "This road, also called Old Wheeling Road, entered this township on Section 20 and passed out near southwest corner. Along this road first settlements were made." — Old Writer.

¹ Tradition has it that Jonathan's Creek was named after Jonathan Zane, who at one time was lost, and camped for the night at its mouth. This is pretty much of a guess.

⁴ "The earliest tavern" in Adams county was kept by James January on Zane's Trace in the valley just to the west of where West Union now stands. In 1798 John Trebar opened a public house on Lick Fork. In 1801 Mr. Wickerham was licensed for "four dollars a year" to keep this tavern. It was at Palestine, between Locust Grove and Peebles. The old brick tavern, the first of the kind in the county (Adams) is still standing." — History of Adams County (Evans).

"Ellis Road was that portion of Zane's Trace which Nathan Ellis had improved at his own expense from his ferry opposite Limestone, to John Sheppard's on Ohio Brush Creek, now known as Fristoes." — Id.

"The first public road surveyed and established in Adams County was the old Post Road over that portion of Zane's Trace from opposite Limestone or Maysville on the Ohio River, to the north line of the county, near Sinking Springs." — Id.

"Zane's Road was so 'straightened and amended' as to lose its identity within a few years after the trace was blazed through Adams County. This accounts for the many conflicting claims as to its original location." — Id.

The pioneers of Fairfield county came first from Kentucky and then from Virginia and Pennsylvania by way of the "Trace."³

In 1798 a Mr. Graham located upon the site of Cambridge, Guernsey County. At this time his was the only dwelling between Wheeling and Zanesville. He kept a tavern and maintained a ferry over Will's Creek. After two years he was succeeded by George Beymer of Somerset, Pennsylvania.

Thomas Sarchett settled at Cambridge in August, 1806. He came over the Trace and it took him two days to climb the hill from Wheeling Creek to the top of the hill at St. Clairsville. He had three wagons purchased at Baltimore.

St. Clairsville was formerly called Newelsville because Newel built a tavern here. It took Mr. Sarchett from Tuesday till Saturday night to go the forty miles from St. Clairsville, to Cambridge.

The patent transferring the three mile tracts to Ebenezer Zane was not made by President John Adams until February 14th, 1800. But the survey of the Muskingum tract was made by the order of Rufus Putnam in October, 1797.

Col. Zane gave this tract to his brother Jonathan and his son-in-law McIntire for their services in opening¹ the "Trace."

The deed transferring the same was signed by Ebenezer Zane and Elizabeth Zane, his wife, on the 19th of December, 1800, for the consideration of one hundred dollars.

Jonathan Zane and McIntire in turn, leased it to William McCullough² and Henry Crooks for five years on condition that

³ In the spring of 1798 Captain Joseph Hunter, a bold and enterprising man, with his family, emigrated from Kentucky and settled on Zane's Tract, upon the bank of the prairie west of the crossings, and about one hundred and fifty yards north of the present turnpike road. This was the commencement of the first settlement in the upper Hocking Valley." — Sanderson's History of Fairfield County.

¹ The statement that Col. Zane gave the Muskingum tract to his brother and son-in-law because "it was hilly," might seem to impute a selfish motive to Col. Zane. Jonathan Zane and McIntire both knew that the Zanesville tract was the more valuable, and no doubt Col. Zane knew it also.

² In 1798 mail was brought from Marietta to Zanesville to meet mail on Maysville and Wheeling route. McCulloch could hardly read.

they move their families and provide a ferry. In the fall of 1797 they arrived and thus became the first settlers at Zanesville. The ferry boat at first consisted of canoes lashed together. After the arrival of McIntire, himself, two years later the flat boat in which he had moved his household goods from Wheeling down the Ohio and up the Muskingum, served in that capacity.

Mrs. McCulloch was a niece of Ebenezer Zane, while her husband was a nephew of Col. Zane's wife. Her father was the celebrated Isaac Zane¹ while her mother was the daughter of a chief of the Wyandottes.

On May 7th, 1798, was born to Mr. and Mrs. McCulloch, a son, who was named Noah Zane McCulloch and who was the first white (?) child born on the banks of the Muskingum and Licking Rivers.

In the autumn of 1799, McIntire came to Zanesville. A few Virginia families soon joined. At the corner of Market and Second streets, where the Pennsylvania Depot now stands, he built a double log cabin with a passage between the parts. It stood a few rods from the banks of the river within a grove of maple trees.

but he assorted mail for \$30 a year. The mail from Limestone and Wheeling met weekly at Zanesville. Daniel Converse was the first man to carry the mail from Marietta to Zanesville. Mr. Converse afterward acted as executor of the McIntire will.

¹ Isaac Zane, the youngest of the Zane brothers, was born in 1753. At the age of nine years he was captured by the Wyandots and lived with them upon the Sandusky for seventeen years. He was afterwards released, and in 1785 was guide and hunter to Richard Butler, one of the Commissioners to treat with the Indians. For this service he was rewarded by Congress in 1795 with a tract of 1800 acres situated on Mad river in Logan county. The town of Zanesfield and the township of Zane serve to preserve his memory.

On June 21st, 1803, he was elected as one of the first trustees in Jefferson township, Logan county.

He died in 1816, and is buried near Zanesfield.

(Partially adapted from Wiseman's *Pioneers of Fairfield County*).

NOTE.—An Isaac Zane represented Frederick county, Virginia, in the Revolutionary conventions of 1775 and 1776.—*Mag. Am. History*. If the foregoing story of the capture by Indians is true, evidently there were two Isaac Zanes.

This humble home became the first hostelry of Zanesville and McIntire's Tavern was known from tide-water to the lakes. McIntire with his own hands cut the logs, shaped saplings into rafters,¹ split scantling for door and window frames. The window glass was brought from Wheeling.

Mrs. McIntire soon joined her husband and brought with her the side-board and "chest of drawers" still to be seen in the McIntire Children's Home. This furniture was made by her brother-in-law John Burkhart, a cabinet maker of Wheeling.

Mrs. McIntire was born in Wheeling, February 22nd, 1773. She was a resolute woman, as has been indicated in recounting



MONUMENT IN WHEELING MARKING SITE OF FT. HENRY.

her marriage to John McIntire. Standing in her door one day looking over the ford at the head of big falls, she saw two Indians, one a great tall fellow carrying bow and arrows, the other a squaw, a small woman, carrying a papoose and cooking utensils, struggling along with difficulty, against the current as they waded across. The sight made her angry and when the Indian came up and asked for something to eat, she used a stick upon

¹ One of these rafters is now a part of the finishing wood in a room of the McIntire Children's Home at Zanesville.

him and said, "Begone, you lazy dog." With an "Ugh" he went away. Then she gave the squaw and child a hearty meal.

It was a fortunate day for the bachelor John McIntire when he married Sarah Zane. Her will power and her high ideals served as a balance wheel to her husband. As a hostess her fame was widely known and her hospitality was dealt with a lavish hand. In 1802 Louis Philippe, the French exile, lodged in this humble inn, where he was much impressed with "mine host and hostess." When he became King of France he often recurred to this event and inquired of an American traveler concerning Mr. and Mrs. McIntire.²

She was charitable in every sense of the word. Having no children of her own, she, during her life, adopted no less than twelve into her family. These she provided for and educated. Among them was Amelia, the illegitimate child of her husband.

After the death of Mr. McIntire she married in 1816, Rev. David Young, a Methodist minister. She died in 1854, thirty-nine years after her first husband. From her private resources she built the Second street and South street Methodist churches in Zanesville. Her portrait hangs beside that of her husband in the McIntire Children's Home.

A short time before her death she gave to her faithful colored servant, Silas Johnson, the McIntire family Bible.

Zanesville was formally laid out by Jonathan Zane and John McIntire, April 28th, 1802. The town as laid out then extended from North street east to Seventh street.

McIntire established a ferry where the "Y" bridge now stands. He made a mistake in exacting a tariff from immigrants and fishermen, who passed along the stream, but upon discovering his error he abandoned it. But on January 23, 1802,

² Lewis Cass, referring to this incident in his book, says: "At Zanesville the party found the comfortable cabin of Mr. McIntire, whose name has been preserved in the King's memory and whose home was a favorite place of rest and refreshment for all travelers, who at this early period were compelled to traverse that part of the country. And if these pages should chance to meet the eyes of any of those, who, like the writer, have passed many a pleasant hour under the roof of this uneducated but truly worthy and respectable man, he trusts they will unite in this tribute to his memory." — Wiseman's Pioneers of Fairfield County.

the Second Territorial Legislature authorized Jonathan Zane, et al., to erect a toll bridge where the "Y" bridge now is.

In the first Constitutional Convention, he was a delegate and signed the organic laws for Ohio's statehood. From this time till his death he was the leading citizen of Zanesville. As a public benefactor that city has yet just cause not to forget.

In the will of John McIntire, dated March 18, 1815, provision is made that in the event of his daughter leaving no heirs, that his estate after the death of his wife shall be "for the use and support of a poor school which they are to establish in the town of Zanesville for the use of poor children in said town."

In 1855 the public schools of Zanesville had become so well established that there were no longer poor children, educationally speaking, in it. The present John McIntire Children's Home is now the beneficiary of the will. The estate, which has been judiciously administered, was worth on May 15, 1902, \$282,347.25.

¹ The Zanesville Athæneum, the only public library in that city, receives a large share of its revenue from the McIntire estate.

The John McIntire Sewing School is also supported by the same means.

The John McIntire Children's Home is the best monument its founder could have. Situated on a beautiful hill overlooking the city, which he founded, this refuge for poor children is a living testimony of the beneficence of the man who sleeps beneath its shadow.

In the making of Ohio, John McIntire occupied no mediocre position and we doubt if any other pioneer in the state has succeeded in continuing his good offices so long after his departure. Much of the McIntire furniture is in the Children's Home. The old sideboard and chest of drawers of antique pattern, are of especial interest. A sampler made by the daughter, Amelia McIntire, and showing her handiwork, is also there. The pictures of John McIntire and wife hang on the walls of the reception room.

¹ On June 1, 1904, the Zanesville Athæneum was transferred to the Board of Education.

John and Noah Zane laid out Lancaster in 1799 and commenced the sale of lots. They had the power of attorney and made the deeds. Ebenezer Zane himself was never in Lancaster. Before Lancaster was laid out, travelers who passed along Zane's Trace called the spot "the place where they crossed the Hockhocking near the Standing Stone."

In 1799 a postoffice was established. The mail was carried once a week each way. Samuel Coates, Sr., was postmaster. General Sanderson, the Fairfield County historian, then a lad,



"Y" BRIDGE, ZANESVILLE, WHERE THE TRACE CROSSED THE MUSKINGUM.

was post-boy between Chillicothe and Zanesville. There were not half a dozen cabins on the whole route.

Maple street, Lancaster, is on the east line of the original Zane section. The north line is now the alley just north of the German Lutheran Church. The south line is now a part of the south line of the Mithoff farm. The west line starts at a point in the south line near the sugar-grove on the Mithoff farm, returning thence north.

"Article of agreement made and entered into by and between Ebenezer Zane, of Ohio County, Va., and the purchasers of lots in the town

of Lancaster, county of Fairfield, territory northwest of the Ohio River, now for sale in lots, on the east side of the Hockhocking River, by Ebenezer Zane.

Section 1. The lots to be numbered in squares beginning with the northwest corner of the town, and then alternating from north to south, and from south to north, agreeable to the general draft of the town.

Section 2. One-fourth of the purchase money will be required two weeks from the date of this article. The residue of three-fourths will be required on or before 14th of November, 1802. To be approved by secured notes bearing lawful interest from the 14th day of November, 1800.

Section 3. Square No. 16, including five lots in the southeast corner of the town, was thereafter to be held in trust, for the use of a graveyard, erection of a school house, a house of worship, and such other buildings as may be found necessary. All of which are to be under the direction of the trustees for the time being. Also four lots at the intersection of the two main streets running east and west and north and south, known by appellation of the Center Square, are given for the purpose of erecting public buildings not heretofore specified.

Section 4. Possession will be given immediately to purchasers complying with Section 2 of this Article. When fully complied with the said Ebenezer Zane and his heirs, bind themselves to make a deed to the purchasers, their heirs and assigns. If the terms be not fully complied with the lots shall be considered forfeited and returned again to the original holder.

Section 5. For the convenience of the town, one-fourth part of an acre, lying west of lot No. 2 in the square No. 3, including two springs, will be, and are hereby given for the use of its inhabitants, as the trustees of the town may think proper.

Section 6. In consideration of the advantages that arise from the early settlements of mechanics in the town, and the encouragement of those who may first settle, lot No. 3 in 20th square; lot No. 6 in 15th square; lot No. 6 in 12th square, will be given to the first blacksmith, the first carpenter and the first tanner, all of whom are to settle and continue in the town pursuing their respective trades for the term of four years, at which time the aforesaid Zane binds himself to make them a deed.

In testimony of all and singular, the premises, the said Ebenezer Zane by his attorneys, Noah and John Zane, hath hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal, this 14th day of November, A. D. 1800.

EBENEZER ZANE.

The Chillicothe tract was located on the east side of the river, because the lands on the west of the Scioto had already been appropriated in the Virginia Military Grant. Ebenezer Zane deeded this tract to Humphrey Fullerton. In 1839, when Caleb

Atwater wrote the first history of Ohio, Fullerton's widow was yet in possession of the land.

A traveler over Zane's Trace leaves us this description of it: "We started back to Pennsylvania on horseback, as there was no getting up the river that day. * * * There was one house (Treiber's) at Lick Branch five miles from where West Union now is. * * * The next house was where Sinking Springs or Middletown now is. The next was at Chillicothe, which was just then commenced. We encamped one night on Massie's



EBENEZER ZANE'S BURYING PLACE.

Run, say two or three miles from Paint creek, where the Trace crossed the stream. From Chillicothe to Lancaster, the Trace then went through Pickaway Plains. * * * There was a cabin three or four miles below the plains and another at their eastern edge, and one or two more between that and Lancaster. * * * Here we stayed the third night. From Lancaster we went the next day to Zanesville, passing several small beginnings. I recollect no improvement between Zanesville and Wheeling except one

at the mouth of Indian Wheeling Creek opposite Wheeling."
—*American Pioneer*.

This in brief is the history of the famous "Zane's Trace." The rough trail with its blazed trees has passed away. Only here and there can we with certainty locate its ancient course. But it was a factor in the making and the "winning of the west," and every city and town along its narrow route is a product of this first Ohio roadway. But back of it all stands the heroic pioneer and "Hero of the Forest," Ebenezer Zane.



THE FIRST NEWSPAPER OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

THE EDITOR AND HIS WIFE.

C. B. GALBREATH.

The first newspaper published northwest of the Ohio River was edited by William Maxwell, a Revolutionary soldier. After the recognition of our national independence, he set out for the great west to seek fortune in the new field that called many worthy, brave and adventurous spirits. He crossed the Alleghanies, proceeded to Pittsburg, came down the Ohio, and took up his abode in the little village of Cincinnati, then numbering about two hundred souls.

Having determined before starting west to enter upon a journalistic career in the new country, he had his outfit transported over the mountains on pack horses and shipped down from Pittsburg on a packet boat. It consisted of a Ramage press, much like the one used by Dr. Franklin, and a few cases of type. A man could have moved the materials at a single load in a wheelbarrow.

Mr. Maxwell proceeded at once to set up his office in a log cabin at the corner of Front and Sycamore streets. The coming of the press had been announced and a list of subscribers had been secured. Now the work of arranging copy, setting type, and getting ready for the first issue became the soul-absorbing occupation of the editor and his faithful helpmate. It is needless to say that the work in progress at the office of the printer was of more than ordinary interest to the inhabitants of the little community. After many delays the natal day arrives. "The printer daubs his buck-skin roll in the ink and then daubs it on the face of the type. The lever creaks, and lo, born to the light of day" is *The Sentinel of the North-Western Territory*,

CENTINEL of the North-Western TERRITORY.

Open to all parties—but influenced by none.

(Vol. I.)

SATURDAY, November 9, 1793.

(Num. I.)

The Printer of the CENTINEL, of the North-Western TERRITORY, to the Public.

HAVING arrived at *Cincinnati*, he has applied himself to what which has been the principal object of his removal to this country, the publication of a *New Paper*.

This country is in its infancy and the inhabitants are daily exposed to an enemy who, not content with taking away the lives of men in the field, have swept away whole families, and burnt their habitations. We are well aware that the want of a regular and certain trade down the *Mississippi* deprives this country in a great measure, of industry at the present time. These are discouragements, nevertheless I am led to believe the people of this country are disposed to promote science, and have the fullest assurance that the *Press*, from its known utility will receive proper encouragement. And on my part am content with small gains, at the present, flattering myself that from at-

men of public spirit will consider the un-derstanding as a proper object of attention, and are content merely their own personal interest, but the interest of the public and the coming time.

The MONK.

CALAIS.

A POOR monk of the order of St. Francis came into the room to beg something for his convent. No man cares to have his virtues the sport of contingencies—of one man may be generous, as another man is puffed—*sed non, quo ad hanc*—or be as it may—for there is no regular reasoning upon the ebbs and flows of our humours; they may depend upon the same causes, for aught I know, which influence the tides the selves—would oft be no discredit to us suppose it was so? I'm sure at least for myself, that in many a case I should be more highly satisfied, to have it said by

The rest of his outline may be given in a few strokes; one might put it into the hands of any one to design, for 'twas neither elegant nor otherwise, but as character and expression made it so: it was a thin, spare, forlorn something above the common size, if it lost not the distinction by a bend forwards in the figure—but it was the attitude of entreaty, and as it now stands presented to my imagination, it gained more than it lost by it.

When he had entered the room there, paces, he stood still; and laying his left hand upon his breast, (a slender white fluff with which he journey'd being in his sight)—when that got close up to him, he introduced himself with the little story of the wants of his convent, and the poverty of his order—and did it with so simple a grace—and touch an air of deprecation was there in the whole cast of his look and figure—I was bewitched not to have been struck with it—
—A better reason was, I had predetermined to give him a single foot.

November 9, 1793. Momentous event! From this humble beginning what an evolution the century has wrought!

While practically nothing has been written about the editor, much has been printed in regard to *The Sentinel of the North-Western Territory*. About the only good thing that has been said of it is found in a favorable comment by a historian, on the happy choice of name. As Cincinnati, then on the western frontier of civilization, was the gateway to the rich territory beyond, it was deemed especially appropriate that a "centinel" should stand guard at this outpost. The same writer speaks of the early issues as containing "few advertisements, no editorials, and no local items." Another writer says that "it had no editorial articles, no local news, reviews, or poetry," and even so careful a writer as William T. Coggeshall, an Ohio man, a journalist by profession, and one of the best librarians that the state ever had, in his "Origin and Progress of Printing, with Some Facts About Newspapers in Europe and America," published in 1854, states that the issues of *The Centinel* were "irregular," that they contained nothing "but meager details of foreign news, not more than half a dozen advertisements, no editorials, no local news, no opinions on country, state, or national questions, no lessons from history, no poetry, no wit, no sentiment." In commenting on the mechanical make-up of this paper he says that there were no rules between the columns. These statements are so sweeping and have been so widely and frequently copied that something tangible must be offered to warrant a dissenting opinion. We appeal to the paper itself—to *The Centinel of the North-Western Territory*—a copy of which Mr. Coggeshall and those who have quoted his statements certainly never saw.

To begin with, the paper was not issued irregularly. As stated, the first number appeared Saturday, November 9, 1793, and every subsequent Saturday, for a year at least, it was delivered to subscribers. A rapid but somewhat careful examination of the files does not bring to light the omission of a single issue within the entire period of its publication. A facsimile of part of the first page of the first issue, herewith submitted, shows very clearly that the paper had rules between the columns. And what is true of this is also true of every subsequent issue.

The *Centinel* was indeed a "brief chronicler of the times." It was a four page, three column sheet, in small quarto form, the type of each page occupying a space eight and one-half by ten and one-fourth inches. The columns were lengthened three and one-half inches, July 12, 1794. The motto at the masthead, "Open to all parties—but influenced by none," one generous critic assures us has never been violated by its successors in the states formed from the Northwest Territory. Whatever may be true of the "successors," it is safe to say, after a thorough examination of the files of *The Centinel*, that its editor, through the three years of its life, did not deviate from the motto. Opposing interests were presented through their local champions, but he maintained a sphinx-like silence. In the printing of communications he was discreet and just. At the head of the first page of the first issue is the editor's salutatory. He says in part:

*The Printer of the Centinel of the North-Western Territory, to the Public:*¹

"Having arrived at *Cincinnati*, he has applied himself to that which has been the principal object of his removal to this country, the Publication of a *News-Paper*.

"This country is in its infancy, and the inhabitants are daily exposed to an enemy who, not content with taking away the lives of men in the field, have swept away whole families, and burnt their habitations. We are well aware that the want of regular and certain trade down the Mississippi, deprives this country in great measure, of money at the present time. These are discouragements, nevertheless I am led to believe that the people of this country are disposed to promote science, and have the fullest assurance that the *Press*, from its known utility, will receive proper encouragement. And on my part am content with small gains, at the present, flattering myself that from attention to business, I shall preserve the good wishes of those who have already countenanced me in this undertaking, and secure the friendship of subsequent population.

"It is to be hoped that the *CENTINEL* will prove of great utility to the people of this Country, not only to inform them of what is going on on the east of the Atlantic in arms, and in arts of peace—but what more particularly concerns us, the different transactions of the states in the Union, and especially of our own Territory, at so great a distance from the seat of the general government. It is a particular grievance, that the people have not been acquainted with the proceedings of the legislature

¹ Capitalization and punctuation of original are followed.

²² Vol. XI.1.

of the Union, in which they are as much interested, as any part of the United States. It is expected that the CENTINEL will in a great measure remedy this misfortune.

* * * * *

"The EDITOR therefore rests his success on the merits of the publication. * * * I hope therefore, all men of public spirit will consider the undertaking as a proper object of attention, and not consult merely their own personal interests, but the interest of the public and the coming time."

Following this is a short story from Sterne; news from London, dated July 15th; from Portland, Maine, August 25th; from New York, September 4th; from Philadelphia, September 4th; from Fredericksburg, Va., October 3d. There are also items of local news under date of September 9th, 1793. They read in part as follows:

"Many reports having been circulated with respect to the attack made by the savages upon a convoy of provisions, some little time ago, between Fort St. Clair and Fort Jefferson, the following is an authentic account of that affair.

"Lieut. Lowrie, of the second, and Ensign Boyd, of the first sub-legions, with a command of about ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having under their convoy twenty wagons loaded with grain and commissary stores, were attacked between daylight and sunrise, seven miles advanced of Fort St. Clair, on the morning of the 17th ult. These two gallant young gentlemen, with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell in action. * * * The Indians killed or carried off about seventy horses." * * *

"In the twilight of Saturday evening, the 19th ult., a party of about forty or fifty Indians made an attack upon White's Station, ten miles north of this place. * * * One of the men and two of the children were killed. * * *

"The army are preparing to go into winter quarters on the south-west branch of the Miami, six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson. The ground of encampment is already laid off in the form of a rhombus, three hundred yards long, on a commanding situation." * * *

Here is local matter, of interest not only at the time, but for all time. Of personal items, the visits of friends, social events, and the like, there is a dearth, but these matters did not figure prominently in the everyday life of a people engaged in the work of subduing the wilderness.

In the early issues, as the critic states, there were few advertisements, but later they were comparatively numerous. In

the first number. The editor uses the advertising column to extricate himself from a dilemma. He was so deeply interested in getting out his first paper that he lost a memorandum containing a partial list of his subscribers. The notice is so quaint and original that we reproduce it:

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would instruct his daughter in ...
 languages? To which he replied, "no, sir,
 one tongue is sufficient for a woman."

¶ **Subscribers to this Paper, will
 please to call at the office for it, as
 there has been a subscription-paper
 mislaid, and the names of a number
 of subscribers not yet known to the
 Printer.**

*Subscriptions for this paper will be
 received in Columbia, by John Arm-
 strong Esquire; North-Bend, by Aa-
 ron Cadwell Esquire; Colerain, by
 Capt. John Dunlap, and in New-Port,
 by Capt. John Barile.*

W. MAXWELL.
 Cincinnati, November 9, 1793.

This reveals business method that would not pass muster to-day. There is no evidence, however, that the notice did not meet the exigencies of the occasion.

The advertisements cover a wide range. There were rewards for the return of lost property, stray cattle, deserters from the army and runaway apprentices. There were announcements of the sale of dry goods, houses and lands. One patron wishes to tell the public that he is prepared to do "blacksmithing and whitesmithing." The railroad time table does not appear, but in its place is a full column setting forth the advantages of rapid transit by packet boats, which made the voyage "from Cincinnati to Pittsburg and return in four weeks."

The pioneer school master made known the fact that he was ready "to teach the young idea how to shoot," with a gentle reminder that he reserved the right to enforce moderate discipline.

As a primitive educational "ad." it is not without interest. Here it is:

"THE SUBSCRIBER

INTENDS to open School on Wednesday the 16th inst. in the house lately in possession of John Paul nearly opposite to Dr. M'Clures, in Sycamore sereet, where he proposes to educate youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, book keeping, Geometry, trigonometry, mensuration of surfaces and solids, dialing, guaging, surveying, navigation and algebra. No more than thirty scholars will be admitted, and the terms of admittance may be known by applying to the Public's very humble Servt.

STUART RICKY.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 4, 1795.

N. B.—None need apply but such as allow of moderate correction to be used in said school when necessity requires it."

Those were strenuous times. Ample proof of that fact is found in the lengthy "Public Notice" to the effect that within a certain specified time and designated territory, including Cincinnati and vicinity, \$168 would be paid for "every scalp, having the right ear appendant, for the first ten Indians who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid."

But we are told that there were "no opinions on country, state or national questions." If this refers to the editor, the statement is true; but it was far from being true of the paper. The very first issue contains an article signed "Manlius" on the subject of unequal taxation under the territorial government. It includes a sharp criticism of the legislature, which then consisted of Governor St. Clair and the judges of the territory. In speaking of the law imposing special taxes on merchants and tavern keepers, the writer says:

"It cannot be supposed that the legislature are disposed to make this law perpetual, and yet no limitation is in the act; it appears to have been calculated merely to save the landed interests from paying taxes; and this is not astonishing, when one of the greatest land holders in the government was, and still is, one of the legislature. Human nature is the same in all countries, and self interest is never taken away by any office; man is man, and he will do what conduces to his private emoluments, whether he be peasant, judge or king. If taxes are necessary under this government * * * the people ought to be taxed in proportion to their property."

In subsequent issues the territorial and national governments were criticised and defended, and the opening up of the Mississippi to free navigation was advocated with vigor. No favor was shown and even the "Father of his country" did not escape the pungent pens of some of the Jeffersonian correspondents. This pioneer journal reflects the deep interest in matters political, which has ever characterized the states carved out of the Northwest Territory.

But we are told that the editor gave no space to "poetry, wit or sentiment." This is a serious charge that is hardly sustained by reference to the paper. The first issue contains the following "anecdote":

"Milton was asked by a friend, whether he would instruct his daughters in the different languages. To which he replied, 'No, sir; one tongue is sufficient for a woman.'"

This, of course, is a little ancient, but doubtless we all should have enjoyed and appreciated it one hundred years ago. No. 2 has the following in the anecdote column:

"Col. Bond, who had been one of King Charles the First's judges, died a day or two before Cromwell, and it was strongly reported that the protector was dead. 'No,' said a gentleman who knew better, 'he has only given bond to the devil for his future appearance.'"

This may not be wit, but it prepared the way for some of the "pungent paragraphs" of modern times.

In the first issue of *The Centinel* occurs the following:

"Why should our wishes miss their aim?
Why does our love of wealth and fame,
With jarring pursuits clash?
My friends, 'tis strange, self-love that rules
The bulk of men, should make them fools,
Their pockets drain of cash.

The mystic cause I did explore,
My neighbors' failings counted o'er.
And blamed their want of thought.
My occupation I despised,
New schemes and calling straight devised.
And found them all but naught.

To Cincinnati shaped my course,
 With stick in hand, without a horse,
 'Twas galling to my mind!
 Till on the banks of Ohio's flood,
 I near a chinky cabbin stood,
 For selling grog designed.

Behind his bar the cheerful host,
 Had sat him down, his books to post,
 First took a morning dram;
 Thrice the blotted leaf he turned,
 The want of money still he mourned,
 The license fees did damn.

The profits of a barrel told,
 If paid for, but as soon as sold,
 Would count him full ten pounds;
 But swallowed by five hundred throats,
 One-half not worth so many groats
 'Twould scarcely be ten crowns.

* * * * *

Happy the grog man near the fort
 When soldiers with their money sport,
 And give it for a song.
 But Oh, the cruel late campaign
 Has called away this jolly train,
 I hope they'll not stay long.

Thus sagely spoke the man of grog,
 My rapturous soul was quite agog,
 While he tipped off a glass;
 Sure then I cried could I but know,
 When times again would turn out so
 Light should my hours pass.

Pray H—y K, pray tell me when
 Those jovial souls will come again,
 With three months' pay, or two;
 Swift as the streams of Ohio glide
 I'd roll a keg to the fort side
 And keep a tavern too."

The feet here are somewhat lame. Imagery is lacking. This is hardly poetry. With our modern vocabulary we should call it "the army canteen." It shows that some things do not

change much, after all, with the flight of time. In close proximity to this effusion is an appeal in rhyme to the local bards to awake and "court the smiles of Apollo." And the bards in time responded. When Col. Robert Elliot,¹ contractor for army supplies, was killed by Indians near Fort Hamilton, October 6, 1794, a friend wrote a tribute of some length from which we quote the following:²

"In star hung chambers of the empyreal sky,
The winged ghosts in vast assembly join;
O'er time involving shades with sun veils fly,
To illumine Elliot to his newborn clime.

Swift from his pictured hope of earthly bliss,
From golden store and honour's luring wreath;
Fate cast him o'er that silent dread abyss,
Which circles time and forms the vale of death.

The ambushed savage, stained with sacred blood,
And taught to murder by his ruthless sire;
With fell deceit beneath the shadowy wood,
Emblaz'd his path with death enkindled fire.

* * * * *

There on the hill where savage spectres throng,
He lay forlorn beneath the pall of night;
The moping owl performed his funeral song,
While pity sickened at the dismal sight.

'Til generous mourners by their tender aid,
'Mid hazy wilds where devious travelers roam,
Through midnight gloom the bleeding corpse conveyed,
With guardian pirty to its wonted dome.

* * * * *

Blest be thy fate, my dear departed friend,
May sweet repose her slumbers o'er thee spread;
May heavenly vigils o'er thy grave roof bend,
To guard thy peace within the clay-bound bed.

Cheerless the hall where once glad mirth inspired
Each welcome guest around the social board,
Where all that liberal honour e'er required,
Was seen approaching on thy cheery word.

* * * * *

¹ For brief biography and detailed account of Col. Robert Elliot's death, see History of Butler County, Ohio.

² This poem is signed "by a friend."

Envy ne'er breaks the folded gates of death,
 Revenge is madness o'er a fallen foe,
 But sorrowing love may pass that frozen heath,
 Where time's encumbered stream must cease to flow.

The brightest star that's crossed death's sable field,
 That ever blazed around his shadowy throne,
 The noblest trophy that e'er man could wield,
 Is honest virtue—an imperial sun.

Those who bewail thy sad untimely fall,
 Must know that fortune, power and hopes are vain;
 That they, like thee, must hear the lordly call,
 And lie entombed among the legions slain.

The cot of penury, the golden court,
 The humble statue and the pride deckt bust,
 Will soon become death's ravaging resort,
 Who chemic-like turns kingdoms into dust.

* * * * *

Death on his mighty, fleet-bound, *bleachen steed!*
 Without an offspring or a guardian sire,
 Pays court to all with unmolested speed,
 To gather spoils for nature's funeral fire.

Heir to a crown, no monarch ever knew,
 With coat of arms no herald ever caught,
 No painter e'er his wondrous portrait drew,
 Since he ne'er sat to have the picture wrought.

He is a traveler on life's slippery shore,
 To meet the beings of a doubtful day,
 He is the porter to unbar that door,
 Which hides the grandeur of the immortal way.

His valley seems a solemn, nightly pass,
 Which spreads its by-paths to this *thicket* world,
 But when illumined by hope's colouring glass,
 It shows a drawing room with scenery furled.

Cease, then, each mournful sigh, dispel the gloom,
 Which hovers o'er the shadowy realms of death,
 One mighty change will burst the slumbering tomb,
 And crown the weeds of woe with joyful wreath.

Like Elliot dead! we pass this changed state,
 Our power, our fortune and our hope must yield,
 To death the victor of Almighty fate,
 Who stalks forever on his spoil-deckt field."

This breathes the solemn grandeur of the new world. Through it the spirit of the wilderness speaks of the mysterious trinity — life, death, eternity. True, it reveals a writer under the spell of Gray's *Elegy*, but there are stanzas that have distinctive merit and reflect credit upon this unknown bard. The effusion has a genuine western flavor and stands as our first published "view of death," with occasional lines foreshadowing the *Thanatopsis*.

In the summer of 1796, William Maxwell, who had been appointed post-master of Cincinnati, sold *The Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, to Edmund Freeman, who changed the name to *Freeman's Journal*. It was issued here till about 1800. when it suspended publication and followed the Territorial Government to Chillicothe, where Mr. Coggeshall tells us that Mr. Freeman purchased the *Gazette*. Here Mr. Coggeshall is again in error. *Freeman's Journal* was published for a time in Chillicothe, where the editor died. In *The Scioto Gazette* of October 19th, 1801, appears a notice of S. Freeman, administrator, relative to the death of Edmund Freeman, late of Chillicothe, printer, deceased. Nathaniel Willis, editor of *The Scioto Gazette*, purchased the outfit of *Freeman's Journal* in October, 1801. It was therefore merged into *The Scioto Gazette*, which continues under that name to the present day.

Having described somewhat at length this early newspaper, it is fitting that more be said of the editor and his wife. Of the latter we shall speak first, because our information in regard to her remarkable career is more complete and definite. Nancy Robins was a typical pioneer heroine. She was born in Virginia, August 6th, 1760. Her parents settled at Grave's Creek, about twelve miles from the present site of Wheeling, W. Va., where she grew up to young womanhood. Here her father was killed and scalped by the Indians. With her mother and a few neighbors she made an almost miraculous escape¹ to Ft. Henry, where the whites were closely besieged by the savages.²

¹ An Indian caught her dress and was about to strike her down when hunters came to her rescue.

² September 1, 1777. See Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. II, 291-283; Hildreth's *Early Settlers of Ohio*; Otis's *Defense of Fort Henry*; Hunter's *Pathfinders of Jefferson County*, in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 131-133.

Every reader of pioneer history is familiar with the story of the conduct of the sister of Ebenezer Zane on that occasion. The defenders of the fort having exhausted their supply of powder, it became necessary to send some one to a house about sixty yards distant to bring ammunition to continue the defense. The brave women in the fort insisted that none of the men should



MRS. NANCY (MAXWELL) WHITE AT THE AGE OF 106 YEARS.

be sacrificed in the undertaking, as the loss of one of the garrison would greatly endanger the safety of all. Miss Elizabeth Zane and Miss Nancy Robins both volunteered to go, but as the latter was molding bullets, a work in which she was skilled, it was decided that Miss Zane should make the hazardous trip. With fleet step she ran the gauntlet, and amid a storm of arrows and bullets, bore the powder into the fort. The garrison held

out till reinforcements arrived and compelled the savages to raise the siege.

Afterward Miss Robins and her mother lived with the Zane family.¹ Miss Nancy went to Cincinnati and there met William Maxwell, whom she subsequently married. She aided him in all his work, helped to print the newspaper, and with her own hands, in 1796, bound the Maxwell Code,² the first book printed within the limits of the Northwest Territory. In 1799, she accompanied her husband to Dayton, Ohio, which was then a military post. Here she remained until Mr. Maxwell, assisted by some discharged soldiers employed for that purpose, cut a road through to Upper Alpha. This road afterwards became a part of the Dayton and Xenia Pike. Mrs. Maxwell was the first white woman to travel over it.

To the new log cabin in the wilderness she came with her husband and two children, William and Eliza. Here the little family grew until there were eight children. After the death of her husband she married John White, whom she survived many years. Of the second union six children were born, one of whom, Mrs. Elizabeth Webster, of Dayton, Ohio, is still living at the age of eighty-three years.

In her old age, Mrs. (Maxwell) White moved with relatives and friends to Sidell, Illinois, where she died November 9th, 1868,³ at the age of one hundred and eight years, three months and six days. Amiability and cheerfulness were native to her. Through life she was blessed with good health. To its last hour she retained full possession of her faculties. She was the mother of fourteen children, whose descendants are now living in many states. A modest monument, fittingly inscribed, marks her last resting place.

¹ Later Mrs. Robins became the second wife of Ebenezer Zane.

² The "Code," bound in pioneer style, was sewed with wax ends, tipped with bristles.

³ Just seventy-five years after the publication of the first issue of *The Centinel of the North-Western Territory*.

⁴ Of the first union were born William, Elias, Rachel, John, Ludlow, Nancy, George, Eliza; of the second, Margaret, Lemuel, Catherine, Evaline, Elizabeth, Anne.

Of the early life of William Maxwell little is known. His father, whose name was also William, came from Scotland. According to statements of some of his descendants, the son was born in New York, about the year 1755. He had evidently received a fair education for the times. It is not known where he learned the printer's trade. In his salutatory, published in the initial number of *The Centinel*, he states that he came to the western country to establish a newspaper. It is therefore fair to presume that he had learned something about his trade before leaving the East. His granddaughter is authority for the statement that he came west in 1788. This date is not supported by documentary evidence and it is probable that he came later. After his arrival in Cincinnati, as already stated, he married Nancy Robins who survived him more than half a century.



FACSIMILE SIGNATURE OF WILLIAM MAXWELL.

Mr. Maxwell was the first local public printer of the Northwest Territory. In 1796 he published the Maxwell Code. He was second postmaster of Cincinnati, having been appointed to that position the year previous, as the following notice in *The Centinel* of September 6th, 1795, explains:

"W. Maxwell is appointed Post-Master at this place in lieu of A. M. Dunn, Esq., deceased. Gentlemen, and others, wishing to send letters by the Post, may leave them at the Printing-Office; where the Post-Office is now kept."

In 1799, he moved to land on the Little Miami, in what is now Beaver Creek Township, Greene County, Ohio. It was then a part of Hamilton County. He was elected to the House of Representatives of the First General Assembly of Ohio, which convened in Chillicothe, March 1st, 1803. The Journal of the House shows that he was an active member and that he served on important committees with associates some of whom afterward attained prominence in the history of the state. Among these were Kirker and Worthington.

He favored the law providing for the erection of Greene County and was elected one of its associate judges by the Legislature on April 6th, 1803. On the 10th of the following month, at the house of Owen Davis, on Beaver Creek, he aided in organizing the first court held in the county. The building was a log structure of the pioneer type. He resigned the office of associate judge December 7th, 1803, was chosen sheriff of Greene County and served till 1807. He took an active interest in organizing the state militia and, in 1805, held the rank of major. He was a man of thrift and fairly prosperous. On his large tract of land, he devoted himself chiefly to the industry of cattle raising.



HOME OF WILLIAM MAXWELL, BEAVER CREEK TOWNSHIP, GREENE COUNTY, OHIO.

William Maxwell's last days were spent on his farm. Here where his furrow broke the "stubborn glebe," where the forest bowed beneath his sturdy stroke, this modest, brave old pioneer in 1809 sank to rest. Cadmus sailing into Greece on a mission that enlightened the world, is doubtless a myth. But William Maxwell, soldier, pioneer, and printer, bending over the types and losing his subscription list in a soul-absorbing effort to bring forth *The Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, William Maxwell, laboring by blazing knot and tallow dip over his "code," William Maxwell bearing letters into the western wilderness, is

a reality! From this humble beginning, what a marvel the century has wrought. Books and papers everywhere. Great journals, reeling off daily issues aggregating not hundreds or thousands, but millions of copies. Vast hives of literary industry, where the roll of cylinder and the click of linotype echo without interruption the whole year round! And he who touched the magic spring that opened up the way for this wondrous and beneficent miracle, sleeps alone on the quiet farm his last long sleep. His grave is at the edge of the forest, on an eminence that commands a fine view of the valley of the Little Miami.



GRAVE OF WILLIAM MAXWELL, RECENTLY DISCOVERED ON THE MAXWELL FARM, GREENE COUNTY, OHIO.

Around are green meadows, waving orchards, the fragrance of flowers, and the melody of birds. A plain slab, hewn from the native rock, without a line or a letter, marks his last resting place.

The patrons of the press, the lovers of books, and those who manifest a patriotic pride in the intellectual development and ascendancy of the prosperous realm now embraced within the original limits of the Northwest Territory, have a duty to perform. They should unite in raising over the dust of William Maxwell a plain shaft, appropriately inscribed, that would be to the modest worth of this pioneer editor and maker of books a fitting memorial. Ohio should lead in rendering appropriate

tribute to him who in "the long ago," appealed for the press, and asked the pioneer fathers "not to consult merely their own personal interest, but the interest of the public and the coming time."

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The writer of the foregoing article makes grateful acknowledgment to Miss Etta G. McElwain, Librarian of the Xenia Public Library, and Miss Electra C. Doren, of the Dayton Public Library, for valuable information relative to the descendants of William Maxwell; to the Misses Mary and Rebecca Maxwell, granddaughters of William Maxwell, for assistance in collecting material; to Mrs. Jennie Sharf, granddaughter of Elizabeth Webster and great-granddaughter of Mrs. (Maxwell) White for additional data and the loan of the rare photograph from which the cut is made for this sketch; to Dr. C. E. Rice for the loan of an early Ohio manuscript from which the facsimile of the signature of William Maxwell was made.



O. K.

J. WARREN KEIFER.

The above is the most used form of expression in the commercial world, and is used in the United States oftener, perhaps, in conversation, than any other purely arbitrary expression in the English language.

It has no classic origin or derivation; it has no linguistic, Greek or Latin, root: it cannot be claimed for it even the dignity of an American *slang* birth: nor is it an abbreviation of an established expression or form of words properly found in any language. Its universally accepted meaning is well understood, yet not until recently has any dictionary or lexicon given it a place, or undertaken to tell its significance. It is used to attest the accuracy, genuineness, or approval of whatever it is placed upon. It is not usually used in composition, or in connection with other words, or phrases. Its meaning is so ample and complete that it defies misunderstanding, and requires no qualifying words to explain or amplify it. It is used, literally, around the world. Not only the business men in banks, mercantile houses, private business offices, insurance companies, etc., in America, use O. K. to avouch the correctness of statements, accounts, bills of all kinds, etc., but the American and English legations, consuls, etc. in all countries where they are found, especially in all parts of the world in which ships enter and depart, use the same O. K. to express their approval of all official business documents or papers. In all the principal and subordinate departments of our government, O. K. is now in more or less common use by officials and clerks to attest their approval, satisfaction or the accuracy of whatever they favorably pass judgment upon. Its use extends to wherever the English language is used, but more particularly in connection with trade and commerce. It has no synonym; nor no substitute; it stands unique, and alone,

for its use. Its meaning is — *All Correct*. Its origin came from the mis-spelling of the two words — *all correct*.

The origin of the expression — if it may be so called — was in the exciting Harrison political campaign of 1840.

According to the then custom of organizing and attending political meetings, Whig and Democratic, the people went in processions, sometimes for long distances, to the appointed places where they were to be harangued by the orators. Great rivalry existed between parties to hold the largest meeting at a given place, and to have the greater numbers in the processions, the most persons on the same wagon drawn by the most horses, and the most flags, and banners, on which were usually mottoes supposed to be the most expressive and catchy, especially in the matter of attracting the populace and expressing the sentiment of the people.

A notable Whig convention was held at Urbana, Champaign County, Ohio, September 15th, 1840, which General William Henry Harrison, the candidate for President, addressed (it is said for two hours) and at which Hon. Moses B. Corwin (cousin of Thomas Corwin) of Urbana presided. In the grove of John A. Ward (father of the now famous sculptor, John Q. A. Ward of New York City) twelve tables were set, each 300 feet long, from which the people were fed barbecued oxen, sheep, etc., with cider (the popular beverage of that campaign) and all in abundance. Addresses were made during the day and evening by Ex-Governor Metcalf of Kentucky, (in a buckskin hunting shirt, it is said), Arthur Elliott, a Mr. Chambers, of Louisiana, and Richard Douglas, of Chillicothe.

An enthusiastic Whig farmer from Jackson Township, Champaign County, rigged up a wagon, drawn by many horses, with a platform thereon to accommodate his neighbor-farmers, to join a procession and to attend this convention. A banner was suspended over the platform on which was rudely printed the inscription: THE PEOPLE IS OLL KORRECT.

According to the recollections of some, who pretend to remember, the inscription was: THE FARMERS IS OLL KORRECT.

The material part, however, is the last two words, and their mis-spelling.

Democratic newspapers seized on the bad spelling of this inscription and displayed it as an evidence of the ignorance of the Whigs and the supporters of General Harrison. Samuel Medary of Columbus, Ohio, famous then for his zeal in publishing campaign-democratic literature, and in assaults on the Whigs, made much use in his paper of this farmer's illiteracy. Democratic orators carried this banner-motto around on hand bills and exhibited it to their shouting hearers, much to the disgust and chagrin of the Whigs.

One Daniel Leffel, a typical early-time tavern-keeper, an unusually, even for that time, enthusiastic Whig and supporter of Harrison, the proprietor of the Sugar Grove tavern, located just west of Springfield, Ohio, on the National Road, thought it best to ward off the odium heaped on his party by the rustic farmers illiteracy by accepting the situation and making the most of it. So, before the campaign ended, he caused the letters *O. K.* to be painted immediately over a front door of his Sugar Grove tavern, in large capital letters, and thence forth gave it out, that they meant that his tavern was "*Oll Korrect.*"

This is, with little doubt, the first place these two letters — *O. K.* — were used with the artificial meaning they now so universally possess. From this use, with this meaning, at first little by little locally, matters were *O. K.*-ed, until now millions use the expression without doubt as to its meaning, or question as to the propriety of its use, or without inquiry or knowledge of its origin.

Dan Leffel built better than he knew — so the Jackson Township farmer. *O. K. has come to stay.*

Whatever of local differences there may be as to the details of the farmer's banner-inscription, or as to the great Urbana-Harrison convention, there is a concurrence as to the mis-spelling of the words — *all correct*, and that they were, on the banner, spelled "*Oll Korrect.*"

The Sugar Grove House (thus inscribed) was used as a way-side tavern — a stopping place for movers using the National Road as a throat to pass to the great west — some "cheer" was

dispensed there to local and other patrons — stories of gambling, etc., etc., have been told as a part of the entertainment furnished — for about forty years, and only ceased when the mover and cattle-driver ceased to move, or drive, by ordinary road, as in the good old times. Dan Leffel is dead, and *some* question whether his life and character were such as to secure for him an O. K. for the better world. However, this may be, his use of the letters O. K. will go on so long as the English language is written.



SUGAR GROVE HOUSE.

The House (shown above) a few years ago, with the picturesque land around it, passed to the ownership of the Ohio State Masonic Home. The stately buildings of this Home, where practical, fraternal charity is now dispensed, overtowered the old *tavern*.

It was spared until 1901, then torn down to further clear and beautify the Masonic Home grounds. The originally inscribed letters "O. K." remained above the door about sixty

years and until the brick upon which they were painted were removed and scattered by the destroyer.

Attempts have been made to otherwise account for the origin of *O. K.* as so generally used, on suppositions, and theories, and probabilities, but only the foregoing has any real foundation.

O. K. is found in the Century Dictionary where it is said: "The origin is obscure; usually said to have been originally used by Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the U. S., as an abbreviation of All Correct spelled (whether through ignorance or humorously) *Oll Korrekt*: but this is doubtless an invention."

Another speculation there refers the use to "*Old Keokuk*," an Indian Chief, who is said to have signed treaties with the initials, "*O. K.*"

These suggestions as to a definition are all inventions, born of a desire to find a plausible origin for the much used expression.



MARCUS A. HANNA.

CHARLES N. W. DICK.

[Address delivered by Senator Dick in the Ohio House of Representatives at the Memorial Services held April 20, 1904, in honor of Senator Hanna.]

Marcus A. Hanna was born September 24, 1837, in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, and died in Washington, February 5, 1904, in the discharge of his duties as Senator from his native State.



MARCUS A. HANNA.

Standing in the presence of this splendid representation of the citizenship of Ohio; impressed with the deep significance of this occasion, I am also reminded of the importance of events that go to make up the history of our commonwealth, and the character of the people who have maintained her standing in the front rank of the States which constitute our glorious and imperishable Union. In the light of these recollections, crowned with gar-

lands of achievement and duty well performed, stand the towering personalities of those sterling types of American manhood whose accomplishments during the last century have made the history of Ohio identical with that of the nation itself.

It is by no accident that Ohio has furnished so many distinguished sons to the nation, including presidents, statesmen, military chieftains, lawyers, educators, authors, artists, inventors, scientists and captains of industry. The cause is found largely in the circumstances of her birth and development, and in the character of her early settlers.

If, as has been said, God sifted the whole world to find men worthy the high calling of founding a new nation, as truly may it be said that all the original States of the Federal Union contributed to the making of Ohio, the first State of the nineteenth century, the first new State formed out of national territory. Here converged nearly all the early lines of continental travel. Here came the Puritan and the Cavalier, the Scotch-Irish, and those of pure Teutonic and Gallic blood; Lutheran, Presbyterian, Catholic and Quaker. Connecticut bounded the State on the north, and Massachusetts, New Jersey and Virginia on the south. New York, Pennsylvania and other States furnished generous contributions to her population.

Of the new States which preceded her into the Union after the Revolution, Vermont was the offspring of New York and New Hampshire, Kentucky of Virginia, and Tennessee of North Carolina. Ohio was the first State to which the entire Union contributed, the first national territory raised to statehood. All of the original States gave from their best citizenship to build up the first State carved out of the Northwest Territory. Massachusetts founded the first settlement at Marietta, Connecticut peopled the Western Reserve, a New Jersey colony laid the beginnings of Cincinnati, much of the best blood of the States was filtered through New York from New England, Pennsylvania was a liberal contributor, and Virginia reserved a large tract to which came many of her Revolutionary soldiers and their descendants. The abolition of slavery drew to Ohio some of the best blood of the far South. Here, therefore, came all nationalities and all creeds, and they found not tolerance merely but equality in the sight of the law. The early use of federal troops to repress Indian uprisings in the State accustomed her citizens to the exercise of national authority. This Indian warfare held captive in Ohio for a time the determined rush of Western migration. Thus time was given these diverse elements to coalesce into one harmonious whole, and to form a type of stalwart, intensely patriotic Americans.

Ohio is the neck of the hour-glass through which passed nearly all the streams of early migrations following the star of empire. All early railroads joining the East and the West

crossed her boundaries and her territory. These circumstances also wielded a powerful and beneficent influence on the new commonwealth. We were *debtors* to all the States east of the Alleghanies, a debt Ohio has fully paid by sending out a million of her own sons in all directions. They have proved worthy of her, and have given her added fame in all quarters of our country.

Pioneers are the sturdiest, the most enterprising and most daring. By such people was Ohio settled. Of such stock and under such surroundings was Senator Hanna born. He was a type of that mixture of elements so characteristic of his State. In him commingled many diverse strains of ancestry.

His ancestors were pioneers. They were among the more hardy and venturesome spirits of the older settlements who followed the frontier as it receded westward. In his family is to be found Scotch-Irish, Cavalier and Puritan, Presbyterian and Quaker stock. While his parents were residents of Ohio, they traced their descent to Virginia and Connecticut. He thus combined the best blood of North and South. *His* entire life, however, belonged to his native State. His public school training, his brief college days, his years in business and in the public service were spent in Ohio or in full view of the people of his native State. He was in every sense a true son of Ohio, and ranks with the noblest of the glorious company who have been proud to call her Mother.

It was not Mr. Hanna's fortune to be born in poverty, nor did affluence in early years hinder his growth and development. He belonged to the great middle class of fairly well-to-do Americans, who are richest perhaps in their descent from long lines of sturdy, intelligent, God-fearing ancestors.

The father was a country physician, who left a good practice in eastern Ohio and moved farther west, to Cleveland, then a town of fair promise, and engaged in merchandising because of the wider field it offered for achieving success. In his father's store the future Senator received his first training in business. The beginnings were small but prosperous. He spent a year in the Western Reserve College, with what benefit to himself he declared he never felt certain, though he doubtless builded more wisely than he knew. He served a brief enlistment in the Union.

armies. The years which immediately followed were years of commercial upbuilding and expansion. His training was in the problems which confront the man of large affairs.

Thus he spent nearly a lifetime in business and with scarcely a thought for other matters. By his hard common sense he won the confidence of his associates and was a leader among them. He had the tremendous personal force of an aggressive mentality. He was as stalwart in mind as he was in body. His strength lay largely in the directness of his methods. He was a masterful man, possessing at all times definite aims in life. He saw with a clear eye, and was able by force of intellect and character to make other men think as he did. He was a man who accomplished results, a leader who led. His business methods were conservative. He was never a speculator, except as all business is a venture. He was constructive, but not a promoter.

He developed great executive ability and built up large business enterprises which survive him. He selected his lieutenants, apportioned the work, directed in a general way without burdening his mind with details, and looked with confidence for results. He did not have the patience for infinite detail, but the greater power of conceiving and executing great undertakings. His success was the result of long years of preparation. He commanded success because he deserved it.

He was a man of great heart and a most liberal benefactor. Growing wealth developed in him the kindlier and more humane side. He gave freely and cheerfully, but modestly and without parade. His charity was discriminating.

He will be most missed by the numerous charities in his home city to which he was a generous contributor. Churches and hospitals without regard to creed enjoyed his aid, and to the practical Christianity of the Salvation Army he was more than generous.

His relations with large bodies of working men as employer sometimes led to differences which promised to result in the clash of industrial strife. The militant spirit was always strong within him and the prospect of a contest usually inviting, but he soon saw the great economic waste in strikes and lockouts. He discovered they were unnecessary. By frank and honest deal-

ings with each other, by mutual understandings, by fair concessions honorably lived up to he dwelt on terms of harmony with his employees. He trusted them and they trusted him and by neither was that confidence betrayed. He was devoted and loyal to the interests of those who worked for him and that devotion and that loyalty was nobly repaid. He learned that labor could be trusted, that its engagements were sacredly observed. In one of his late public speeches before a large body of working men, many of them his own laborers, he declared that if he had ever injured anyone in his employ he would resign his seat in the Senate. That statement to this day has gone unchallenged. He stood in the way of business consolidations which would have added to his wealth for fear they would injure men who had grown gray in his service. In times of great business depression and industrial unrest the men who worked for him stood by their posts, because they knew Mr. Hanna was always fair and generous with them and was paying as fair wages as the business justified.

The social instincts were strong in Mr. Hanna. He delighted in the company of his friends, in entertaining them around his own table. Their number was legion and they represented all the varied interests of human life. In the social circle he was most affable and genial, a most companionable man. In all the relations of home life he was most lovable. He was always interested in public matters and enjoyed the friendship of many public men long before he became a figure in national politics. He was a friend of Sherman and took an active interest in his campaigns. He was a friend of Garfield and gave him generous assistance. The political relation, however, which most beautified his life was his devotion to McKinley. Their friendship was of long standing and the tie between them strengthened with the years. Each was great enough to recognize the greatness of the other. Both were masterful men, both were leaders, but their processes and their methods were entirely different. Hanna was the strong, forceful elder brother, but he yielded to and was influenced largely by the gentle strength and tactful guidance of the other. The blow of McKinley's death fell on him with crushing force.

Mr. Hanna spent a full complement of years in business pursuits. He was the architect of his own fortune and achieved success because he earned it. At a time when most men who have engaged in manufacturing or commerce think to retire he entered upon his real life work. It was in the years devoted to business, however, that his talent developed, his great executive capacity.

His daily life was wholesome and clean, his pleasures were simple, his tastes natural. He was a most useful man to his community, but his mettle was yet untried. At three score years it remained to be demonstrated that Mr. Hanna was a born leader of men, a political general of great skill, an orator and statesman of high rank.

With the shrewdness and insight born of long experience and success in business and his intimate acquaintance with conditions in the commercial world, he foresaw the possible promotion of McKinley and seized the opportune time to push his candidacy for the Presidency. With the same far-seeing vision which marked his judgment in business affairs, he predicted the elevation of his chosen leader. Politics became for a time the passion of his life; his devotion was unselfish and unwavering. He laid his plans far in advance and organized his forces with consummate skill. No detail was too minute to be overlooked. He won a signal victory against political leaders tried on many hard-fought battlefields. The victory he won in the preconvention campaign of 1896 was so complete that it obscured the magnitude of the struggle. Success was so overwhelming that one was tempted to forget there had been a struggle. No man who participated therein, however, could make that mistake.

A political campaign followed which alarmed the country and made business interests anxious. More money was offered him for the purpose of waging the contest than could be used. The statement of his expenditures, however, could safely have been disclosed to the whole world.

That campaign was essentially a campaign of education. His motto was, "Thousands for education and organization, not one dollar for corruption." He brought into politics the straight-

forward, ~~open methods of the~~ upright, God-fearing American business man. If this was an innovation in American politics, it was to the great advantage of politics and the country. He believed that a political campaign should be managed like any other reputable business undertaking. He was honest, sincere and frank and won the confidence of the country. He was loyal to the interests of the party workers who helped him win victories and their devotion to him was unflinching. If he married business to politics it was because he brought to politics the same honesty, directness, and straightforwardness essential to business success. This country need never fear commercialism in politics as long as commercialism stands for Senator Hanna's methods and practices. Business men had been in politics before, but the advent of this business man with his frank, open methods came as a surprise and something of a shock to many party workers. He was a captain of industry who commanded his lieutenants. He was accustomed to say to this man, "Go," and he went; to another man, "Come," and he came.

He managed campaigns the same way, and the innovation was not at first entirely acceptable. The ways of political managers had been looked upon as devious and secret; their comings and goings subterranean and nocturnal. He brought daylight into dark places, conducted his first national campaign as he planned and carried on industrial undertakings. The stockholders always had access to the books. This is a commercial era, and if he brought business methods into politics, who will say it has not been to the great advantage of politics?

In the national campaign of 1896 he came under the fierce glare of public opinion, and was immediately seized upon as a fitting target for unmeasured abuse and vilification. He was unknown to the general public, which is only too eager to believe evil of any public man. The cartoonist and the paragrapher exhausted their resources in holding him up to public contempt. These poisoned arrows could not pierce his armor. No man enjoys abuse, and Mr. Hanna suffered because he was not understood; but he went his way serene, calm, cheerful, and undisturbed. Kindlier feelings and a more generous appreciation suc-

ceded to distrust and malignity. Vituperation and abuse recoiled from him. He outlived all calumny, and it was his good fortune to live to see the shafts of malice blunted and turned back on his assailers. For eight years a strong searchlight of infinite inquiry was focused upon him, but nothing mean or small was ever disclosed. The honesty of his life and the purity of his motives were admitted even by those who differed with him politically. His life was an open book, every page as clean as the first.

The only political office Mr. Hanna ever held, except membership in the school board of the city of his adoption, was a seat in the United States Senate. President McKinley offered Mr. Hanna a place in his cabinet; this he declined. He was appointed by Governor Bushnell to fill the vacancy caused by Senator Sherman's appointment as Secretary of State, and was endorsed by the state convention of his party for election to the seat. He was still serving his first full term and had been elected to another when his life was closed. The contrast between the circumstances attending his two elections marks the progress of popular knowledge of the man. In both campaigns he was endorsed by the state convention of his party, the nearest approach perhaps to election to the Senate by direct vote of the people. At the first election the margin of party success was narrow, but apparently entirely sufficient, until faction raised its poisoned head within his own party. During the campaign there were no open evidences of the treachery that was working under cover. After the election the conspirators threw off the mask. It was a base plot against the will of the people regularly expressed. Men high in the confidence of the party and enjoying honors at its hands joined to defeat the expressed will of the people. There was no scheme too desperate to be resorted to. The intensity and bitterness of that struggle no one can appreciate who was not a part of it. It required an uprising of the people in their majesty and wrath to register the verdict which they had instructed at the polls. By resolutions and delegations and informally appointed committees they assailed those who were dallying with dishonor or were listening to golden-tongued temp-

ters. The people spoke and in no uncertain terms. They did not speak in vain; Senator Hanna was elected by a majority of one vote and the State was spared the misfortune and worse of violated instructions and tainted honor. Six years later he was a candidate for re-election. The state convention again declared him the nominee of his party. The difference between his two elections to the United States Senate indicates his six years' growth in public regard. In that time he had become the unquestioned leader and idol of his party. He was the most sought for man on the stump for several campaigns. His meetings were thronged by enthusiastic followers. They were never larger or more enthusiastic than in his last campaign. The result was an overwhelming personal triumph; he was returned to the United States Senate by the largest majority ever given in this body. You witnessed that triumph and know how gratifying it was to him.

It is given to few men who have been reviled and persecuted as he was to enjoy such a complete reversal of sentiment and to close their days in the full sunlight of public confidence and esteem. Public sentiment seemed to desire to make atonement for its early injustice and so lavished upon him an approbation and affection which few Americans have enjoyed to so great a degree. All misunderstanding had passed away. His honesty and sincerity and purity of motives were recognized of all men. He had conquered all misconception, and the years to come promised happiness without alloy, for he had won the universal regard and esteem of his fellow-men.

When Senator Hanna first entered the Capitol at Washington the atmosphere had not been cleared of suspicion, but his unassuming manner, his frankness and geniality soon dissipated all distrust and won the respect and cordial friendship of his colleagues, which in many cases ripened into deep affection. Some of his warmest friends were on the other side the wall of party politics. He won his way to commanding influence there by the soundness of his judgment and the confidence he inspired.

He was willing to do hard work. The large part he took in helping to frame the schedules of the Dingley tariff law is

known to but comparatively few. He rarely took part in debate, but when he did, he spoke with a full knowledge of his subject and with a force and earnestness which carried conviction.

His greatest legislative achievement was in changing a hostile majority against the Panama route for an isthmian canal into a decisive majority in its favor. The country was committed to another plan; the claims of another route had been written into party platforms, and he was told that his efforts would be futile. When he entered upon this contest few members of Congress agreed with him. He made a study of the subject with all his energy and gave it patient, painstaking examination. Having convinced himself, he started out to convince the Congress and the country. He made the contest with all the zeal and energy of his strong nature. When he spoke, it was the successful business man of large affairs who addressed his hearers upon a purely business proposition. His speech in the Senate of the United States was a most convincing presentation of the advantages of the Panama route. The country, as well as Congress, when the final judgment was reached, was converted to his views and no one longer seriously questions the soundness of that position. The canal will be built at Panama and will be his greatest monument. No more signal personal and legislative triumph has ever been won in the Congress of the United States.

His courage never showed to greater advantage than in his efforts to uphold an American merchant marine. Largely owing to his efforts a shipping bill passed the Senate but has never succeeded in the House of Representatives. Despite strong prejudice against the measure he was unfailing in his support. He believed the opposition was largely due to misunderstanding. He was challenged to advocate the measure in the last campaign in Ohio. The challenge was boldly accepted. He presented his views fearlessly. The result vindicated his judgment and his courage. The people *do* desire our flag restored to the seas.

Senator Hanna was not merely a scholar; he was more than that; he was a thinker who did not permit others to think for him, and he put his best thoughts in his daily life. True he held no diploma from college or academy, but he was graduated

from the greater university of experience, whose lessons and teachings supplement all other education.

Senator Hanna had no training in the art of public speaking. He never undertook an extended address until after he reached three score years. He was not an orator in the sense that polished paragraph and stately language makes an orator, and he never prepared a set speech. When first he attempted to speak in public he spoke haltingly and hesitatingly, but practice gave him power. He developed amazingly in the faculty of apt and forceful expression. Much speaking gave him ease and self-confidence. He developed the power that was within him and became a convincing speaker. He believed what he said and said it in a way that carried conviction. When he spoke it was from a full heart and a mind richly stored with his subject. He talked the speech of common, every-day life, the vernacular of the plain people; and he talked to them, not over them. He had the gift of homely phrase, and these phrases often crystalized into campaign cries. He used language to express thought not to conceal it; speech was given him not to hide truth, but to proclaim it. Few public speakers have been more popular, have drawn larger audiences, or moved them more profoundly. So we may say that if oratory is the power of carrying conviction to the hearts of one's hearers and giving them a message which will endure, then Senator Hanna was an orator of no mean rank.

It has been given to no other American to win as great fame as he did in the diverse fields of business and politics, or to make for himself so lasting a name in such a brief space of time. But Senator Hanna was not satisfied; his greatest ambition lay in another direction, and he will probably be remembered longest for the work he did in bringing labor and capital to a better understanding of each other. The greatest good he did was what he accomplished and tried to accomplish to solve the great industrial problem. His greatest service there lay in making labor and capital better acquainted. He was the great peacemaker. In this field there is no one to take his place, no one so high as he in the confidence of interests which oppose each other because they do not understand each other. He had accomplished much in this direction and was arranging to devote his energies and

time to this magnificent object. No man was better qualified for the task than he, for he had been a large employer of labor and had been most successful in maintaining friendly relations with his own employes. His first efforts toward conciliation were looked at with suspicion; men on both sides feared he had some ulterior end in view, that he sought some political advantage, but the sincerity of his motives could not long be doubted and his unselfish aim was soon understood by all. He was as honest and frank in this field of activity as in everything else he undertook. He realized the folly of industrial warfare, and felt there was no more reason why labor and capital should quarrel than that the sacredness of the family tie should be broken by domestic quarrels. He helped to organize the Civic Federation, and was one of its leading spirits and most active and valuable members. The immense good he accomplished in reconciling labor differences is a story that has not yet been told. When it is fully known, Senator Hanna will be recognized even more than now as one of the greatest benefactors of his time. He was succeeding because he was frank and fair, because he was bringing labor and capital into more intimate relations and enabling them to understand each other. He was a man of wealth himself, but he never lost sympathy with labor. His interest in all his fellow-men was genuine and sincere. No missionary ever went forth with higher ideals for the service of mankind or with a truer love for his suffering brother than actuated Senator Hanna in his crusade for a better understanding between those interests which should go arm in arm with each other and which would not be in conflict if they understood each other.

It is given to few men to complete the tasks set before them. Man's plans are not often God's plans. Lincoln saw the end of armed strife, but it was not given his sublime patience to solve the trying problems which followed. He had not yet drunk the cup of bitterness to the dregs. McKinley saw the end of armed opposition to our national authority at the close of another war, but was taken away, leaving many vital problems unsolved.

Mr. Hanna did much; few men did so much in such a brief term, but his greatest task lay before him. Business success and political preferment became to him means to an end. He

felt the necessity of saner methods for settling disputes between labor and capital. He devoted himself to the cause of industrial peace and social justice. To this great end he had consecrated the rest of his life, and had arranged his business affairs so that they need no longer engage his attention. He repeatedly declared he would rather settle the labor problem than be President.

He had no secret longings for other political honors. He was not a candidate for the Presidential nomination. He was great enough to put aside any such ambition and was never greater than in resisting the flattery of those who would have made him a national standard bearer. He refused to promise the use of his name in connection with it. The public will know but little of the great pressure brought to bear upon him to accept this crown, nor did he, like Caesar, refuse each time with less and less insistence. He was firm to the last, because he felt he was following the path in which his duty lay. He had given his word he would not be a candidate, and with the fidelity which distinguished his life he kept the faith. This, however, did not discourage the support of his friends nor dampen the enthusiasm which existed for him in all parts of the country. No American citizen ever yet, however, resisted the call of his party to be its candidate for President. Had he lived and taken his seat in the next National Convention of his party at the head of the delegation from his own State, who can tell where the unbounded enthusiasm of his hosts of friends and admirers and the demands of the hour would have carried that body?

No man ever grew so rapidly in influence and power, and no man who entered politics so late in life ever rose so high. Success and high station in politics as a rule come only to those who have served an apprenticeship in lower places.

He sprang full panoplied and equipped into the arena of national activity. We seek for comparisons, but none can be made, because no man achieved so great success who was in public life so short a time as he was. No other man who wrought in the double field of industry and politics ever achieved so great a success in both. He applied the straightforward, honest methods of upright business dealings to affairs of party and of State. The country was surprised, doubted, and then applauded.

He revolutionized politics by putting it on a business basis. He interested business in politics to the distinct advantage of the latter.

He was distinctly the product of his day and generation, a typical American of the latter part of the nineteenth century. He was constructive in politics and in legislation as he was in business. He was interested in building up instead of tearing down.

Mr. Hanna's response to his physicians' appeal to help them, made in his last illness, was characteristic of the man, "I'll do the best I can." He always did the best he could, always contended with all his might. He was the sturdy fighter who waged war not merely to win but to overwhelm his antagonist. While he did not seek such conflicts, he did not avoid them. Once involved, the martial spirit in him rose to battle pitch. He fought in the open, gave hard blows, and took them manfully.

He fought to conquer and to conquer overwhelmingly, but truce declared and peace effected, he harbored no resentment and punished no enemies. He not merely forgave—he forgot. True, he was not satisfied with a narrow margin of victory; it must be decisive. Even when success was absolutely assured, he did not relax his efforts in the least. This feeling was misunderstood and led to misconception, and was the great source of the excess of caricature from which he suffered. He needed only to be thoroughly known to be vindicated of all charges.

Measure him from whatever point you choose, his sturdy honesty shines pre-eminent. The arts of the demagogue he scorned. He hated all shams and artifice. He had no secret, dark-chamber method of achieving results. He did not win by intrigue. He worked in the open; his methods might at any time have been laid bare to the gaze of the world. There was no secret in his handling of men. He was honest, frank, sincere, sympathetic, friendly. He was direct in his methods and masterful in his dealings. His friendships were not confined within the narrow circle of party politics, for he gained the admiration and respect of those who would not agree with him. His honesty and sincerity no one could doubt.

If he was devoted to any cause it was on account of its righteousness and justice, as he viewed it. He never concealed personal and selfish aims under the guise of advocating public measures. He was frank and open in his relations to all legislation. He did not look to the shifting weather-vane of public opinion to find direction to guide his steps. What seemed right to him he did. He never lacked the courage of his convictions. He was modest and unassuming; he never sought applause and never carried himself to be seen of men. He won no victories on the field of battle, he did not fill the seat of highest authority, but he was a pillar of the State.

He was to a marked degree a well-balanced man, a man sane in all the relations of life. It follows that he was hopeful and optimistic. Cheerfulness and good nature were the very essence of his being. He bore with him at all times the atmosphere of love and sunshine. He was square, brave, and true, a great, tender-hearted, manly man. No one was ever deceived by his bluntness of speech when the beaming eye and kindly smile belied the sense of his words. The catholicity of his interests and sympathies was as boundless as his charities. He had some faults that are common to most men, but he possessed virtues so rare as to challenge recognition and admiration. He was at all times a man of deep and abiding convictions of mind and heart.

The enthusiasm and devotion he awakened are only possible to strong men. As he was loyal to others, so were his friends loyal to him. Those who knew him best loved him most. The Old Guard was not more faithful to Napoleon than Senator Hanna's friends to him.

No man who made so brief a passage across the theater of our national life ever left a stronger impress on his day and age in every walk of life in which he took an interest. It is too soon to determine his rightful place in the Valhalla of our national heroes, but it is certain that the impartial biographer will record him a great party leader, a statesman of high rank, a patriot of purest loyalty.

That I can not be mistaken in my estimate of this man is proven by some expressions of regard and affection spoken by his colleagues in the Senate.

Senator Platt, of Connecticut, said: * * * "when Marcus A. Hanna died all the people mourned with a grief that was deep and unfeigned. Something in his life and character had endeared him to all classes. What that something was it is difficult to say, but we know it was given to but few men in this world to inspire such respect and affection as did our deceased comrade and brother."

Senator Cullom, of Illinois, said: "In the death of Senator Hanna one of the most remarkable men of our country has passed away. He had an extraordinary career, a career that challenged the admiration of the people without regard to section or partisanship."

Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana, said: "Marcus A. Hanna was one of the foremost Americans, one of the most eminent members of this great forum. He achieved place and power through no mere caprice of accident. He forged his way to the point of vantage occupied when he laid down his responsibilities by the strength of his own genius and by virtue of arduous deeds done."

Senator Elkins, of West Virginia, said: * * * "he became, next to the President himself, the dominating force in party affairs, and after the death of his lamented friend unquestionably the most popular man in our business and national life."

Senator Depew, of New York, said: * * * "Hanna, the party organizer, the party leader, the president-maker, the senator and the statesman."

Senator Daniel, of Virginia, said: "He was at the time of his death the most conspicuous and most influential of the public men in the service of the country."

Senator Kearns, of Utah, said: "His life is the ideal for which the youth of our country should strive. In his intercourse with men he was all that stands for sterling manhood, and he surrounded his home with a halo of purity and love."

Senator Blackburn, of Kentucky, said: "It is not more than just to say of him that at the end of his six or seven years of

public service he held in greater measure than any living American statesman, the confidence of all classes. He was a man of sufficient power and force to have made and left his impress upon any senate that this country has ever known."

Day upon day he grew in intellect, vigor and political strength, until he was the recognized leader of his party and a great senator. In reaching this eminence he never crawled an inch; he went there as the eagle goes to the mountain top. Dignified but not ostentatious; frank, but not blunt; reserved, but not austere; patient and laborious he conquered all conditions, surmounted all obstacles, and survived all vicissitudes. Each day added to the charm of his manner, the force of his eloquence, the completeness of his logic, and his grasp upon public affairs. He became the wonder of his colleagues, while he attracted the admiration of his countrymen.

As a citizen Mr. Hanna was in sympathy with all influences which tend to good citizenship. While he was keenly alive to merit the commendation of his fellow-citizens, his *duty to the state* was the dominating thought of his mind. He was sincere and courageous, and avoided the use of political art to secure his advancement. He walked among his people an able, modest, forceful man, worthy the confidence of his fellowmen. His fidelity and honesty of purpose will ever invite the attention of the student of his marvelous career.

Mr. Hanna was imbued with the genius of our institutions. His love of country was largely developed; his love of her institutions was still more so. He believed our form of government met the needs of mankind, and was permanent in its ability to develop human capabilities; that the principle degree was the foundation of genuine liberty; that it was the acme of human governmental intelligence.

He worshiped law and the Author of law. Mr. Hanna had unbounded faith in the people; he sought their education that they might be better able to comprehend the duties of citizenship and to more fully understand the responsibilities which it imposed upon them. His aim was their education in honesty, fidelity, self-respect, courage, devotion and patriotism, that thereby they would not only be able to detect the unwholesome

theories of the sophist, but the more dangerous methods of the demagogue, and courageously thwart their purposes.

Yesterday was the anniversary of the battle of Lexington and Concord; on that day the embattled farmers first fired the shot heard round the world, which marked the beginning of an armed conflict that was not to cease until a new state had been recognized among the family of nations—a state devoted to liberty and the rights of man. To-day we commemorate one who traced his descent from a brave soldier of that war, and who was himself in every fiber a patriot and a lover of his country, for Senator Hanna was an intensely patriotic American. He believed that Lexington and Bunker Hill were as heroic as Thermopylæ; that Yorktown had greater influence upon the progress of the world than Waterloo; that Sedan was far less significant than Gettysburg; that Magna Charta was not greater than the Declaration of Independence; that Washington and Lincoln and Garfield and Grant and McKinley were incomparably greater benefactors of the human race than Alexander and Cæsar and Napoleon.

He believed that the soldiers who followed Washington and Grant fought in causes holier than the Crusades and for principles as lasting as truth. He believed that the American flag stands to-day for the grandest story of progress in the history of the world and for the greatest recorded triumphs of civilization, for the highest intelligence and the loftiest purposes, for boundless opportunities, for the broadest liberty, personal, religious and political, for freedom, for justice, for education, for progress, for right and for righteousness; in short, that it stands for the best government among men.

He believed that in the record for past success rested the assurance of the future progress of his country, and that Lincoln at Gettysburg delivered an eternal prophecy when he declared that "*this Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.*"

My friends, these walls had scarcely ceased to echo the applause which greeted Senator Hanna's triumphant re-election to

the United States Senate, when there followed days of declining health and illness which did not at first alarm, but soon awakened fear of the final outcome. When he was stricken the people watched through saddened days and nights for news from his bedside, where hope and despair alternated in quick succession. In a conflict with disease which brought out the courage and determination and hopefulness of the patient, Senator Hanna met an adversary he could not conquer. At last the end came. His mighty heart ceased to beat. Millions were in tears; a Nation mourned.

The President and Cabinet, Ambassadors, judges of the Supreme Court, Senators, Congressmen, generals, admirals, governors of States, legislators, State officials, municipal officers and captains of industry attended his funeral services. Manufacture in his native State paused; commerce and transportation stood still; the busy hum of machinery and industry was hushed, the miner laid down his tools, labor in all callings ceased its work, and *all* men bowed their heads in memory of the man whose loss they mourned. The State had lost its first citizen, his party its acknowledged leader, the country a patriot and statesman.

And so he passed away in the fullness of his influence and his powers, in the full possession of his splendid faculties, in the midst of a public career which gave promise of even larger usefulness, secure also in the knowledge that he was known and honored by his country; that all misunderstanding and misconception had passed away; looked up to by one vast set of interests as its shield and by another as its sincere friend and true adviser.

We know not why our friend was taken away.

God's ways are not our ways.

His death made a vacancy which will remain unfilled.

He left the example of his life—a rich heritage.

The enduring love of his countrymen crowns his memory.

In closing I place this wreath from a dear friend upon his resting place:

As when some stately vessel sails away

Full-rigged and masted for the wind and tide

Beyond the curving confines of the day,
Where cloud walls rise, and unseen perils hide;

And when in silhouetted majesty
She stands, full many statures of a man,
Is seen her greatness and her symmetry —
Her wondrous adaptation for the plan;

Till she has crossed the bar of human sight,
Where blend the boundaries of sea and sky;
When all other craft seems small, and blight
Of insignificance aggrieves the eye.

So passed Mark Hanna to another world;
So sailed his spirit, mighty, staunch and true;
Well-built and ready, with each sail unfurled,
And with a world's best wishes for his crew.

With freight of kindly deeds, beyond a price;
Of patience and unselfish simple good;
Of charity, and willing sacrifice;
Of love that made for common brotherhood.

Would we could hear the greeting and acclaim
Upon the other shore! From dome to dome
Will ring the welcome to his honored name:
So loved by all: "Mark Hanna, Welcome Home!"

**NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,**

JUNE 3, 1904.

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Achæological and Historical Society was held in Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:30 P. M., June 3, 1904. The following members were present:

Judge J. H. Anderson, Columbus; Prof. M. R. Andrews, Marietta; Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; Hon. M. D. Follett, Marietta; Hon. M. S. Greenough, Cleveland; Col. John W. Harper, Cincinnati; Mrs. George Hopper, Columbus; Mr. W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe; Rev. I. F. King, Columbus; Rev. N. B. C. Love, Deshler; Prof. J. P. McLean, Franklin; Mr. F. H. McDonough, Delaware; Prof. C. L. Martzoff, New Lexington; Prof. Wm. C. Mills, Columbus; Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield; Prof. E. O. Randall, Columbus; Dr. J. C. Reeve, Dayton; Hon. S. S. Rickly, Columbus; Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus.

Letters of regret because of inability to attend the meeting were received from trustees, Prof. G. F. Wright, Oberlin; Rev. H. A. Thompson, Dayton; and Hon. Rush R. Sloane, Sandusky.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff. The secretary being called upon for the minutes of the last annual meeting held June 5, 1903, simply referred to the minutes of that meeting as published in Vol. 12, pp. 187 to 218, inclusive. The secretary then made his annual report, which was as follows:

REPORT OF SECRETARY RANDALL.

Publications.

In September, 1903, the society issued the Centennial Volume, containing the speeches and proceedings at Chillicothe, Wednesday and Thursday, May 20 and 21, 1903. Fifteen hundred copies of this book were issued. Twenty copies were furn

ished to each member of the Centennial Commission — 18 in number; six copies each to the trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society who were not members of the Executive Committee; two copies each to the speakers at the Centennial; one copy each to the members of the Local Centennial Committee at Chillicothe; one copy each to the members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society; and one copy each to the members of the 75th and 76th general assemblies. Several additional copies were given to prominent state officials, leading newspapers, and parties who seemed entitled to a copy. Very few copies have been sold. There now remain on hand about 200 copies.

The total expense of the proceedings at Chillicothe, including the publication of the Centennial School Syllabus, was \$6,449.12, and the expense of the publication of the Centennial Volume amounted in toto to \$2,866.09, including the cost of plates for future issues, making a total expenditure in connection with the Centennial of \$9,315.21. As the appropriation of the 75th General Assembly for the purpose in question was \$10,000, that left a balance of \$684.79 still to the credit of the society, which may be used for additional issues of the Centennial Volume.

The society is indirectly responsible for the issue of a work on Clark's Conquest of the Illinois Country, written by Consul Wilshire Butterfield, which appeared about February first. This is a book of 850 pages, published by Mr. Fred J. Heer, printer, under the auspices of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, but with the understanding that the society is not responsible for the expense of the issue. The society does not control its sale or distribution. That is directed solely by Mr. Heer.

In December, 1903, the society issued in book form Volume 12 of its annual publications, comprising the four quarterlies, viz.: those for January, April, July and October of that year. There have also been published thus far in 1904 the Quarterlies for January and April, which speak for themselves. These Quarterlies have had an unusually wide circulation owing to the fact that the appropriation by the legislature (76th) last April gave us a sufficient amount for our annual publications to permit us to send these Quarterlies as each one is issued to the leading

newspapers of the state. The secretary made out a list of 350 leading Ohio papers, including all the counties, and to those papers copies of the April Quarterly were sent with a circular letter asking the papers to make such notice as they desired, and stating that if the publication met their approval, the Quarterlies would probably be sent them hereafter.

Meeting of the Executive Committee.

Since the annual meeting of the society on June 5, 1903, the Executive Committee met — June 30, in the rooms of the society, Page Hall, O. S. U.; September 3, 1903, at the office of the secretary in the Judiciary Building; November 17, 1903, there was held in the society's rooms, Page Hall, a special meeting of the entire Board of Trustees; December 11, 1903, the Executive Committee held a meeting in the Reference Room of the Columbus Public Library; February 29, 1904, in the Columbus Public Library there was held a meeting of the Executive Committee. The meetings of the Executive Committee the past year have been more irregular and infrequent than usual because there was really no necessity for other meetings. After the legislature was in session there was little for the society to do but bide its time awaiting the result of the appropriation bills. The proceedings of these several meetings of the Executive Committee as noted above, will be found in the editorial department of the January and April Quarterlies, the reports there stating who was present, and relating the matters considered and the actions taken.

Permanent Building Project.

Nothing new is to be said concerning the building project, except that it was discussed in the meeting of the entire board held on November 17, 1903, and then referred to the Executive Committee, which duly considered the matter in its meeting February 29, 1904, then deciding it would not be wise at that time to press the matter before the legislature, but defer it until a later and more promising date. The secretary wishes to add that he held consultations upon this subject with President Thompson, of the Ohio State University, Governor Herrick, and Chairman

Crafts, of the ~~new House Finance Com~~ House Finance Committee, and Chairman Harris, of the Senate Finance Committee, as well as many individual members of both Finance Committees. The general opinion was that it would be useless to ask for an appropriation for this purpose, and the usual advice was that it would be unwise to press the matter, because as it would fail, a failure now might militate against a later and stronger effort. The legislature the past winter was overwhelmed with demands for money by every department of the state, and the society did well to ask nothing more than what was really required for the continuation of its work. The only feasible project at present, was the proposition to ask for an appropriation to erect a building on the University grounds, and as the University was asking for much larger sums than usual, it was thought that what we might request would be more or less charged to the University, and therefore we would suffer in being associated with their appropriations.

Serpent Mound.

At the Executive Committee meeting September 3, 1903, the secretary was authorized to renew the contract with Mr. Daniel Wallace as custodian of Serpent Mound for two years from September 1, 1903, on the terms of the previous contracts with him. That contract the secretary duly made. He was also directed to terminate on October 1, 1903, the privilege hitherto existing of permitting Mr. George W. Seaman, of West Union, to have right of way from his land east of the park through the same to the pike running north and southwest of Serpent Mound Park. The secretary had carried out the direction of the trustees, and their decision in this respect had been enforced. The gate leading from Mr. Seaman's property into the Park is permanently closed, and Mr. Seaman has since made an outlet from his farm around the Park to the highway without encroaching upon the property of the society. Reports from Mr. Wallace are made every month, and everything seems to be in excellent condition at that point.

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Fort Ancient.

The Committee on Fort Ancient will make such report as they desire. Mr. Warren Cowan, the custodian, visited the secretary April 6th and made an extended report of the situation at that time, which report was perfectly satisfactory.

Work of the Secretary.

On December 29, in accordance with the permission of the Executive Committee, the secretary attended, as the representative of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, the nineteenth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at New Orleans, from December 29, 1903, to and including January 1, 1904. It was an event of the most intense interest to the secretary and well worth his attendance, not only personally as a member of the national association, but as the representative of our state society. The question is being informally considered of establishing a department or branch of the American Historical Association, to consist of the State Historical Societies. Such department may be created at the next annual meeting of the association to be held in Chicago, and in this movement the secretary in behalf of the society, is taking much interest and carrying on some correspondence.

During the convening of the State Legislature from January 4 to April 25 (1904), the secretary was obliged to devote much time in looking after the interests of the society. The demands made upon the assembly were unusually excessive by the different departments, and greater vigilance than ever was needed to secure what was asked for by the society. The secretary appeared several times before meetings of the Finance Committees of the House and Senate and had innumerable conferences with either members of the Finance Committees or with leading members of the House and Senate. There were many new members who were unacquainted with the workings or even existence of our society who had to be informed and made conversant with our objects and achievements. The result of the secretary's efforts appears in the final result of the appropriations, as noted elsewhere in this report.

The ~~correspondence of the~~ secretary has rapidly increased the last year or two, and has now reached almost burdensome proportions. The Quarterly has reached an enviable standing in the field of historical literature, and has become well known throughout the state and to historical students all over the country. The editor is in daily receipt of letters from various students, scholars and writers in regard to it, and valuable articles are being received sufficient to furnish material for four or five times the space allotted to the Quarterly.

St. Louis Exposition.

It will be recalled that the 75th general assembly in its appropriation bill May 12, 1902, gave the society the sum of \$2,500 for the purpose of making an exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition. That money is now being expended, and as all know the Exposition is in full operation. Prof. W. C. Mills, our curator, prepared the exhibit and transported it to St. Louis where it is now on exhibition. Curator Mills will make full report of this matter, which report will appear elsewhere in this publication.

Death of Members of the Society.

Since the last annual meeting of the Society, the Great Reaper has taken an unusually large number from our membership. General George B. Wright, trustee and life member, died in Columbus September 11, 1903; Hon. A. R. McIntire, trustee and life member, died September 21, 1903, near Jewelsburg, Colorado; Hon. Wm. T. McClintick, life member, died at Chillicothe, October 28, 1903; Hon. Harwood R. Pool, life member, died in New York December 13, 1903; Mr. Augustus Newton Whiting, life member, died at Columbus, December 22, 1903; Governor Charles Foster, life member, died at Springfield, January 9, 1904; Governor Asa S. Bushnell, life member, died at Columbus, Ohio, January 15, 1904; Senator Marcus A. Hanna, life member, died at Washington, D. C., February 15, 1904. Memorial notices have already appeared in the society's quarterly of General Wright, Mr. McIntire, Mr. McClintick and Governor Bushnell. Fitting notices of the other deceased members will appear in later numbers.

www.lib.unt.edu Additional Life Members.

Since the last annual meeting there have been received into life membership of the society the following persons: Mr. Vause Harness of Chillicothe, Mrs. Jesse M. Davis of Columbus, Mr. Osman C. Hooper of Columbus, The Shaker Society of Union Village, Ohio, The Library of Boston Atheneum, Boston, Mass., Miss Lucy Elliot Keeler, Fremont, Mr. B. F. Smith, Nevada, Ohio, Mr. Lewis P. Schaus, Newark, Mr. Walter C. Metz, Newark, and Major Harry P. Ward, Columbus.

Appropriations.

At the meeting of the entire board of trustees on November 17, 1903, the trustees approved the request for the following appropriations from the 76th general assembly:

Requested for 1904 —

Current expenses	\$2,700 00
Field work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound.....	2,000 00
Publications	2,800 00
	\$7,500 00

Requested for 1905 —

Current expenses	\$2,700 00
Field work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound.....	2,000 00
Publications	2,800 00
	\$7,500 00

Total asked (1904-5).....	\$15,000 00

These amounts were presented by the secretary to the finance committee of the house and the items requested for 1904 were duly incorporated in the first appropriation bill and the items for 1905 in the second appropriation bill. Hon. Isaac E. Huffman of Oxford, Butler county, introduced a resolution in the House calling for an appropriation of \$7,500 to reprint the volume of the Ohio Centennial proceedings for the purpose of supplying each member of the 76th general assembly with 100 copies. This resolution passed the House unanimously, went to the Senate, and was there referred to the Senate finance committee. Hon. D. E. Yost, of Woodsfield, Monroe county, introduced a resolution call-

ing for the appropriation of \$15,000 for the reprinting of twenty complete sets of the society's annuals for each member of the 76th general assembly. This resolution also, without opposition, passed the House, and went to the Senate, and was also referred to the Senate finance committee, which after due deliberation and conference with the secretary, approved the appropriation for the centennial volume, but reduced the appropriation for the republication of the annual series to one-half, making it \$7,500 for ten complete sets for each member. In that shape then the items finally passed both branches of the legislature and became a law. Governor Herrick, who is the first Governor to exercise the right of veto, found however that the aggregate appropriations made by the legislature for all purposes was in excess of the expected resources of the state treasury for the next two years, and therefore found it necessary to veto items in the appropriation bills to the extent of some \$500,000. Feeling that the State Archæological and Historical Society ought to stand its share of the trimming, he cut out the item in the first bill calling for \$7,500 for the reprinting of the centennial volume, leaving all the items asked by the society intact, and also the item of \$7,500 asked by the legislature for the purpose of giving ten sets each to the members of the legislature. So that the aggregate appropriations from the 76th general assembly for the society are \$22,500.

In all this matter the secretary wishes to give expression of his appreciation for the friendliness and courteous assistance of Governor Herrick, State Auditor W. D. Guilbert, Hon. Wm. H. Crafts, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the House, and Hon. W. S. Harris, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate.

Governor's Appointments.

On March 25, 1904, Governor Herrick appointed the Hon. M. S. Greenough, of Cleveland, Ohio, trustee of the society, to serve for three years, until February, 1907, to succeed the Hon. R. E. Hills, of Delaware, whose time expired at that date. The Governor also appointed as trustee for the same time Prof. Martin R. Andrews, of Marietta, to succeed himself, he having been appointed by Governor Nash on November 17, 1903, to fill out the vacancy caused by the death of General Geo. B. Wright.

REPORT OF CURATOR MILLS.
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During the past year the field work consisted of examining the village site which surrounded the Gartner Mound, which latter was explored in 1902. A complete account of these explorations is found in the society's quarterly for April, 1904, and will be published in volume 13. The latter part of the season of 1903 was spent in exhuming the large Harness mound not far from Chillicothe. The mound had heretofore been examined by Squire and Davis, Prof. Putnam, of Harvard, and others. About one-third of the exploration has been completed, and upwards of 70 cremated skeletons were removed with many artifacts of copper, shell, pearl and bone, including a fine piece of bone and several gorgets made of human jaws. The success thus far in the exploration of this mound warrants a further and complete examination, which it is hoped the society may continue in the near future.

During the past winter a large part of our labor has been expended in preparing the archæological exhibit of our society for the World's Fair at St. Louis. The specimens selected were shipped March 19th (1904) and arrived in St. Louis on the 25th. The curator personally superintended the unloading and installing of the exhibit which was ready for the inspection of visitors on the 30th of April. This exhibit with that of Egypt were the only exhibits ready in the department of anthropology upon the opening day of the exhibition. The exhibit at St. Louis is confined mostly to the society's field explorations showing the actual work done in the field. The exhibit comprises 13 floor cases and 2 wall cases. The exhibit also contains drawings of Ft. Ancient and Serpent Mound and enlarged photographs of the same. Also photographs illustrating the field work as carried on by the society at different locations.

During the past year many valuable specimens have been added to the museum, while the field work has brought to us several thousand specimens. We wish to acknowledge donations of rare, valuable and interesting archæological specimens of various kinds from Mr. Geo. F. Bareis, of Canal Winchester, Mr. G. N. VanHorn, of Findlay, and Mr. Geo. F. Crawford, of Columbus,

the latter presenting the society with a number of prehistoric specimens from the city of Oaxaca, Mexico. Mr. Wm. Stout, of Sciotoville, placed us in possession of an interesting collection of agricultural implements made of compact ferruginous sandstone peculiar to that locality. A number of historic specimens have been added to the museum during the year. Prof. J. P. MacLean, of Franklin, presented us with many articles of apparel and domestic life and labor from the Shaker Society. A complete list of these is given in the January quarterly (1904) of the society publications. Mr. A. K. Overturf, of 289 Seventh St., Columbus, has placed in the museum a very fine specimen of Sioux Indian saddle. Other contributions are acknowledged from Mr. Diltz, of Thornville, Mr. Almer Hegler, of Washington C. H., and Mr. Davies of 40 W. Tenth Ave., Columbus, Ohio. Mr. Davies, the inventor of the pilot, has presented the society with a small railroad engine, which is a masterpiece of mechanical work, being produced about 1868 and representing an outlay of some \$5,000. Mr. Davies presented the society a year ago with a model of the first pilot made for an engine, and from which all pilots used on the engines of to-day are patterned.

Particular attention is called to the growth the past year of our library. The present number of books catalogued is 2,230, in addition to which we have 511 bound volumes and more than 500 pamphlets uncatalogued, besides several hundred duplicate bound volumes which we use for purposes of exchange. At the present time we exchange publications with 143 historical and scientific societies. Prof. J. F. MacLean has presented many valuable publications by and concerning the Shakers. Prof. Randall, the secretary, has been instrumental in our procuring a number of rare and important works concerning the Indians of Ohio. Mr. Fred Heer has contributed many valuable volumes. A complete list of these contributions will in due time be published in the Quarterly. In conclusion the curator wishes to thank the officers and trustees for the interest they have taken in the archaeological department of the society and especially in the museum and library.

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The report of the treasurer, Mr. S. S. Rickly, was presented by Mr. E. F. Wood, assistant treasurer, and was as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand February 1, 1903.....	\$939 70
Life membership dues	175 00
Active membership dues	96 00
Subscriptions	12 00
Interest	103 00
Books sold	145 00
From State Treasurer —	
Current expenses	2,999 52
Field work, Ft. Ancient and Serpent Mound.....	2,425 99
Louisiana Purchase Exposition	248 76
Ohio Centennial Celebration (in part).....	3,252 46
Publications	2,000 00
Reprinting Vols. 1-10 (balance)	1,000 00
Total receipts	<u>\$13,398 98</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

Ohio Centennial Celebration (in part).....	\$3,252 46
Publications	2,030 65
Reprinting Vols. 1-10 (balance)	1,000 00
Care of Ft. Ancient	454 01
Field work	752 97
Fire insurance	99 00
Postage	136 17
Express and drayage	136 29
Expenses of committee and trustees	529 17
Salaries of officers (3).....	1,800 00
Office expenses	100 00
Louisiana Exposition	248 76
Care of Serpent Mound.....	619 01
Museum and Library	665 60
Job printing	42 25
Sundry expenses	53 17
To permanent fund	424 70
Balance on hand February 1, 1904.....	1,005 90
Total disbursements	<u>\$13,398 98</u>

The permanent fund now amounts to \$3,770.00.

www.libto.org ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

Following the reports of the officers was held the election of the five trustees for the ensuing three years. The secretary announced that those whose time matured at this annual meeting were: General R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; Hon. M. D. Follett, Marietta; Hon. D. J. Ryan, Columbus; Rev. H. A. Thompson, Dayton; Mr. Wm. H. Hunter, Chillicothe. Upon motion, which was seconded and carried, the secretary cast the ballot of the society for the same gentlemen for re-election to serve as trustees for the ensuing three years, ending with the annual meeting in the year 1907. The board of trustees therefore now stands:

ELECTED BY THE SOCIETY.

Term expires in 1905.

Prof. G. Fred Wright.....	Oberlin.
Col. James Kilbourne.....	Columbus.
Prof. J. P. MacLean.....	Franklin.
Prof. C. L. Martzolf.....	New Lexington.
Judge J. H. Anderson.....	Columbus.

Term expires in 1906.

J. Warren Keifer	Springfield.
Bishop B. W. Arnett.....	Wilberforce.
Hon. S. S. Rickly.....	Columbus.
Mr. G. F. Bareis.....	Canal Winchester.
Hon. Rush R. Sloane.....	Sandusky.

Term expires in 1907.

General R. Brinkerhoff.....	Mansfield.
Hon. M. D. Follett.....	Marietta.
Hon. D. J. Ryan.....	Columbus.
Rev. H. A. Thompson.....	Dayton.
Mr. W. H. Hunter.....	Chillicothe.

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

Prof. B. F. Prince.....	Springfield, 1905.
Prof. E. O. Randall.....	Columbus, 1905.
Rev. N. B. C. Love.....	Deshler, 1906.
Col. J. W. Harper.....	Cincinnati, 1906.
Hon. M. S. Greenough.....	Cleveland, 1907.
Prof. M. R. Andrews.....	Marietta, 1907.

www.libtexas.com.cn GRADED WAY IN PIKE COUNTY.

Prof. MacLean called attention to the fact that at the last annual meeting the trustees voted to have the executive committee appoint a committee of five to investigate the nature of the work known as the Graded Way in Pike county. He would like to hear a report on that matter. Mr. Bareis reported that the matter was considered, but it was found that such an investigation would cost more than the executive committee felt should be expended for that purpose, as the resolution calling for the committee stipulated that it should consist of a geologist, an archæologist and a topographical engineer of repute. After some discussion it was voted that an investigation should be made at the instance of the executive committee at an expense not to exceed fifty dollars.

ROYALIST REFUGEES.

Prof. MacLean called the attention of the meeting to the article by Col. E. L. Taylor in the last July Quarterly upon the subject of the Refugees to and from Canada. He stated that this article on the American Loyalists treated upon an exceedingly interesting and important subject greatly neglected by historical writers. He thought that the society should request Col. Taylor to prepare an extended paper on the subject of the Revolutionary Patriots throughout the country. The speaker was reminded that the purposes of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society were confined to the study of subjects pertinent exclusively or practically so to Ohio. To which it was replied that Col. Taylor might confine himself to Ohio in this matter and Ohio archives could thus be gathered on this subject, as had been done in many of the other states.

REMARKS OF HON. M. S. GREENOUGH.

The Hon. M. S. Greenough, the new trustee appointed by the Governor was called upon by president Brinkerhoff to address the members of the society. Mr. Greenough fittingly expressed his pleasure upon being appointed a trustee of the society,

and upon the opportunity it afforded him of making the acquaintance of the gentlemen who are interested in the archæology and history of our great state. He facetiously remarked that he assumed the office with the feeling that it would be his main duty to keep still and thus conceal from his fellow members how little he knew about Ohio archæology, but he feared that they had already discovered the deception. However, he was willing to learn and should be glad to be of service in furthering the purposes of the society, especially in extending its interests in the northern part of the state.

REMARKS OF DR. J. C. REEVE.

Dr. J. C. Reeve, upon being called upon, said he had been a resident of the state of Ohio for many years, having come to the Buckeye State in the year 1832. He spoke interestingly of the wonderful changes which have taken place in Ohio since that date, particularly in some of the cities such as Cleveland, Columbus and Dayton. He could easily remember Columbus as it was in the year 1846, when he went from it to Cleveland in a stage coach, leaving Columbus in the morning, riding all day and all night, and all the next day before reaching his destination. In the near future time he would take pleasure in preparing for the society some of his personal reminiscences of the early days when railroads were almost unknown and the telegraph and telephone were not regarded as possible.

BOOK PLATE FROM MRS. RATH MERRILL.

The secretary read a letter from Mrs. Rath Merrill asking the society to accept a vellum autograph proof copy of the Ohio Memorial Alcove Gift Plate, for the library of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Also a key and a copy of the plates now in Manila in use in the books of the Ohio alcove of the library of that city in the far Philippine Islands. The vellum plate was handsomely framed, and a vote of thanks was given Mrs. Rath Merrill for the courtesy of her gift.

Prof. MacLean presented to the society a genuine beaver hat worn by one of the Shakers at the Sabbath Day League

Cumberland in the early times when those broad-brimmed felt hats were the custom.

There being no further business before the meeting of the society, it adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

Following the annual meeting of the society was held the annual meeting of the trustees of whom there were present: Judge J. H. Anderson, Geo. F. Bareis, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Hon. M. D. Follett, Hon. M. S. Greenough, Col. John W. Harper, W. H. Hunter, Rev. N. B. C. Love, Prof. J. P. MacLean, Prof. C. L. Martzloff, Prof. B. F. Prince, Prof. E. O. Randall, Hon. S. S. Rickly.

Prof. Randall acted as temporary secretary and Mr. Geo. F. Bareis as temporary chairman. The election of the various officers of the society for the ensuing year was then held. The result is as follows: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, president; Mr. Geo. F. Bareis, 1st vice-president; Prof. G. F. Wright, 2d vice-president; Mr. E. O. Randall, secretary and editor; Hon. S. S. Rickly, treasurer; Mr. Edwin F. Wood, assistant treasurer; Prof. W. C. Mills, curator and librarian. The following were selected as members of the executive committee, including the officers of the society who are ex-officio members. Mr. Geo. F. Bareis, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Hon. M. S. Greenough, Col. J. W. Harper, Prof. C. L. Martzloff, Prof. B. F. Prince, Prof. E. O. Randall, Hon. D. J. Ryan, and Prof. G. F. Wright.

General Brinkerhoff acknowledged the compliment of being re-elected president, expressing his unflagging interest in the society, and his desire to be more zealous in its behalf the coming year than ever before. While the years of his life were rolling by, he felt as young and vigorous as ever, and hoped to be of no less service to the society in the future than he had been in the past. He would like to bring to the thoughtful attention of the trustees of the society the suggestion that our state society ought to be brought into closer touch with the county historical societies existing throughout the state. Many of them were flourishing and could be of great assistance to us, and we could

be of assistance to them. Some of them were weak and ineffective and help from us might lift them to better things. He spoke particularly of the Richland county Historical Society and the Crawford County Historical Society. He thought the secretary ought to get into communication with all these various societies and carry on an interchange of ideas and plans of work and purposes. This idea was heartily approved by several of the trustees, particularly Colonel Harper, who spoke of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati. Prof. Prince spoke in favor of the Historical Society of Clark County, which he said had been in existence some six or seven years and is about to go into quarters in the new County Building. The society has now a fine collection. Rev. Mr. Love also commented at some length upon the two societies existing in the northern part of the state, one being the Monumental Pioneer Society of the Maumee and another the Maumee Memorial Association. During the past year this latter society has bought a portion of Fort Meigs. Mr. Love concluded his remarks by moving the following resolution. "Resolved that the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society is in hearty sympathy with the county and local societies of the State and asks for their co-operation, and that the secretary of the State Society be authorized and requested to communicate with the several local societies to this effect." This motion was heartily approved and adopted. The secretary in a few earnest words exhorted the trustees to exert themselves in the matter of securing new life members for the society. There are 21 trustees, said he, and if each trustee secured but five members during the year that would mean more than 100 new members to our society. Certainly every trustee could easily secure among his friends or acquaintances of those interested in historical work that contingent of recruits.

Prof. Martzolf thought one of the most influential avenues of work for the society was through the teachers and children of the public schools. He had unbounded faith in the children, and believed that through the boys and girls in the high schools especially great interest could be acquired in the history of our great state. The teachers are becoming more and more acquainted with the work of our society, especially through the publica-

tions of the society which are being distributed among the various school libraries of the state. Still much more could be accomplished along this line particularly in advice and suggestions to the members of the legislature who have our publications at their disposal. He also thought that the trustees ought to do missionary work in the way of visiting the smaller towns and delivering addresses to the literary societies and the school children telling them about our society and the work it is doing.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

A meeting of the executive committee was held immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the board of trustees. Those present were: Messrs. G. F. Bareis, R. Brinkerhoff, John W. Harper, W. H. Hunter, C. L. Martzloff, B. F. Prince, E. O. Randall, S. S. Rickly, and Messers. W. C. Mills and E. F. Wood.

The meeting was very brief, the proceedings being confined exclusively to mere routine business.

AUGUSTUS NEWTON WHITING.

FRANK THEODORE COLE.

Mr. Whiting was of the Massachusetts family of that name, his grandfather's home being in Westford, near Lowell. Only two children of this grandfather, William Whiting, had families. These were Augustus Whiting who married a daughter of Judge Gustavus Swan, of Columbus, O., and lived in New York City, and Isaac Newton Whiting, who was a book-seller and publisher in Columbus for many years. He married September 7, 1835, Orrel, daughter of Col. James Kilbourne, of Worthington, O. Their only child was Augustus Newton Whiting, born September 30, 1836, died December 22, 1903. He married May 11, 1864, Ellen H., daughter of Ezra and Harriet (Hart) Gilbert, of Worthington.



A. N. WHITING.

Mr. Whiting was prepared for college first at the academy in Cheshire, Conn., and later at the school in Burlington, N. J., of which Bishop George W. Doane was head. Among his papers is a curious old certificate, as follows:

"This is to certify that A. Newton Whiting of the IV Form has taken the first honor in his class for the winter term, 1854-55; that he has satisfactorily sustained his examinations; and that his conduct mark has averaged ten.

GEO. W. DOANE, *President*.

Burlington College, May 23, 1855."

He entered Kenyon College, at Gambier, O., where he graduated in 1860. While in college he was a member of the Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity.

After leaving college he entered into partnership in Cleveland, O., with his cousin, Levi Buttle, in the oil business, under the firm name of Buttle & Whiting, owning their own refinery and continuing in business some three years, when he returned to Columbus.

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In 1864 he entered into the oil business in Columbus with P. Rhoades, under the firm name of P. Rhoades & Co. This firm continued in business until they sold to the Standard Oil Company, having for some years been under a working agreement with the trust. During the period of this working agreement Mr. Whiting withdrew from the business, at some sacrifice, because of his unwillingness to profit by the methods employed by the trust.

Mr. Whiting was devoted to the Episcopal Church, spending freely of his time and strength in its interests. He was a vestryman of Trinity Church, junior warden and chairman of the Finance Committee for many years. He succeeded his father as Treasurer of the Diocese of Southern Ohio, the two between them holding the office for forty-three and a half years. He was a member of the Diocesan Missionary Committee, and a delegate to the General Convention which met in San Francisco, Cal., in 1901. But his chief work was in the founding of mission churches and the cherishing of them until they became self-sustaining organizations.

Mr. and Mrs. Whiting took charge of the North Mission of Trinity Church on May 23, 1869, the school being then located in a small frame building on the rear of the lot corner of High and Naghten streets. Between that date and Easter, 1870, the school nearly doubled and outgrew its quarters. Lots on the corner of Russell and Kerr streets were bought and a chapel erected, the name, Church of the Good Shepherd, adopted and the church opened on October 8, 1871.

He could not sit down in quiet. When a number of colored men desired his aid and guidance in the formation of an Episcopal Church for colored people he with his wife responded to the call, and a school was started at the corner of Naghten street and Cleveland avenue, which in due time grew into the present St. Philip's Church on Lexington avenue. Mr. Whiting was the treasurer of this enterprise from the beginning and the chief counsellor and helper, and here he spent twelve years of faithful labor.

The rector of Trinity Church, the Rev. J. W. Atwood, in a memorial sermon on January 3, 1904, said:

"He loved his church and its services. He was always in his place there and it was his home. He did not care to be conspicuous. What he most sought after was to be useful. He wanted the work done and did not care for any personal recognition of his own share in it. I think what made his service of most value was this fact.

"So it came about that he was ready to respond to every demand made upon his time. His colleagues in the vestry know, as chairman of the Finance Committee, he did not spare himself in the work of developing our resources to meet the expansion of our work.

"His works will still follow him in the noble bequests that will eventually come to this parish and to other missionary endeavors for the betterment of mankind.

"No one knows better than his rector the faithfulness of this man in all his varied relations to the church. Faithfulness was the keynote to all his character. If we define the faithful man according to the definition implied in the text, then Mr. Whiting was a man of the fullest faith. He had faith in God, faith in his Savior, faith in his Church, faith in his fellow-men.

* * * "In spite of an almost over-conscientious habit of weighing things, he yet believed in progress and gave his hearty sympathy and support to new undertakings that he thought would develop the church's work. But there was no constitutional timidity which made him hesitate at any time to stand forth in the expression of any belief or line of right conduct. What he believed was God's law of righteousness he followed. There could be no following another here. He was firm and insistent, though never forgetting the law of charity. Possibly because he was more gentle than aggressive, he sometimes reached and influenced men different in character from himself, who would not have been shaken from their stubbornness by more aggressive men."

Mr. Whiting had the careful habit of keeping all the various accounts of which he was trustee or treasurer up to date, and he never went to bed at night until they balanced.

Children were denied to him, and he provided for the future disposition of his property after his wife's use of it, with the objects in mind to which he had devoted so much of his life.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XIII. No. 3.

E. O. Randall

JULY, 1904

EXHIBIT AT ST. LOUIS.

Few exhibits in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis attract more interest than that of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, excellently located in the Anthropological Building. The Society is certainly to be congratulated upon the success of its exhibit and the commendations it has received from archaeological students and scholars who visit it and give it patient attention. There is no presentation of the remains of the Mound Builders and pre-historic men at the Exposition more complete or admirably displayed, and leading archaeologists from all parts of the world who have seen it pay high compliment to Mr. Mills, the curator, for the work he has done and the skillful and artistic manner in which he has arranged the exhibit. We quote from one of the St. Louis papers of late date a readable interview by the reporter with Professor Mills. It is as follows:

PREHISTORIC SCULPTURE.

"Now that," declared William C. Mills, "is a great work of art." Since George Williamson held the same opinion, and since the one gentleman is a leading archaeologist of Ohio and the other of a similar position in Louisiana, the matter is worth pondering.

"That," is a small clay effigy which rests serenely upon its back, the principal treasure in the large archaeological or anthropological collection of Ohio in the Anthropology building. It was dug out of an Ohio mound and was modeled by some mound-builder countless centuries ago.

The image is about 8 inches long, dirty brown in color, speckled with black spots. The arms parallel the body, the legs are extremely conventional, while the attitude would be very uncomfortable if attempted, being that of a man trying to rest his weight upon shoulder blades, the groin and heels, with the head, held up stiffly from the ground. The features are grotesque and the expression at the lips approaches an absurd grin.

You remark that, whatever of scientific interest the relic may possess, it does not appeal to you as a work of art.

"But, undoubtedly it is," declared Mr. Mills, with some heat. "It should rank with the finest sculpture to be found in the Palace of Fine Arts. Representing the art endeavor of a prehistoric people, it is as much art, and more so than the grotesqueries of medieval times. To the people who made it, it was so wonderful that they doubtless worshiped it.

"It is a faithful picture, too—a picture carrying with it many suggestions of the antiquity of the human race, and a constant reminder of the strange people who lived on this continent before even the American Indian."

Under the spell of such argument one becomes more and more attracted by the effigy's grinning countenance. You lean over the case and look upon it until the inane features are so impressed upon you that they continue to stare you in the face long after leaving. The fact is that this most extraordinary phiz so pursues you that likely enough it will become a decorative incident in your dreams.

A stay in these archaeological precincts introduces one to countless stone arrowheads, axes, spears, awls, beads, shell ornaments, bones and bone implements, and potteries. What use or instructive value has it all to the average citizen, whose capacities are exhausted with affairs of the day? Messrs. Mills and Williamson both seem to regard such a query as proper to a kind of antediluvian intelligence, akin to the stone age, but they answered exhaustively.

"You have heard," began Mr. Mills, "that the 'proper study of mankind is man?'"

"Certainly," you reply, "but I contest the proposition. I hold that the proper study of mankind is woman."

"You do indicate one tremendous enigma," put in Mr. Williamson, "possibly of considerable study. But, then, seriously, our old relics, dug up at much expense of time and money, really are worth something to the casual visitor who may stray in here. They are suggestive of many ideas concerning the development of the human race from the primitive state, and, in the simple fact of their crudeness, these old tools aid toward forming conceptions of life and progress. To see them enriches the mind."

"Yes, yes," you reply, "but does not practically everybody realize anyhow that at one time there was a stone age and primitive peoples?"

"Vaguely, perhaps," continued Mr. Mills, "but is it not worth while to know things just for the pleasure of knowing them. You might as well say that knowing of George Washington is no use because he's a long time dead. It becomes at least mightily interesting when, at prehistoric times, intercourse is proved between Ohio and the Atlantic Coast, Ohio and the copper mines of Michigan, between Louisiana and Missouri and between Ohio and Louisiana and Missouri and the advanced race which populated and left such amazing architectural remains in Mexico.

"All of this and much more is told by this collection made by the Ohio Historical Society. These copper articles did not come out of Ohio; these shells are from the seacoast. And these bones; they are of a domesticated dog, and by the bones of this dog, we trace a movement from the North and Northeast toward the South and Southeast. So we begin to follow a people and learn something of their habits and character who lived long before written records became a fact."

The expression, "Indian corn," has gone into the books as descrip-

tive of the cereal native to the American Continent. But one of the most interesting of the displays brought here by Mr. Mills clearly proves that these mound builders, a race very different from the Indian, grew this corn before the Indian drove them South.

"It had been a question," said the Ohio man, "whether the mound builders were agriculturists. Now, see these charred remains of grain. They were dug from an old village site adjacent to one of the principal Ohio mounds.

"Exploration of this site discovered that its original people lived as clans, each family or clan residing in a distinct portion of the village. Each year they prepared a storehouse, which was nothing more than a hole in the ground, lined at the bottom with stones and straw. Here they placed their grain, their winter food supply, in the fall. Evidently fire must have gotten into the pit where we found the burned grain. The pit must then have been abandoned. The grain then smoldered until the blaze finally went out. The hole was covered up and remained undisturbed until we came along with our spades—goodness only knows how many years after.

"They probably dug a new storehouse or food pit every year, for the indications are that in the spring the hole was used for refuse. We even find the bones of infants in them, which would tend to prove that these primitive parents did not attach consequences enough to the dead child to accord it a formal burial. With these human remains are many skeletons of the dogs I mentioned, and of the bones of wild animals, which probably had been killed and eaten during the winter months.

"In that connection, the bones of the Virginia deer are most numerous, which shows that they had means of killing the animal and had the good taste which loves a venison steak."

ANNUAL MEETING OHIO STATE SOCIETY S. A. R.

On April 19, date of the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, the Ohio Society of the Sons of the American Revolution held its annual meeting at the Great Southern Hotel, Columbus. There was a goodly representation of membership from various parts of the state. At the formal meeting in the afternoon, the annual address was delivered by the retiring President, Col. James Kilbourne, and reports were heard from the various officers. The report of Col. W. L. Curry, Registrar of the Society, showed a total membership in the Ohio Society of 707, being an increase of forty-two during the past year, while the deaths in the Society were twelve. The officers elected for the ensuing year were as follow:

President, Isaac F. Mack, Sandusky. Vice-President, Wm. H. Hunter, Chillicothe. Secretary William A. Taylor, Columbus. Registrar, William L. Curry, Columbus. Treasurer, Stimpson G. Harvey, Toledo. His-

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 torian, George H. Twiss, Columbus. Chaplain, Julius W. Atwood, Columbus. Vice-Presidents ex-officio: Orlando J. Hodge, President Western Reserve Chapter, Cleveland; Dr. E. D. Gardner, President Anthony Wayne Chapter, Toledo; E. P. Whallon, President Cincinnati Chapter, Cincinnati; Wm. A. Taylor, President Benjamin Franklin Chapter, Columbus; Chas. C. Shearer, President Nathaniel Greene Chapter Xenia; Robert M. Davidson, President George Washington Chapter, Newark; Disney Rogers, President Nathan Hale Chapter, Youngstown. Board of Management: O. W. Aldrich, Columbus; James H. Anderson, Columbus; Charles O. Probst, Columbus; Thomas M. Anderson, Sandusky; John W. Harper, Cincinnati; Moulton Houk, Toledo; James H. Hayward, Columbus; and the officers of the Society ex-officio.

Delegates to the National meeting to be held in St. Louis were elected as follows: Emilius O. Randall, delegate at large, Columbus; James H. Anderson, Columbus; Charles M. Beer, Ashland; Allen Briggs Clemens, Columbus; Mozart Gallup, Sandusky; William H. Hunter, Chillicothe; John W. Harper, Cincinnati; Moulton Houk, Toledo; James Kilbourne, Columbus; Isaac F. Mack, Sandusky; Daniel S. Miller, Upper Sandusky; Disney Rogers, Youngstown; William A. Taylor, Columbus. Alternates: Julius W. Atwood, Columbus; John J. Chester, Columbus; Samuel Craig, Wapakoneta; Robert M. Davidson, Newark; Joseph B. Foraker, Jr., Cincinnati; Dr. E. D. Gardner, Toledo; Orlando J. Hodge, Cleveland; Rev. Clement C. Martin, Fostoria; Wm. Rombo, Brownsville, Pa.; Charles C. Shearer, Xenia; Geo. A. Thayer, Cincinnati; Rev. E. P. Whallon, Cincinnati.

Following the business meeting of the afternoon there was held in the evening at the Columbus Club, an elaborate banquet, at which Col. W. A. Taylor presided as toastmaster. The following toasts were responded to:

"Welcome," Col. James Kilbourne, retiring President.

"Response," by Hon. Isaac F. Mack, incoming President.

"The Flag Undesecrated," Col. James W. Harper.

"Our Country's Past," Col. Moulton Houk.

"Our Country's Future," Judge M. A. Norris.

Perhaps the most enjoyable feature of the program was the reading of an original poem entitled "My Ohio Home," by Colonel James Piatt, of Cincinnati. Appropriate music was rendered by the Columbus Apollo Quartet.

"OLD NORTHWEST" GENEALOGICAL QUARTERLY.

The "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly for July is an unusually interesting number, the leading article being the biography and genealogy of the ancestry and life of ex-Governor Asa Smith Bushnell, by George Wells Knight, Historian of The Old Northwest Genealogical

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Society. The article is most complete and satisfactory, written with the customary scholarly accuracy characteristic of Professor Knight. Judge James H. Anderson, the President of The Old Northwest Genealogical Society, has an interesting, and, of course, sympathetic article upon his son, James Thomas Anderson, Lieutenant U. S. A., who died in Colorado Springs, March 13, 1904, and was buried on the 17th of March, at Marion, Ohio. There is also an article by the late William Trimble McClintick, of Chillicothe, Ohio, upon Hugh Williamson; also Reminiscences of early Green Bay, Wisconsin, contributed by Stephen B. Peet, the historian and archaeologist of Chicago.

The Old Northwest Genealogical Society is to be congratulated upon the results it is accomplishing under the guidance of its President, Judge James H. Anderson, and its Secretary, Frank T. Cole. It is doing a valuable and permanent work and merits the unqualifying success which is rewarding its efforts.

NATIONAL MEETING S. A. R.

The annual National Convention of the Sons of the American Revolution was held in St. Louis June 15 and 16. The attendance was large, nearly every state of the Union being represented, the total number of delegates being in the neighborhood of four hundred. Ohio was unusually well represented by thirteen delegates as follows: E. O. Randall, delegate at large, Columbus; Isaac F. Mack, Sandusky; William A. Taylor, Columbus; Daniel S. Miller, Upper Sandusky; James H. Anderson, Columbus; Mozart Gallup, Sandusky; Allen Briggs Clemens, Columbus; Moulton Houk, Toledo; Charles M. Beer, Ashland; Clement C. Martin, Fostoria; George A. Thayer, Cincinnati; E. P. Whallon, Cincinnati; and William Rombo, Brownsville, Pa.

The interest and success of the convention, however, was somewhat marred by the attempt to hold the meetings on the grounds of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Headquarters were established at the Inside Inn, which proved totally unable to accommodate either the meeting of the convention or the individual delegates. As a result the several sessions were held in different quarters—the Pennsylvania Building, Music Hall, and elsewhere, making it exceedingly inconvenient for the delegates, indeed, quite difficult for them to keep posted as to where the meetings were to be held. The attendance at the meetings was thereby much depleted. Another destructor in the equation was the counter attraction of the Exposition and its show features. The cold fact was that the entertainments of the Pike were too alluring for many of the degenerate scions of noble sires who fought, bled and died in the American Revolution. Three sessions of the Convention were held, at the last of which the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President General, James Denton Hancock, Franklin, Pa. Vice-Presidents General: George

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H. Shields, 616 Rialto Building, St. Louis, Mo.; John Paul Earnest, 323 John Marshall Place, Washington, D. C.; Col. A. D. Cutler, 134 Market St., San Francisco, Cal.; Edward Payson Cone, 100 Broadway, N. Y.; Charles Kingsley Miller, 544 N. State St., Chicago, Ill. Secretary General and Registrar General, A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. Treasurer General, Isaac W. Birdseye, Bridgeport, Conn. Historian General, George Williams Bates, 32 Buhl Building, Detroit, Mich. Chaplain General, Rev. Julius W. Atwood, Columbus, Ohio. General Board of Managers, the General Officers and the Presidents of the State Societies.



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**ORIGIN, RISE, PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF THE
WHITEWATER COMMUNITY OF SHAKERS
LOCATED IN HAMILTON COUNTY,
OHIO.**

BY J. P. MAC LEAN.

While engaged in collecting the material for the article on West Union, I engaged in a correspondence with Elder Charles H. Sturr, general manager of the Whitewater community. He invited me to make him a visit, and I should have the freedom of all the archives of the society. I determined at once to accept the invitation, and although the distance is about forty miles I decided to drive through. The route took me diagonally across Butler county from northeast to southwest, which was quite hilly, and the greater part of the distance the roads were muddy. The worst mudhole I struck was Hamilton, the streets being full of chuckholes. The lower road from Hamilton to Millville was so out of repair I had difficulty passing over. Early on the morning of May 30, 1903, I started on my journey.

Fifteen years before, I was familiar with every nook and corner of the county. I had geologized all its fossil beds, and searched out all its archæological remains. Either I or the general aspect had changed, for the views did not have the same appearance. There was a wornout air almost everywhere. The roads were in the worst condition I ever saw them, and the poorest I had seen in years.

Although I had never seen the Shaker lands, the moment I struck them I knew I was on their possessions. The fences were in good condition, the lands cared for, and there was the general aspect of thriftiness. When I caught sight of the first house, my opinion was confirmed that I was on the lands of the Shakers, for the same style of architecture, solid appearance, and want of decorative art were before me. I knocked at the door, which was opened by a small lady. I asked her name, and she

replied "Adaline Wells." I was astonished. I had supposed she was no more. ~~She is eighty years old but could pass for sixty.~~ She is spry, animated, and possessed of a clear mind. I passed on to the Center family, and was there greeted by Elder Sturr, who made me feel at home without any ceremony. I was assigned quarters in what is called the Office. My lodgings consisted of two rooms, of three beds, with good furnishings. I was here under the care of Eldress Julia Ann Bear, who has been a member since 1846. My meals were furnished me separately, and as I partook of the viands, two ladies engaged me in conversation.

The Shaker lands are situated on the Dry Forks of the Whitewater, in the northwest part of Hamilton county, with 400 acres in Butler county. The farms, for the most part, are level, composed of black soil, with a circular ridge of hills surrounding them. The view is pleasing to the eye and furnishes ample material for a beautiful landscape painting. The possessions comprised, in one body, are 1457 acres. In 1825, there was purchased on Dry Fork Creek, 215 acres at \$6.50 per acre; in 1827, 40 acres at \$1.26 per acre; 305 acres of Congress land at \$1.20 per acre; in 1829, 135 acres for \$2,000; 1835, 137 acres for \$3,000; 1838, 197 acres for \$7,000; 1847, 30 acres for \$1,000; 1850, 200 acres for \$10,000. In 1827 Joseph Boggett, a member, deeded his farm of 160 acres.

During the daytime, Elder Sturr was with me the greater part of the time, conducting me over the premises and through the buildings. He showed me all their collections of books, with the invitation "If you see anything here you want, take it." I obeyed the mandate. I was not invited to the services on Sunday, and knowing that public meetings were no longer held, I did not seek admittance, although I should have been present otherwise. I staid in Elder Sturr's room during the service, examining old documents. I could hear the singing and noted there were excellent voices among the young sisters. After services Eldress Amanda Rubush and Matilda A. Butler, called on me, and engaged in conversation. Eldress Amanda's private room is handsomely decorated and her collection of china shows off to advantage. In the afternoon I called on the venerable

Henry Bear, now in his 91st year. He joined the society during the Miller excitement in 1846, and from that time till 1901 was an officer in continuous service. He is still hale and hearty, and ever ready with a reason for the hope that is within him. He undertook to make a Shaker out of me, but his efforts fell on unfruitful soil. However I enjoyed my little visit with him.

The Society has forty-three members, including minors. The Society takes children out of orphan asylums and rears them; but few become permanent members. Elder Sturr has been a member of this Society since he was three weeks old, and for twenty years was a trustee, and during the last two years has filled the office of Elder, succeeding Elder Bear. He is sociable, well-informed, and utterly devoid of all ostentation. If it were not for his "yea," and "nay" you would not suspect his creed. This, however, is true of nearly all of the Ohio Shakers.

My visit to Whitewater will be remembered as one of the most pleasant incidents in my life.

MANUSCRIPTS.

There are comparatively few MSS. at Whitewater. Elder Sturr found the church record in parts, thrown into the coal bin, ready for the furnace. The scattered pages he carefully arranged in their proper places, and then copied the same into a separate book. Into the same book he has copied from other MSS., especially the diaries of Ebenezer Rice, Stephen Ball and Henry Rice. The early church records are made up from the MS. of Calvin Morrell. 1884, Elder Sturr commenced a journal which he has continued down to the present. After consolidating the various MSS., Elder Sturr has taken the pains to classify some of the important transactions. But owing to the loss of a great part of the church records, his consolidated MS. is necessarily incomplete. What follows, in this article is almost wholly taken from the Sturr MS.

DARBY PLAINS.

In 1801 a movement commenced in Lyndon, Vt., which gave rise to the Christian (New Light) Church in New England. Believers of this order from Connecticut and Rhode Island settled

on Darby Plains, Union township, Union county, Ohio, seventy miles northeast of Union village. Their leader was Douglass Farnum, but known among his adherents as Elder Farnum. There was also a young preacher, by name of Nathan Burlingame. In the year 1818 the work of confession of sins broke out among them, which was blown into an excitement, and within ten days, several hundred were drawn into the movement, all of whom set about to right their wrongs. Unfortunately some of these confessions were made in the presence of those who were destitute of that charity that covereth a multitude of sins. This resulted in many forsaking their good resolutions and turning against their former friends.

The work among the people at Darby Plains became known at Union Village. Continued reports finally caused David Darrow to send forth messengers of inquiry. During the month of June 1820, Richard McNemar and Calvin Morrell were dispatched, with instructions to find out their state without committing themselves. Elder Farnum received them with an affectionate embrace and saluted them with a kiss. There was an interchange of good feeling, during which Elder Farnum gave an account of the revival work they were engaged in. On the following day, in presence of some of the neighbors, the nature of confession was under discussion. In the afternoon, in an adjacent grove, a public meeting was held, addressed by both McNemar and Morrell. The third day the messengers returned to Union Village.

On August 5, Douglass Farnum, Samuel Rice, Sr., and Elijah Bacon, arrived at Union Village from Darby Plains, and next day (Sunday), Farnum spoke in public meeting. On the 9th, Ebenezer Rice and others from the Plains arrived. Darrow was greatly pleased with Farnum and declared him to be "the weightiest man that ever came to the Village." He "appeared to be a man of great government over himself, and notwithstanding great plainness of speech was frequently used towards him, he remained a mild, quiet spirit, and in all things behaved himself discreetly. He acknowledged the weight of our testimony and did not venture to contradict in a single instance." Two years later he died on the Plains of Sandusky.

Samuel Rice made a most excellent impression on all who saw him, "His unfeigned simplicity and honesty created in all who conversed with him universal esteem and good will. He drank deep of the living waters, and appeared to be perfectly satisfied with our testimony."

Late, in the same summer, another visit was made to the Plains, and in return, (probably August 9), a wagon load came to Union Village, consisting of Ebenezer Rice (son of Samuel), Archibald Bates and their wives, and Almira Burnham. Early in the spring of 1821 another visit was made to Darby Plains, but as all the preachers were absent, except Bates, "who was a quibbler, we found it would be of very little use to continue our visits."

Calvin Morrell "never felt released in relation to the people" on Darby Plains, and as "some circumstances took place which brought the Darby people once more into remembrance," it was decided by Darrow that he and Samuel Sering should make another effort. On October 3, 1822, they proceeded on their journey. Upon their arrival at the Plains they learned that Nathan Burlingame had started that day on a preaching tour and would not return for two weeks. "Nathan, being warned of God in a dream, returned next day, and was greatly pleased with the Shakers' visit and conversation." After laboring a few weeks, with fair prospects of success, the two brethren returned home, bringing a good report. While discussing the feasibility of another mission, a letter was received from Samuel Rice, Sr., stating that many of the people were sick of fever. The next morning the same two brethren started posthaste for the Plains. "When we arrived there all was gloomy indeed. Many who a few weeks before were rugged and cheerful, were now reduced to skeletons, and felt weak in soul and body. We made the best of the situation. The sickness had begun to abate and the people looked and felt much better every way, when we had discharged our duty." After an absence of three weeks they returned home.

On November 23, 1822, Nathan Burlingame made his first visit to Union Village, and with him came Samuel Rice, William and Zilpha Burnham and others. They were kindly received, and anxious for the decision of Nathan, knowing that his people

were waiting to see what course he would pursue. He keenly felt the responsibility of his position, but after due deliberation, he cast his lot with the Shakers, and was followed by all who came with him.

On January 8, 1823, Issachar Bates and Richard McNemar started to Darby Plains, and returned the 24th. No farther record of this trip.

In March, William Burnham and Nathan Burlingame and his wife were at Union Village. "This was a profitable visit to Nathan, for he received much counsel from us, especially in relation to the order of gathering young believers together." Nathan returned and gave his whole time, with great devotion, to the work. Within a few weeks he had converted several families. It was now decided to form a community on Darby Plains, and the plantation of Samuel Rice was selected as the most eligible for a beginning. Nathan was instructed to give up his land, with all that might accrue from it, to Martin Simmons and Gideon Brownell, who were very poor, and move to the new gathering order.

On April 23, 1823, Calvin Morrell, James McNemar, Nancy Rollins, Phoebe Seely and Samuel Sering set out for Darby, —four in a carriage and one on horseback. Owing to the condition of the roads the journey was very tedious. Some places the mud was knee deep to the horses, and this continued for a mile at a stretch. On the fourth day the party reached its destiny, and found the people in high spirits, and determined to work in union and obedience. The visitors held public meetings, and bore "a heavy testimony to the world; so that persecution was stirred up and the wicked did some mischief to our wagon and stoned us with stones." The missionaries extended their labors to the Scioto, where they visited John Sell. The party returned to Union Village, May 29th. The Darby people were left making every arrangement for laying the foundation of a society and village, with bright prospects of success.

On August 5th, Calvin Morrell, Samuel Sering, Charity (Peggy) Houston and Thankful Stewart set out for the Plains. The people were found to be doing well, and the brethren as-

sisted them in building a meeting house. Also a second missionary trip was extended to the Scioto. The believers on Darby now numbered forty. Having completed the work allotted, the party returned to Union Village on the 29th.

INTEREST IN WHITEWATER.

Whilst the energies were being devoted to Darby Plains, a woman by name of Miriam, wife of Joseph Agnew, in the spring of 1823, visited Union Village. She came from the dry fork of the Whitewater, and reported that some time previously a great revival of religion broke out among the Methodists, and that the work was now on the decline and likely to leave the subjects of it short of the object desired. Her story was affecting, and produced intense interest in all who heard it. She united with the Shakers, and then returned to her family, after extending a very pressing invitation for a visit to her neighborhood. Soon after Richard Pelham and George Blackleach were dispatched to the new field, who opened the testimony, and among those who believed were Joseph and Brant Agnew. Several other visits were afterwards made. Samuel Sering and George Blackleach set out July 10th and returned the 16th. By autumn the number of believers, including their children, amounted to about thirty.

ORGANIZING AT WHITEWATER.

The Darby settlement was an enterprise that required profound attention. By the fall of 1823 it was realized that the location was a sickly one, and that the district was held by military claims, and that the rights in many cases proved a source of litigation. The Shakers were fearful that if they made extensive improvements their labors might be lost. On the other hand the country about Whitewater was not only a good locality, but the rights were indisputable. By combining the two settlements into one, a good foundation would be laid for a strong Society. These considerations decided the authorities at Union Village to remove the Darby people to the Whitewater.

According to previous arrangements, on December 2nd, Calvin Morrell and Stephen Williams set out for the Plains in order to give notice and administer the gift felt for them. On the way they met Nathan Burlingame and James Thompson. The gift was cordially received at Darby, and the party returned on the 9th, bringing Martin Simmons and Jefferson Rice along with them. On the 10th, the whole party started for the Whitewater with the addition of Matthew Houston. All put up with Brant Agnew, who received them cordially.

Almost immediately persecution showed itself. One of their horses had one ear cut off and the other partly so; the curtains of the wagon were nearly all cut away and the inside defiled; the gears were injured, and the doubletrees thrown into the creek, and were not recovered until months afterward.

Nothing daunted, the brethren were called together and the object of the visit presented. The news was received with every manifestation of good feeling and satisfaction. Having surveyed the field and visited the several families the party returned to Union Village.

On January 1st, 1824, Calvin Morrell set out alone for Darby Plains. He found the people in high spirits. He dispatched Martin Simmons to Whitewater in order to procure a small place for a temporary residence for the people. The money was principally furnished by Samuel Rice, Sr., yet such was the zeal manifested by all, that every one cast in their money that they might have an interest in the joint investment.

Having completed the necessary arrangements for the removal, Calvin and Nathan started for the Plains of Sandusky in search of widow Susan Farnum and Polly Clark. On their arrival they learned that both had removed to Kingston, forty miles distant. Thither the brethren went and after much serious labor with them, gained their consent to move to Whitewater.

The first move appears to have been made in February, by Nathan's family. He hired a team, and with a two-horse wagon moved the most valuable part of his property, and settled on the forty-acre lot that had been purchased by Martin Simmons on the Whitewater. This property cost \$200 and the deed made to the trustees for the good of the whole. The party

proceeded by way of Watervliet, near Dayton, where it received much kindness and help. Another part of the Darby people began to move on February 9th. They proceeded by way of Union Village, where a four-horse wagon load of provisions joined them. In the meantime (January 22) Richard Pelham and George Blackleach had been dispatched to Whitewater as advance assistants.

At Union Village the Darby people were joined by Thomas Hunt, who went with them to Whitewater, where all arrived in safety. They first stopped with Anthony McKee, but after ten days got possession of their new land, and moved into a cabin eighteen feet square, with a lean-to in the rear. Necessity compelled them to use this until larger quarters could be obtained.

Calvin was now dispatched to the Plains again to superintend the removal of other families, mostly poor people who had to be helped. For this purpose several teams from Union Village were sent. "Nothing worth mentioning took place until they were all landed at the place of destination, where homes were provided for them as speedily as possible. Some crowding and scolding naturally took place, but no one was materially injured in soul or body. Most of the people seemed pleased with their new situation, and seemed in high spirits. The moving continued throughout the summer, and near a year had elapsed before all got down." The following are the names of those who moved from Darby Plains, and who remained faithful to their cause: Nathan and Emma Burlingame, Samuel, Sr., Samuel, Jr., Jefferson, Ebenezer, Caleb, Lucy and Mariah Rice; John and Lucy Easterbrooks, James and Dorcas Wells; Zilpha and Polly Burnham, Polly and Susan Champlain, Susannah Farnham, Sarepta Henman, and Martin and Charlotte Simmons, with their children. Those who believed at Whitewater were Joseph Brant, Caty and Miriam Agnew, Joseph and Peggy Boggett, Sarah McKee and Samuel B. Crane, with their children. There were others who finally seceded, but their names are not preserved.

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DISCOURAGEMENTS.

In the early history of this community there were a number of circumstances that produced discouragements and other uncomfortable feelings, all of which, by due perseverance, were overcome. Those who came from Darby Plains were subjected to the same fever that afflicted them formerly, which made them feel that their constitutions were broken down. For the most part, these people were poor and the land procured for them was thin and not calculated for raising grain, and only of that three acres cleared. The land rented did not produce well, principally owing to sickness, the brethren were not able properly to cultivate it. Added to this, they were destitute of proper nourishment for the sick. None, however died. What little they had was husbanded for the winter. They had no hogs and no money to purchase meat. The help they received from Union Village, and what could be spared by those previously on the ground, in a measure tended materially to relieve their wants. Calvin Morrell has preserved the following: "Meat with them was scarce. Sugar they had little or none, and milk but seldom. Bread was greatly lacking, while tea and coffee were out of the question. It was *Lent* with them nearly all the year round. Their common manner was to buy a side of bacon and make sop for their johnny cake. The sop was made by mixing a sufficient quantity of milk and water with enough meat cut in small pieces to make the composition somewhat greasy, and the whole was fried together until the meat had nearly vanished. This was used morning and noon. For breakfast they had herb tea. For dinner potatoes and sauce. For supper milk porridge, but more commonly water porridge. When wheat could be procured it was mixed with Indian meal, with rye mixed with the Indian corn for a change.

In the summer of 1825 a spirit of infidelity crept in among the believers, which caused confusion and distress. Under the labors of Calvin Morrell, Phœbe Seely and Mary Bedle—sent from Union Village—this reign was ended by a portion withdrawing and others restored to the faith.

LANDS PURCHASED.
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It was a matter of great anxiety to have a sufficient number of acres lying contiguous in order that the colony might have proper support. Calvin Morrell, Nathan Burlingame and Ebenezer Rice traversed the surrounding country in search of suitable lands. There were offers of land, but none seemed desirable.

It was finally decided to purchase the lands of Mull and McCance lying on the dry fork of Whitewater, which presented a good mill site. Union Village purchased the 100 acres lying on the west side of the creek of William McCance at \$6.50 per acre. The Whitewater believers bought the land on the east side of George Mull for \$1,200. It contained 115 acres.

These purchases put new zest into the hearts of the believers. The winter of 1825-6 found the people making preparations to take possession of their new farms. Many thousand rails were made and hauled. The fences, on the little place they were about to leave, were put in good repair. Improvements were first made on the west side of the creek, for there the settlement was to be made. The crops were put in, and two of the sisters came to cook. Then the cabins were moved and some new ones put up. In June some of the Union Village brethren arrived, in order to assist in building the houses. Just as fast as the cabins were constructed they were occupied, and this was continued until all had been moved.

They found the soil favorable to agriculture, and their crops were abundant, and their gardens produced beyond expectations. Apples were plenty and peaches abundant. The corn averaged sixty bushels to the acre. Of broom corn they planted eight acres. Hogs were also raised.

During the month of July the children were gathered in the school order, and over them were placed James Wells and Susannah Farnum.

The records are silent as to the first officers. It may be inferred that Calvin Morrell had general oversight, with William Davis as farm deacon and Phoebe Seely and Mary Bedle in charge of the sisters. Nathan Burlingame was the preacher.

It was he, with Polly Burnham and Susannah Farnum, that furnished the money to pay for the Mull farm.

In 1827 a lot of 40 acres, adjoining the first purchased lot, was bought at \$1.26 per acre, after first buying off the parties who made claim to it. In September, 305 acres of Congress land, lying near New Haven (Preston P. O.) was entered at \$1.25 per acre.

During the month of March, the principal part of the young believers of West Union arrived for the purpose of making Whitewater their home. This was done because, owing to the fever-stricken locality, West Union was broken up, and the members scattered among all the western societies, save that at North Union.

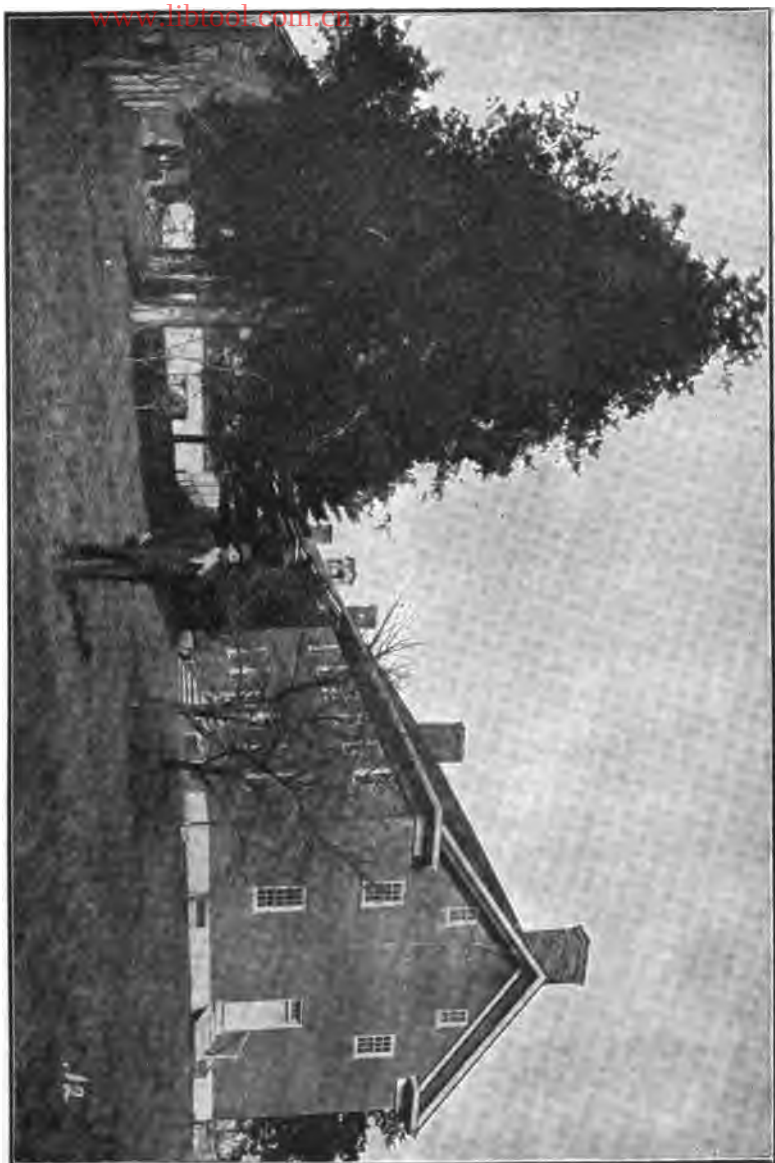
This year the brick meeting-house was constructed, 45 x 35 feet and two stories high. The time occupied from its commencement to its being finished was four months. The first service held in it was December 2, 1827.

OFFICERS APPOINTED.

The first specific reference to officers occurs both in the Union Village and Whitewater records for May 24th, 1828. The latter states that "E. Archibald and Sister Eunice moved to Whitewater, and with them came Joanna Wallace. From this time the Society was considered under the care of the two first-named persons. Calvin still continued here."

On account of ill health Phoebe Seely went back to Union Village, and Mary Hopkins—late of West Union, on April 19th, 1827, was sent to take her place.

The eternal fitness of things was not always—perhaps rarely—observed in the appointment of officers. Elder Archibald Meacham was now appointed at the head of affairs, although he was a conspicuous failure at West Union. His appointment and that of John Meacham, as first at Pleasant Hill, Ky., and David Meacham as first in the Ministry at Union Village, in 1835, must be ascribed to a gross abuse of favoritism. All the documents that have come under my inspection have led me to infer that these three men were mediocre. Certainly they per-



MEETING HOUSE WITH NORTH RESIDENCE BEYOND.
(Elder Charles Sturt in Foreground.)

formed no service of value to Shakerism in the West. Back of all this, we find that Joseph Meacham was among the early converts of Ann Lee, and was the senior Elder after the death of Ann Lee and the first Elder, and it was he who began the organization of the several Societies. He brought his wife and entire family into the Shaker fold. John, Archibald and David were the sons of Joseph, and thereby hangs the tale.

The same day Eldress Eunice Sering started for Whitewater to take first charge of the sisters, having removed out of the Ministry's order at Union Village.

On September 18, 1828, "Mary Bedle moved back to Union Village, having lived here three years as one of the Elder Sisters."

On October 30, 1828, Archibald Meacham, Calvin Morrell, Eunice Sering, Mary Hopkins, Susannah Stout and Joanna Wallace moved into the upper part of the meeting house which indicates that they were in the Ministry order.

During this year a large frame building was erected for the family. Assistance, in the way of artisans, was rendered from Union Village. The village at Whitewater, at this time was what now constitutes the North Family. The Center Family then had no existence.

IMPROVEMENTS AND EXTENSIONS.

During the month of September, 1828, a dam was commenced across the creek and timbers prepared for a saw mill, in which work the brethren generally participated. As the race was long several interruptions occurred before its completion. By April 29, 1829, the work had sufficiently advanced as to enable them to commence sawing. On November 5th a grist mill, 30 x 36 feet was framed.

Brant and Joseph Agnew sold their farm of 160 acres for \$1,000. Samuel Rice, Sr., also sold his farm, on Darby Plains, for \$800. Eli, a brother of Ezra Sherman, who was a West Union believer, sent word he had sold his farm, fifty miles up the Muskingum river, and desired to move to Whitewater. Calvin Morrell and Ezra Sherman were sent to assist Eli. They

tarried in the neighborhood some days and held a public meeting. When ~~they started on their~~ return many of the friends and relatives collected and set up a general wailing and uttered threats against the Shakers for ruining Eli's family, and for two miles followed the wagons. Thirty miles down the river they stopped at Josiah Sherman's, who also wanted to join the Shakers. They built a boat and in it the two families descended the river. All were kindly received at Whitewater.

The farm of Joseph Sater, comprising 135 acres, was next purchased for \$2,000. In April, Brant Agnew moved on this land. It proved productive and there was a good yield of corn, oats and potatoes.

During the year (1829) the Shakers continued selling brooms and garden seeds; and during the winter made mats in sufficient quantity to pay for all the meat purchased by the Society. These mats sold for from \$2.25 to \$2.35 per dozen, the same price received for their brooms.

LEGAL AND MILITARY TROUBLES.

At Union Village, October 22, 1829, just as he was ready to start to Whitewater, Elder Archibald was arrested by a constable for a claim of \$99.99, made by an apostate, James Wallace, for work done at Whitewater, while he (Wallace) was a member at Union Village. The justice allowed the claim.

As the Shakers were always averse to war, the militia officers caused a lot of oats to be seized and sold for failure in military duty. In turn the Shakers prosecuted the constable and captain in action for trespass and damages. On the day of trial the justice called to his assistance another squire, who was major of the regiment. The testimony of the Shakers was set aside and the decision was, "No cause for action." An appeal was taken but never brought to trial.

On April 19th, 1830, another military order was received demanding fines. This being refused, all their hogs were driven off. The next day Ebenezer Rice, one of the trustees, went to Cincinnati to consult a lawyer. The upshot was the Shakers

paid \$20 to have the suit withdrawn. This would indicate that the Shakers — Quakers also — had no redress in law.*

THE COVENANT.

For some reason unexplained the Covenant had never been signed by the Believers at Whitewater, although all the deeds had been made to the trustees; though the names of the first trustees are not given. On February 9th, 1830, Richard Mc-

*The militia officers did not always have their own way. The Quakers often outwitted them. Springboro, Ohio, has long been known as a Quaker community. The colonel of militia was one Sweeny, who lived at Ridgeville, and he was particularly severe on the Quakers for not mustering. Among the Quakers were three rollicking brothers, young and full of mischief, viz., Alfred, Hanse and — Thomas. Sweeny had the regiment drawn up in a large field, armed with cornstalks, broom handles and other makeshifts. He straddled a small horse possessed of a spike tail. At the proper time the three brothers, well mounted, leaped the fence, two of whom galloped up on either side the doughty colonel, and the third in the rear. At the same instant all plied their whips to the spike-tailed steed, which gave a bound, with the lashes descending thick and fast. Around the entire field three times the racers ran, and then the boys spurred their horses over the fence and were soon out of reach. Military dignity must be upheld. As the reins of justice in Clearcreek township was in the hands of the Quakers, redress must be sought elsewhere. Sweeny went before a justice in Lebanon and swore out a warrant charging the boys with riot. The father retained Tom Corwin, who had even then gained a national reputation. The trial was held in the court house which was packed with interested spectators. Evidence all in, at the proper time Corwin arose, all eager to hear what he might have to say, for the case was plain against the boys. The speaker paid a glowing compliment to the militia, and in the very midst of his panegyric, he stopped, waited a moment, and then in his inimitable way, described the race around the field, which brought roars of laughter from the audience. Then he resumed his laudatory praise of the militia, pictured it in glowing terms as the arm of defense of our homes and native land. Again he stopped short and gave another description of the race around the field. Once more he launched into an eulogium of the valiant militia, described their uniforms, their gallant bearing and redoubtable courage. Suddenly, with the gravest of faces he again pictured the race around the field which brought forth another storm of applause. Corwin saw that the crowd and magistrate were with him, and he rested his case. The boys were immediately discharged.

Nemar arrived, who had been instructed by the Mount Lebanon Ministry to visit all the western communities in the interests of the new covenant that had been recently adopted. In this mission Richard devoted all his time while sojourning at White-water. This was not fully accomplished until March 1st, when he returned to Watervliet, Ohio. No record is preserved of those who signed the Covenant.

CONFLAGRATION.

The brethren, when time could be spared, devoted their energies towards buildings and other improvements. On May 17th (1830) they began to frame a barn which was raised June 14th, its dimensions being 70 x 35 feet.

At 11 o'clock on the night of June 19th, a fire broke out in the kitchen, in the building occupied by the children, and in less than twenty minutes three of the buildings were completely wrapt in flames. Nearly all the household goods and clothing were consumed. Happily no lives were lost. Evidence pointed out that it was the work of an incendiary.

On July 13th, Abner Bedle and three sisters arrived from Union Village in order to inquire into the extent of the loss. Having obtained an inventory of the same, after two days they returned. On the 21st Joshua Worley arrived from Union Village with a wagon-load of property, consisting mostly of clothing and provisions, to the amount of \$157.00.

The school family being left without a home, the brethren, on August 30th, laid the foundation of a Tapia house, 40 x 20 feet, on the land purchased of Sater. By September 21st about half the second story was completed. On a dark night, the wicked tore down the four corners level with the ground. The season becoming late for such kinds of buildings, the work was covered and left for the ensuing summer. This necessitated the removing of cabins and fitting them up for winter usage.

CHRONICLES.

In 1831 it was concluded to put in two run of stone in the grist mill. Ezra Sherman and Edward Burnham were sent
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on October 1st to West Union, with a yoke of oxen for a pair of stones that had been abandoned here in 1827. They were gone a month. During the fall the first land purchased (40 acres) by the Darby people, was sold for \$225. May 27th, on his personal request, Calvin Morrell returned to Union Village, having been with the Whitewater people from the fall of 1825, zealously devoting his time and talents in building up the little colony. On November 11th, previous, Daniel Sering had been sent as aid to Elder Archibald, and he remained till January 16, 1838. After the departure of Calvin, Richard McNemar remained for several days, arranging matters for the permanent security of the estate. On the 30th the trustees named were Samuel Rice, Ebenezer Rice and Brant Agnew. Deeds of trust were made and subscribed to by Ebenezer Rice and Ezra Sherman.

In February a frame house for the South family was commenced, 18 x 40 feet, with a stone cellar. The first account of it was in the year 1824 when it was a log cabin 18 x 18 with a lean to; in 1826, there were other log cabins, but number and dimensions not stated; the meeting house, 45 x 35, erected in 1827; in 1829 the first saw and grist mill; in 1830, a barn 70 x 35; in 1830 a frame house 40 x 20, afterwards used for the boys' residence.

In 1832, August 8th, commenced constructing a brewery. September 1st, commenced a dwelling 30 x 52 feet. The brick house was finished in April 1833.

In January 1834, a frame barn, 30 x 60 feet was commenced at the South family, — carpenter work contracted for \$65, and oak shingles made and put on \$40, all material furnished on the ground. The barn was finished in July; August 25th commenced building a brick work house 24 x 40. September 28th, Rachel Hall was appointed to succeed Mary Hopkins, the latter being recalled to Union Village.

March 1st, 1835, the farm of Aaron Atherton, consisting of 175 acres was purchased for \$3,000, payable in three installments. It was decided to raise the money by fattening hogs; so all hands assisted in raising corn. At Center family, June 18th, a horse stable 28 x 45 was raised; August 27th, a brick kitchen 20 x 38

was built at South family. On December 20th, 75 hogs sold for \$1,425. The amount owed on Atherton farm was deposited in bank, so successful had the society been during the year. This left no outstanding debts.

For this year (1835), we first have a list of members, and also the information that a new covenant had been signed. The list of inhabitants, with ages, is thus given:

CENTER FAMILY.

BRETHREN.		SISTERS.	
Archibald Meacham	58	Eunice Sering	42
Daniel Sering	45	Rachel Hall	32
Ebenzer Rice	43	Sarepta Hinman	31
Ezra Sherman, Jr.	32	Emeline Jackson	21
Samuel Rice	74	Peggy Boggett	70
Joseph Boggett	77	Sarah McKee	72
Joseph L. Carson	65	Lyda Woodward	53
Ezra Sherman, Sr.	72	Lucy Easterbrooks	42
John Easterbrooks	50	Anna Sherman	41
Thomas Ganes	55	Polly Burnham	43
Nathaniel Massie	32	Zilpha Burnham	68
William Easterbrooks	20	Minerva McGuire	46
James Callahan	24	Susanna Champlain	45
Edwin Burnham	22	Sally Tucker	39
William Agnew	20	Elizabeth Callahan	25
Fisis Jackson	16	Nancy McKee	25
Samuel Easterbrooks	16	Louisa Farnham	21
Samuel Agnew	15	Eliza McGuire	19
George Gray	15	Phœbe Agnew	18
Jacob Brown	15	Hortincy Brown	18
Theodore Agnew	9	Lyda Gray	17
William Herington	11	Hannah Boggett	29
Benjamin Hill	18	Emma Burlingame	17
Moses Allen	42		
Micajah Banze	34		

SOUTH FAMILY.

BRETHREN.		SISTERS.	
Joseph B. Agnew	49	Amanda Agnew	12
Manly Sherman	37	Saloma Brown	12
James A. Agnew	32	Rachel Tucker	7
Aaron Stroud	16	Phœbe Howard	7
Josiah Burnham	15	Ann Hall	31

www.libsonline.org SOUTH FAMILY — Concluded.

BRETHREN.		SISTERS.	
William Agnew	15	Susannah Farnum	51
John Whitney	15	Polly Champlain	40
Calvin Easterbrooks	14	Louisa Jackson	24
George Woodward	12	Susan Easterbrooks	19
Isaac Sherman	10	Louisiana Stroud	19
		Marietta Agnew	18
		Rebecca McGuire	17
		Lucy Woodward	16
		Rhoda Hinman	15
		Adaline Wells	14
		Eunice McGuire	12
		Jane Sherman	11
		Martha Tucker	6

Total males 35, females 42; or in all 77.

The records of Union Village for May 25, 1837, speak of Ebenezer Rice, Ezra Sherman, Sarepta Hinman and Emaline Jackson "of the deaconship of Whitewater" being on a visit. If they were "office deacons," then their office possibly was that of trustees.

January 24, 1838, Edwin Burnham moved into the Elder's lot, having succeeded Daniel Sering. A little later Louisa Farnum moved into the lot with Eldress Eunice Sering.

December 20, 1838, the farm of Daniel Long, comprising 197 acres was purchased for \$7,000.

In the fall of 1839, a horse stable, 45 x 28 was built at the South Family. Same year 17 acres of broom corn was raised and made into brooms. This had already become one of the regular sources of revenue.

ARRESTS EXTRAORDINARY.

As late as 1840, the great mass of mankind, even those supposed to know the general policy of the Shakers, were ready to believe incredible stories concerning them, and even mob violence feared. In the fall of 1839, a widow, named Mary Black, with her two boys, aged respectively 14 and 9, and a girl still younger, left the Whitewater Believers and went to Kentucky. In March 1840, the officers of Bracken county notified the au-

thorities in Cincinnati that the county was in a great uproar on account of two boys who had been emasculated by the Shakers. The boys were ordered sent to Cincinnati and there examined by Drs. Hiram and Jackson, who pronounced the report to be a fact. On the 25th of March the marshal of Cincinnati came with a state's warrant, and the deputy sheriff with a capias for Elder Archibald Meacham, Joseph Agnew, Manley Sherman, William A. Agnew and John S. Whitney, who were arrested and that night at five o'clock were incarcerated in the jail at Cincinnati. So great was the excitement that the prisoners were hurried through the streets as privately as possible on account of the multitude. No food was given them and they were locked in filthy cells, where emanated such odors as almost suffocated them. For bedding one small dirty blanket was furnished. On Thursday morning the 26th, they were let out of the cells after spending a wakeful night, and about 8 o'clock breakfast was served them in small black dirty tin pans, on each of which were very hard pieces of coarse cold cornbread, about four inches square and a piece of cold boiled beef's heart. All declined eating. At 2 o'clock, came bread with soup. Some eat a little of it, but others refused. A little later, Mr. Brook, the inn-keeper, on Main street, who had always been a friend of the prisoners, sent in a good dinner, for which all felt very grateful. That night all were again locked up in cells. Friday morning Mr. Brook sent them a good breakfast, and soon after Ebenezer Rice came and conversed with them through the grates, and handed a letter to Elder Archibald from Eldress Mary Hopkins, who wrote words of comfort to the distressed and persecuted brethren. But the brethren were not cast down, for they believed that God would open a way for their deliverance. At noon they were visited by a number of the brethren and sisters, and some of the neighbors called, shook hands through the grates while tears coursed down their cheeks. At four o'clock, the afternoon of the 27th, the brethren were conducted to the court house where their trial was already in progress, and witnesses testifying. The room was crowded. At sunset the brethren were hurried to the jail followed by the rabble venting out their curses and reproaches, and yelling that hanging was too good for them. Supperless they were again

thrust into their reeking cells. On the morning of the 28th, Ebenezer Rice and James Agnew furnished them with an ample breakfast. At 9 o'clock, by a different route they were again conducted to the court house, but in going up stairs, the rush of the multitude was so great that the party was kept together with difficulty. They were surrounded by officers for protection.

Ezra Sherman had not been idle all this time. He had retained Bellamy Storer for the defense. He labored hard with the mayor and marshall to have the boys examined by other physicians. After a great amount of pleading and intercession the marshall finally agreed that the boys might be examined by Drs. Groce and Lakey. These physicians soon saw that the boys labored under a natural deformity, and no privileges had ever been taken with them. While the trial was going on they entered the court room and stated to the mayor the true status of the case. All the officials and lawyers arose and shook hands with the brethren individually, and with tears in their eyes dismissed them with congratulations of joy. The brethren embraced each other on their happy deliverance. Storer declared publicly that it was a manifestation of the power of God.

But the trial was not yet over. The two boys and their cousin, who appeared to be their guardian and the principal in the prosecution, were examined, and then sent to jail. The brethren, with the other believers, fourteen in all, immediately set out for Whitewater, where they arrived at 5 P. M., greatly to the delight of the entire community.

I have been informed by members who had lived at Whitewater, that there was great distress of mind in all the community during the incarceration of the brethren; that even the hoary head of Elder Archibald was not respected by his tormentors.

Anxious to know what the Cincinnati papers of that period had to say on this outrageous persecution, I wrote to Mr. Eugene H. MacLean to look up the matter. He replied. "I looked up the back files of the Chronicle and Gazette for March 1840, and can find no mention of any such occurrence as you mention, although I went over the papers column by column. Indeed there was no local news at all, save brief mention of ward meetings."

I have seen accounts of this in some books relating to Cincinnati, but I am unable to give the titles. I think "Bench and Bar" is one of them.

The Union Village records, in commenting upon the affair adds, "As if to add injury to insult, the greedy cats charged \$300 for fees; besides incidental expenses that would of course accrue in the prosecution."

The Whitewater records contain no farther information for 1840, and nothing for 1841, save a few changes in members. The Union Village Records give accounts of visits between the two communities, and also of certain members going to Whitewater to instruct and assist in making brick.

IMPORTANT CHANGES IN OFFICERS.

The Union Village Ministry, on a visit to Whitewater, August 11th, 1842, announced the following changes: Elder Archibald Meacham should be released from his office and return to Mount Lebanon, and Eunice Sering is also released and to return to Union Village. The eldership and trustees to be reorganized and composed entirely of their own members. Edwin Burnham was appointed first elder and Ebenezer Rice second. Joseph Agnew was released from the care of the South Family and moved to the Center to act as a trustee. Ezra Sherman was released as a trustee, and moved to the South Family as first Elder, and Allen Agnew as second. Hannah Boggett succeeded as first elder, and Louisa Farnum as second. Polly Champlain as Eldress with Susan Easterbrooks at the South.

The weeding out of all the officers does not in itself imply that circumstances demanded it, nevertheless such was sometimes a necessity. Sometimes it was simply expedient, sometimes the abuse of arbitrary power. In the present instance it was probably felt that a general change would be in the best interests of the society. Elder Archibald "did not wish to be removed, but it was thought best, although it was regretted by many."

CHRONICLES, RESUMED.

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In 1842 a shop 40 x 18 feet was built; also a two-story house 24 x 17, with a porch on one side, now called the Nurse House.

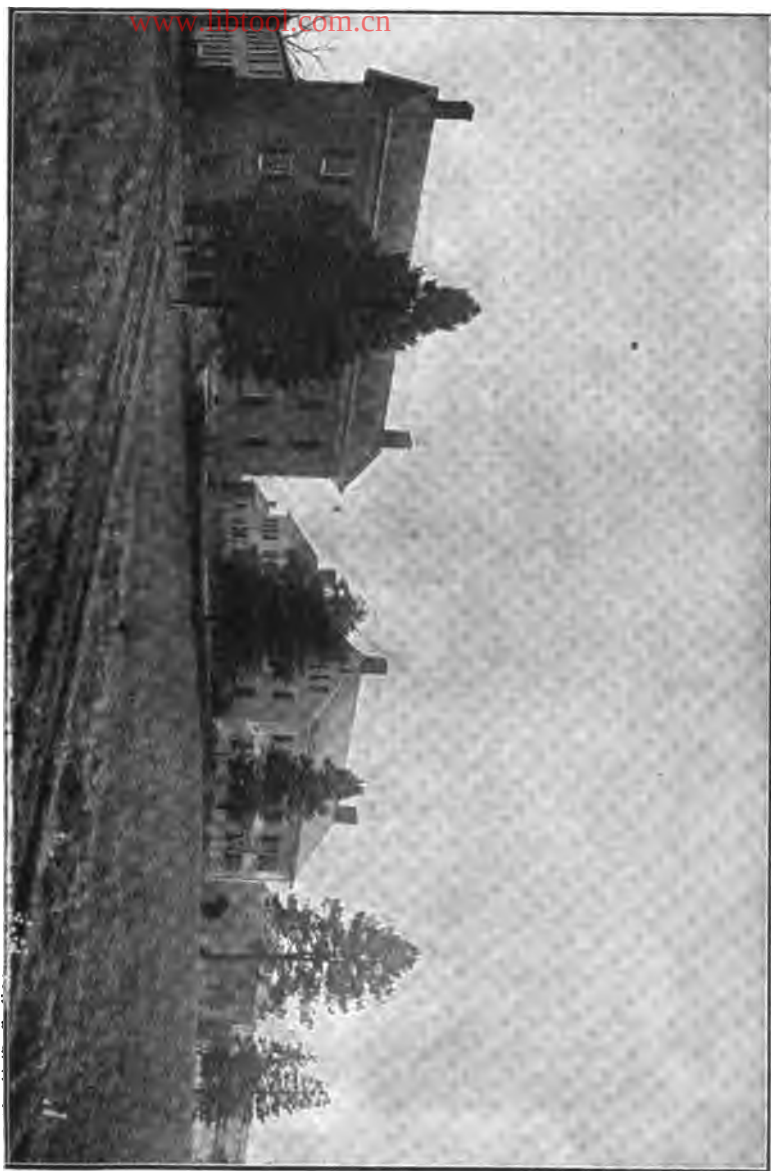
In 1843-4 the large dwelling house was built 54 x 44, with an extension 60 x 30 feet, — the first three stories high and the second two stories. On April 1, 1844, twenty-eight of the Union Village brethren arrived to assist in raising the house.

August 22, 1844, Joseph Agnew released as a trustee and moved to South Family as First Elder with Ezra Sherman second; Edwin Burnham was transferred to Union Village and went November 27th. On December 3d Moses Eastwood arrived from Union Village to become Second Elder at South Family, — Ezra Sherman removing to the Center Family. The Union Village records state that on October 29th Philip F. Antes was established as Elder Brother. This would make him Burnham's successor. He continued in office until September 11, 1847. March 15, 1845, Ezra Sherman became trustee in place of Philander Banister. A general move in the families took place October 1st. Harvesting lasted forty days, — the acreage for the year was, rye 3, oats 30, grass 80, broom corn 25, potatoes 5, pumpkins 4, corn not stated. Commenced doctoring by the water cure method which proved a great success. Previous to this the botanic or Thompsonian system was used to great satisfaction. This last was introduced by Calvin Morrell who gave much time to its study.

March 4, 1846 the use of tea, coffee, tobacco and intoxicating liquors were renounced. Built a new saw mill.

SECOND ADVENTISM.

While the doctrine of the second visible, personal coming of Christ is no new doctrine in the Christian Church, yet it remained for William Miller to create a wonderful excitement on that subject during the nineteenth century. The earliest date fixed upon for the advent was February 10, 1843, and the next was the 15th, and then April 14th. The disappointment



CENTER RESIDENCE, WITH GIRL'S RESIDENCE ON LEFT AND BOY'S ON RIGHT

in not realizing the promised event did not relax the zeal of the preachers engaged in this promulgation. In all parts of the country the cry of warning was raised. Farmers left their crops unharvested, and mechanics forsook their tools.*

A commotion such as that of Miller and his followers would elicit the Shakers' attention. Four Second Adventists visited Whitewater in March, 1846, and on the 6th Joseph Agnew went to Cincinnati with them. Their meetings in Cincinnati were attended by Joseph Agnew, Ebenezer Rice and Ezra Sherman, and several were brought to Whitewater by the brethren. Joseph went to Rising Sun, Ind., to see some of the Adventists there. On the 18th, Joseph brought home with him, their principal preacher, Enoch Jacobs. The interest manifested by the Shakers brought numbers of the Adventists to Whitewater. Meetings were held in union and both sides took an active part. At one time twenty persons came. These sojourners became quite a tax on the Shakers, and it became a question of what to do with the visitors. Among them was Henry B. Bear and his wife, Julia Ann, both having expressed a determination to give up all for God. In 1846, there were 200 of the Adventists gained to the Shakers of Union Village and Whitewater, most of whom were assigned to the latter place. Eldress Julia Ann Bear informed me that she never had seen any of the reputed "white robes" in which to be clothed to receive Christ, nor did she ever hear of such a thing until some time

* During the month of February, 1869, I heard two Second Advent preachers holding forth at East Jaffrey, N. H. They were uncouth looking men, but gave every evidence of sincerity. Their whole burden was to prove that we were living in the last day. One took his argument from Nahum II. The "flaming torches" (v. 3) were the head-lights on locomotives; the "chariots" (v. 4) were passenger coaches; "they shall jostle the one against another," refers to cars coming together while trying to stop them; "they shall run like the lightnings," means their great speed; also a train on the N. Y. Central called "the Lightning Express;" "He shall recount his worthies" (v. 5), means the conductor collecting the tickets; "they shall stumble in their walk," refers to the inability to walk straight in cars when in motion; "they shall make haste to the wall thereof," refers to passengers entering their seats and leaning against the side of the car; "the gates of the rivers shall be opened," means draw-bridges.

after she had become a Shaker. The new members proved to be zealous workers. A list of the names of those Adventists who became Shakers was made out and placed in the archives, but cannot now be found.

SPIRITUALISM.*

Strict orders had been given out by the Mount Lebanon Ministry that the revelations made during the reign of spiritualism should be kept. Nothing is mentioned of these manifes-

*On October 19, 1903, I came into possession of the archives of North Union and Watervliet. Among the loose papers I found a brief record of Whitewater Spiritualism, of which the following is an exact copy, taken from first leaves detached from a book:

"Where as, We have lately received in structions from the Ministry of Union Village that it was the will and in structions of our heavenly Parrents, that all of those Sacred Communications which had been given Through our Heavenly parrents and there Ministering angels, for a few years past, should be carefully recorded and as far as it is in our power we will labor to it as we had heard By letters from New labanon that there was a powerful Work of God going on among the believers in the Eastern Societys and that the work was very hart touching and a wakening and Many Promises given through Visions and inspired Instruments, that our Heavenly Mother wold thougraly purch and purify her children on Earth and fit and prepare them for the in crease of the gospel. Also that Mother wold Visset every Society of believers both East and West.

"The above information from tne East, Caused us to Look and wait with great anxiety for the fulfilment of those pretious Promises which we firmly believed wold certainly com to pas as Mother had promised, and our earnest prayers was that our Blessed Mother wold pour out her Spirit upon us at White water for we fealt poor and needy and so our prayers cotinued without much mannifestation, of the fulfilment of the promises which we had received, Until the 16 of August in the year one thousand Eight hundred and thirty Eight At which time the power of God was showered down upon the boddy of believers at this place like a mighty rushing wind, it being Sabbath Day while attending publick Meeting and Many Spekaters present, That remarcable Mannefest of the power of God Seamed to Seaze the greates part of the assembly of believers, Such Mighty Shaking we never will before it wold Seam Sometimes that some individuals wold be Shaken all to peascis, This Mighty Shaking continued till the Close of the Meeting and with a number much longer, and for this Notice of the power of God we fealt exceeding thankful and that our blessed Mothers hand now began herewith

tations until 1847, or after the marked decline had commenced. All of the Western Societies had been favored by the angelic

in every deed, and from this time the good work gradually increased, and there soon began to be chosen Insrements who ware inspired to deliver the Council and instructions of our Heavenly Parrents, through whom we received Many Pretious gifts from the Spiritual world, which to us has fealt to one of the greatest Blessings that was ever given since Man dwelt on Earth. Thease blessings finally became so frequent and in such a bundance, that for Sumtime we kept no correct record of those wonderful communications, But we labored to treasure them up in our harts as Much as we was able, and We can truly say that we have from the first commencement of our Blessed Mothers good Work, fealt thankful with all our Souls for the kind notice of the Many blessings which we have received from our Heavenly parrents, All of which has been calculated to purge and purify our souls by an honest confesson and bring us dow in to a Spirit of humiliaty and simplicly and true obedience so that we could larn to fear god and walk humbly and gain true love and union with one a nother and Larn to set a good examble before all people, and thus this blessed work continued to progress in till the latter part of the year 1839 at which time we began to receive books and litters through Mothers chosen and in Spired instruments, but it was some time before there was any gift for thease books letters to be read and written by Mortal power. But in January in the year 1840 we received a gift from the Ministry at union Village to have those Spiritual Boks and leters written by mortal power. And after we received the gift to have them read, we received a great many written communications from our Heavenly parrent and others. Ministering Spirits, which we hace Mostly committed to record. Nearly every individual through the Society has been blesst with some written communication to Strengthen and in courage them to be faithful and truly obedient to their Vissible lead.

"The Lot of Elders at this place have received Many pretious communications, in the form of book and litters and a number of theas communications seamed to be of a publick nature, and a number of others seamed to be to us as individuals, so that we feal at los to now how to make the right Selection, not fealing our Selves to be competent judges in this matter. Therefore we have concluded to copy all those that appear to be the Most of a publick Naure and such as we have received nearly as we received them, and leave the matter to the judgment and de-sis-sion of that gift and authority that is apointed in the East for that purpose, as we do not wish to hide our one tillant.

"We feal that we have been Noticed and blest by our heavenly parrents for more than we felt that we was worthy of, yet we can testify with thankful harts that the believers at White water have been greatly Blqst with Many heavenly Blessings fead our Souls."

hosts, before visitations were made at Union Village. There the heavenly messengers were anxiously looked for and when they came it was like a "whirlwind." According to the Church Record there, the break-out commenced on William Moore August 8, 1838. So the influence must have been felt at White-water ere that date. All that I find is under date of September 26, 1847, as follows:

"Sabbath was announced by Mother (The Holy Spirit), through two witnesses, Rhoda Hinman and Aletha Percel that four mighty Angels of judgment would make us a visit shortly to help every honest soul to awake and prepare for an increase in the work of God, by putting away all sin, and laboring for an increase in the true fear and love of God and for each other. Every soul in this part of Zion that would not hear and obey would be cut off. 30th. was announced through four witnesses that the Angels of judgment had come according to promise. The instruments were commanded to not sleep until the Angels had made their visit in the different room and done their work. At 12 midnight the Angels and Mother Ann visited every children and all. Ezra Sherman was chosen to speak for the Angel of Light the other three to be witnesses. Stephen Ball, Aletha Percel and Rhoda Hinman witnesses. The same Angels and witnesses went to the North Family and the same testimony was to them to prepare for a great increase in the work of God, by confessing all sin and laboring for love and union, to be prepared to gather in souls who would shortly come. Had a meeting admitting outsiders. As many as 200 came and was present to hear the instruments proclaim from the

Then follow six pages of narratives of Spirit doings, giving a daily record for January, March, April and May 1839. I give some extracts.:

"Sabbath evening while Eldress Eunice was sitting in the Room there was a light seen to encircle her around for a number of minutes And in that time, she could not move, a number more lights seen in the Room that evening, and musick heard."

"There was singing heard in the kitchen, it moved from place to place Around the room, it was very heavenly."

January 17. "A good many different operations, and lively exercise. A voice was heard, saying, good spirits dwell with you all the Time. Some lights seen, resting on the people, all manifesting That mother's spirit was with us."

mighty Angels the same testimony. the meeting lasted over three hours causing many to fear and tremble."

So far As I have pursued any inquiries, I find that Spiritualism has a stronger hold at Whitewater than in Union Village. Still, there may be more of it in the latter place than I conjecture.

JUDICIAL PERSECUTION.

The free exercise of religion is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. What the Constitution of Ohio was from 1811 to 1847 I have not taken occasion to examine. But whatever that constitution was, or whatever laws might have been enacted, all must conform to the Constitution of the United States, and the judiciary is sworn to obey the principles of the General Government.

Stephen W. Ball, — still a member at Whitewater — desired the possession of his two daughters, — his wife being dead, and children with their maternal grandparents. On October 6, 1847, Judge Moore decided that Stephen could not have his minor children because "the law of Ohio was if a man joined the Shakers, he forfeited all right and title to his children." The case was carried to the full bench, and set for the 9th, then the 23d, and finally November 5th, when the bench was equally divided, two for and two against. Case was again assigned for February 4, 1848, and again for the 26th, when judge Johnson decided that Stephen could not have his children unless he would leave the Shakers. An appeal was taken to the State Supreme Court, where on April 19th, five judges decided "that any person joining the Shakers, deprived them of their natural right to their children." Two judges dissented. Comment is unnecessary. The record does not state why the case was not carried into the Federal Courts. In after years one of Stephen W. Ball's daughters joined the Shakers. Fannie became a very successful teacher at Watervliet. While teaching there she consented to marry Ephraim Frost, and on June 12, 1872, both withdrew from the Society. Later, with their son, they re-united at Whitewater. Ephraim desired again to leave, though Fannie was satisfied to stay, but under threat of having her son taken from her if she

did not comply, she left the Society once more to accompany her husband. She is now a widow.

GARDEN SEED ENTERPRISE.

It was in 1847 that the Whitewater brethren started on a successful career of raising garden seeds for the markets. Trips for selling the seeds were made in different parts of the country. One trip was called the Northern, another the Missouri River, another the Western Land, another the Kentucky, etc. The greatest amount received for one year — if I correctly notice, — was in 1857, when \$5,704 was realized, with a total traveling expense of \$416. This enterprise came to an end in 1873, because many firms began to put out garden and flower seeds in fancy colored papers and boxes, also in different size packages. "That our seeds did not take, as they were put up in a brown colored paper and a plain stained box. It was conclusive we must keep up with the times or step down and out, which we did."

CHRONICLES RESUMED.

In 1847 the floods in the Miami and Whitewater were the highest ever known and attended with great damage to property. In consequence, on February 1st, the Shakers commenced grinding breadstuffs for the public, because other mills were either destroyed or damaged. During the year a two-story brick wash house 30 x 60 feet was built. Bought of Michael Shuck 30 acres for \$1,000. August 20th, Phillip Antes was released from the First Eldership and Ebenezer Rice was appointed to succeed him. December 25th, it was decided to give up the eating of pork, which has been maintained to the present. However pork is set before visitors. I was favored with it at every meal while at Whitewater.

In 1848 a horse-power shed, a wagon shed and a dye house were built.

In 1849 a two-story wood house, 20 x 60 (for Center Family), milk house with cellar (North Family), and sheep barn 30 x 120 feet were built. Spinning machines started. Julia Ann Bear, on June 23d, became Eldress in place of Susan Ann Easterbrooks. December 26th, small-pox broke out.

A farm of 200 acres, containing a brick house and barn was purchased of William Walker for \$10,000 on February 1st, 1850. During the high water of March 6th, the stone dam was washed out and fences gone. August 24th, thirty brethren from Union Village came to help rebuild the mill dam. November 19th, George Rubush was appointed first Elder and Lewis Gordon second at the North Family.

In 1851, burned 140,000 brick, and December 11th, for first time used a circular saw.

DEATH OF AN EASTERN MINISTER.

The only notice I have seen of the death of one of the Mount Lebanon Ministry is that of Rufus Bishop, at Whitewater, August 2, 1852. The Mount Lebanon Ministry, then consisting of Rufus Bishop, Amos Stewart, Eliza A. Taylor and Asenath Clark, arrived at Whitewater, July 30th, from Pleasant Hill and South Union, Ky. "August 3d, at half-past two in the afternoon, the funeral began, attended by this Society generally, and some 20, mostly Elders from Union Village. The meeting continued some two hours,—first by singing some verses composed by Elder Harvey (H. L. Eads), and Elder Oliver Hampton. Elder John Martin (first in the ministry at Union Village), spoke some very appropriate remarks for the occasion, followed by the Eastern Ministry. Two verses given by inspiration was sung of Elder Rufus' welcome into the company of the Redeemed, followed by testimonies from the Elders of the different families,—first Union Village, then Whitewater. Several messages were given out by inspiration. More verses were read,—other speaking. Elder John Martin made the closing remarks. All moved to the grave: Western brethren going before the carriage, four at the sides. Western Ministry followed the carriage containing the corpse; Eastern Ministry followed next; the Elders of Whitewater, then Union Village Elders next, then the elders from the different families; then all the folks, old and young, followed, marching four abreast. After the corpse was buried, the singers sang a hymn; a message given by inspiration through

Elder Oliver Hampton. All returned home in the same order as they went. Several hymns were sung on the return to the house.

"The order in the East at this time was to appoint some twelve or more brethren to go before the corpse. These were the persons that performed the duties at the grave. Since that time, owing to lack of members, that plan has been abandoned." On the following day the Eastern and Western Ministry started for Union Village.

CHRONICLES RESUMED.

During the year 1862, a house for drying fruit, 20 x 28, and a cowbarn 40 x 168, were built. On January 1st, commenced making broom handles, and in February commenced running the saw mill day and night. December 23, Louisa Farnum became Elder Sister at Center Family and Julia Ann Bear, Eldress at the North, with Elizabeth Gass as second. December 24th mill dam and fences carried away.

In 1853, a brick school house 20 x 30, and a two-story brick house 18 x 36 were built. On January 3d, it was decided to abandon water power at the mill, and introduce steam. The cost of the change was \$2,000. Had \$87 worth of sheep killed by dogs, for which damages were received. A McCormick reaper was purchased. August 4th, a company of sixteen went to Lawrenceburg, Ind., to see the telegraph and railroad trains.

In 1854, a brick henhouse 17 x 44 and 14 feet high was built. Bought the Mering mill lot of 70 acres for \$1,300. Purchased twenty China chickens ranging from \$1 to \$20 each; also a bull and heifer for \$1,000; two cider mills for \$80; barn burned by lightning and another unroofed at South Family.

In 1855 a brick office, front three stories 45 x 30, kitchen part two-story, 43 x 22, a milk and loom house at South Family 12 x 16, and a frame at the South Family house 18 x 36 were built. The Society now numbered seventy persons. The Gathering Order was removed on May 17th, from the North to the South, and the children to the North. Elders and Eldresses at the South, George Rubush, John Hobart, Elizabeth Gass and Polly McClain, and at the North, Matthew Carter, E. Frost, Julia A. Bear and Hester Frost.

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THE OFFICE.
(Elder Charles Sturr on Extreme Left.)

In 1856 a wood house at the Office, 24 x 18, a house for dyeing cloth, and a one-story frame at North were built. Purchased near Cleveland 2,500 evergreen trees at two cents each. The Union Village Ministry arrived on September 17th, and decided that a part of Whitewater people should remove to Watervliet. Those selected were Ebenezer Rice, Matthew B. Carter, Ezra Sherman, Lewis Packer, William Adams, Thomas Streets, Francis Vaun, Charles King, Matthew Traver, Mary, Rebecca and Emily Adams, Adaline Wells, Matilda A. Butler, Mary Ellen Stroud, Sally McBride, Hester Ann ReVoux, Mary J. Lewis and Berthany Williams. All left on the 23d September. The Union Village records add the name of Ramuth G. Bunting. This removal necessitated certain changes. Stephen Ball was made first Elder, and with him John S. Hobart second. Josiah Burnham and Frederick Faulhaber, Trustees. On October 12th Frederick Faulhaber, Joseph Agnew, Louisiana Stroud, Lucy Woodward, Susan Rubush and Polly Burnham moved into the Office. On December 1st commenced to weave bonnets.

In 1857, built a two-story addition of brick to the nurse house. Bought 944 acres of land for \$15,000, in Clinton County, Ohio, adjoining that purchased by Union Village. In April, Josiah Burnham and Marion Moss took cattle there to pasture.

April 3, 1858, grain barn was burned by an incendiary, losing threshing machine and 120 bushels barley. On 17th, a robber entered the office, threatened one of the sisters and Joseph Agnew, broke open the desk, scattered the contents on the floor, and escaped, securing but little booty. October 1st, Henry Bear transferred to the Center as Elder and Stephen Ball to the South as Elder.

March 3, 1859, Louisa Farnum was released as first Eldress at Center and Lucy Woodward took her place. Lewis Gordon moved from the North to the South and Stephen Ball from the South to the North, changing places as Elders.

April 14, 1860, John S. Hobart became crazy and on 28th was taken by sheriff. June 4th, he entered suit against the Society, for \$10,000 damages, alleging that he was injured by being dragged through the streets of Cincinnati, and also for false imprisonment. June 25th, had Henry Bear and Stephen Ball

arrested by the U. S. Marshall and taken before the U. S. Commissioner at Cincinnati on the accusation of opening and detaining his letters, but being unable to prove his charges, the case was dismissed. The suit for damages was heard November 16th, and decided in favor of the Shakers. During March, set out 165 apple and 200 pear trees.

December 21, 1861, "Stephen Ball released from Elder at the North, George Rubush first. Josiah Burnham at the North, Ebenezer Rice as second at Center with Elder, H. B. Bear."

NAMES OF MEMBERS IN 1862.

The Ministry from Union Village arrived October 16, 1862, and changed the three families into two; the South, Gathering Order, changed to the North, and the South to be a part of the Center. George Rubush, Ezra Sherman, Elizabeth Gass and Amanda gRubush, Elders at the North; Stephen Banl and Manley Sherman, Polly Burnham, Mary Middleton, Lucy Devolve, Margaret Nickles, Molly Dupler and Eliza Cook to live with the boys at the South.

At Center with the South—Elders Henry Bear, Ebenezer Rice: John Easterbrooks, Joseph Agnew, Lewis Gordon, John Clark, George King, John Atcheson, John Wisenborn, Charles Wortman, Charles Faraday, Josiah Burnham, Frederick Faulhaber, Elmer Butler, Washington Rubush, Oliver Atchison, Isaiah King, William Burnet, Edward McBride.

Brethren and boys at South: Elder Stephen Ball and Manley Sherman, with following boys, Elijah, Ora and Daniel Starkey, Thomas Andrews, Charles Brock, Charles Almon and George Merrick. Boys under Ann Vann at Center near Office: Charles Sturr, Robert Morrison, Edward Donaldson, Lafayette Packer and Alfred Doyle. Sisters: Eldress Lucy Woodward, Nancy McKee, Susanna Farnum, Minerva McGuire, Susan and Polly Champlain, Lucy and Susan A. Eastabrooks, Susan and Martha Rubush, Elizabeth Sharp, Ann Vann, Louisianna Stroud, Eliza McGuire, May A. Wheeler, Rachel Hall, Julia A. Bear, Julia Middleton, Harriet Thompson, Lucinda Packer, Jane Starkey, Matilda Butler, Susanna and Marietta Faraday, Emily Flagg.

Sarah E. and Hannah J. Bryant, Fanny Ball, Amelia Dobson, Josephine Deming, Polly McClain, Lottie Wheeler, Sisters at South, seven, previously given. Girls at Center: Caty Walker, Ovanda Brock, Arecia Columbia, Olive Flagg, Lamora Brooks, Betsey Allman, Luella Carpenter, Aurilla Lacy, Antonette King. These two families were under one interest of the Center.

Of the North Family, — Elder George Rubush and Elder Ezra Sherman, John S. Hobart, Dennis and William McBride, Alexander Butler, Wilson Davis, John Freeman, James Starkey, William Merrick, Nelson Atchison. Eldress Elizabeth Gass and Eldress Amanda Rubush. Eliza Carter, Mary Faraday, Priscilla Rubush, Isabella and Mary E. Merrick, Mary Donaldson, Rebecca Clark, Melissa and Catherine Carpenter, Lydia Brock, Albina Kilgore, Jane Allman, Mary Gass, Rosetta Worts, Rhoda Gray, Catherine Sturr, Emaline Brooks, Eliza Hobart, Marinda and Lotta Sirk, and Adelia Doyle. The total population at this time embraced 118 persons.

THE MORGAN'S RAID.

On July 13, 1863, "one of the boys was at the mill at Harrison and saw Morgan's raiders coming down the hill west of town. He came home and reported the news. Frederick Faulhaber, on a fleet horse, rode out until he came in sight of them, and then hurried back as fast as he could, — receiving the fire of the enemy, but was soon out of sight. He spread the alarm, warning the neighbors to hide their horses. Several heeded the warning and took their horses above the North Family and there hid them. They took from the South Family two horses, but this was the extent of their damage to us, save a few meals and hindering us in the harvest. The main army encamped on the main road between Harrison and New Haven (Preston, P. O.), but extending their pickets and horse thieves for several miles each way, searching the cornfields and thickets for horses, robbing private residences of such things as they wanted, and if any refused they were roughly treated. At Harrison they entered all kinds of shops and stores, taking whatever they chose. At Leonard's store they took \$4,200 in money besides \$6,000 worth of

goods. At Davison's about \$6,000 all told. The loss in Harrison was about \$50,000. At New Haven they cleaned out both the stores. At Frost's \$300 and Thompson's some \$500, and in the vicinity 100 horses. They treated our folks very respectfully, and did not enter our buildings. They departed towards New Baltimore, and burned the big covered bridge across the Miami.

"After the aiders had departed we supposed our troubles had come to an end. But the next day the Union Army, some 500 or 600 on horses,—Home Guards of Indianapolis—headed by John S. Hobart, claiming to be authorized by the Government, to take all the horses he could find. John threatened to burn and kill if we did not bring in our horses from where we had hid them. Elder George Rubush ordered his horses brought to the house, where John and his companions selected the two best, as he agreed only to take two, if they were brought in.

"This time of excitement continued for days, owing to false reports being received that more of Morgan's men were coming,—then it was the Union men."

CHRONICLES RESUMED.

February 29, 1864, Henry B. Bear, Ezra Sherman and Frederick Faulhaber were appointed trustees.

In 1865 sold brooms at \$6 and \$7 per dozen, and 200 bushels of strawberries ranging between \$6 and \$7.50 per bushel.

December 31, 1868, Ezra Sherman became Elder at Gathering Order and Stephen Ball succeeded him as trustee.

February 7, 1870, Stephen Ball was removed to Watervliet, and Matthew B. Carter removed from Watervliet to Whitewater to take first charge as trustee. In 1871 steam laundry was put in at both the Center and North Families.

In April, 1872, Ebenezer Rice was released from second Eldership, and George B. Amery appointed in his place to live with Henry Bear. Alexander Butler from the South moved into Office to act with Matthew B. Carter.

December 23, 1873, Eliza McGuire was appointed Eldress at South Family in place of Polly Burnham.

March 23, 1874, George King appointed Elder at South in place of George Rubush. October 29, Matthew Carter transferred to Union Village to act as trustee there. November 4th, George Amery removed to Office to act as trustee; Alexander Butler becomes first Elder at North; Ezra Sherman removes to Center, and Charles H. Sturr becomes deacon.

In 1875, bank grain barns were built, both at the Center and North. March 6th, donated \$1,000 to Mount Lebanon to assist them in the great loss the Society there had sustained by fire. June 1st, Amanda Rubush becomes second Eldress at South and Amelia Dobson becomes second at Center. November 16th, suit instituted against George B. Amery for selling onion seed not as guaranteed. On the 22d, suit against Society by Harrison Turnpike Company. Action on account of George King using a road along and by the side of the turnpike and toll gate, and striking the toll-road beyond the gate. The claim was for \$40, for passing the gate eight times. As nothing further appears, it is probable these suits were settled.

In 1876 a shop for making brooms and carpenter work was set up. September 6th, Frederick Faulhaber becomes Elder at the North and Charles Faraday the same at the South.

March 25, 1878, George Amery released as trustee and appointed second Elder; Wilson Saffin becomes first Elder at the North in place of Alexander Butler, and the latter removes to the Office as trustee, and Charles H. Sturr to live with him. August 22, George Amery removes to the South, and succeeded by Charles Faraday at the Center. October 8, on account of the secession of Eldress Lucy Woodward, Amanda Rubush and Susanna Faraday become first and second Eldress, respectively at the Center; Julia Ann Bear becomes first Eldress at North, and Eliza McGuire moves into the Office; George Amery having left the Society, Joseph Usher moves from the North to the South.

March 25, 1879, Louisa Farnham moved to Union Village to become first in the Ministry in the Sister's Lot. Ezra Sherman becomes first and Wilson Saffin second Elder at the North. December 29th, Stephen Ball returns from Watervliet to become first Elder at the Center, with Henry Bear second. The

latter also becomes a trustee. As the Shakers had been schooling their own children besides paying taxes they attempted to get a special school district, but failed. It was not until April 20, 1891, that the school board established a school at the Shaker school house.

January 27th, 1880, Wilson Saffin removed from the second Elder at the North and goes to the Center. July 2, Nancy McKee second Eldress at Center in place of Susanna Faraday, and Kate Dennis becomes second at the North. November 2d, Henry Bear is released as trustee and moves to the North as first Elder; Ezra Sherman removes to the Office as trustee; Charles Faraday becomes second Elder at Center, and Charles Sturr, bookkeeper at Office.

In December, 1881, the sorghum house was removed to the Boggett farm to be used as a dwelling.

January 1st, 1882, the Union Village Ministry arrived and made the following changes: Henry Bear becomes first Elder at Center and trustee; Stephen Ball becomes second, and Charles Faraday first Elder at the North. May 13th, Julia A. Bear is released from first Eldress at the North and moves to Office in place of Eliza McGuire. Susan Faraday as first with Carrie Burk as second at the North.

February 4, 1884, Charles Sturr succeeded Henry Bear as deacon and trustee. May 21st, commenced roofing cow barn. It took three men twenty-nine days to put on the 65,000 shingles. Put up wagon scales. Made two fish ponds. Dried 54 Barrels of sweet corn. Began to ship first by express for stock purposes.

October 24, 1885, raised a new sheep barn on same spot where previous one stood. August 19th, Matthew B. Carter and Julia Ann Bear appointed trustees for the Society. A strange freak of lightning occurred June 13th, during a heavy storm. It struck the wash house, going in at the door on the west side; thence up through the floors to the attic, tearing a hole through the roof by both chimneys; then down the south end to the cistern, and on its course it took off most of the ceiling in the ironing room, doing damage all the way. In the upper room were 20,000 silk worms about ready to spin. The children had just left the ironing room.

November, 1886, Eliza McGuire became second Eldress at Center. In August hot air furnaces were put in at both the Office and Center dwelling.

During April, 1887, an orchard containing 400 apple trees and 200 peach trees was set out north of the Office. In September a stone walk was placed around the Office and another connecting it with the residence of the Center family.

June 25, 1889, Louisa Farnham returns from Union Village, where she had lived in the Ministry, and became second Eldress at Center. The South Family was broken up and moved to the North. This is the first acknowledgement (though indirect) of the visible decay of the community found in the Sturr MS.

July 1, 1890, Lafayette Parker becomes first Elder at the North, in the room of Charles Faraday. August 19th, the Mount Lebanon Ministry arrives and appoints Mary Gass, Eldress at the North in place of Elizabeth Sharp, — the latter moving to the Center.

In 1891, a new engine house of corrugated iron was built. A new boiler and engine for the wash house at North Family. March 14th, purchased threshing machine and traction engine.

In 1893, a new threshing machine and a traction engine of 15 horse power were purchased. Threshing was done in the vicinity. This was carried on for some years.

June 25th, 1894, another thresher was purchased, and later a clover huller, and during the season threshed 33,461 bushels of wheat, 9,731 of oats and barley and 355 of clover. The house on the Williamson farm having been destroyed by fire, within forty days a new two-story with kitchen, was constructed, for the renter. This is the first indication of lands rented out. Doubtless, owing to age and the paucity of numbers, the Shakers had commenced renting out their lands ere this year.

The Sturr MS. is utterly silent on the subject of manners, customs and dress, save two items in the year 1895; one of which (January 6th), states "began to kneel once after meals, after eating," and the other (July 14th), "change made of worship, first stand singing a hymn, then sit down, speak, sing or read." As all the manners, customs, etc., are prescribed by the Mount Lebanon Ministry, the edict goes out to all the Societies at the

same time, and hence Shaker Zion is supposed to be blessed with a general uniformity in all things. During the year, at the Center a 40-foot steel tank tower, holding 75 barrels, was put up to supply house and stock.

February 15, 1896, Lafayette Parker was released from the Eldership at the North, and soon after withdrew, taking his children with him. The temporal affairs of the entire estate were now assumed by Charles H. Sturr. The year was one of tribulation, presenting great trouble with the Ludwig family; all the boys leaving; all the work and affairs to be looked after by Charles Sturr; could not run threshing machines because none at home to call on for assistance; sold one of the machines.

In 1897, steam heating at Center Family and hot water at Office were introduced.

September 25, 1898, Charles H. Sturr was appointed second Elder at Center, Henry B. Bear being first.

March 21, 1899, the Shakers' suit against the Birdsell Huller Company was decided in favor of the former. Particulars not given. Under one roof was constructed a wagon shed and corn crib. This is the last item of building.

July 5, 1900, John Tyler removes from Watervliet to live at the North to take charge of affairs there. July 8th, Charles H. Sturr succeeded Henry Bear as first Elder, and moved into the building of the Center Family, having lived in the Office since March 25, 1878. This closes the Sturr MS.

The Sturr papers inform us that the telephone was in use at the Center Family in 1901, and the windows of the dwelling were enlarged in 1902.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS.

The Elders of the Center Family take rank over the North Family—the South Family extinct. Charles H. Sturr is first Elder at Center, likewise Amanda Rubush first Eldress, with none standing second. John O. Tyler is first Elder at North; Adaline Wells, first Eldress and Sarah Smith second. The trustees are Henry B. Bear, Charles H. Sturr, Amanda Rubush and Matilda A. Butler. Besides the above, the Covenant members are Frederick Faulhaber, Lewis Robbins, Stephen Ball, Julia A. Bear,

Elizabeth Sharp, Mary Middleton, Lucinda Parker, Catherine Sturr, Emaline Brooks, Rebecca Clark, Eliza Cook, Carrie Burk, Susanna Rooney, Louisa Gass and Cora Stevens.

CONCLUSION.

In all the documents I have examined I have seen no evidence of any defalcations in the community. The affairs appear to have been well managed, and the Society has moved along in harmony. I asked Elder Sturr how the Society escaped the financial troubles in which Joseph Slingerland involved Union Village. In reply I was informed that he had a premonition and immediately saw every Covenant member, and all expressed themselves as being satisfied with the present board of trustees. When Elder Slingerland came to remove Elders Bear and Sturr, he was informed that the present board was satisfactory to all those concerned. The matter was not pressed. Nearly all the lands are rented. Harmony prevails in this community.



THE BLACK HAND.

JOHN D. H. M'KINLEY.

The Licking river, the Pataskala of the Indians, as it draws near the eastern boundary of Licking county, Ohio, flows in a winding course for a distance of about two miles through a narrow and picturesque sandstone gorge, known as the Licking Narrows. High hills border upon both banks, their rocky sides



FACE OF BLACK HAND ROCK.

exposed in many places to a height of fifty to sixty feet, almost continuously on the north bank, and often rising out of the bed of the stream. Just at the eastern end of the Narrows the river flows in its narrowest channel between twin cliffs. That on the south side has been quarried and boated way, so that it no longer shows the extent of the face originally presented to the stream, though enough remains to give an idea of its former height. That on the north side is isolated, with a surface area on its

summit of perhaps the third of an acre covered principally with pines, laurel and moss. It is circular in form except on the south, where it presents to the river a face about two hundred feet in length, rises to a height of fifty feet, and, arching from a point some distance above its base, overhangs the stream about fifteen feet. This is the Black Hand rock.

At some period in the distant past these cliffs, united, formed an impassable barrier to the stream, for an old channel turns abruptly to the north on the west side of the Black Hand rock, makes a circuit, and returning cuts straight across the present channel at a distance from its point of departure of only the width of the rock itself, and bears away southward in a narrow, rock-bound course. This old channel resembles in shape a horseshoe, bounded continuously on its outer side by a rocky ledge, and holding between its points the Black Hand rock. This outer rim of rock reaches the present channel of the river with a face of about two hundred and fifty feet, with a height slightly greater than that of the Black Hand rock, and forms the final barrier to the entrance of the stream in its present course to the valley beyond. It has been named by present-day visitors, the Red Rock. At some more recent date the stream must have been diverted from this old channel into its present course. The peculiarity of formation adds greatly to the interest of the place, and from the standpoint of the geologist has been convincingly treated by Professor Wm. M. Tight, president of the University of New Mexico, in Bulletins of the Scientific Laboratory of Dennison University.

When the Central Ohio railroad was built, it followed the natural grade along the south bank of the Licking. When the twin cliff opposite the Black Hand rock was reached, a cut was made through it, so that the traveler by the Baltimore & Ohio is hindered by this from a distinct view of the Black Hand rock. An electric line from Newark to Zanesville now passes along the north bank of the river within a few feet back of the Black Hand rock, and tunnels through the Red Rock. By such a pleasant and convenient mode of access it is probable that the Black Hand will be visited more frequently by pleasure-seekers than heretofore.

The pictures used for illustration are intended to show the massiveness of the Black Hand rock and give an idea of the ruggedness and picturesqueness of the Narrows and the peculiar change of channel, which makes so novel and interesting the position of the rock itself. Two of the pictures were taken some years ago, while the dam was still standing, and the river was slack-water from the outlet lock at the head of the Narrows to the dam, which stood a short distance beyond the Black Hand. The remaining pictures were recently taken, while the river, no longer flooded by the dam, was at the stage of low water. Of the three pictures in which the Black Hand rock appears, one,



RAILROAD CUT OPPOSITE BLACK HAND ROCK.

taken from the Red Rock, looking west, shows the east entrance to the railroad cut opposite the Black Hand, the channel between the cliffs and the river at the stage of slack water; another, taken from the railroad opposite, shows the face of the Black Hand rock, and its height in comparison with the dimly discernible figures standing on the towing-path across its face; the third picture looks eastward along the present channel of the river into the widening valley beyond. Now the dam is out, much more of the rock is exposed to view, giving it a more massive appearance than in the older pictures.

On the face of this isolated cliff the earliest settlers found engraved the figure of a large human hand. Authorities differ as to the size of the hand and the direction in which it pointed. The weight of evidence supports the statement that it was twice the normal size, with the thumb and fingers distended and pointing to the east. It appeared to have been cut into the face of the rock with some sharp tool, and it is probable that the form became dark in time through natural agencies. In 1828, when the Ohio canal was under construction, the river throughout the extent of the narrows was converted into slack-water and made a part of the canal by constructing a dam a few hundred yards east of the Black Hand. It was necessary to blast away part of the Black Hand rock in order to make the towing-path. In doing so the Black Hand was removed. From the earliest settlement to the present, the origin and purpose of the Black Hand have been subjects of interesting conjecture, and the effort to account for them has given rise to many legends.

The Legends of the Black Hand.

These which follow have been written by Dr. R. E. Chambers, of Chandlersville, Mr. H. C. Cochran, of near Newark, Mrs. David Gebhart, of Dayton, and the Hon. Alfred Kelley, of Columbus.

In a paper by Colonel Charles Whittlesey, entitled "Archaeological Frauds," he locates the mound, from which the Moses or Commandment Stone was said by David Wyrick to have been taken, two miles east of Jacktown and south of the National road. Residents of Newark who knew David Wyrick personally, and are familiar with all the facts assure me that this is correct. In the valley east of the Red Rock, and a few hundred yards distant, is a circle about two hundred feet in diameter, with an opening to the northeast, and with a small mound in the center. Southwest from the circle, near the river, is evidence of a fire-pit. Old residents tell me that arrow-heads and flint chips were formerly abundant in and about this circle. These, aside from the figure of the hand, are the only evidences of Indians, Mound Builders, or other prehistoric inhabitants in the neighborhood of the Black Hand. The statement of these facts, I hope, will

not lessen the interest of the reader in Dr. Chambers' entertaining effort to account for the Black Hand.

In concluding his legend, Mr. Cochran says: "The name Black Hand still clings to the locality notwithstanding the village of that name has been renamed by the Post-office Depart-



OUTLET LOCK AT HEAD OF "NARROWS."

ment to the prosaic one of Toboso. All of the history and romance and beauty of the locality, however, suggest Black Hand as the name of both village and community. The brakeman on the passenger train calls it Black Hand; if a stranger toiling along the country road asks a native the way to Toboso, he will invariably be directed on the way to Black Hand." It will

doubtless be a matter of regret to everyone that the railroad has recently changed the name of the station, and the brakeman no longer calls out Black Hand, but Toboso. It is to be hoped that commercial as well as historic interest will induce the new electric line to perpetuate the name of Black Hand.

In a beautiful introduction to her legend, among other things, Mrs. Gebhart says: "The Indian legend pertaining to this relic of a prehistoric race was told me by Colonel Robert Davidson, who settled in Newark in 1808. There were many Indians there at that time, and from them he doubtless heard it. They lingered long in the vicinity. I remember being carried in his arms, probably about 1835, to see the party who had erected their wigwams and camped in the public square at Newark. I remember with especial distinctness, one squaw who carried a papoose, Indian fashion, on her back. Its black bead-like eyes seemed to view me as curiously as I on my part viewed it from that coign of vantage a father's protecting arm."

Hon. Alfred Kelly was one of the canal commissioners under whose supervision the canals of Ohio were made. He probably heard the legend while engaged in this work. His rendering has never been published. A manuscript copy is in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Francis Collins, of Columbus, who has kindly consented to its publication here.

THE BLACK HAND.

R. E. CHAMBERS, M. D.

Some time during the fifties, articles appeared from time to time under the nom-de-plume of "Black Hand." These were devoted to a history of the "boys and girls of 1826." They were pleasing and readable, and were very lavish in extolling the attractive traits of character that adorned the developing womanhood and manhood of that period.

At the conclusion of his article he asks the question, "Who put that hand on the rock?" or who painted the hand on the rock? — for it had the appearance of having been painted.

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This rock is near the station on the B. & O. railroad which bears the name, "Black Hand." It is on the canal bank on the borders of Muskingum county and Licking county and was a place of much note as a pleasure resort in my boyhood days. It was a large rock with a face some eight feet high with a pro-



A SECTION OF THE "NARROWS."

jecting rock of some feet out and even over the canal. This hand was perfect and Mr. Sheward, who had taken much pains to see if he could find its origin, traced its history back to 1816, and the first traveler found this hand on the rock. The Indians did not use the open hand as an insignia to convey or perpetuate events, hence they could not account for the hand.

To give what I thought was the best solution to a question of so much interest, I was disposed to use the find of David Wyrick and a friend, who had taken advantage of a removal of a large mound for the stone and dirt it contained by the B. & O. railroad, a work of our prehistoric citizens of a time we know not of. David Wyrick and his friend, who had been deeply interested in this mound in the years past, and as to what it might contain, determined to explore to a greater depth than the removal of the accumulations by the railroad.

They were not long in striking a rock in their descent and finding it was single and elongated continued their work until they uncovered it. They found the top was of the character of a slab, which on removal revealed the skeleton of what was once a human being. While decomposition had been perfect, the mould of the covering over the remains gave evidence of fibers as if the body had been clothed with a woolen garment. They removed the stone coffin and found beneath it a stone of a foot and a half in length, that gave evidence of having been sharpened and upon handling it they found that it contained something in its interior. They, with some trouble, opened it, finding inside a stone twelve inches long and four inches wide and an inch in thickness. It had a neck broken off, in the end was a hole. This gave evidence of having been worn as if a strap had been inserted and it was carried in this way.

They were much astonished to find engraved on one side an outline or profile of a man in the dress of a Hebrew and on the other side characters which they could not make anything out of. Living in Newark, and having knowledge of the Episcopal minister as a man of fine education, they went with it to him, and he took the stone and was greatly astonished to find that the characters were Hebrew. He said he would see if he could read or decipher it. He did so. Calling to his aid his Hebrew works, he was able to translate nine commandments, one was left off.

Fearing that his translation was not correct, and having a knowledge of Rev. Matthew Miller, of Monroe township, this county, who was at that time at his home from New York, where he had been laboring in his efforts to convert the Jews, and

knowing that he was greatly distinguished as a Hebrew scholar, he wrote to him of the find, asking his assistance.

His deep interest in that people caused his immediate trip to Newark. One of the letters or characters was not closed at the top, and for fear that he should be mistaken in view of this character, he went to Cincinnati to a Hebrew rabbi, and presented to him the tablet. His translation was the same as that of the two other ministers. His attention being called to this var-



OLD CHANNEL OF RIVER IN REAR OF BLACK HAND ROCK.

iation in the letter, he said: "This is ancient Hebrew that you know nothing about." Rev. Matthew Miller said to me that the dating on this tablet ante-dated the birth of Christ eight thousand years.

This hand pointed to the mound that contained the last rabbi who ministered at the altar. Doubtless when his work was done his followers gave a burial that went to show their love and esteem, in the mound they raised over his remains and the

tablet, that was as a guide to their faith, and then put the hand on the rock, pointing to the place of his burial.

THE MINGO CAPTIVE AND THE WYANDOT MAIDEN AND THE NEUTRAL GROUND.

H. C. COCHRAN.

An Indian sat at the door of a settler's cabin and told this story: Many years ago the red men in the eastern part of the state were at war with those in the middle and northwestern part. Chief among the former were the Mingos, and among the latter, the Wyandots. In one of the stealthy and bloody incursions into the Mingo hunting grounds, a young chief of great promise was captured and carried back by the Wyandots. Instead of killing the young Mingo chieftain, as was the usual custom, he was made a serf and compelled to earn the good-esteem and fellowship of his captors, a fate worse than death to the young Indian. The woes of his captivity, however, were lightened by the kindly attention of a young Wyandot maiden, the daughter of the chief of the tribe into which the Mingo had been adopted. Genuine affection knows no condition, or it rises above all environment. The maiden fell in love with the unfortunate young chief, and though watched by the crafty tribesmen, they made their affection known to each other and decided to fly to the Mingo country. One night they made their escape. At daylight they were missed and were pursued by a posse of Wyandots. The girl had left behind a tribesman lover, who burning with the passion of a disappointed lover, and aching for vengeance traveled faster than the couple and overtook them at Black Hand rock. They heard the pursuers behind them, knowing that worse than death awaited them if captured. With the stoicism of the savage, they walked to the edge of the precipice and surveyed the flood. Folding the idol of his heart in his arms, he sprang into the boiling waters. The pursuers were close enough to see the last chapter of the drama. The narrator says the disappointed pursuers marked the spot as the Caucasian found it.

The other legend, one worthy of perpetuity, is born of the geology of the country and the trade conditions of the aborigines.

About five miles southwest of Black Hand is a great outcropping of chalcedony. The place is known now as "Flint Ridge" and the flint, rare on this continent, was much valued by the Indians and Mound Builders for making implements of agriculture and war. Like the pipe stone quarries of the Dakotas, where the inimical Sioux and Mandan work side by side in apparent peace, hither the tribes came up, the place being considered sacred to the giver of all good and perfect gifts. For a radius of



TUNNEL THROUGH RED ROCK, EASTERN BOUNDARY OF OLD CHANNEL.

five miles around "Flint Ridge," rested the blessing of the Great Spirit, or that of the orb of day, the divinity worshipped by the Mound Builders. None of the tumult of war was found within that space. Parties in quest of flint, coming to the confines of the charmed circle, laid down their arms for the purpose of mining the necessary stone, for the time forgetting the traditional hatred of foes. They came from the Mississippi valley, probably by water and debarked from their frail craft at the foot of the rock. The romancer says the spread hand carved on

the rock was in mute appeal and forcibly reminded the wayfarer in a way at once forcible, as it was poetical, that thus far and no farther should the waves of unglutted vengeance roll. The hand marked the portal of a sanctuary which was sacred to the savage, whose lust for blood rose above every other consideration in his narrow but intense, isolated but eventful life.

THE CHIEFTAIN WACOUSTA, THE YOUNG LAHKOPIS, AND
THE MAIDEN AHYOMAH.

MRS. DAVID GEBHART.

"An unremembered Past
Broods like a presence, midst
These cliffs and hills."

Many moons ago, long before the pale face came across the Great Water to this land, here upon the bank of the Pataskala, was the lodge of the great chief Powkongah, whose daughter Ahyomah was fair as the dawn and graceful as the swan that floats on the lake. Her eyes were soft and shy as the eyes of a young deer, her voice sweet and low as the note of the cooing dove. Two braves were there who looked upon her with eyes of love, and each was fain to lead her from the lodge of her father, that she might bring light and joy and contentment to his own. At last said the chief, her father, "No longer shall ye contend for the hand of Ahyomah, my daughter. Go ye now forth upon the war path, and when three moons have passed see that ye come hither once more, and then I swear by the Great Spirit that to him who shall carry at his belt the greatest number of scalps shall be given the hand of Ahyomah, my daughter." Three months had waxed greater and grown less ere the warriors returned. Then, upon the day appointed, behold, all the tribe gathered to view the counting of the scalps. First stepped forth Wacousta, a grim visaged warrior, who had long parted company with fleet-footed youth, and walked soberly with middle manhood. From his belt he took his trophies, one by one, and laid them at the feet of the chief, while from behind the lodge door Ahyomah, unseen by all, looked fearfully forth upon the scene. With each fresh scalp the clouds settled more and more darkly

upon the bright face of Ahvumah, and her lip trembled as she murmured, "So many! so many!" Then came the second brave, Lahkapis. Young was he, with the light of boyhood still lingering in his eyes, but upon his head the eagle feather, telling withal of a strong arm and deeds of bravery. One swift glance he shot towards the lodge of the unseen maiden, then he loosed his belt, and laid it at the feet of Powkongah. Scalp after scalp they counted, while the people bent forward silently, and a little hand drew aside the curtain from the lodge doorway, and a young



BLACK HAND ROCK FACING LICKING RIVER.

face looked anxiously yet hopefully forth. Slowly, slowly they laid them down, and at last, behold there was one more, just one more than in the pile of Wacousta. The young Lahkapis had won! Now strode forth Wacousta, and laid his hand—the strong right hand, that yet had failed to win the prize—laid it upon a rock. Then lifted he his tomahawk high in the air, and with one swift stroke severed the hand at the wrist, and flung it high up against the face of the cliff, saying. "Stay thou there forever as a mark of scorn in the eyes of all men, thou hast let

thyself be beaten by the cunning right hand of a boy! Disgraced thou art, and no longer shalt thou be numbered among the members of my frame." And the hand clung to the rock and turned black, and spread and grew until it was as the hand of a giant; and while the chief, Ahyomah and the tribe stood silently watching the wonder, the defeated warrior wrapped his robe about him, spoke no word of farewell, and striding swiftly into the dark depths of the forest, was seen no more by man.

THE BLACK HAND.

HON. ALFRED KELLEY.

Have you ever seen the place where the murderer's hand
Had instamped on the rock its indelible brand,
A stain which nor water nor time could efface?
'Tis a deep lonely glen, 'tis a wild gloomy place,
Where the waters of Licking so silently lave,
Where the huge frowning rock high impends o'er the wave,
On whose pine-covered summit we hear the deep sigh
When the zephyrs of evening so gently pass by.
Here a generous savage was once doomed to bleed,
'Twas the treacherous white man committed the deed.
The hand of the murderer fixed the imprint,
'Twas the blood of the victim that gave the black tint.
A captive in battle the white man was made,
And deep in the wilds is the victim conveyed,
Here far from his kindred the youth must be slain,
His prayers, his entreaties, his struggles are vain.
The war dance is treading, his death song is singing,
And the wild savage yell in his ears is a-ringing.
The fire for the torture is blazing on high,
His death doom is sealed, here the white man must die,
The hatchet is raised, the weapon descends,
But quick an old chief o'er the victim now bends.
The hatchet he seizes and hurls to the ground.
He raises the youth and his limbs are unbound.
"My son fell in battle," exclaims the old chief,
"But ye saw not my sorrow, tho' deep was my grief,

And now shall the white man to me be a son,
'Tis your chief that has said it — his will shall be done.
A friend and a father to him will I prove,
And me as a father and friend shall he love."
Long years had passed by, and peace had again
Spread her soft balmy wings over mountain and plain,
The red man and white man in friendship now meet,
For the hatchet is buried deep under their feet.
Long years had rolled on, while the chief and his son
Rich spoils from the forest together had won.
Now loaded with furs from the far distant lake,
The path to the traders together they take.
Through the Narrows of Licink their pathway extends,
Around the huge rock on its margin it bends,
Where the shelf on its face scarce admits them to creep
Along the dark front that impends o'er the deep.
The chief, with fatigue and with age now oppressed,
In the shade of the rock seeks a moment of rest;
Here, lulled by the waters, he closes his eyes,
While his spirit communes with his friends in the skies.
By his side the false white man now silently knelt,
And carefully drawing his knife from the belt,
With one deadly plunge of the murderous steel
Reached the heart full of kindness — a heart that could feel.
Then quick in the river the Indian was thrown
Lest the tale should be told, lest the deed should be known.
Oh! the shriek that he gave as he sank in the flood,
As the waves eddied round him, deep-stained with his blood.
Oh! the glare of his eye as they closed o'er his head.
While with hoarse sullen murmur they welcomed the dead.
Rock told it to rock, oft repeating the sound,
While shore answering shore still prolonged it around.
That look and that sound touched the murderer's heart,
With phrenzy he reeled, and with shuddering start,
His hand, while still reeking, with madness he placed
On the rock, and the blood-stain could ne'er be effaced.

'Twas avarice prompted the horrible deed,
'Twas avarice doomed the kind chieftain to bleed.
To form the safe towing-path, long since that day
The face of the rock had been blasted away.
Now the gay painted boat glides so smoothly along,
Its deck crowned with beauty and cheerful with song.
And the print of the *black hand* no longer is seen,
But the pine-covered summit is still evergreen,
And still through the branches we hear the deep sigh
Of the spirits of air as they sadly pass by,
While in mournful procession they move one by one
Still thinking with grief on the deed that was done.



THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE OHIO CANALS.

GEORGE WHITE DIAL, LOCKLAND, OHIO.

The observant passenger on the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton railway between Cincinnati and Troy, Ohio, will catch short glimpses of a broad ditch filled with sluggish water. Winding its way through the beautiful Miami and Maumee valleys, it follows the railroad for miles, now on this side of the tracks, now on that; oftentimes close beside the river, hidden by the foliage of the willows and the sycamores, or by rows of mills, lime kilns, gas-houses, brickyards, and grain elevators: sometimes lost to view while it wanders off around the hills and through the forests. Similar sights and scenes will greet the eyes of passengers on the railways running through the Scioto, Licking, Muskingum and Cuyahoga valleys. Ever and anon one sees a string of sleepy mules and a canal boat pushing along with quiet dignity appropriate to the days when leisure was still allowable.

A vision of the old waterway in all its former glory as a carrier of passengers — echoing from end to end with the crude blasts from the boat horns of passing "packets" — looms up for a moment, but only to be dispelled by the actual sight of passing trains, shrieking and roaring with their demon-like whistles. We shall better appreciate the vast change from mule to steam if we remember that roughly speaking, these old waterways belong to the first half, and the railways to the last half of the nineteenth century.

The period of canal construction is so long past, that not only to the average person who catches a glimpse of them from the car window, but even to the citizens of the state, the historic waters and towpaths of the "old ditches" are little known. Agitation favoring inland waterways began with our earliest development as a nation. Among the first to urge canal building was George Washington. For his plans to connect the Ohio with

the Potomac, he received a vote of thanks from the Virginia House of Burgesses; and later he was president of the company organized to join the Hudson with the Great Lakes.

Work on the Erie Canal, however, was not begun until 1819, and though various sections were soon in use, the line was not opened through to the lake till 1825. This interest in internal improvements the early settlers carried with them to their homes in the Northwest, where it reappeared in agitation for a waterway to connect the Ohio River with the Lake.

During the period of settlement in the Northwest, roads such as we know them now, were quite as little known to the widely separated communities in Ohio, as were railroads. With very few exceptions, the roads were only widened bridle paths, improved in swampy places by patches of corduroy construction, but wellnigh impassable in the spring and fall. Thus in the absence of roads, overland transportation for trade was impracticable and productions of any kind were of no value so long as they could not be shipped cheaply by water to the consumer. This need of cheaper communication was keenly realized from the time of the first settlements west of the great barrier, the Alleghanies, and most keenly by those situated some distance from any river or stream, and thus cut off from the usual modes of transportation by canoe, flatboat, "keelboat," or "ark."

AGITATION.

Contrary to the statements in our histories, the agitation in the west did not arise as a result of the success of the Erie Canal in 1825. But before that waterway was even begun, several private companies enthusiastically drew plans to connect the lake with the Ohio. Successful private construction was prevented only by the failure of every endeavor to secure charters from the State. But these companies were not in vain. Their numerous stump speeches and articles in the meagre "press" of that day aroused public interest and effort in "internal improvements." This Ohio agitation was contemporaneous with that in New York state. In 1817, the same year in which work on the Erie Canal began, the first resolution relating to the Ohio canals

was introduced in the State Assembly; and the friends of the project entered actively into the fall campaign to elect men pledged to vote for internal improvements—and not without success. Governor Brown, in his inaugural address of December, 1818, referred to the necessity of providing “cheaper ways to the markets for the Ohio farmers.” In accordance with this suggestion, on the motion of Mr. Sill, January 7th, 1819, the assembly appointed a committee to investigate the expediency of a canal from the Lake to the Ohio. This committee reported favorably, but no action was taken by the Assembly. On recommendation from Governor Brown in 1820, three commissioners were appointed, who were to “employ an engineer to survey routes for canals,—provided however that Congress would aid the construction.”¹ But Congress did not afford the desired aid and nothing was done for two years.

During the interval, however, interest was not allowed to lag. Meetings were held throughout the state, in which speakers dwelt upon the “dangers and risks of the river voyage to New Orleans,” and “the tendency of finding the markets there overstocked, especially at that season of the year which admits of descent from above the Falls” (at Louisville). They argued, “to leave one’s property (at New Orleans) is to abandon it to destruction—to wait for higher prices is to incur the dangers of an unwholesome climate. One must ship his flour or sell, at a sacrifice—ofttimes at a price that will not pay the cost of freight and charges. It is fair, therefore,” they declared, “to compare the delay, cost and risk of sending the cargo from Ohio to some place on the Gulf of Mexico, with the time, charges and risk that will be incurred in sending it to New York by the projected canal; and to compare the voyage to New Orleans, by circuitous and dangerous navigation through more than ten degrees of latitude, approaching the torrid zone, exposed to all the deleterious effects of that climate, with a safe and expeditious voyage through our own State and that of our sister state, in a healthful climate, and supplied with all the necessities and comforts which a thickly settled and highly improved country will afford. In the first case, the difference in time

¹ Ohio Canal Doc., pp. 12.

will be several weeks and in cost, at least equal to the difference between an unhealthy climate, dangerous navigation and a tedious voyage in returning 1,600 miles against the current of the Mississippi and Ohio—and a healthful climate, safe navigation, and an expeditious voyage both going and coming.”² To-day one can scarcely imagine the force these words had with the many pioneers who had experienced the hardships of the “keelboat” trip to “Newor-Leans” (as they called it in those days). Another argument of equal weight was the ease with which gypsum, salt, cloth and other commodities could be “imported” from the east.

The final arguments of the canal agitators emphasized the amount of revenue to be derived from the water power at every lock. At Cincinnati alone, it was estimated, there would be “power sufficient to keep in operation forty over-shot wheels of fifteen feet diameter, turning eighty pairs of four and a half foot millstones,” and that “two hundred dollars would certainly be a moderate rent for water power sufficient to drive a pair of millstones or the same power applicable to machinery—in such a place as Cincinnati, making the total amount of water rents \$200,000 per annum.” Further, “Much water power may also be obtained in the descent of 107 feet between Middletown and Cincinnati.”³

These lengthy discussions had the desired political effect in electing “canal men” to the Assembly in 1821; and on December 6th, Micajah P. Williams, the Hamilton County Representative, introduced and carried a resolution “for the appointment of a committee of five to take up so much of the Governor’s message as related to canals. Governor Brown named Micajah P. Williams, W. H. Moore, John Shelby, Henry Howe and Thos. Worthington.

Acting on the report of this committee, the Assembly on January 21st, 1822, passed a bill authorizing a board of canal commissioners and an examination into the various possible routes. This board consisted of Thomas Worthington, Alfred

² Ohio Canal Doc., pp. 20.

³ Ohio Canal Doc., pp. 141.

Kelley, Benjamin Tappan, Jeremiah Morrow and Ebenezer Buckingham.

Samuel Geddes, one of the Erie Canal engineers was employed by the commissioners. During the next two years his parties hunted down the various water courses, camping here and there in the wilderness to ascertain the level and to gauge the water-flow in every stream. To accomplish this work they were compelled to cut their way through the virgin forests and swamps, transporting with them all their supplies, and to take their observations without the aid of modern instruments. In less than eight months, 900 miles were surveyed, 800 being leveled by Mr. Forrer and party, with one instrument. In his report Mr. Geddes roughly suggested various feasible routes, outlining the principal difficulties and estimating the water-supply and cost. He especially emphasized the fact that, "as a sufficient supply of water, available at all seasons of the year, is absolutely necessary, the location of the summit level is highly important." The later favorable action of the Assembly was due to the fact that on the Miami and Maumee route, the surveyors found a fully sufficient supply of water on the Loramie Summit from a branch of Jackson's Creek, a tributary to the Mad River.

In January, 1823, the commissioners made their first report, dwelling on the commercial value and the feasibility of the proposed waterways. In passing, it is pleasant to note that these commissioners neither asked nor received any compensation for their time and services. Acting on this report, the Assembly authorized the commissioners to secure more detailed surveys and estimates of the possible routes.

In place of Jeremiah Morrow, who resigned, Micajah P. Williams, of Hamilton County, was appointed, and soon proved to be the most enthusiastic member of the commission. He made the long journey to New York and personally investigated the construction, water supply, and management of the Erie Canal. He also carried on an extensive correspondence with Governor Clinton and other New York business men in regard to loans for the Ohio canals — a matter in which he was very successful.

Meanwhile the commission stated in their second report of June 24th, 1824, that the plan to connect the Miami and the Scioto Rivers was entirely impracticable because of the intervening hills and lack of water supply. But the Ohio route from Cleveland to Portsmouth, and the Miami-Maumee route from Toledo to Cincinnati, as roughly outlined in the surveys of Forrer and Bates, were very favorably considered. Discussing this report in his message of December, 1824, Governor Morrow strongly advocated a special tax to build the canals, but no action was taken. A month later, on January 8th, 1825, the commission submitted a further report, giving the exact location of these two routes, with details of the engineering difficulties, and with definite estimate of the cost and water supply.

THE CANAL BILL PASSED.

This report occasioned much favorable debate. It closed on February 4, 1825, with the passage, by votes of 34-2 in the Senate, and 58-13 in the House, of the long desired act, "To provide for the improvement of the state by navigable canals." The act created, (1) a new board of seven Canal Commissioners, holding office at the pleasure of the Assembly; (2) an "acting board of three," chosen from among their own number; (3) a "Canal Fund" to consist of private and State land grants, moneys from the sale of stocks and from the special taxes pledged for the payment of the interest on such stocks, and all rents and tolls accruing from the canal works; (4) a second board of three commissioners of the "Canal Fund"—members to hold office for six years and to be appointed, one every other year by the Assembly in joint session. The acting board was authorized "to prosecute the construction of the Ohio line and so much of the Miami-Maumee line as lies between Cincinnati and the Mad River at or near Dayton." The commissioners of the "Canal Fund" were directed to borrow for 1825, \$400,000, and in any succeeding year not more than \$600,000, for which loans they were to issue transferable certificates of stock, bearing six per cent. interest, and redeemable at the pleasure

of the State between 1850 and 1875.¹ The credit of the State was such that the first sale of bonds in 1825 was at the rate of 97½; all subsequent sales were at a premium. As the news of the Assembly's action spread throughout the State, the hills of Ohio blazed up in a bonfire celebration which illuminated the valleys as they have never been illuminated since. The German pioneers were carried back to the old days when they kindled the fires of St. John in the fatherland.

OHIO'S TWENTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY.

Immediately Governor Morrow invited Governor DeWitt Clinton, of New York, to be present and to strike the first spade into the earth in the digging of the canals. By the middle of June contracts had been let for work on the Ohio line. About the same time Governor Clinton accompanied by his aides, Colonel Jones and Colonel Reed; Colonel Van Rensselaer, who as an officer under General Wayne had traversed Ohio as a wilderness; Messrs. Rathbone and Lord, who had loaned the money with which to commence the canals; and Judge Conkling, U. S. district judge of the state of New York, started on his journey westward, arriving at Cleveland by steamboat July 1st. Here, amid greetings and rejoicings worthy of the event, he was welcomed by Governor Morrow and many state officials. The parties took stage for Newark and on the Fourth of July, when Ohio had just come of age, in the presence of a great concourse of people, Governor Clinton lifted the first spadeful of earth from the soil of the Licking Summit of the Ohio Canal — about three miles southwest of Newark. Governor Morrow lifted the second spadeful and then a number of distinguished men struggled with one another as to who should raise the third spadeful. A squadron of cavalry, holding back the crowd, kept a space open for the ceremonies and in the midst of this hollow square, New Yorkers and Ohioans vied with one another in filling the wheelbarrow with successive spadefuls. The captain of the militia had the honor of wheeling away the load and dumping it over a bank. Thomas Ewing delivered the ora-

¹ Ohio Canal Documents, pp. 165-166.

tion of the day and men all around him wept for joy.¹ On the fifth, the Governors took part in a celebration at Lancaster. On the seventh, in the capitol at Columbus, Governor Morrow delivered an address to Governor Clinton, and a public dinner followed.

Similar festivities occurred in Dayton and in Hamilton. After attending a dinner in honor of Henry Clay, Governor Clinton visited the "Falls" below Louisville and decided that the canal around the "Falls" should be placed on the Kentucky side of the river. He then returned to Cincinnati and participated in the canal celebration there. On Sunday he replied to an address by Joseph S. Benham in the First Presbyterian Church, and on Monday was the guest of honor at a public dinner. A few days later he journeyed by stage to Middletown, where he found a large crowd gathered together from Hamilton, Dayton, Miamisburg, and all the surrounding country. Here on July 21st, on the bank of the Miami River just below the city, the Governor lifted the first spadeful of earth from the Miami Canal. Joseph H. Crane made the address. The "Father of the Erie Canal" then visited Chillicothe, Circleville, Lancaster, Somerset, Zanesville, Cambridge and other towns of the State, being everywhere received as a hero. Mr. Atwater describes the visit as follows:

"From one shire town to another, Governor Clinton was attended by all its county officers, and most of the distinguished citizens of each county, to its line, where the governor was received by a similar escort from the adjoining county, and by them conducted to the next city or town. In this manner he passed across the state. As soon as he appeared in sight of any town, the bells of all its churches and public buildings rang their merriest peals; the cannon roared its hundred guns, and a vast crowd huzzaed, "Welcome to the Father of Internal Improvements." * * * "The grave and the gay, the man of gray hairs and the ruddy-faced youth; matrons and maidens and even lisping infants, joined to tell his worth and on his virtues dwell; to hail his approach and to welcome his arrival."²

¹ Stories of Ohio. W. D. Howells.

² Atwater, Caleb. Hist. of Ohio, pp. 270.

This tour had much to do in encouraging and confirming the spirit of the people in the great work which they had begun. During his sojourn in the state of nearly a month, his party was not permitted to spend a penny in return for their elaborate entertainment. They were Ohio's guests. The pioneers of the Northwest, like their Indian neighbors, had good memories for both wrongs and kindnesses; well they remembered Governor Clinton's letter of 1823, in which he wrote: "When we consider that this canal between Lake Erie and the Ohio River will open a way into the great rivers which fall into the Mississippi; that it will be felt not only in the immense valley of that river, but as far west as the Rocky Mountains and the borders of Mexico; and that it will communicate with our great inland seas and their tributary waters, with the ocean by various routes, and with the most productive regions of America, there can be no question respecting the blessings it will produce and the riches it will create."²

CONSTRUCTION.

Breaking ground for the canals was the corner-stone ceremony of these great works. During the interval between February and July the commissioners of the Canal Fund had laid strong foundations on which to build. In addition to the loans from the New York banks, aggregating \$390,000, they had secured private grants to the value of \$150,000, very large sums when we consider the selling price of land at that time — one to three dollars per acre — and the price of labor — fifteen to twenty dollars per month. David S. Bates, of New York, was appointed engineer-in-chief; Samuel Forrer and William H. Price, assistant engineers.

The Miami Canal.

By the twentieth of July contracts had been let for the first twenty miles of the "Miami Canal," extending from a point on the Great Miami River near Middletown, to the head of Millcreek, and including six locks: one just below Middletown, two at Amanda, two at Hamilton, and one at Rockdale.

² Ohio Doc., pp. 85.

Construction was immediately begun with great vigor, but soon trouble with the laborers over the depreciation of the bank paper in which their wages were paid, retarded the work. Money used in the construction of the canals was drawn, as needed, from New York and placed in the Western Reserve Bank and Lancaster Bank, of Ohio, subject to check by the acting Canal Commissioner. The Commissioner's checks were paid in notes of these banks. In Cincinnati and the region about the Miami Canal, they were at a discount of two and one-half per cent. Although the canal deposits were not transferred to banks nearer to the laborers, measures were taken to have the wages paid directly by one of the canal commissioners, and to advance no money to the contractors till their work was finished.

The Miami Canal follows the valley of the Great Miami River from Middletown as far as Hamilton, where it bears away southeast across a low and at that time swampy plain, to the head of Millcreek. Across this plain the canal is from six to ten feet above the level of the surrounding country, and feeds irrigating ditches running from it in all directions, the whole scene reminding one of Holland's canals and her irrigating ditches. Leaving the plain and stepping down two locks, the canal follows the western bank of the east fork of Millcreek to Lockland; there it crosses the west fork of Millcreek and drops four locks to the "Nine mile" level leading into Cincinnati. The upper sill in the second of these locks is, strangely enough, on the exact level of Lake Erie—573 feet above tide-water. Continuing three miles to Carthage, the canal crosses to Millcreek's east bank, which it follows into the heart of Cincinnati.

This route was the "upper" of the two possible routes given in the surveys: the "one line, from a point on Millcreek near White's mill, about nine miles north of the Ohio, on the principle of keeping up the level so as to command the plain on which Cincinnati stands, enters the Ohio at the mouth of Deer Creek, above town;" the "lower" route was "the other line," which locks "down Millcreek valley as it descends, and passes in on the west side of that plain to the lower plain of the town (Cincinnati)." The surveyors estimated that the greater cost of the "upper line" will be small, as the lockage

which on the lower line is distributed along the valley of Millcreek for a distance of seven miles, is on the plan of the upper level thrown into the valley of Deer Creek where suitable stone for the construction can be had from the bed of the Ohio without the cost of hauling eight and nine miles." "The superior value of the hydraulic privileges afforded by the higher level; the favorable position which the mouth of Deer Creek affords for a safe harbor for steam and canal boats, both in high and low water; the great facility it affords over any other for the construction of both dry and wet docks; and the pre-eminent and mutual advantages, both to the surrounding country and to the city, which a level uninterrupted by locks for a distance ten miles back into the country, will afford; all conspired to convince the commissioners that the upper line was required by the best interests of the work."¹

Despite the delays caused by the spring floods of Millcreek which undermined the piers of the aqueducts over that stream (which piers on a careful inspection were found to have been built in a very unfaithful manner),"² in 1827 the upper line was completed to the head of Main street in Cincinnati. Great crowds gathered in July to see the water flow into the canal. But they were disappointed; no rushing flood surged through the channels which had been so long in digging. The water sunk away into the dry beds and it was only after almost four months of patient waiting that sufficient water collected to float boats. On November 28th, however, the first fleet of three boats made the trip from the basin six miles north of Cincinnati, to Middletown. Throughout the entire trip, booming cannon and the shouts from the immense throngs on the banks, welcomed the fleet. After the return of the boats, the water was allowed to run off, or in present day parlance, "to go out" in order that the banks might settle during the winter.

The following summer, 1828, the work was extended on the south to Broadway, in Cincinnati, and on the north, up the valley of the Great Miami, four locks to Franklin, two to Miamisburgh, two to Carrollton, and three to the Mad River above

¹ Ohio Canal Documents, p. 189.

² Ohio Canal Documents, p. 245.

Dayton. And on Sunday, January 22nd, 1829, the people of Dayton gathered together at the head of the basin just below town, to enjoy the sight of the first boat to arrive from Cincinnati, the packet, "Governor Brown." Later in the day arrived the "Forrer," the "General Marion," and the "General Pike," each individually by the firing of cannon and the cheering of the crowd. On April 16th, a steam canal boat, the "Enterprise," made the passage from Cincinnati to Dayton. As has been the case with all steamboats tried on the Ohio canals, its use, after a fair trial, was found to be impracticable. The passenger packets however continued to make three round trips to Cincinnati weekly, and the *Dayton Journal* estimated that the number of people traveling on the Miami Canal in 1832 was probably not less than one thousand per week. In 1828 contracts were also let for the ten locks to overcome the descent (112 feet) to the Ohio River, but owing to the unusually high summer stages of water they were not completed till two years later. This sixty-mile section of the Miami-Maumee route, known till 1856 as the "Miami Canal," immediately became the great highway for freight and passenger traffic between Cincinnati and the north and east.

The Ohio Canal.

Work on the Ohio Canal had proceeded more slowly, as the commissioners were forced to choose from many bids. It is said that for each of the sections into which the surveys had been divided, there were sixty or more contractors bidding for the digging. In addition sickness among the laborers retarded the work; and in 1827 fevers were so prevalent that many laborers were frightened away. During the fall of 1825 the first contracts were let for thirty miles on the Cuyahoga or Portage Summit; ten miles on the Licking Summit and for embankment around the Licking Reservoir. Over the snow and mud, during the winter and spring of 1826-1827, the oxen slowly dragged together the great piles of stone with which were constructed the locks leading down the Licking and across country towards Dresden. Meanwhile the Portage Summit, extend-

ing nine miles south from Akron, was completed and work on the staircase of forty locks leading down the Cuyahoga valley, progressed so rapidly that on July 4th, 1827, the first boat made its triumphal passage of thirty miles to Cleveland. To greet the bright, freshly painted boat there were the usual crowds, speeches, bon-fires, dinners, and booming cannon. On this summit, between the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, are situated a number of small lakes (aggregating 380 acres) which form a natural reservoir and feeder for the canal. One of these, Summit Lake, was crossed by the canal, the towing bridge consisting of a series of dykes and floating bridges.

Despite the destruction by spring freshets, the route southward from the Summit level, down the Muskingum or Tuscarawas valley—a drop of 238 feet in 29 locks—109 miles to Dresden, was finished during the next two years. Six miles from the end of the Summit level the Tuscarawas River was crossed to the west bank by a dam, and some twenty-two miles further down, is crossed by the old Tuscarawas aqueduct. Continuing thence on the west bank, it crossed the Walhonding River about a half mile from its junction with the Muskingum, on the Walhonding aqueduct near Roscoe, 138 miles from Cleveland. Feeders run in from the Muskingum near Trenton and from the Walhonding at Roscoe. The Walhonding branch canal, extending 25 miles from Roscoe to Rochester, was begun in 1842 and abandoned by the State in 1896. At Dresden the water descending from both summits, is discharged into the Muskingum by a navigable two-mile channel, known as the “Muskingum Side Cut.” Leaving Dresden, the canal ascends the Wakatomita valley about nine miles and, passing a gap in the intervening hills, enters the Licking valley and ascends 160 feet by 19 locks in 42 miles to Newark, 174 miles from Cleveland. On July 10th, 1830, a few days more than five years after the time when Governor Clinton made his stage trip from Cleveland to Newark to lift the first earth from the Ohio canal, the first boat arrived at Newark from Cleveland.

From Newark the route follows the south fork of the Licking to the reservoir bearing the same name; crosses the reser-

voir and descends, by 14 locks, Little Walnut Creek valley as far as Groveport; and then cuts across to the Scioto valley at Lockbourne 219 miles distant from Cleveland. At Lockville and at Lockbourne one finds picturesque staircases of eight locks each, always noisy with the splash of falling water. From Carroll, 17 miles north of Lockbourne, the Hocking branch canal (abandoned in 1894) extends 56 miles to Athens. At Lockbourne a navigable feeder running north eleven miles to Columbus, joins the main trunk, which following the Scioto valley, descends 211 feet by 24 locks to Portsmouth. Near Circleville the river is crossed to the west bank by a massive stone aqueduct and a short distance above the city a feeder leads in from the river. At Portsmouth the canal enters the Scioto river some two hundred yards from its juncture with the Ohio, 413 feet lower than the Licking Summit and about ninety feet below the level of Lake Erie. The first boats landed in Chillicothe in 1831 and navigation was opened from the lake through to the Ohio River during 1832. Soon freight and passenger packets were making regular trips between all the large towns; and the locks rang with the boat horns and the hallowing of the crews day and night.

The "Great Debate."

The phenomenal success of the Miami Canal greatly increased the agitation for the continuation of the waterway through to the Lake. Settlers in the Northwest and even in Kentucky and Tennessee, were anxious to realize their dream of securing articles from New York by what Governor Clinton called the "extension of the Erie Canal." The cost of the overland route or of the water route by the way of New Orleans and the Mississippi River practically cut them off from all but the necessities of life. They considered the Ohio Canal, with its 308 miles and 143 locks too round-about, and demanded the completion of the short and direct Miami-Maumee line with only 244 miles and 105 locks. This view of the Miami-Maumee Canal, as simply an extension of the Erie Canal and a highway to the West, and this view alone brought about its construction. Considering the benefits to be shared by Kentucky, Tennessee

and the west, Ohio did not feel it her duty to bear the entire cost of further digging.

Following the precedent set by the building of the "National Road," Congress was appealed to; but the memorials asking for grants of government land in Ohio to aid the extension aroused much discussion both at Washington and over the entire country. Not all the states could view this internal improvement in Ohio as one of national benefit. In the "Great Debate" of 1830 the Senate warmly discussed the value of the Ohio canals to the nation. Webster in his "Reply to Hayne" declared, "this very question, What interest has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio? is full of significance." His answer to the question, showing the canals to be a connection between the Atlantic and the western inland waters, and therefore of vital interest not only to the West, but to the entire country, occupies some ten pages (more than one-seventh) of his whole speech. This discussion took place about nineteen months after Congress had granted the lands to aid the Ohio and Indiana canals—a fact which shows the continued interest of the nation.

The "Miami Extension."

This Congressional grant, dated May 24th, 1828, gave to Ohio 500,000 acres of land, to be sold by the State at \$2.50 or more per acre for the payment of the canal debt. It also conveyed back to Ohio all the grants of land within the limits of Ohio, made to Indiana in the aid of the Wabash and Erie Canal. Indiana affirmed this action in 1829; and early in 1830 the Ohio Assembly authorized a commission to relocate and estimate the cost of the extension. Early in the spring of 1831 construction was begun. Continuing up the Miami Valley the "Extension" crossed the Mad River a mile and a half above Dayton, on a picturesque aqueduct. Some six miles further up, the Miami River is bridged by the stone arches. Thence the line rises rapidly, passing up ten locks, through Tippecanoe, Troy, and Piqua, to the foot of a battery of nine locks at Lockington, where it reaches up to the Loramie Summit Level of fourteen miles. Near the top of this battery the Sidney Feeder enters, supply-

ing water for the locks and part of the Loramie Summit. Towards the northern end of the Summit stretch, the Loramie Reservoir Feeder enters to furnish water to the eleven locks stepping down, within as many miles to the St. Marys Level. Here another feeder leads in from the St. Mary's Reservoir. Thence the level drops down the Auglaize Valley, twenty-one locks within fifty miles, to Junction, passing through the towns of Kossuth, Spencerville, Delphos and Hammar. At Junction the "Extension" joined the Wabash and Erie Canal, which formerly connected Toledo with Logansport, Ft. Wayne, Terre Haute and Evansville, Indiana. The sixty-mile section of this latter canal which exists between Junction and Toledo, follows the Maumee valley, dropping down a battery of nine locks at Defiance to the "Twenty-three mile" level, and thence passing Independence, Florida, Napoleon, and Damascus to a lone lock at Texas. Half way to Providence two more locks step down to the "Twenty-mile" level, on which is situated Maumee City, eight miles and two locks from Toledo. Here a battery of six locks connects the canal with Swan Creek on the level of the lake. The Wabash and Erie Canal, begun in 1832 and finished in 1842, was abandoned west of Junction in 1854. To take the place of sectional names the Assembly in 1856 gave the entire canal from Toledo to Cincinnati the title, "Miami and Erie Canal." The waterway was opened through to the Lake in 1845.

Meanwhile the success of the Miami and Ohio canals had stimulated private enterprise. The State in 1827 and 1828 chartered the Sandy and Beaver Company to connect the Ohio River at Smith's Ferry with the Ohio Canal at Bolivar; and the Pennsylvania and Ohio company to connect them at Akron and Pittsburgh. Although the State aided in their construction by buying nearly one-third of their stock, they proved unprofitable and were abandoned in 1852. In 1834, a private company began the Warren County Canal, extending twenty miles from Middletown on the Miami Canal to Lebanon, but work proceeded so slowly that the State took possession in 1836 and completed it in 1838. But, as was the case with all the branch

canals, it proved unprofitable and was abandoned in 1847. The canalization of ~~seventy-five miles~~ of the Muskingum River, known as the "Muskingum Improvement," was begun by the State in 1837 and finished in 1840. In 1886 it was ceded to the United States, which has since greatly enlarged the work so as to admit the passage of Ohio River steamboats, not exceeding 175 feet in length and 36 feet in width, to Zanesville.

The cross-section measurements of the Ohio, Hocking, Walhonding, and Miami canals (following those of the Erie Canal) were, 40 feet on the water line, 26 feet on the bottom, and 4 feet deep; those of the Miami Extension, 50 feet by 26 by 5; those of the Erie division (from Junction to Toledo) 60 feet by 46 by 6. All the lock chambers were 90 feet in length; varied in width from 15 to 20 feet, and had an average lift of 10 feet. With one or two exceptions, where locks were removed from available quarry, the entire number of locks (262) were built of stone. The so-called "wooden locks," built partly above ground with an outside wall of stone and an inner, wooden, chamber wall, and having the space between the walls packed with earth, were only temporary. As soon as stone could be transported by boats these locks were solidly reconstructed and embanked on the sides with earth. The many aqueducts, so familiar in our pictures as old moss-covered, wooden affairs pouring a beautiful fall of water over one side, were narrow troughs, bearing no resemblance to the modern, rigid steel structures. Many of the earlier aqueducts were housed in and roofed over, exactly like the old wooden bridges. One by one these old covered aqueducts are being torn down, carrying with them the countless drawings and initials of the boys who gathered under their roofs in days gone by, to escape the broiling sun or pouring rain, or to sport in their cooling waters.

Reservoirs.

On the Ohio Canal, immediately north of the ridge which separates the waters of the Muskingum from those of the Scioto, is situated the Licking Reservoir, supplying water for the lower levels, both to Newark on the north and to the Colum-

bus Feeder on the south. The reservoir extends east and west nearly eight miles, with an average width of half a mile, and has a total area of 4,200 acres.

Shortly after the completion of the Miami-Maumee Canal, the removal of the forests by the settlers made the water supply very irregular and often deficient in dry seasons. To provide for a sufficient supply at all times, the State began the construction of immense reservoirs. In 1841, the first of these great artificial bodies of water, the Mercer County Reservoir, was built. It contains 18,000 acres with a watershed of twenty-eight square miles, and is said to be the largest artificial lake in the world; it supplies the canal from St. Marys to Defiance, a distance of fifty-eight miles. The surrounding country is such that its capacity could easily be greatly enlarged, and filled by surplus water from the Wabash River or the Lewiston Reservoir. As this land surrounding the lake is good oil territory and is yielding the state \$120,000 annually from oil leases, it is not probable, however, that the capacity will be increased.

The second reservoir, known as the "Loramie Reservoir," was completed in 1844. It contains about nineteen acres, consisting of a string of narrow lakes, connected by artificial channels; it also is capable of holding a much larger quantity of water, easily obtainable from its own water-shed of seventy square miles. Although not easy of access, this reservation is still the favorite camping ground of many fishermen and hunters. The reservoir provides for the Summit level north of St. Marys and south to the Sidney Feeder.

The last of these great public works was the "Lewiston Reservoir," a beautiful body of water, containing many picturesque islands. It is not situated on the canal, but about fifty miles directly east of the Mercer County lake. The small, original pond, called "Indian Lake," was formed by damming the Great Miami a short distance from its source, and by throwing up embankments across the lowlands, flooding an area of 1,000 acres. It has a watershed of 101 square miles and was enlarged during 1856-1860 to cover 6,000 acres.

Cost.

Exclusive of the aid given to the private canal companies, the canal system cost the State \$14,340,572.59, divided as follows: The Ohio Canal — 309 miles and 25 miles of feeders — \$4,695,203.32; the Miami and Erie — 250 miles and 32 miles of feeders — \$6,762,458.73; the Hocking branch of 56 miles — \$975,481.01; the Walhonding branch of 25 miles — \$607,268.99; the St. Mary's Reservoir, \$528,222.07; the Lewiston Reservoir \$600,000; the Licking Reservoir — \$200,000; the Portage (Summit County) Reservoir — \$80,000; and the Loramie Reservoir — \$22,000. This bonded debt was paid from a fund made up of the income of the canal tolls, land rents and sales, water rents, and special taxation till 1851. Mr. Charles N. Morris writes: "The public works of Ohio were far more successful than those of many other states. In Indiana and Illinois, for example, the spectacle is presented of undertaking on a scale vastly in excess of the State's ability to provide the means by borrowing; a feverish eagerness in contracting additional loans, regardless of ruinous discount in selling stock; default of the installments of interest, ending in the bankruptcy of the State and the collapse of the public works. Some of these features, to be sure, are seen in the history of the Ohio improvements, but Ohio shines in comparison with the other western states, and, indeed, in comparison with Pennsylvania and Maryland. * * * Though often embarrassed for funds, Ohio never defaulted on the interest due on the loans contracted for internal improvements."¹

THE GOLDEN AGE.

After the completion of the reservoirs, the canals entered upon the area of their greatest prosperity. For nearly twenty-five years they were the means of transportation and travel — a very convenient and comfortable means for those days. At every lock there was always a string of boats above and below, patiently waiting their turns to reach the other level. The blast of the boat horns and the "Lo-o-ow bridge" calls echoed continually from the river to the Lake. Hundreds of sixty and eighty-ton

¹ Internal Imp. in Ohio. Chas. N. Morris.

freight boats plied up and down between all points, while regular passenger packets, accommodating from forty to sixty travelers, connected with all stage and steamboat lines. Or more accurately, after the fashion of the nineteenth century "thro trains," the packets waited, to make connections with the invariably late stages and steamboats. Not being affected by the bad roads, bad weather or breakdowns of the stage, nor by the winds, high or low water of the steamboats, the packets were seldom delayed.

These packets, often described as the Pullman cars of the 50's, bore more resemblance to the "limited" train, as each "packet" was "diner," "sleeper," "smoker," "parlor car," "baggage," and "mail coach" combined.

I can best illustrate the value of the canals in building up the towns and cities of the State by a few quotations from a contemporary historian,¹ who wrote in 1838: "It (Chillicothe) enjoys many advantages, such as lying on the Ohio and Erie Canal. Delaware is a thriving town twenty-four miles north of Columbus. It is older than the last-named town, but not having any connection by water with the main canal as Columbus has, by a navigable feeder, Delaware has not grown up like the canal towns." "Newark * * * contains scarcely three thousand people, but from its position on the canal, Newark must always be a very important point for inland trade and manufactures." "This town (Mt. Vernon) will one day become a very important one when a canal shall connect it along the Vernon River with the Ohio." "All along the Miami and the Ohio canals are springing into life and no description can be correct one month, which was so before." Shortly after the Ohio canal was put in operation, wheat commanded a higher price in Massillon, Ohio, 100 miles west of Pittsburg, than at a point sixty miles east of there. Fire-arms, cloth, shoes, coffee, tea, chocolate, rum, salt, gypsum and sugar came south from the lake ports, while wheat, corn, flour, butter, beef, cheese, tobacco and whiskey found their way more easily to the eastern market. In 1829 merchandise was brought from New York city to Dayton, Ohio, by the all-water route of 1,100 miles in

¹ Atwater, Caleb. *Hist. of Ohio*, pp. 335-345.

twenty days at a cost of \$17.25 per ton. The route followed the Erie Canal to Buffalo, the lake to Cleveland, the Ohio canal to Portsmouth, the Ohio River to Cincinnati, and the Miami canal to Dayton. The "Canal Counties" immediately took the lead in industrial and agricultural growth, a lead they have never lost, as to-day these thirty of the eighty-eight counties contain fifty-two per cent. of the State's population.

EFFECTS.

The canal system has had two principal effects: it has developed Ohio commercially and politically. The agitation for the project, the fight in the Assembly, the celebration of the passage of the bill, Governor Clinton's visit and tour of the towns of the state, aroused the people and welded them into an acting political unit that has never lost its vigor. The effect of the water-power furnished by the system on the early manufacturing industries, at a time when steam power was almost too costly and undeveloped for profitable use; and the relief given to transportation by the canals, at a time when all roads were extremely bad if not impassable during mild and open winters, it is difficult to realize under the commercial conditions that now exist. Just as the Erie and Champlain canals made New York the "Empire State" and New York city the metropolis of America, and as the Pennsylvania canals made Pennsylvania the second state of the Union, the Ohio canals made Ohio the third state in the Union.

It is very greatly to be regretted that the canals have been neglected and permitted to deteriorate in their physical condition and efficiency since they were leased to a private company, 1861-1877. And it is to be hoped that, following the example of Russia, Prussia, France, Austria, and New York State, Ohio will improve her inland waterways and thereby save to her citizens one-third of their transportation charges.

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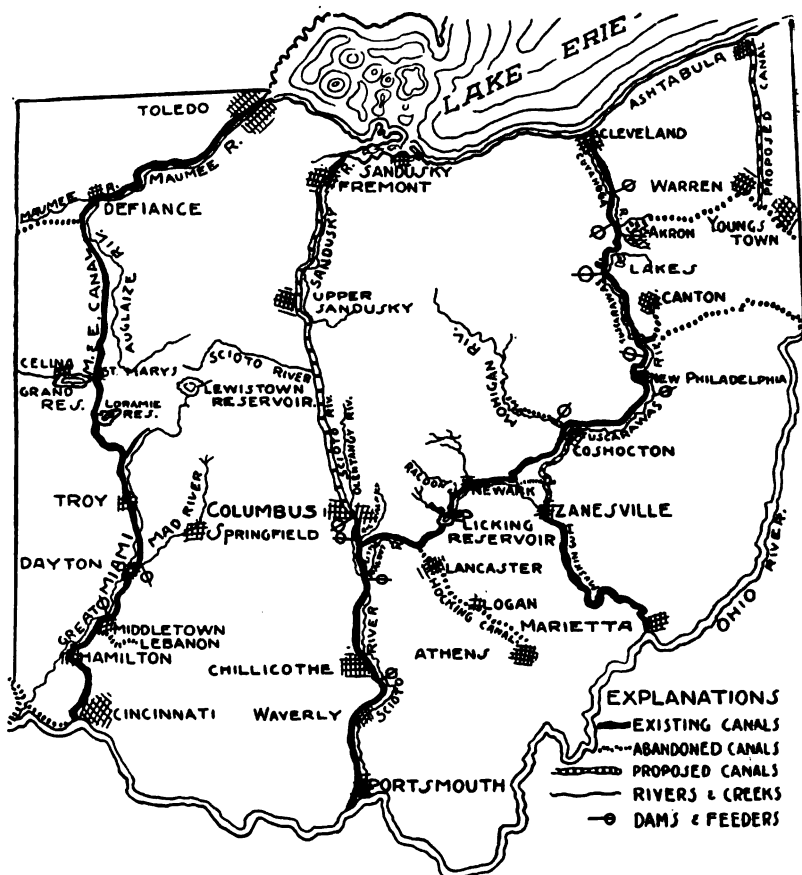
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MAP OF OHIO CANALS.

KENTON'S GAUNTLET AT CHILLICOTHE.

T. J. BROWN, WAYNESVILLE, OHIO.

The question of the identity of Old Town, near Xenia, with the "Chillicothe" where Kenton ran the gauntlet the first time, has been thoroughly discussed in previous issues of the *QUARTERLY*, and in my opinion the evidence in favor of it is decidedly satisfactory.

Prof. McFarland's testimony seems conclusive of itself, while the traditions bearing upon the question reach back to the earliest settlement of that locality and practically amount to authentic history.

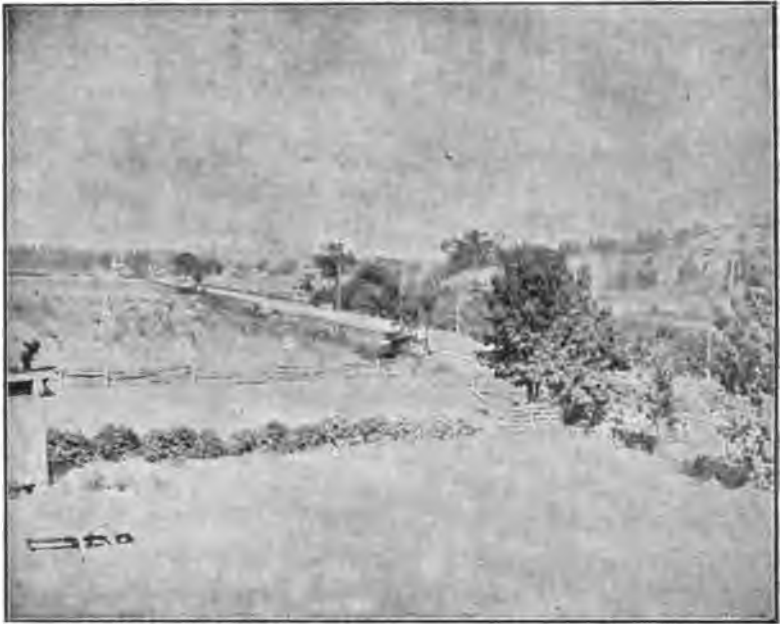
Tecumseh's home at that time was but a few miles north, at old Piqua, or Pickaway, on Mad River. He may have been present on this occasion, or at least he most likely assisted in Kenton's reception at Piqua, as he passed through on his way north, during which journey, as history says, he ran the gauntlet eight times; but the first time, that at Chillicothe, seems to have been the most celebrated. Perhaps the fame of the desperate strength and prowess he exhibited on that occasion preceded him, and there was not such a general turnout of women and children as at Chillicothe, and even the warriors themselves may have been somewhat shy of coming in close touch with him, so that all "gauntlets" but the first may not have been so hotly contested.

We are told that the women were always among the most active participants on occasions of the kind, and that he wrested a club from the hands of one of them during his famous race, which assisted him very materially in clearing a path to the goal, and by that means securing a temporary reprieve.

After the destruction of Chillicothe and Piqua, it is likely Tecumseh's home was in Miami county, at the Indian village established by the refugees from the villages on the Little Miami and Mad river, but he was a frequent visitor among the early

white settlers at Old Town, and there is no doubt the Galloways and others received truthful information from him and from other sources.

The earliest roads of the white man followed Indian trails. Detroit street, running north and south through Xenia, got its name from a traders' trail to Detroit, which it followed. This trail was doubtless an Indian trail, adopted by the whites and



SCENE OF SIMON KENTON'S RUN FOR HIS LIFE; FROM RAIL FENCE TO THE METHODIST CHURCH; ONE-HALF MILE.

developed into a road. It is now a well graded and graveled turn-pike from Xenia to Old Town, and beyond.

According to well authenticated tradition, the Indian council house stood where now stands the Methodist church at Old Town, and Kenton began the race for his life, or rather for a reprieve, at the foot of the hill just to the right, in the picture, followed the line of the pike and ended at the council house — a

distance of about half a mile. The property adjoining the road is now owned by Miss Helen Boyd, of Xenia.

A large tract of prairie reached from the village east to the low hills, and south for miles. All that space from the council house to the beginning of the race course must have been free from obstructions at that time, and afforded the hundreds of participants an excellent field for the exercise of their skill and activity.

I am indebted for the picture primarily to the good offices of Mr. Clark McKay, of Xenia, who secured the able services of Mr. Frank Baily, also of Xenia, as artist.

THE TAYLOR-LIVINGSTON CENTENARY IN FRANKLIN COUNTY.

On the 9th day of June, 1904, a reception was given by Mr. and Mrs. Henry C. Taylor, at their country place, Westcrest, situated on the National Road, west bank of Big Walnut creek in Truro township, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the family history in Franklin County. The invitation issued to the guests on this occasion was in the following form:

1804	TAYLOR-LIVINGSTON	1904
MR. AND MRS. HENRY C. TAYLOR,		
REQUEST THE HONOR OF YOUR PRESENCE		
AT WESTCREST		
THURSDAY, JUNE THE NINTH		
AT TWO O'CLOCK		
TO COMMEMORATE THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY		
OF THE FAMILY SETTLEMENT		
IN FRANKLIN COUNTY.		

The number present in response to these invitations was between seven and eight hundred.

The hostesses and assistant hostesses were:

Hostesses.

MISS MARGARET L. TAYLOR,	MRS. SAMUEL LEE,
MRS. THOMAS HIBBEN,	MRS. JOHN M. TAYLOR,
MRS. THEODORE HUNTINGTON,	MRS. EDWARD L. TAYLOR, JR.,
MRS. HENRY N. TAYLOR,	MISS KATHARINE M. TAYLOR,
MRS. JOHN H. J. UPHAM,	MISS MARGARET T. SHARP,
MRS. CHAPIN C. FOSTER.	
(486)	

Assistant Hostesses.

MRS. ANDREW D. RODGERS,	MRS. WILLIAM HOPKINS,
MRS. ROBERT S. SMITH,	MRS. WILLIAM K. ROGERS,
MRS. JOHN JOYCE,	MRS. FRANCIS COLLINS,
MRS. JOSEPH H. POTTER,	MRS. ALFRED KELLEY,
MRS. JAMES KILBOURNE,	MRS. ROBERT S. NEIL,
MRS. ALLEN W. THURMAN,	MRS. WILLIAM J. McCOMB,
MRS. RUTHERFORD H. PLATT,	MRS. RANDOLPH S. WARNER,
MRS. CHARLES F. CLARK,	MRS. WALTER W. BROWN,
MRS. WILLIAM BLACK,	MRS. EDWARD DENMEAD,
MISS SULLIVANT,	MISS JANE SULLIVANT,
MISS REBEKAH SULLIVANT,	MRS. RICHARD T. CLARKE,
MRS. WILLIAM BURT.	

The hostesses consisted of members of the family; the assistant hostesses were representative of the families that came to Franklinton and Columbus at a very early period, some of them in the closing decade of the 18th century.

It was unique in being the first entertainment of this kind ever given in Franklin County, and this fact alone was sufficient to make the day memorable. An interesting feature was the large attendance of those who were advanced in years. It was the purpose of Mr. Taylor, who conceived the idea of having a celebration of this character, to bring together as many as possible of the pioneers and their descendants, and in this respect he was eminently successful. There were present three persons over ninety years of age, and perhaps fifteen or more ranging from seventy-five to ninety. In this list were a twin brother and sister in their eightieth year. The one having the longest span of life was Mrs. William Sprague, who was born on the 3rd day of September, 1808, and was consequently almost ninety-six years of age. The next in order was Mr. Elam Drake, in his ninety-second year, his birthday being November 16, 1812; and the third was Mrs. James Staley, whose ninety-second birthday will occur—a kind Providence permitting—on the 22nd day of December, 1904. It was a noteworthy fact that Mr. Drake was one of the persons employed in the building of the house at Westcrest in 1843, a period of sixty-one years

having elapsed since he performed this labor. He is quite well, is possessed with a cheerful disposition and has fair promise of living out a century. Mrs. Sprague was in excellent health and strength, took part in the exercises of the afternoon, reciting a poem of her own composition on the appropriate subject of "Growing Old." The recitation was given with full strong voice and good emphasis. On account of her great age, it will doubtless be interesting to many persons to read the verses recited by Mrs. Sprague, and a copy is here given.

I'm growing old, that's what they say;
I know my hair has turned to gray,
And step is not as brisk and fine
As when I was just twenty-nine.

The wrinkles on my face show clear
They've been there now for many a year;
Without a doubt they've come to stay,
For man was made of dust, they say.

I'm growing old. I know it's so —
This is the way we all do go.
I will move out this house of dust
To mansions that's prepared for us.

No earthy goods I'll take with me,
I will not need them there, you see.
The city that is paved with gold,
Hath glories that cannot be told.

Our great High Priest, He will be there —
He, when on earth, our pains did share.
And glorious anthems we will sing,
For there will be our heavenly King.

In addition to the social meetings and greetings of the great number of guests present, which continued for several hours upon the large and beautiful lawn at Westcrest, there were formal exercises, presided over by Mr. Rutherford Hayes Platt. They consisted of prayer by the venerable Rev. Edward D. Morris, D. D., the oldest Presbyterian minister in Columbus; an address of welcome by Mr. Henry C. Taylor; introductory address by Mr. Rutherford H. Platt; the reading by Edward L. Taylor,

Jr., of a paper prepared by his father, Edward L. Taylor, Sr.; address by ex-Governor George K. Nash; address by Col. James Kilbourne; address by Hon. Phil. H. Bruck; recitation of poem by Mrs. William Sprague; address by Hon. Thomas E. Powell.

The program as carried out was from first to last impressive, instructive and entertaining, characterized by sentiment, wit and humor. Immediately upon the conclusion of the exercises supper was served and the closing hours of the beautiful afternoon in June was spent in social intercourse by hundreds of the descendants of the pioneer settlers in Franklin County.



DAVID TAYLOR,
Born July 24, 1801. Died July 29,
1889.



MARGARET LIVINGSTON TAYLOR,
Born November 2, 1809. Died Feb-
ruary 12, 1895.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

BY HENRY C. TAYLOR.

Ladies and Gentlemen — It gives me great pleasure to have so many acquaintances and friends here to-day. I thank you for the compliment of your presence on this historic occasion. On behalf of all the members of my family I extend to you all the most cordial welcome, and I trust that you may experience as much pleasure in being guests as we do in being hosts.

I should like to indulge the hope, that one hundred years hence, your descendants and mine might under like favorable

circumstances assemble at this place to commemorate the completion of the second century, as we have the first.

In the closing years of the 18th and the opening years of the 19th century, a tide of emigration began to move from the Atlantic coast states, west over the Alleghanies and into that territory, that was designated as northwest of the river Ohio.

These emigrants came on foot, on horseback, in wagons, along the wilderness roads and Indian trails, and in boats upon



HOME BUILT BY ROBERT TAYLOR 1807-8. PROPERTY OF MARGARET LIVINGSTON TAYLOR.

the navigable streams. Their object was to establish themselves in new homes in a new country; to win from the forests and plains a competence for themselves and their families. They were adventurers only in the highest and best sense of that word. They were not gold seekers, in search of hidden treasures, but were home-seekers and founders of new commonwealths. With courage, with faith, with hope they left their old associations, their kindred, their friends, and went forth to meet hardships

and privations in what was to them at that time a far-off country. They were a race of men and women whom any nation would be happy to have as citizens.

The Puritan of New England, the Cavalier of the south, the Dutch, the English, the Irish, the Scotch, never to be surpassed by any of the races of the children of men. History is more and more abundantly honoring their noble qualities and great deeds. They triumphed in the east, in securing our independence; they won the west; they traversed the continent, and saved it all for the nation founded by Washington and his compatriots. We shall never weary in recounting their great virtues, their heroic qualities, their lives of noble endeavor and of sacrifice. They were firm in their conviction, self-reliant in their character, and possessed of a fine dignity in their lives.

The Bible and the Declaration of Independence were their religious and civil guides. The church and the schoolhouse were the two institutions first provided for and most highly prized. These nurseries of piety and learning were remote and of difficult access, as must necessarily be the case, in a sparse and widely scattered population. We can now scarcely conceive the difficulties encountered by the men and women who came here with the first wave of emigration. They labored and we enjoy the fruits of their labor. We reap the benefit of their toil and self-denial. To-day the sunshine and shadow may come and go upon the ground where we are assembled. Three generations ago, it was covered with such heavy forest, that the sun could rarely kiss the earth.

To clear away the trees and make room for a home in the virgin forest was indeed a labor. There are those living to-day, who can remember the dark border of forest trees that lined the narrow strip of road leading from their homes to the then small city of Columbus. And in later years upon their return home in the evening, the way may have been lighted up by the burning logs in the clearings. The heavy fringe of great trees has long since disappeared under the heavy blows of the woodman's ax, the clearing fires have gone out, and the logs were many years ago covered with their ashes.

From the ruins of this first estate, we have the smiling landscape, the green grass, the fertile fields of waving grain. We have the advantages, ease, comfort, conveniences, luxuries of modern civilization. For the generation that first came to this goodly land, and rough-hewed the way there is lasting remembrance and perpetual honor. In their lives there was a seriousness of purpose that is not characteristic of the later generation. In the midst of difficulties and dangers there was exhibited to an unusual degree the qualities of fortitude and endurance.

The Indian trails and wilderness roads have disappeared. The horseback riders from New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut no longer pass along the old highway bordering these grounds. The stage coach, the wonder and admiration of seventy years ago, has ceased to pitch and creak and roll its heavy way eastward and westward. The moving wagons, that so frequently lined this road when Ohio was a new state and Indiana and Illinois almost unknown territory, have passed into a faint tradition. To-day the merchants in Franklinton do not ship their goods over the Alleghany Mountains in a Conestoga wagon.

There are those here to-day in the fifth generation from the first settler. They can daily witness many marvelous things unknown to their forefathers in this country, and beyond the realm of their conception or dreams.

There has been material progress and a marked change in social life. We do not look back with regret to the good old times, rather we rejoice in the good new times, and look forward to an ever changing, and ever better condition of human existence. But when we come to estimate the sterling qualities that make a man or woman, we shall probably never find them in a finer combination, or a higher degree of development, than in the pioneers who located a century ago in Franklin County.

ADDRESS BY EDWARD L. TAYLOR, Sr.

[Edward Livingston Taylor, Sr., was not able to be present on account of illness. The address was read by his son Edward Livingston Taylor, Jr., Prosecuting Attorney for Franklin County.]

The Livingston and Taylor families represented here to-day both had their origin in Scotland. Their ancestors had lived there for many

generations. Branches of these families left Scotland for the same reason (religion), the Livingstons going to Holland and the Taylors to the north of Ireland; and it so happened that through widely different channels and experiences the branches of these families, which settled in Franklin County, Ohio, came and located here about the same time, now a hundred years ago.

The common ancestor of the Livingston family in this country was the Rev. John Livingston, who was born in Scotland in 1603, and whose death occurred at Rotterdam, Holland, in 1672. He was a min-



HOME BUILT BY DAVID TAYLOR 1825-6. PROPERTY OF EDWARD LIVINGSTON TAYLOR.

ister in the Scottish church, as had been his father, William Livingston, and grandfather, Alexander Livingston, before him.

In 1662 there was passed in England what is known as the "New Act of Uniformity," by which the penal laws against dissenters and non-conformists were revived. By this act every minister in England, Scotland and Wales, who received any benefit or support from the government was required to declare his assent to all and everything contained in the "Book of Common Prayer," and no one could hold preferment without Episcopal ordination. The Rev. John Livingston refused to conform to this act and so, in order to escape its penalties,

was compelled to take refuge in Holland, where he spent the last nine years of his life.

The Rev. John Livingston had two sons, Robert and William. They were born in Scotland but went with their father to Holland where they received much of their education, a part of which was the learning of the Dutch language which had an important influence upon their after life.

Robert was born in 1654 and soon after arriving at lawful age came to America and settled at Albany, N. Y., where there was a colony or settlement of Hollanders. His acquaintance with the Dutch language and his preference for the Hollanders determined in no small degree his location at that place.

In 1683 he was intermarried at Albany, N. Y., with Alida, widow of Rev. Nicholas Van Rensselaer, whose maiden name was Schuyler, and through this marriage Robert became the first founder of the Livingston family in America.

In 1696 he re-visited Scotland and on his return brought with him a nephew, Robert, Jr., a son of his brother William. He too settled at Albany, and the uncle and nephew were thereafter known and designated as Robert, Sr., and Robert, Jr. In 1697 Robert, Jr., was intermarried at Albany with Margaretta Schuyler, who was a niece of the wife of Robert, Sr.; so that they were respectively nephew and niece of Robert, Sr., and his wife, Alida. From this marriage sprang the branch of the Livingston family represented here to-day. Of this marriage there was born in 1709, a son, John Livingston, who, on September 6th, 1739, was married to Catryna Ten Broeck. Of that marriage there was born three sons, James, Richard and Abraham, all of whom located in Montreal, Canada, before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. They were all active and determined sympathizers with the cause of the colonies and so incurred the displeasure of all sympathizers with and adherents of the cause of Great Britain.

Col. James Livingston, the oldest of these three brothers and from whom the Livingstons represented here to-day are directly descended, was born March 27th, 1747, and died November 29th, 1832.

In 1772, at Montreal, Canada, where he was then practicing his profession as a lawyer, he was married to Elizabeth Simpson, who had been born at Cork, Ireland, October, 1750, and who died June 20th, 1799. Several children were born of this marriage, but we are to-day only concerned with Edward Chinn Livingston, who was the third son and fifth child of that marriage, born in the State of New York, May 23d, 1782, and removed to Franklin County, Ohio, in 1804.

In the year 1775, the public mind throughout the American colonies and the British provinces had become greatly disturbed and agitated on account of the bitter controversies between a majority of the people of the colonies and Great Britain. A large majority of those then

living in what is now the British Provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia were strong adherents of the cause of Great Britain. They called themselves "Loyalists," but were generally known and designated as "Tories." There was also in Canada a minority who were strongly in favor of the cause of the colonies as against the cause of the king. The result was that many Tories fled from the colonies to Canada and induced the Mohawk Indians and many of the Indians belonging to other tribes of the Iroquois then living in the state of New York, to join them in hostilities against the patriots or colonists. These refugees to Canada and their Indian allies remained in active hostilities to the people of the colonies throughout the war of the Revolution, during which time they caused great devastation and destruction of life and property in almost every part of the State of New York, but particularly throughout the Mohawk Valley. The operations of these refugees to Canada and their Indian allies, constitutes the most dreadful chapter in the history of that war.

On the other hand, those who lived in Canada and sympathized with the cause of the colonies fled from that country and actively and determinedly espoused the cause of the colonies against the mother country. Those who fled from Canada were called "Refugees from Canada;" and those who fled from the colonies to Canada were called "Refugees to Canada." Of the refugees from Canada, the three Livingston brothers, before mentioned, were among the most conspicuous and active in their efforts in favor of the colonies. They got together in Canada about three hundred sympathizers and succeeded in the face of great difficulties and dangers in bringing them safely over the border into the State of New York, where they were merged into a New York regiment, of which James Livingston became the colonel, Richard the lieutenant colonel, and Abraham a captain. This regiment was immediately assigned to the command then organizing under General Schuyler and General Richard Montgomery for the invasion of Canada, with the view of wresting that country from British dominion. General Schuyler's health failing, the command of the expedition devolved upon General Richard Montgomery, whose wife was a near relative of the three Livingston brothers before mentioned, he having married into the Livingston family.

General Montgomery very successfully commanded the expedition and took possession of all the country along the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec, which stronghold he assaulted on the last night of December, 1775, where he met his death. The command of the invading army then fell upon Benedict Arnold, who was second in command and who was then a very active and capable officer of the Colonial army. He succeeded in withdrawing the American army from Canada, but not without great difficulties, hardships and sufferings.

Col. James Livingston served as colonel of his regiment during the entire seven years war. The British authorities confiscated his property and estate and declared him to be a rebel and an outlaw and set a heavy price upon his head. He, however, was fortunate enough never to fall into the hands of the Tories and their allies—the Mohawk and other Indians of the Iroquois tribe.

After the war was closed he remained with his family in the state of New York and served for eight years in the Legislature of that state and held other positions of trust and honor. He died in 1832 at the advanced age of eighty-six years.



WESTCREST BUILT BY DAVID TAYLOR 1842-3. PROPERTY OF HENRY C. TAYLOR.

In 1801 the Congress of the United States passed an act intended in part to remunerate the "Refugees from Canada" whose property had been confiscated or destroyed on account of their loyalty to the American cause. Under the provisions of that act there was set off to Col. James Livingston land to the amount of 1,280 acres to be located on the "Refugee Tract," on a part of which the city of Columbus now stands. The patents for a part of these lands were turned over to his son, Edward Chinn Livingston, who was then a young man just out of college and who soon thereafter (1804) came to Ohio and took possession of the lands given him by his father. All the lands granted

to Col. James Livingston were in what is known in law and history as the "Refugee Tract." They were all located along Alum creek, just east of the city of Columbus.

The "Refugee Tract," as set apart by the government for the special purpose before mentioned, was a strip of land four and a half miles wide from north to south and about fifty miles from east to west, extending from the east bank of the Scioto river to near the Muskingum river. The city of Columbus is situated on the west end of this tract and what is now Fifth Avenue was the north line of the tract, and what is now Steelton was the south boundary. The whole contained about 136,000 acres. All that part of the Refugee Tract which lies in Franklin County was embraced in Montgomery and Truro townships. To Edward Chinn Livingston was given the honor of naming Montgomery township, after General Richard Montgomery, with whom his father had been associated in the Revolutionary war, and who was with him at the time he fell at Quebec. A similar honor was granted to Robert Taylor, in giving him the privilege of naming Truro township after the town of Truro in the Province of Nova Scotia, from whence he came.

There was at the time of his coming to this country no sign of the city of Columbus beyond a few log cabins a half mile west of the Scioto river on what is now called West Broad street, and at that time called Franklinton. Letters in my possession, written before the location of Columbus was settled, show that Judge Edward C. Livingston was very anxious to have the state capital established on the east side of the Scioto River and that he used every influence possible to bring about that result.

When Judge Livingston came to the county the Nelson family, the White family and the Moobery family were the only residents along Alum creek in that neighborhood. The Nelson family, the White family and the Livingston family still own and occupy portions of these lands after the passing of a hundred years. The Moobery family have no representatives now living in the country, in so far as we are aware.

On March 17th, 1807, Edward Chinn Livingston was married to Martha Nelson. There were born of that marriage children as follows: James, Margaret, Edward, Caroline, Adaline, Angelica, Robert and Martha. James was the oldest son, who, when he was yet a young man, located in Livingston county, in north Missouri, where he died about the year 1850. Margaret (my mother), the oldest daughter, was born November 2, 1809, and was married to my father, David Taylor May 16th, 1836, and died February 12th, 1895. Edward, the second son lived until his death some thirty years ago, on a part of his father's land, which some of his children still own and occupy. Caroline and Angelica died childless more than thirty years ago. Adaline (Mrs. Elijah Marion),

Robert and Martha are still living. Robert owns and occupies the lands where he was born almost eighty years ago.

Under the date of December 14th, 1810, Edward C. Livingston was appointed colonel of the 2nd Regiment, 4th Brigade and 2nd Division of Militia of Ohio, by Return Jonathan Meigs, governor.

During the war of 1812 he assembled the regiment to be in readiness for service in the war then in progress against Tecumseh and his Indians and Proctor and his British soldiers, but the regiment was not called on for active service. He also served as one of the associate judges for Franklin county from 1821 to 1829. His death occurred November 13, 1843.

TAYLOR FAMILY.

The Taylor family, as stated before, had its origin in Argyle, Scotland, from whence they removed to the north of Ireland in 1620. They remained in and about the city of Londonderry until 1720, when Matthew Taylor, the progenitor of this branch of the Taylor family in America, came in a colony from Londonderry, Ireland, to New Hampshire. The colony was composed entirely of what is known as Scotch-Irish people. The governor of Massachusetts allotted to them lands on which this colony settled and which they began to improve when it was found that the land was in fact over the line in New Hampshire. The governor of New Hampshire, however, confirmed the grant and the colony remained in that location. They gave to the settlement the name of Londonderry, which has since been changed to and is now known as Derry, New Hampshire. This location was then the very frontier of civilization. All beyond to the north and west was a wilderness and the home of the Algonquin Indians. It was here that Matthew Taylor, Jr., was born on October 30th, 1727. While living at this place he was married to Miss Archibald, and of this marriage there were born six sons and two daughters. The fourth son was named Robert. The date of his birth was April 11th, 1759.

Matthew Taylor, Jr., continued to reside at Derry, New Hampshire, with his family until after the close of the "old French war" (1764), when by the terms of peace the province of Nova Scotia came under British dominion. Shortly after that event Matthew Taylor, Jr., and his family, with other families of the original New Hampshire colony, migrated from Derry, New Hampshire, to Nova Scotia and settled in the town of Truro on the Bay of Fundy. On December 6th, 1781, at Truro, Robert was married to Mehetabel Wilson, whose parents were also Scotch-Irish people. There were born of that marriage four sons and three daughters, David being the youngest of the brothers and the youngest of the family, except one sister, Susan. He was born at Truro, Nova Scotia, July 24th, 1801. The older sons were named respectively Vinton, Matthew and James. The entire family came to Chillicothe, Ohio, in September, 1806. They came by sea to Philadelphia,

where they purchased teams and wagons and passed through Pennsylvania and over the Alleghany mountains to the town of Wheeling, at which place the family, except the two older brothers, with the most of their effects, were placed on a keel boat and floated down the Ohio river to Portsmouth at the mouth of the Scioto. The two older sons, Vinton and Matthew, brought the wagons through the wilderness from Wheeling to Chillicothe.

While living in Chillicothe, Robert Taylor, the head of the family, determined to settle upon the lands situated in what is now Truro township, Franklin county, and with that view he constructed a frame house



MOUND ON RIDGE NEAR BIG WALNUT CREEK, NORTH SIDE NATIONAL ROAD.
IN PLAIN VIEW FROM WESTCREST. MOUND IS 200 FT. IN DIAMETER
AT BASE AND 30 FT. HIGH.

on his lands, which the family came to occupy in March, 1808. This was the fourth house constructed in what has since become and is now Truro township. The other three were primitive log cabins and they and their tenants have long since disappeared.

David Taylor lived with his father's family in this house until 1826, when he was intermarried with Nancy T. Nelson, who died in 1832, leaving two children, Eliza and Robert N. At the time of his marriage he constructed his first residence on the south portion of the

farm about a mile from this spot. That house is still standing as is also the house constructed by his father, Robert Taylor, in 1807-8. These houses and lands are still owned by members of his family.

On the 16th day of May, 1836, he was intermarried with Margaret Livingston, oldest daughter of Judge Edward Chinn Livingston. Of this marriage there were born six children, all of whom are living.

This house, where we are assembled to-day, was built by David Taylor in 1843, and all my life has been associated with it and the farm. My father continued to reside here until April 1, 1858, when he took up his residence on East Broad street in the city of Columbus, where he lived until the 29th day of July, 1889, when he died at the age of eighty-eight years.

When my grandfather, Robert Taylor, took possession of his land, there had been for many years an Indian camp for fall and winter hunting maintained on the spot where he desired to build his house. There were fine springs at that place and it was evident that it was a favorite spot for occupation of the Indians, as it probably had been for the races which preceded them, and this presumption is strengthened by the fact that the Mound Builders constructed a considerable mound at this point.

When Robert Taylor desired to build his house by these springs, the Indians moved their camp north about a mile and established it at the mouth of the first ravine north from where we are now assembled. These hunting camps were only used by the Indians for hunting purposes and only during the fall and winter months. They were of the Wyandot tribe and belonged to the linguistic family of the Iroquois. In the spring of the year they went back to their Indian villages, which were mostly situated along the Sandusky river and about Lake Erie. They occupied this new camp for about ten years and hunted and trapped at will in the vicinity. Practically the same Indians came to occupy that camp from year to year and were very friendly with the Taylor family, from whom they often obtained salt and bread and other provisions in exchange for which they would quietly deposit an abundance of game on the porch or in some conspicuous place near by. There was never any contracting or bargaining indulged in. Each gave what they had to spare.

It was in December, 1843, that the family came to occupy this house. I was then between four and five years old and well remember that event and many of the conditions and environments which obtained at that time. At that time I had never known the use of a friction match. Fire was the great agency by which the forest was cleared away and the soil opened up for cultivation, and it was often necessary to build fires at remote points on the farm and this need was met by the use of a small copper tea kettle, which had become useless for its original purpose and was brought from the old house to

the new and was used for several years thereafter for carrying fire before matches came into use. Sometimes also it was loaned to neighbors in whose houses the fires had from neglect or absence from home become extinguished, and still much more frequently was it used to enable "movers" who were traveling along the National road and who might happen to camp for the night near the house.

Before the introduction of matches, a common method of producing fire was by "steel, flint and punk." This method of producing fire had come into use after the French, Hollanders and English had introduced steel into this country. The combination of steel, flint and punk was called "fire," and was usually carried by persons who were much abroad in the forest and open air, and liable to exposure.



HENRY C. TAYLOR.



MRS. HENRY C. TAYLOR.

About 1834 the National Road was constructed by the general government past this point and it at once became a great thoroughfare for all methods of travel between the east and west. It was over this highway that the central portions of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the southern part of Iowa and the northern part of Missouri were mostly populated. The most picturesque and prominent feature of the National Road was the great mail and passenger coaches drawn by four horses, scheduled to make ten miles an hour. Everything had to give way to these coaches, as they carried the United States mail.

In the spring and fall of the year this highway was literally white with moving wagons covered with white canvass, going to establish homes in the western states. There were also numerous persons both on foot and on horseback traveling along this highway. There were also many heavy freight wagons, drawn some by two, some by four and some by

six horses, carrying freight and merchandise from the eastern cities to points in the west.

With the construction of this highway there sprang up every few miles along it, "wayside inns," commonly called "taverns." These taverns were not used by persons moving to the west. They always camped for the night by the side of the road, at convenient places for procuring fire and water and food for their teams. They usually slept in and under their wagons. The patronage which these "taverns" received was from persons traveling on foot and on horseback, and from the teamsters who were engaged in carrying merchandise over the road. Sometimes it would happen that a jolly party of these travelers and teamsters would stop for the night at the same tavern and make the evening merry with their songs and stories.



LIVINGSTON LODGE
TAYLOR,
6-year-old son of Mr. and
Mrs. Henry C. Taylor.

This is still within the recollection of many persons now living, some of whom are present to-day. Yet, the stage coaches and the heavy six-horse wagons with the jolly teamsters, the caravans or moving wagons, the travelers on foot and on horseback, and the numerous wayside inns, where they were wont to find good cheer and repose have all long since disappeared and are not known to the present generation. In their place we have the swift moving electric car and the much dreaded and too often deadly, automobile.

I learned from my father an incident which may be of interest to many persons present to-day. The early settlers introduced hogs into the country, which were allowed to run at large in the woods. They lived mostly on "mast," which consisted of hickory nuts, walnuts, beech nuts and acorns. In a favorable season for "mast" the hogs became fat and suitable for market, but there was no way to

get them to market, as there were no railroads or highways of any kind and no markets west of the Atlantic cities, and these it was impossible to reach. About 1825 the hogs had multiplied and became quite plentiful in the woods and there being no market for them, they became very cheap. About that time a man by the name of Reynolds (as I now recall the name) came into the neighborhood and contracted with the people in the vicinity for their pork to be delivered when the season was favorable for killing and curing the same. He built a flat boat on Walnut creek, one-half mile south from this spot on which he loaded his pork and waited for the spring freshets to furnish an abundance of

water so that he could safely launch his boat thereon. He employed a regular crew to go with the boat to New Orleans and a number of young men in the neighborhood, including my father, volunteered to assist as far as the confluence of Alum creek and Black Lick with Big Walnut Creek, beyond which point their assistance was not needed. The flat boat was successfully floated to New Orleans, where the cargo was sold to be shipped to European markets. Thus this immediate neighborhood, which was then the center of the Ohio forest, remote from the markets of the world, came to furnish to the people of the old world, a part of their food supply.

When grandfather, Robert Taylor, built his house in 1808, there were no Indian camps between here and the Ohio river. The white man came into southern and eastern Ohio mostly from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, and about 1820 game had become scarce and all the Indian hunting camps in southern and central Ohio were abandoned. A few years later by treaties, by purchases, etc., the Ohio Indians were removed to the west of the Mississippi river, and thus the territory of Ohio, after centuries of occupancy by them, ceased forever to be the home of the Indian.



SONG WRITERS OF OHIO.

C. B. GALBREATH.

If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation. — ANDREW FLETCHER.

No names are deathless save those of the world's singers. — FRANCES E. WILLARD.

If this ascription of power and immortality seems somewhat sweeping and a little too poetically generous, the fact remains that music, affecting as it does the emotional in man and touching all its keys, exerts a distinct influence on individual and national destiny; and the simple songs that find their way to the universal heart shall survive long after the singer has departed and his very name, to the millions who have felt the spell of his genius, has ceased to be even a memory. The popular melody is one of the avenues through which the human soul finds expression. If it has its charm "to soothe the savage breast," it has likewise its stimulus to action. With pæans on their lips men "have crowded the road to death as to a festival." In our annals the song writers deserve a place. From lullaby to battle hymn they help to mould character and build the state.

Ohio is pre-eminent among our sisterhood of commonwealths through the achievements of her sons in war and statesmanship. Attention has recently been directed to the fact that she has already made respectable progress in the fields of science and letters. It is the purpose of the writer to bring a humble but truthful tribute to her neglected sons of song, whose simple lays have gone beyond the boundaries of the Buckeye State and become a part of the music of the world.

It is a source of regret that the sudden departure of our oldest and most famous singer calls forth the first of these sketches three months earlier than the intended date of publication. Fortunately, a mass of material, most of it direct from the lips and pen of the aged minstrel, is at hand, and numerous omissions and inaccuracies in articles already printed seem to justify the somewhat hasty preparation of this contribution.

DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT, AUTHOR OF "DIXIE."

About one mile north of Mt. Vernon, Ohio, a line of cottages extends along the western border of the road. The last, the humblest, and the whitest of these was until recently the home of Daniel Decatur Emmett, the venerable minstrel, whose melodies are a part of the universal music of America and familiar in lands beyond the sea. Under the "wide and open sky," in



DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT.
(At the age of eighty years.)

the midst of the scenes of his boyhood, this genial genius of song, whom neither the smiles nor the frowns of fortune could sway far from the even tenor of his way, lived to the ripe age of four score years and eight. He was born in Mt. Vernon,¹ October 29, 1815.

His grand father was a soldier of the Revolution and fought under Morgan at the Cowpens. His father, Abraham Emmett, who came from Staunton, Va., was early apprenticed to a

blacksmith. At the breaking out of the War of 1812, his employer was drafted and the young apprentice, being thus unexpectedly released, entered the army as a volunteer. His name heads the list of privates in the company of Captain Joseph Walker, regiment of Colonel Lewis Cass. He served also under

¹ N. W. corner of Mulberry and Front streets.

Captain John Spencer, aided in the defense of Ft. Meigs, and was present at Hull's surrender. He married Sarah Zerick, in Clinton, then the county seat of Knox county, Ohio. To them were born two sons, Daniel Decatur and Lafayette, and two daughters, Derada Jane and Martha Ellen. All of these have passed away except Lafayette,¹ ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, who is at present Territorial Librarian of New Mexico. The parents died in the early sixties at St. Paul, Minn., where Lafayette was then living. Daniel, the oldest of the children, was twice married. His first wife, whose maiden name was Catherine Rives, died May 31, 1875, at the age of 46 years. In 1879 he married Mrs. Mary Louise Bird, of Chicago, who still survives.†

Emmett's early schooling was of the most elementary character. In those days the free school system was unknown. When very young he was taught to run errands and assist his father in the blacksmith shop. In the meantime he learned to read fairly well and to write a good hand. In the printing office his real education began. The training that he had there received is revealed in the careful and generally accurate punctuation of his manuscript papers. At the age of thirteen years he began work in the office of the *Huron Reflector*, at Norwalk, O. Shortly afterward he returned to Mt. Vernon and was employed by C. P. Bronson on the *Western Aurora* until he reached the age of seventeen years. Here he knew the Sherman boys, of whom he related interesting reminiscences. He was best acquainted with John, who attended school four years in the village. "William,"

¹ Judge Lafayette Emmett, born in Mt. Vernon, May 8, 1822, studied law in the office of Columbus Delano; was admitted to the bar; served a term as Prosecuting Attorney of his native county; moved to Minnesota in 1851; was appointed Attorney General of that Territory; was member of the Constitutional Convention, and at the first election of state officers was chosen Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; moved to Las Vegas, New Mexico, where he lived until called to his present position. His daughter is the wife of Miguel A. Otero, Governor of New Mexico.

² Emmett's first wife was born in New York City, April 15, 1828. They were married in 1852 or 1853. She died in Chicago, May 3, 1875. Mrs. Bird's maiden name was Brower.

he said, "was always ready for any escapade or wild adventure that promised sport. John was reserved and dignified, and might readily have been taken for a divinity student."

The peculiar gift that impelled Emmett to his life work he doubtless inherited from his mother. "As far back almost as I can remember," he said, "I took great interest in music. I hummed familiar tunes, arranged words to sing to them and made up tunes to suit words of my own. I paid no especial attention to the poetry and thought little about the literary merit of what I wrote. I composed *Old Dan Tucker* in 1830 or 1831, when I was fifteen or sixteen years old, before I left Mt. Vernon."

He entered the army at the early age of seventeen years as fifer, and served a full enlistment. He was first stationed at Newport, Kentucky, and afterward at Jefferson Barracks, below St. Louis, Missouri. In the service he improved his opportunity to study music, a fact to which he has borne detailed and explicit testimony.

He afterward traveled with circus bands and had excellent opportunity to continue his study and practice. He was at different times connected with the shows of Spalding and Rogers, Samuel Stickney, Seth Howe and Dan Rice.

In the early forties he organized the first colored minstrel troupe. He named it the Virginia Minstrels. He has told how he consulted a dictionary to satisfy himself that the word minstrel was the proper one to use.

Much has been written in regard to the origin of negro minstrelsy. The following points seem at present beyond dispute. The first troupe was organized in New York City at the boarding place of Mr. Emmett, on Catharine street, in February or March, of 1843. The parties participating were "Dan" Emmett, Frank Brower, "Billy" Whitlock and "Dick" Pelham. Emmett played the violin, Whitlock the banjo, Brower the bones and Pelham the tambourine. After practicing for some time to their mutual delight, they decided to make their first appearance at the Branch Hotel on the Bowery, the rendezvous for the showmen of the city in those days.

Nathan Howes, the leading circus man of his time, was present with a numerous assembly of the lesser lights of the

profession. There was a disposition to scoff at the innovation. Comparing small things to great, it was like the advent of the disciples of young Hugo in the role of romanticism.

The costume for the occasion was chosen and the novel features designed by Emmett himself. It included white pants, striped calico shirt and blue calico coat, the latter made dress suit style with elongated swallow tail. This outfit did not entirely remove the prejudice of the spectators.

Emmett tuned his violin and the crowd began to jeer. Such a combination of instruments had never been heard of before, to say nothing of the four sable faces. The single Ethiopian of the "Daddy" Rice *Jim Crow* type had been somewhat common, but this new aggregation violated the unwritten canons of the comic stage.

At the conclusion of the opening chorus the crowd became quiet and attentive. "Brower's funny song made them howl with delight." Whitlock's voice had a like effect. Emmett then sang and the little room went into "an uproar of applause."¹

So popular was the performance that it was almost immediately called to the stage. Emmett afterward gave the quartet the name of Virginia Minstrels. Whitlock in an autobiography says that the first appearance before the general public was at the Chatham Theatre for the benefit of Pelham. "The house was crowded and jammed with our friends," says he, "and Dick, of course, put ducats in his purse."

The company afterward was well received in Boston and New York. Later they went to the British Isles where they were virtually stranded. The performance aroused no interest abroad and the trip was a complete failure. Emmett promptly returned to America. While abroad he witnessed in Dublin the liberation of Daniel O'Connell, the Irish patriot.

When he reached New York he found that a number of organizations similar to the Virginia Minstrels had been formed and were appearing with marked success. He played during the winter for a time in the city and traveled as a musician with circuses in the summer. In 1857 he engaged with the Bryant

¹ Emmett was a good singer. He played many instruments, but excelled with the violin and flute. In musical composition, his reels and jigs were especially popular with the minstrel profession.



DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT AT HOME. (FROM LATEST PHOTOGRAPH.)

Minstrels at 470¹ Broadway, to act as musician and compose negro melodies and plantation walk-arounds. Here he remained till 1865.

In 1859, late one Saturday evening, after the performance at the music hall, Mr. Jerry Bryant came to him and asked him to write for rehearsal Monday a "walk-around" or "hooray song" of the plantation type. It must have a good tune. It did not matter so much what the words were. The song should be "catchy" and contain phrases that the boys would readily pick up and repeat on the streets. Emmett remarked that the time was unusually short but that he would do his best.

That night he undertook to compose a tune, but failed. He stated to his wife what he was expected to do and said he feared that he had undertaken too much. She urged him to persevere and told him that he should have the room all to himself the day following, that she knew he would make a song that would please his employers. He had always done so and he would not fail this time. She would be his audience, and if the song suited her it would be acceptable to the crowds that would come to hear it.

Early in the morning he picked up his violin and began work on the tune. It was a cold and dreary day.² The rain was falling. As he looked out of the window into the chill and comfortless street, he involuntarily repeated the expression familiar to showmen in the winter time, "I wish I was in Dixie land." Emmett had previously traveled much through the South, and it was very natural that this expression should rise to his lips on such a day. Taking up his violin again he began to hum the words and play. After some hours of patient endeavor, he had completed what he thought would fill fairly well the requirements. He next hastily prepared a stanza and chorus. The latter was never changed.

He then called in his wife while he played and sang. She declared that the music was all right; that if the Bryant Broth-

¹ See facsimile of title page of *Dixie*. On old programs the street number is 472.

² Col. T. Allston Brown in a letter to the writer fixes the date of the first public rendition of the song Monday evening, Sept. 19, 1859. It was composed the day previous.

ers were not satisfied with it they would not be pleased with anything he could give them.

"What shall I call it?" said Emmett. "I can think of no name for it. I ought to have a name before finishing the words."

"The name?" said his wife, "Why, it can have but one name. You have it in the chorus. Call it *Dixie*."

And *Dixie* it was named.¹

He then proceeded to write the words. On Monday morning he presented the results of his efforts to his employers. After examining it carefully and putting it to the test, they returned, evidently pleased, and congratulated the composer. The music, they thought, would be good enough to print. But they had some grave doubts about the first stanza, which they proceeded delicately and with apologies to set forth. The stanza did not appear in the song as originally printed:

Dis worl' was made in jiss six days,
An' finish'd up in various ways;
Look away! look away! look away! Dixie Land!
Dey den made Dixie trim an' nice,
But Adam call'd it "Paradise."
Look away! look away! look away! Dixie Land!

This stanza is important as it seems to settle a point in regard to which there has been some dispute. "Dixie," a term applied to the entire South, is thought by many to be derived from Dixon, found in the name of the famous boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, "Mason and Dixon's line." But the weight of the testimony seems to point to a different origin. On Manhattan Island, a man by the name of Dixie once kept slaves until forced by the hostile sentiment of the North to move South. The slaves were not happy in their new home and frequently expressed a longing for Dixie land, the name of the old plantation.² By degrees the expression came to represent the elysium of the colored race in the sunny south

¹ The song bears the title of "Dixie's Land." The early copyright issues corroborate the statements of their author.

² Another theory has recently been advanced to explain the origin of the word "Dixie". It is claimed that French bank notes issued in New Orleans and bearing the word for ten, *dix*, were called dixies, and that the name was afterward applied to the South, the section from which they came.

Dixie's Land.
 Composed by Daniel D. Emmett (in 1859.)

Introduction. *All.* *Segue song.*

song. His work was made in just six days, He finished up in
Chorus various ways, look-a-way! look-a-way! look-a-way. Dixie is land
Chorus den made Dixie trim an nice, But Ad-am call'd it "Pon-a-dix" Look a
Solo for one voice way! look a-way! look a-way! Dixie is land! Den I wish I was in Dixie!
 Ken-ray! Ken-ray! Dixie is land! We'll took our stand, 'Til we die in Dixie!
Back to Introduction
 Look a-way! a-way! a-way down South in Dixie!
U. S. for the rest of the series.

From autograph copy of original *Dixie's Land*. Manuscript

2. I wish I was in de land of cotton,
 (The times darl am not forgotten (back away!))
 In de big house when I hear de work in,
 As ly on one frosty mornin, look away! (back away!))
 When I wish I was in de land of cotton (back away!))
 (Chorus to the 1st verse.)
- 3 In de big house darl am not forgotten,
 As ly on one frosty mornin, look away! (back away!))
 When I wish I was in de land of cotton (back away!))
 (Chorus to the 1st verse.)
- 4 I used to be in de land of cotton,
 As ly on one frosty mornin, look away! (back away!))
 When I wish I was in de land of cotton (back away!))
 (Chorus to the 1st verse.)
- 5 The muses dee, she took a decline,
 As ly on one frosty mornin, look away! (back away!))
 When I wish I was in de land of cotton (back away!))
 (Chorus to the 1st verse.)
- 6 I wish I was in de land of cotton,
 As ly on one frosty mornin, look away! (back away!))
 When I wish I was in de land of cotton (back away!))
 (Chorus to the 1st verse.)
- 7 I wish I was in de land of cotton,
 As ly on one frosty mornin, look away! (back away!))
 When I wish I was in de land of cotton (back away!))
 (Chorus to the 1st verse.)

land, where masters were kind, where care never came and where joy held sway the whole year round. The first stanza of the song seems to show clearly that the writer had in mind this earthly paradise, "away down south in the land ob cotton," without reference to any particular spot.

The objection to the stanza was based on religious grounds. Inasmuch as it was thought that "the piece might be found worth publishing in sheet music form," it was deemed best that these lines should be modified. "You see, Dan," said Mrs. Bryant, "in some religious homes it might be regarded as making light of the Scriptures. We know that you did not intend that and the lines are really very nice, but don't you think it would be better to change them?"

Emmett said that he probably could make some modification; that he cared little about the words; but that he thought the music should remain unchanged and that the name should be *Dixie*. All united in this view, and the composition was again praised.

While the author was considering the first stanza, one of the Bryant brothers suggested that it be dropped. The song would be long enough without it, and the second stanza would do very well to begin with. Emmett agreed to this, and the song, without further changes, read as follows:

I wish I was in de land ob cotton,
 Old times dar am not forgotten;
 Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land!
 In Dixie Land whar I was born in,
 Early on one frosty mornin',
 Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land!

CHORUS:

Den I wish I was in Dixie! Hooray! Hooray!
 In Dixie's Land we'll take our stand, to lib an' die in Dixie.
 Away! away! away down South in Dixie.
 Away! away! away down South in Dixie.

In Dixie Land de darkies grow,
 If white folks only plant dar toe;
 Look away, etc.
 Dey wet de groun' wid 'bakker smoke,
 Den up de darkies head will poke.
 Look away, etc.

Missus married Will de weaber,
 Will, he was a gay deceaber;
 Look away, etc.
 When he put his arms around 'er,
 He look as fierce as a forty pounder.
 Look away, etc.

Ole missus die,— she took a decline,
 Her face was de color ob bacon-rhine;
 Look away, etc.
 How could she act de foolish part,
 An' marry a man to broke her heart.
 Look away, etc.

Den here's a health to de next ole missus
 An' all de galls dat want to kiss us;
 Look away, etc.
 Den hoe it down an' scratch yoa grabble.
 To Dixie Land I'm boun' to trabble.
 Look away, etc.

Stanzas were added from time to time until the melody was composed of a score or more. This fact accounts for the variety of forms in which the original song appears. All of the stanzas have perhaps never been printed together. The latest edition includes the first stanza quoted, with chorus, and the following:

Ole missus marry "Will-de-weaber";
 Willum was a gay deceaber;
 Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land!
 But when he put his arm around her,
 He smiled as fierce as a forty-pounder;
 Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land!

His face was sharp as a butcher's cleaber;
 But dat did not seem to greab her;
 Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land!
 Ole missus acted de foolish part,
 And died for a man dat broke her heart;
 Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land!

¹ Other stanzas and variations will be found in the facsimile on another page.

Now here's health to de next ole missus,
An' all the gals dat want to kiss us;
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land!
But if you want to drive 'way sorrow,
Come and hear dis song tomorrow;
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land!

Dar's buckwheat cakes an' Injin batter,
Makes you fat or a little fatter;
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land!
Den hoe it down an' scratch your grabble,
To Dixie's land I'm bound to trabble;
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land!

From the initial presentation the song was popular, though no one dreamed of the wide celebrity that it afterward attained. It went from city to city. Through the theatres and the music halls it reached the people. It first became widely known in the North. In the political campaign in the year following, Abraham Lincoln, it is said, heard the tune to Republican words, and was much pleased with it.

Without the consent of the author, the publisher brought out his song under the title, *I wish I was in Dixie's Land*. Soon afterward the words and music under the title of *Dixie* were published in New Orleans by P. P. Werlein. He was notified at once that Emmett was the author and that his publishers would defend the copyright. A number of communications passed between the two publishing houses, the Southern man finally "giving his case away" by writing to Emmett and offering him \$5.00 for his copyright.

At a great convention of music dealers held in New York City, the attorney for Emmett's publishers presented his claim to original authorship with an overwhelming array of proof from many parts of the country. He concluded by stating that Emmett was present, that he was no speaker, but that if they cared to hear him relate, "in his plain western style," the circumstances under which the song was composed, he would probably consent to do so. At the request of the audience, now thoroughly interested, Emmett briefly told his story. The manifestations of approval were so hearty that the New Orleans publisher, who was present and who, by the way, seems originally

to have published the song in good faith, came forward and said, "I give it up, too."

An amicable arrangement was then made by which Mr. Werlein was permitted to sell what he had already published. Emmett insisted, when a new edition of the song was issued, that it bear the title *Dixie*, the name his wife had originally suggested. Thenceforward the authorship was never seriously questioned.

The circumstances under which *Dixie* became the war song of the Confederacy are substantially as follows:

In the spring of 1861,¹ a spectacular performance was to be given in New Orleans. The parts had all been agreed upon, except a song for the grand chorus that should arouse enthusiasm and stir the Southern blood. Many songs were suggested, but none proved entirely satisfactory. *Dixie* was tried and given the place of honor. The great throng that heard it was thrilled. Encore followed encore in the midst of wild demonstrations of approval. It then rapidly spread throughout the South and became the rallying cry of the Confederacy.

In the meantime, while the author's name was not prominently associated with the song, dissenting patriots learned who and where he was. Many an intensely loyal son of the North mailed him letters of disapproval. Some gravely expostulated and warned him to turn from the error of his way; some ridiculed the song as a clownish performance in behalf of secession; some denounced it as rank treason, and suggested a rope for the

¹ The crowning popularity of this well-known ditty was secured in New Orleans in the spring of 1861, when Mrs. John Wood played an engagement at the Varieties Theatre. "Pocohontas," by John Brougham, was the attraction, and in the last scene a zouave march was introduced. Carlo Patti, brother of Adelina Patti, was the leader of the orchestra. At the rehearsal he was at a loss as to what air to appropriate. Trying several, he finally hit upon "Dixie". Tom McDonough shouted, "That will do; the very thing; play it tonight." Mrs. John Wood, Mark Smith, Leffingwell and John Owens were delighted. Night came, the zouaves marched on, led by Miss Susan Denin, singing, "I wish I was in Dixie." The audience went wild with delight and seven encores were demanded. Soon after the war broke out. The Washington Artillery had the tune arranged for a quickstep by Romeo Meneri. The saloons, the parlors, the streets rang with the "Dixie" air, and "Dixie" became to the South what the "Marseillaise" is to France. — DR. G. A. KANE in New York *World*. 1893.

neck of the author. A union man, and reared by a father who aided negroes to escape through the agency of the underground railway, Emmett was surprised and confused at the remarkable prominence and significance fortuitous circumstances had given his unambitious effort.

After the war he went to Chicago and remained there until 1888, when he returned to his native city and found a humble but cozy abode near the farm once owned by his father. For years he lived in comparative obscurity. He found contentment and happiness in the simple life and familiar scenes of his boyhood. The open air, the fields and the woods in which he always found an indescribable pleasure, became again his familiar haunts. He found congenial companionship among his farmer neighbors who still, without exception, speak of him familiarly as Uncle Dan. It was known that he had traveled with a circus, but none of his acquaintances seemed to have suspected that he ever did anything that had received recognition outside of the community. His indifference to fame and his modest estimate of his own achievements kept him silent on the subject of his life work. His friends were not a little surprised when Al. G. Field, the Columbus minstrel manager and an old friend of Emmett,¹ called the bard from his retreat and introduced him to the world as the author of *Dixie*.

For years Mr. Field had been seeking some trace of his venerable friend. Finally he received information indicating that he had returned to Mt. Vernon and was perhaps still living there. Meeting a prominent editor in that city, he said:

"Do you know a man by the name of Daniel Emmett?"

"Oh, yes," was the reply, "we all know Uncle Dan Emmett. He lives about a mile north of the city."

"He is the man I wish to see. Can't you arrange to take me to him at once? He wrote *Dixie* and many other songs."

"Mr. Field, he is not the man. Uncle Dan never wrote anything. He is only a retired showman. It is not worth while to go to see him."

"Nevertheless," said Mr. Field, "he is the man."

¹ Emmett had charge of a Chicago concert hall in the early seventies. Here he first met Field and gave him temporary employment.

The result was a visit to the home of Emmett and a pleasant reunion of friends long separated.

Mr. Field, in fulfillment of a promise, made another visit later in the summer. As he approached the house, he was a little surprised to hear the strains of a violin. At the doorway he met his aged friend who began to laugh most heartily.

"Do you know what I've been doing?" he said. "Almost ever since you were here before, I have been practicing. I want to see the world again. I am going with you on your next trip."



DANIEL D. EMMETT.
(From an early portrait.)

This was the first time that the thought of such a project had occurred to Mr. Field. The journey was a long and arduous one for a man of four score years. The solicitation of the minstrel prevailed, however, and arrangements were made for the tour.

When he was ready to leave Mt. Vernon, he declared that only one thing troubled him. He had a large flock of chickens that he had raised with much care. Among them were a number of pets that he called

by name. He did not know who would look after them when he was gone. A neighbor set his fears at rest and promised to take charge of the flock in the absence of the owner.

He came to Columbus in August, 1895, and after remaining a short time with friends started with the minstrels on their annual circuit. The manager at first had thought simply to have him introduced at the opening of the evening's performance as the father of American minstrelsy and the author of *Dixie*. This did not satisfy Uncle Dan. It was therefore arranged that he was to be presented and remain standing while the orchestra played *Dixie*, after which he could make a few remarks, if he desired.

He first appeared at Newark, Ohio, August 22, 1895. A large crowd was present, few of whom knew much about Emmett or the origin of his famous song. After the introduction, the strains of *Dixie* floated out on the evening air, when, to the surprise of the manager and those assembled, the tremulous voice of Uncle Dan rose, as with old time gestures and animation he sang the song that more than thirty-five years before he had rendered as one of the Bryant Minstrels in the metropolis.

The singing was followed by a happy little address, in which the speaker said he returned to the stage for his farewell tour after an absence of twenty-one years.

When the Al. G. Field Minstrels reached the South, Emmett was frequently the star attraction. A great ovation was accorded him at Richmond. Ladies showered flowers upon him and rep-

representatives of the first families of Virginia paid their respects. While here a somewhat amusing incident occurred. He ventured out one bright morning, unobserved as he thought, to visit points of interest in the city. He paused before the Stonewall Jackson monument and raised his hat to shield his eyes from the sunlight while he read the inscription. He was somewhat surprised to read in an evening paper an item with large head lines, running something like this:



DANIEL D. EMMETT.
(Resting by the wayside. From a late pen sketch.)

"Daniel Decatur Emmett, the author of *Dixie*, like the true Southron that he is, bowed with uncovered head before the monument of Stonewall Jackson."

The university students at Charlottesville, Virginia, gave him a rousing reception. At Nashville he was invited by General John B. Gordon, who was lecturing at another opera house, to occupy a box as the guest of honor. When he entered he was greeted by General Gordon, who, in an eloquent address, introduced him to the large audience as the author of *Dixie*.

At Wilmington, Delaware, he was given a reception by the daughters of Thomas F. Bayard, Ambassador to England and ex-Secretary of State.

He visited all the important cities of the South. His progress can best be described in the words of Mr. Field:

"Uncle Dan was not in the best voice after he had marked his four score years, but every time he appeared before the footlights to sing *Dixie*, the audience went as nearly wild as any I have ever seen. It seemed to me as if they would actually raise the roof from the theatre. Every man, woman and child would rise in a body and simply overwhelm sentimental Uncle Dan with applause. It was great, sir, simply great. It brought back to the memory of the grizzled men who bore arms for the Southland the desolate camps, the fields of defeat and the enthusing recollections of victory. Those Confederate soldiers had sung *Dixie* on road and in camp. It recalled to the widows, wives and daughters the occasions on which the song had been sung while the men were valorously fighting for the cause that was dear to all of them."

He was much impressed with the demonstrations in his honor. Nor could he forget, in the midst of it all, the novelty of the situation. Here was a man, born, reared and educated in the North, and through the Civil War sharing the sentiment of that section, enthusiastically received throughout the South for service that he had never intended to perform.

A number of interesting anecdotes are related of the tour. One of these is worth recording, as it is characteristic. Emmett invariably attended church when on the road. One Sunday when the troupe was in Topeka, Kansas, he entered what he took to be a place of worship and with bowed head quietly took a seat. The services, as he thought, had already commenced. He listened and soon discovered his mistake. He had slipped

into a secular meeting of a very pronounced political type, such as flourished in Kansas about that time. At the conclusion of an impassioned appeal, the speaker said: "What show has any one? What show have you? What show has this city?" Emmett rose with a serious look on his face and in a clear voice said: "The best show on earth, and I belong to it." He then walked solemnly out of the hall with the eyes of the puzzled audience on him.

The last performance of the season was given at Ironton, Ohio, April 11, 1896. Here he told the audience that this was the final appearance on his farewell tour; that after having been before the public as an entertainer for a longer period than the life of the average man, he would return to spend the remainder of his days at his little home near Mt. Vernon.

He could not be insensible to the marked attention and uniform kindness that had been shown him; "But," said he, "so much of the same thing grew a little monotonous;" and he was glad to return to the quiet of his rural home.

Here he lived, humbly it is true, but with means adequate to his simple wants,¹ surrounded by neighbors who esteemed him for his personal qualities, and in the enjoyment of good health for one of his years. His long tour had again thoroughly introduced him to the world. Had he not made it, he would doubtless have passed the remainder of his days unnoticed and forgotten. To his cottage now came visitors to pay their respects and chat with the pioneer minstrel, who, like other gifted sons of Ohio, had done much to extend the fame of the Buckeye State. Hither came newspaper and magazine correspondents. In the little room on different occasions sat the distinguished southern statesman and soldier, Gen. John B. Gordon, whom Emmett greatly admired and of whom he invariably spoke in eulogistic terms.

¹ After retiring from the stage, he received weekly benefits in cash from the Actors' Fund, of New York City. He also had an irregular income from autograph copies of *Dixie*. To Messrs. Vaughan Kester and Paul Kester is chiefly due the credit of bringing Emmett's claim to the attention of the Actors' Fund.

His last public appearance is described in the following extract from an article in the *Knox County Republican* of July 1, 1904:

Two years ago at a local performance he made his last appearance before the footlights for the Elks. He was to sing his own version of *Dixie*. The hall was crowded, and when he walked on the stage he was given an ovation, the audience rising. This mark of esteem was too much for the old minstrel, and the tears coursed down his cheeks. The orchestra played the introduction and played it again, but Uncle Dan was all unmindful of the situation, and stood with tears streaming down his face. It was a pathetic spectacle. Finally a tenor caught and hummed the refrain, and then Uncle Dan picked up the verse and sang it."

On a tranquil morning early in September, 1903, the writer made a call at the home of the aged minstrel. An elderly lady, who, as he afterward learned, was Mrs. Emmett, answered promptly, and in reply to a question said that her husband had gone on his daily stroll to the woods about half a mile distant, and that he probably would not be back before noon. Later in the day another call was made at the cottage. In response to a knock at the door, a clear and pleasant voice bade the visitor enter, and a moment later he stood in the presence of Mr. Emmett. The bearing of the aged man was dignified, his greeting sincere. In his neat but humble home he preserved the graces of the cultured gentleman.

He was seated in a rocking chair near the window, reading a book. He wore no glasses. His eyesight through life had been good and at the age of almost eighty-eight years it was practically unimpaired. He was remarkably well preserved. His conversation was coherent and at times animated; his memory excellent; his intellect unclouded. A slight lameness from rheumatism was his only visible affliction. His long life and good health he attributed to his temperate habits.

He apologized for his full beard, saying that usually he wore only a mustache. The beard was very becoming, however. Remove the spectacles from the later pictures of Charles A. Dana, and you will have a very good portrait of Mr. Emmett as he appeared that September afternoon.

He manifested much interest in pioneer history and seemed quite familiar with the lives of noted Indian chieftains. While

talking on this topic he remarked, incidentally, that he had helped to set the type for one of the editions of Drake's "American Indians" while he was learning the printing trade.

What especially impressed the visitor was Emmett's apparent indifference to the fate of his work. He wrote hundreds of songs, many of which were popular in other days, of which he had kept no copy. He seemed pleased, however, to know that he was recognized as the author of *Dixie* — especially in the dawning era of good feeling between the North and South, which had made the music of his song welcome in American homes of both sections. He referred with evident pleasure to Abraham Lincoln's felicitous request, after the surrender at Appomattox, that the band play *Dixie*.¹ "For," said the great emancipator, "we have captured the Confederacy, and *Dixie* now belongs to the Union."

Through the music of "God Save the Queen," the voice of patriotism now finds expression in our own "America." What service the melody of Emmett's famous song shall yet render, we may not say. It will live, however, and be on the lips and in the hearts of men when the deeds of many a warrior and statesman are relegated to the comparative obscurity of recorded history.

Among Emmett's compositions, in addition to those already named, were: *Jordan is a Hard Road to Travel*; *Striking Ille*; *Here We Are, or Cross Ober Jordan*; *Billy Patterson*; *Road to Richmond*; *Go Way, Boys*; *Black Brigade*.

¹A war correspondent recalls the circumstances as follows: The President had returned from Richmond and a crowd called with a band to tender congratulations and a serenade. Several members of the Cabinet were present. In closing his brief remarks, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I see you have a band with you. I should like to hear it play *Dixie*. I have consulted the Attorney-General, who is here by my side, and he is of the opinion that *Dixie* belongs to us. Now play it."

That it has become a song of all sections of our common country is attested by the tumultuous applause with which it was greeted in the latest national conventions of the two dominant political parties. Notwithstanding its popularity, the author realized but \$500 from the sale of the copyright.

Old Dan Tucker,¹ which he composed when a mere boy, was for many years familiar wherever English is spoken. Even to this day, how readily we recall the grotesque lines:

Old Dan Tucker, he got drunk,
He fell in the fire and kicked out a chunk;

and the refrain:

Get out the way, Old Dan Tucker;
You's too late to get your supper.

Long before the South had adopted *Dixie* as its battle-song, the Abolitionists of the North had appropriated the air of *Old Dan Tucker*, and used it with words expressive of devotion to their cause. From the troublous times before the war comes down through the intervening years the refrain:²

Roll it on through the nation,
Freedom's car, Emancipation!

It would be difficult to explain the secret of the wonderful currency of Emmett's melodies. The fact of their popularity remains, however, and the supplemental fact of their originality. The latter is worthy of more than passing notice. Many have suggested a remote origin for his best known productions. Efforts have been made to verify this theory, but they have failed. The more the subject is studied, the more clearly apparent it becomes that the source of these modest but famous lays, with their insinuating strains and quaint words carelessly thrown together, was the unassuming Buckeye minstrel of Mt. Vernon.

As already stated, Emmett was indifferent to his fame. It is doubtful whether he would have foregone his morning ramble through the fields and woods, on a bright day, to substantiate his claim to anything he had written. To those seeking information he told his story in his plain, quiet way. Time has verified his reluctant testimony in regard to his own work.

¹ The name, as the author explained, was made up of his own, Dan, and that of a favorite dog, Tucker.

² Other northern songs were sung to this air, among them one in Richard Grant White's collection, with the chorus:

Get out of the way, old Jeff. Davis,
Out of the way, old Jeff. Davis,
Out of the way, old Jeff. Davis,
You're too late to come to enslave us.

On Tuesday, June 28, 1904, shortly after the twilight shadows had deepened into the darkness of night, Daniel Decatur Emmett breathed his last. He had been ill three days, but was able to walk about in his room within a few hours of his death.

Although he was not a member of the order, in accordance with his request, his funeral was conducted by the local lodge of the Elks, under direction of his friend, Al. G. Field. On July 1st, the body lay in state at the Elks' Home. In the afternoon it was conveyed to St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

To the stranger seated here on this occasion, while the good people of the city were quietly assembling, the past was full of material for meditation. Here the Sherman boys and Emmett met seventy years ago. In the struggle that threatened the Union, the former, in the forum and on the field, led the North; the latter composed the music that inspired the South. To this church Columbus Delano and Emmett often came, and from it, when full of years, they were borne by loving hands and laid to rest in the silent city on Mound View. Who can fix a limit to the influences that have gone forth from this historic spot? Warrior and statesman and singer depart, but something of their work remains with the living.

In a brief address, Rev. William E. Hull, rector of St. Paul's, paid fitting tribute to the dead minstrel. He said in part:

"Of his life, made prominent as the composer of the famous song *Dixie*, the press has given full and accurate detail, paying the high tribute to the integrity of his character, that he was extremely temperate in all things during his long and eventful career of nearly four score and ten years.

"As we are assembled within the holy place of God to pay our last tribute of respect to the memory of our departed friend and brother and to sing the hymns he loved in life so well, Jesus Lover of My Soul, Nearer My God to Thee and Lead Kindly Light, and to read the solemn services which speak of life, death and immortality, I turn your thoughts to the inward and deeper springs of his spirit personality.

"Dignified and retiring as I knew him in his later years, his large experience with the world and men of affairs in the realm of stageland, and his association with "Dixie Land" made him a gentleman, as to the manor born; and having penetrated the reserve of his exterior, he received you in his humble home with the freedom and ease of one able to dispense hospitality with a lavish hand.

"The religious side of his character was that which should especially interest us at this time and place. Baptized in his early childhood, he never made an outward declaration of his convictions to the public, nor united with any church. But he was a great reader of the Bible, and in his later years bought a copy with larger print that he might continue reading as his vision failed; that he might still see God. He himself once told me that he never laid his head upon his pillow at night without bending his knees at his bedside and offering up a prayer to the Almighty One. And I am informed that he never partook of his meal, however humble and frugal, that he did not bow his head and ask God's blessing upon it. These are the marks of a deep religious nature, but as with many, such as Lincoln and others, it was aside from the sacramental fellowship of God's altar in the church. A degree of eccentricity, which governed him in some things, may have had the controlling influence in this direction.

"His journey in earth is done, but the beautiful and touching notes of *Dixie* which he let fly from his breast on that raw and cheerless day, nearly half a century ago, will live to cheer and gladden the lives of generations yet unborn."

Through the streets of his home city, her famous bard was borne with every mark of respect to his last resting place. Slowly the procession moved along the avenue to the beautiful cemetery on the hill. The declining sun from the west poured down a flood of light on the meadows and woodland that had grown dearer to him with advancing years. "The trees of the field clapped their hands" in the evening breeze, but he who loved their quiet shade came not again. The crowd stood with uncovered heads about the grave. The band played *Dixie* and the notes touched every heart. The melody that had brought the sleeper fame was his fitting requiem.

AUTHORSHIP OF DIXIE.

At various times questions have been raised in regard to the authorship of *Dixie*. These have usually resulted from the natural impression that the air originated in the South, and the fact that different persons wrote verses that were sung to the music of the original. After Emmett's death a correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun* set forth the claims of Harry McCarthy in the following communication, which is here quoted because it is typical of others that have been exploited at different times:

"Was Emmett, who died recently, or Harry McCarthy, who died in Arkansas, in 1874, the real author of the South's war song, *Dixie*? The death of Emmett recently with the assertion that he was the author, has given rise to some doubt on the question of authorship and Mr. John W. Callahan of Selma, Ala., in a recent letter to the Ledger, gives his views on the subject of authorship and says that McCarthy was the real author of *Dixie*. He says that the claim of the recently deceased minstrel Emmett, to the authorship of *Dixie* is utterly without foundation. Old Southerners who remember the days from '60 to '65, know well enough that Harry McCarthy the Arkansas comedian, was the author of *Dixie*.

"McCarthy was a native of a country town in Arkansas and was reputed to be an idler and loafer, but had a talent for vocal music which made him famous. He married a lady who had as sweet a voice as ever a bird poured out and the two made a show which drew a crowd wherever they appeared. They formed a combination with a party that had trained birds in 1862, and I saw their performance at Selma. They had a cockatoo which came out and waltzed on a platform and at the command of his keeper reared up to his full height, fluffed his feathers like the quills of a porcupine and shouted 'Three cheers for Jeff Davis.'

"McCarthy had printed on his bills the words of *Dixie* and the story of his life, and the circumstances surrounding him suggested the composition. I met him and his wife in 1874 at Navasota, Texas, and he died soon afterwards. No one ever thought of robbing Harry McCarthy of the authorship of *Dixie* in those days. It was a shrewd advertising dodge of the minstrel company after poor Harry had shuffled off this mortal coil. Emmett was no more the author of *Dixie* than I am, and I am quite sure my talent never run in that channel.

"The authorship should not be left in doubt as it seems to be now. There will be no more opportune time to settle it than right now, and this may call the attention of some who can throw light on the question of authorship.

J. McD.

Birmingham, Ala.

To this letter the writer of this sketch replied in part as follows:

JULY 23, 1904.

To the Editors of the *Baltimore Sun*:

"Through the kindness of a friend, a copy of the *Sun* of July 11th is before me, containing a communication under the caption, 'The Author of *Dixie*.' Permit me to say that among those acquainted with the late Daniel D. Emmett and disinterested parties who visited him when he was living, there is absolutely no question in regard to the authorship of the famous war song of the South.

"Your correspondent claims that honor for an Arkansan by the name of Harry McCarthy who, it is stated, published the words on his

bills when he was traveling with a bird and minstrel show through the South in 1862. It is also averred that while McCarthy lived, or to be more specific, till 1874, no one thought of questioning his authorship of the song. These are sweeping assertions, but details are conspicuously absent and little effort is made to substantiate the claim here boldly set forth. Unfortunately for your correspondent, his assertions run counter to facts and the records of the copyright office at Washington.

"The original *Dixie* was composed by Daniel D. Emmett in 1859. This is not only proven by his own statement, in which a detailed account of the circumstances under which it was written is given, including the place where it was first sung, but it is also substantiated by the testimony of numerous contemporaries, including the Bryant Brothers, through the later fifties and earlier sixties proprietors of The Bryant Minstrels at 470 Broadway, New York, for whom the song was first written and under whose auspices it was presented to the public.

"The song was first published in New York, under the title, *I wish I was in Dixie's Land*. As I write I have before me a piece of sheet music with the imprint of Firth, Pond & Co., 547 Broadway, N. Y., bearing this title and the copyright date of 1860.

"The song was afterward brought out under the title *Dixie's Land*, by Wm. A. Pond & Co, successors of Firth, Pond & Co., as stated by Emmett and substantiated by another copyright piece of music on my desk bearing date of 1865. Under this title the words and music have been published to this day. The present publishers are Oliver Ditson & Co., of 150 Tremont St., Boston. The song may be had through any music dealer. It has borne Emmett's name for forty-four years, as will be shown by the records of the copyright office, the publishers and music dealers throughout the United States.

"In the autumn and winter of 1895, Emmett traveled through the South with Al. G. Field's Minstrels and was everywhere recognized as the author of *Dixie*. As such he was introduced to a large audience in Nashville, by the late General John B. Gordon, who declared that he was without question entitled to that distinction. As such he was honored with a reception by the daughters of Thomas F. Bayard, ex-Secretary of State and Ambassador to England. Here was a great opportunity for the friends of McCarthy to put forth their claim while Emmett was living and able to speak for himself. After this tour, General Gordon honored the aged minstrel with a personal visit at his humble cottage near Mt. Vernon, O.

"This is not the first time that a question has been raised in regard to the authorship of *Dixie*. The song was once printed by P. P. Werlein, of New Orleans. Emmett's publishers promptly notified him that he was printing one of their copyright pieces. At a convention of music dealers in New York, the claims of Emmett were presented by attorneys for his publishers and by Emmett himself. So overwhelming was the

proof, that Werlein, who had been imposed upon by a pretended author, came forward and publicly recognized Emmett's claim to original authorship. All this occurred before the Arkansan McCarthy had taught the cockatoo in his bird show to shout 'Three cheers for Jeff Davis.'"

If it were necessary, much additional evidence could be submitted in support of Emmett's claim to authorship. Col. T. Allston Brown, veteran dramatic agent and author of "A History of the New York Stage," who was well acquainted with Emmett when he composed *Dixie*, is still living in New York City. In a letter of August 5, 1904, he gives in detail the circumstances under which the song was written, substantially as they have been related. The Oliver Ditson Co., who at present publish it, in a letter of July 8, 1904, say:

"*Dixie* is about the only composition we have of Emmett's. This was first copyrighted in 1860."

The chief of the music division of the Library of Congress, under date of July 22, 1904, forwards the following memorandum:

"*Dixie* by D. Emmett. Transcript of title page to earliest edition in the Library of Congress:

I wish I was in Dixie's Land. Written and composed expressly for Bryant's Minstrels by Dan D. Emmett. Arranged for the Pianoforte by W. L. Hobbs. New York: Published by Firth, Pond & Co. Entered according to act of Congress A. D. 1860 by Firth, Pond & Co.

Also copyrighted 1888 by heirs of D. Emmett and 1898 by Oliver Ditson Co. The caption title reads "*Dixie's Land*."

The Register of Copyrights, under date of August 20, 1904, writes:

"The earliest entry of the musical composition *Dixie* appears to be by Firth, Pond & Co., June 21, 1860, under the title "*I wish I was in Dixie's Land*, written and composed expressly for Bryant's Minstrels by Dan. D. Emmett."

Not only was Emmett recognized as the author of *Dixie* in his tour through the South, but the press of that section has long regarded him as such. In the *Confederate Veteran* for September, 1895,² is a full page facsimile letter from him, a half-tone reproduction, music and words, of a manuscript copy

¹ See also the issue for December, 1894.

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EMMETT'S
INIMITABLE
PLANTATION SONGS
(Written and Composed for)
BRYANT'S MINSTRELS,
DAN. D. EMMETT.
OF 470 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NY.

No. 1.—I wish I was in Dixie's Land.
2.—Old K-Y-Ky.
3.—Billy Patterson.
4.—Dar's a Darkey in de Tent, or Wide Awake.
5.—John come down the Hollow.
6.—Go-Way—Boys.

PIANO. GUITAR.

NEW YORK:

Published by FIRTH, POND & CO., 547 Broadway
BOSTON—O. DITSON & CO. NEW ORLEANS—P. P. WERLEIN

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1860, by FIRTH, POND & CO., in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, for the Southern District of New York.

Title page of *Dixie* as originally published, showing copyright date of 1860.

of *Dixie*, and an appreciative sketch by the editor, S. A. Cunningham, who had visited the author at Mt. Vernon

Rival claimants have not gotten beyond the limits of vague reminiscences; Emmett's title is proven by contemporaneous testimony and the official records at Washington.

OTHER DIXIE SONGS.

As already stated, many songs have been composed and sung to the music of *Dixie*. The familiar words of General Albert Pike are full of Southern fire. They first appeared in *The Natchez Courier*, April 30, 1861, and are here reproduced in full:

Southrons, hear your country call you!
Up, lest worse than death befall you!
To arms! To arms! To arms, in Dixie.
Lo! all the beacon fires are lighted,
Let all hearts be now united!
To arms! To arms! To arms, in Dixie.

CHORUS:

Advance the flag of Dixie! Hurrah! Hurrah!
For Dixie's land we take our stand, and live and die for Dixie!
To arms! To arms! And conquer peace for Dixie!
To arms! To arms! And conquer peace for Dixie!

Hear the Northern thunders mutter!
Northern flags in South winds flutter!
To arms, etc.
Send them back your fierce defiance!
Stamp upon the accursed alliance!
To arms, etc.

Fear no danger! Shun no labor!
Lift up rifle, pike and sabre!
To arms, etc.
Shoulder pressing close to shoulder,
Let the odds make each heart bolder!
To arms, etc.

How the South's great heart rejoices,
At your cannons' ringing voices!
To arms, etc.

For faith betrayed, and pledges broken,
Wrongs inflicted, insults spoken,
To arms, etc.

Strong as lions, swift as eagles,
Back to their kennels hunt these beagles!
To arms, etc.
Cut the unequal bonds asunder!
Let them hence each other plunder!
To arms, etc.

Swear upon your country's altar
Never to submit or falter!
To arms, etc.
Till the spoilers are defeated,
Till the Lord's work is completed.
To arms, etc.

Halt not till our Federation
Secures from earth's powers its station!
To arms, etc.
Then at peace, and crowned with glory,
Hear your children tell the story!
To arms, etc.

If the loved ones weep in sadness,
Victory soon will bring them gladness.
To arms, etc.
Exultant pride soon banish sorrow;
Smiles chase tears away tomorrow.
To arms, etc.

Positive proof is now at hand that at an earlier date Emmett's melody, with his approval, had been used with a Union song, words by Frances J. Crosby,¹ entitled "Dixie for the Union." It was written after the evacuation of Ft. Moultrie and before the fall of Ft. Sumpter. Here are the first two stanzas:

On! ye patriots to the battle,
Hear Fort Moultrie's cannon rattle!
Then away, then away, then away to the fight!
Go meet those Southern traitors,
With iron will.

¹ Fanny Crosby, the famous blind hymn writer, is still living at the age of eighty-four years.

And should your courage falter, boys,
 Remember Bunker Hill.
 Hurrah! Hurrah! The Stars and Stripes forever!
 Hurrah! Hurrah! Our Union shall not sever!

As our fathers crushed oppression,
 Deal with those who breathe Secession;
 Then away, then away, then away to the fight!
 Though Beauregard and Wigfall
 Their swords may whet,
 Just tell them Major Anderson
 Has not surrendered yet.
 Hurrah! Hurrah! etc.

A Southern man, writing for the *Baltimore Sun* of July 20, 1904, while admitting that Emmett wrote the original *Dixie*, still claims that Harry McCarthy was author of the words sung by the Confederate armies. From these he quotes a stanza which is only an awkward adaptation of Emmett's verse:

Old Tennessee has not forgotten
 Her good old friends in the land of cotton.
 Look away! Look away! Oh, I wish I was in Dixie!
 In Dixie's Land I'll take my stand
 To live and die in Dixie
 Away! Away! Away down south in Dixie.

Another song set to the tune of *Dixie* and called "The Star of the West," appeared in *The Charleston Mercury* early in 1861. The first stanza, with the exception of the chorus, was almost identical with the corresponding part of Emmett's production. The last stanza ran as follows:

Dat rocket high a-blazin' in de sky,
 Tis de sign dat de snobbies am comin' up nigh —
 Look away, look away, lads in gray!
 Dey bin braggin' long, if we dare to shoot a shot,
 Dey comin' up strong and dey'll send us all to pot.
 Fire away, fire away, lads in gray.

CHORUS: Den I wish I was in Dixie, etc.

We quote also the first stanza of another variation, said to have been very popular with the Confederate soldiers:

Away down South in de fields of cotton
 Cinnamon seed, and sandy bottom!
 Look away, look away, look away, look away.
 Den 'way down South in de fields of cotton,
 Vinegar shoes and paper stockings
 Look away, look away, look away, look away.

CHORUS:

Den I wish I was in Dixie's Land, Oh-oh! Oh-oh!
 In Dixie's Land I'll take my stand,
 And live and dië in Dixie's Land,
 Away, away, away, away down South in Dixie.

General Pike probably saw Miss Crosby's song before he wrote his own. None of those who copied Emmett's metrical formula got very far from his chorus. They retain it wholly or in part. The line "Cinnamon seed and sandy bottom" occurs in the early Emmett manuscript reproduced in the *Confederate Veteran*.

SELECTIONS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN PRINT.

DAR'S A DARKEY IN DE TENT.

Dar's a darkey in de tent, keep 'im in, keep 'im in, keep 'im in.
 But he hasn't paid de rent, kick 'im out, kick 'im out, kick 'im out.

CHORUS:

Den, wide awake
 Bake dat cake,
 Den kick up a chunk and put out de light, an' go home wid de galls in
 de morning
 Den, wide awake
 Bake dat cake,
 Den kick up a chunk an' put out de light,
 We'll sing dis song an' dance all night.
 1860.

MAC¹ WILL WIN THE UNION BACK.

Mid cheers that rend the air,
 Mac's soldiers now prepare,
 In Presidential chair
 Their gallant chief to bear.

¹ General George B. McClellan.

In all his fame they share,
 Red, white and blue they wear;
 Disunion to its lair
 To drive is aye their care.

CHORUS:

Then cry hurrah, hurrah for little Mac,
 For he's the boy to win the Union back,
 And sail the ship of state on safer track.
 Hurrah, hurrah for little Mac!

1864.

HERE WE ARE OR CROSS OBER JORDAN.

I'll sail de worl' clar roun' an' roun',
 All by de railroad under groun'.

CHORUS:

We'll all cross ober Jordan, we'll land on tudder shore,
 Den make room in de flat-boat for one darkey more;
 For Egypt's in de garden a kickin' up 'a row,
 Ho boys, ho boys! who can find us now.

When I get home I'll hab a spree,
 Den leff dis worl' and climb a tree.

Old Massa Linkum split a rail,
 An' de Union clar from head to tail.

He's got his eyes on 'sixty-four,
 Bekase he's Union to de core.

Remember Grant, but don't forget
 Dat little Mac am not dead yet.

1863.

STRIKING ILE.

The world it revolves on its own axle-tree,
 Once in twenty-four hours, says G. O. Graffee;
 The axle got hot and the world stopt awhile
 And the people have all gone to "boring for ile."

CHORUS:

Never strike ile! Never strike ile!
 People get looney: run mad for a while;
 They'll bore thro' to China. before they "strike ile!"

There's lawyers and doctors, and men of all grades,
Men that live by their wits, and men that have trades;
Thro' old Pennsylvania, they've trudg'd many a mile,
With their forty foot auger, they're going to "*strike ile!*"

Maximilian in Mexico has a hard time,
His pockets are empty, he's not worth a dime;
There's no blood in turnips; he'll not make a pile,
If he lives till he dies, he will never "*strike ile!*"

John Bull in his dotage has smelled a big rat,
He'd rather meet Satan, than one democrat;
There's a doctrine called Monroe will stir up his bile,
He may run the blockade, but he'll never "*strike ile!*"

Napoleon the little has lately grown thin,
He's troubled with nightmare and "Duke Dr. Gwin";¹
We've a small bill against him: *Abe's got it on file!*
Then to balance his ledger — he'll have to "*strike ile!*"

Jeff Davis in Richmond don't get along well;
"His Southern Confederacy's nought but a shell;"
Let him brag and eat fire in true Southern style,
He may dig his "last ditch" — but he'll never "*strike ile!*"

1865.

THAT CAT AND THE DOG FIGHT.

In the *New York Clipper* for September 28, 1872, under the above caption, was concluded a controversy over the authorship of a song entitled "Cat Doggerell," published in that paper July 13, of the same year. It appears that a Mr. Stewart claimed that he had written the song in 1870. Emmett, after submitting a number of affidavits to prove that he had written it for Robert Lindley, a banjo player, in 1867, brought the dispute to a close in the following characteristic statement:

"Now, Mr. Editor, after all this parade about a piece of nonsense (of which I am heartily ashamed), I wish it distinctly understood that I do not charge Mr. Stewart with appropriating my verses. That similar ideas and language could be used and be perfectly original with two "poicks", is not at all uncommon. That I have proven my authorship in

¹ William McKendree Gwin, U. S. Senator from California, 1849 to the breaking out of the war. Accused of disloyalty and imprisoned till 1863. Planned to establish a Confederate colony in Sonora, Mexico, under Maximilian.

'67 he must admit, as I am willing to acknowledge that he originated his version in '70 as he has sworn to. I also make this confession, that I stand convicted of appropriating another man's ideas two years before he originated them. To conclude, nothing that can be said hereafter will ever induce me to continue this controversy, as "*I give it up*" from this date.

Respectfully yours,

DAN. D. EMMETT."

NEGRO SERMON.

BY DAN. EMMETT.

Bredren, de text am foun' in de inside ob Job whar Paul draw'd him pistol on 'Feesians, lebenteenth chapter, an' no 'ticklar verse: "*Bressed am dem dat 'spects nuttin', kase dey aint gwine to git nuttin'!*"

* * * * *

We am told dat Adam was de firs man an' Ebe was de tudder; dey was boaf brack men, an' so was Cain an' Abel. Dar am a mistake in de printer, for some udder man made ole Missus Adam, an' set her up again de barn to dry; an' now, my frens, who built dat barn? (Ha! ha! ha!) Bredren, de debble am now in Baltimoa—he hab a notion ob comin' to Fillamadelfy—now he on de carrs—now he in Jarsy City—now he in New Yawk—he in hear! dat's him—dat dar white man settin' in de corner laffin!

* * * * *

Now, we be got to lassly: I sees a great many heah dis ebenin dat cares no moa what 'comes ob darr souls dan I does myseff. Suppose, frinstance, dat yoa eat yoa full ob possam fat an' hominy; yoa go to bed, an' in de mornin yoa wake up an' find youseff dead! Whar yoa speck yoa gwine to? Yoa keep gwine down, down, down, till de bottam falls out! What 'comes ob ye den? You see de debble comein down de hill on a rasseljack, wid a ear like a backer leaf an' a tail like a cornstalk; out ob he mouff comes pitchforks an' lightnin, an' him tail smoke like a tar kill! Whar is you now? No time for 'pentin; de debble kotch ye, shoa! but bress de lam, he habn't kotch dis child yet! What's gwine to 'come ob ye on de great gittin-up-day? Maby yoa tink you hold on to my coat-tail; but I'm gwine to fool yoa bad on dat 'casion, kase I'm gwine to wear my coon-skin jacket! Yoa crawl up de hill on yoa hans an' nees, yoa fall down again, wallup! den yoa's call'd a backslider. Dar's de brimstone, de grindstone, de millstone, de blue stone, an' eb'ry udder kind o' stone de debble's got to tie 'roun yoa neck, to sink ye in de nebberlastin gulf ob bottomless ruin. Yoa call for a cup ob cold water an' de debble say "No!" * * * Den yoa weep an' wail an' smash out yoa teef out. Den wake up, sinners, an' let de daybroke in on ye!

My frens, I neider preach for de lob ob de lam, de good ob yoa souls, nor de fear ob de debble; but, if you got any ole shoe, ole coat,

ole hat, jiss pass em roun dis way, an' I'll light upon 'em like a raccoon upon a green cornstalk. It's no use passin roun de plate for "*Bressed am dem dat 'specks nuttin, kaze dey aint a gwine to git nuttin!*" — From *The (New York) Clipper*.

MANUSCRIPT PAPERS.

The manuscript papers left by Emmett furnish indisputable evidence of the fact that he was a prolific writer. His simple verse embraces almost every subject from *Old Dan Tucker* to the *Life of Lewis Wetzel*. He composed readily, sometimes improvising stanzas on the stage. The greater number of his poems, if such they may be called, are written in negro dialect. Of these only a few of the "walk-arounds" seem to have been published.

While abroad he studied the brogue of the Emerald Isle. Among his papers are a number of songs in the Irish vernacular.

Many chapters of verse are devoted to the valorous deeds of Wetzel and Colonel Crawford. In his later years he read pioneer history with avidity and recorded his impressions in metrical composition. This he probably did as a pastime. In an introduction to one of his narratives he apologizes for his limited vocabulary and expresses regret that his educational advantages had been so meager.

Of instrumental music he left many volumes. The major portion of this is very neatly executed with the quill, which he invariably used in writing.

His productions were not confined to verse and music. In the collection are a number of plays, including "Hard Times," written in 1854. The dialogues are in both metrical and prose form, interspersed with occasional songs. There are more than a score of negro sermons. A small brown paper wrapper enclosed a package of prayers, carefully written. There are morning prayers, "graces" for his daily bread, and thanks to be rendered on retiring at day's decline.

If his dialect songs or the careless reports of newspaper correspondents have led any to think that Emmett was a dunce or a buffoon, an examination of his writings will correct the erroneous impression. One of the most interesting of the manuscript books is the volume of "Walk Arounds." On the first

page, written in pencil without an erasure, under the head of "Remarks," evidently intended as the first draft of a preface, is the following:

These "Walk 'Rounds" were composed during the period from 1859-1868. Most of them were first put upon the stage of the celebrated "Bryant Minstrels" in New York, and for whom, in fact most of them were composed, while the author was a member of that organization; and the immense popularity they attained (the W. R.) was in a great measure due to the effective manner in which the "Bryant's" produced them.

In the composition of a "Walk 'Round", (by this I mean the style of music and character of the words), I have always strictly confined myself to the habits and crude ideas of the slaves of the South. Their knowledge of the world at large was very limited, often not extending beyond the bounds of the next plantation; they could sing of nothing but everyday life or occurrences, and the scenes by which they were surrounded. This being the undeniable fact, to be true to the negro peculiarities of song, I have written in accordance.

DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT.

One of his earliest volumes of instrumental music, evidently prepared with a view to publication, is "Emmett's Standard Drummer." The title page, neatly lettered in the author's own hand, is as follows:

EMMETT'S

STANDARD DRUMMER.

Being the regular School for the U. S. Army, containing all the beats and routine duty for the

Drum and Fife.

According to the "Ashworth Mode".

The whole rendered plain and concise.

BY

DANIEL D. EMMETT.

Following this is the preface which reveals the military record of the author and explains where he got systematic instruction in music. It is here presented without change of punctuation or capitalization:

EMMETT'S STANDARD DRUMMER.

PREFACE.

With the public, and particularly that portion for whom this school is intended, I deem it necessary to inform them by what authority I claim to be competent to issue a work of this kind:

At the early age of 17, I enlisted in the U. S. Army as a fifer, and was stationed at Newport Barracks, Ky., the then school of practice for the western department. For one year, or more, I practiced the drum incessantly under the tuition of the renowned John J. Clark, (better known as "Juba"), and made myself master of the "Duty" and every known "side beat" then in use. Being transferred to the 6th U. S. Infantry, then stationed at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., I was retained as "leading fifer" until discharged. In the meantime I continued my drum practice, which was then taught according to the *School of Ashworth*. In after years I travelled as Small Drummer with the celebrated Edward Kendall while he was leader of Spalding and Rogers' Circus Band. I benefited from his superior qualifications as a drummer, and with the foregoing experience, I humbly submit my "Standard Drummer" to those who wish to become adepts in the art of drumming.

THE AUTHOR.

The work opens with concise and carefully written directions for the beginner. The language, dignified and sincere throughout, would have done credit to the cultured instructor of that day.

Emmett was a Democrat¹ and through the war a strong Union man. Among his effects was found a song, evidently written just after the fall of Ft. Sumpter, which concludes as follows:

Then on to Richmond! forward march!
Out of old Jeff we'll take the starch;
We'll sing this song, and take things cool,
And fight for freedom, not for wool.²

¹ A few years before his death he said in answer to a direct question, "I am a Democrat, but I do not wear a collar.

I'm a Democrat bred
And a Democrat bawn,
And when I am dead
There's a Democrat gawn."

² In these lines he gives expression to his union sentiments and his opposition to fighting for the colored race.

A little manuscript book, yellow with age but still quite legible, contains some of his earliest writings. The following is published because of its oddity and the former popularity of the tune. It is without doubt the original as composed by the boy Emmett over seventy years ago. One stanza is omitted:

OLD DAN TUCKER.

COMPOSED BY OLD DAN EMMETT.

I came to town de udder night,
I hear de noise, den saw de sight,
De watchmen dey (was) runnin' roun',
Cryin' "Ole Dan Tucker's come to town".
Git outen de way (repeat)
Git outen de way, Ole Dan Tucker,
You's too late to come to your supper.

Sheep an' hog a walkin' in de pasture,
Sheep says, "hog can't you go faster?"
Hush! hush! honey, hear de wolf growlin',
Ah, ah, de Lawd, bull dog growlin'.
Git outen de way, etc.

Here's my razor in good order,
Magnum bonum — jis hab bought 'er;
Sheep shell oats, an' Tucker shell de corn,
I'll shabe ye soon as de water gits warm.
Git outen de way, etc.

Tucker went roun' hickry steeple,
Dar he meet some colored people,
Some was black, some was blacker,
Some was de color ob brown tobackur.
Git outen de way, etc.

Jay bird in de martin's nest,
To sabe he soul he got no rest.
Ole Tucker in de foxe's den,
Out come de young ones nine or ten.
Git outen de way, etc.

Tucker on de wood pile can't count lebben,
Put 'im in a fedder bed goin' to hebben;
His nose so flat, his face so full,

De top ob his head like a bag ob wool.

Git outen de way, etc.

High-hold on de holler tree,
He poke his bill in for to see,
De lizzard cotch 'im by de snout,
He call for Tucker to pull 'im out
Git outen de way, etc.

I went to de meetin' de udder day ..
To hear ole Tucker preach and pray;
Dey all got drunk, but me alone,
I make ole Tucker walk jaw bone.
Git outen de way, etc.

The following selections are from Emmett's Irish songs.
Only *The Offish Saiker* and *Pat Rooney's Ball* are complete.
So far as given, they are copied literally.

EFFECTS OF THE BROGUE.

BY D. D. EMMETT.

Air: Tatter Jack Welch.

'Tis plisint to hear a nice bit o' the brogue,
For Paddy has got a nate wag o' the tongue;
It is the most illigent language in vogue,
'Tis swate and good music as iver was sung.
For you can palaver
A girl and not have 'er,
And court her all night and nixt day if ye suit;
Then don't be a fool,
Spake Irish by rule,
'Tis a mark of good manners and braiding to boot.

I come to thish counthry on boord of a ship,
At Liverpool docks we laid up rather long;
The captain said, "Paddy, give none of your lip!
I'll sail just as soon as the wind blows up strong."
Then I got on me knais,
The powers to plaise,
'Twas then in good Irish I prayed for a gale;
My language was nate,
Neptune, or his mate,
Struck up a fresh breeze, and the ship it made sail.

Then nothing did happen to mar our delight,
 Till ~~one afternoon we got~~ caught in a fog;
 'Twas lucky the fog didn't catch us at night,
 The captain at once wrote this down in his log.
 The fog and the mist
 All your strength would resist,
 Then ivery one said: "Paddy make us a prayer,
 Pray in Irish: be quick!
 Knale where the fog's thick!"
 To please 'em, I prayed till the fog wasn't there.

The rats and the mice were as thick as green pais,
 And divil a cat was on board o' the craft;
 We fought a pitch'd battle with bed bugs and flais,
 Their forces united and drove us all aft.
 We couldn't run further
 Some yell'd "Bloody murther!"
 Some said, "Have compassion upon us poor souls!"
 I praiched to the vermin
 A rale Irish sermon;
 They thought me St. Pathrick and run for their hoales.

Then peace was reshtored, and the sails were unfurled,
 Till we landed in York on the ould Batterree;
 It is the wosht place yez can find in the world!
 By thish recomind I don't mane flatterree.
 The drivers of hacks
 Would follow yer tracks
 And taise ye to death for to take a short ride;
 They'll get on yer trail,
 No prayers can avail;
 Yer glad to eshcape wid a pace o' yer hide!

WHEN THISH OULD POIPE WAS NEW.

COMPOSED BY DAN. EMMETT, FOR HIS JUVENILE FRIEND, MASTER MCGEARRY.

Air: "Me Irish Molly O."

For fifty years, some more or less, me father shmoked thish poipe
 'Twas made of rale ould Irish clay—'tis mellow and 'tis roipe;
 Altho' the shtem is broken, yet the bowl is good and sound,
 Me son shall shmoke it after me, when I'm laid in the ground.

CHORUS:

It comforts me in summer's heat, likewise through winter's could,
 I niver would forsake it, were it twenty times as ould;

For the shmoke that curls above it, tho' the whiffs they be but few,
Reminds me of the days, me boys, when thish ould poipe was new.
Chicago, Jan. 4, 1875.

THE OFFISH SAIKER.

BY D. D. EMMETT.

Air: Candidate for Alderman.

I am a man that's made a name, I'm knownst to maisht of you,
Me home is in a lovely shtrate called "Byler Avenue!"
Me neighbors all do shmite on me as I go 'long the shtrate,
The girls spake low as I pass on—"O, aint he moasht too shwate."

CHORUS:

Hooroo! for me, for thaives an' rogues,
Must know their time has come;
We'll give them all for their reward—
"What Paddy gave the dhrum!"

For an' offish I have waited long an' shtood out in the frosht,
I tell them we musht have reform, or elsh the city's losht!
They ask me for to tell them how an where I would begin,
I say—"Turn ivry foiriner out, an' put the Irish in!"

At big turnouts ye'll see me there wid a banner on me back,
You'll always find me on the side that's got the biggest "whack!"
They call on me to make a spaich—of coorse I musht comply—
"The Irish boys have got their claims—thish no man can deny!"

PAT ROONEY'S BALL.

BY D. D. EMMETT.

Air: "As to Clonmel we go."

Pat Rooney had the cash,
But wa'nt the man to lind it;
Says he: "I'll make a splash,
'Twill be misel will spend it;
I'll give a fanshy ball—
O yis! I will! be jabers!
I'll invite one an' all.
Both strangers an' me neighbors!
Yes I will."

A hall he did engage,
From Jolly Jack the rover;
The ball was all the rage
For full six waiks an' over;
The shtores were emptied clane,
The merchants caught the crafters,
For nothing did remain
From the flure up to the rafters.
That's the troot.

'Twas Riley from Wicklow,
That played upon the fiddle;
He drewed the longest bow,
Clane both ways from the middle;
He played "Ould Jack's the lad",
A chune that's famed in story,
"The fall of Ballanyfad",
An' "Geary Owen an' glory."
Yis he did!

They danced six reels or moore,
An' niver thought of flaggin;
They bounced up from the flure,
Like hind-whails to a waggon;
'Twas then they formed a ring
To dance, "The devil sind it;"
When Riley broke a string
An' had to shtop to mind it.
That's bad luck.

Now there was Biddy Niel,
Wid courage moasht undaunted,
She danced the "square-toed reel"
An' danced it single handed;
'Twas hop, skip an' jump,
When an' accident befel 'er,
She tript an' fell ker thump,
An' broke clane thro' the cellar,
So she did.

The pigs squailed in the pen,
You'd thought the dead had risen;
The women an' the men
Cockt up their ears to listen;
The fiddler — shly old coon,
Put them all in a roar, sir;

He'd niver heard a chune
Wid bristles on before, sir.
No indade.

Flure manager they had
Who 'round the room kept prancing;
An' what was moasht too bad —
He'd no "order of dancing."
A paisht boord he did wear,
Pinned to his boick too tightly;
The figures were wrote there,
So all could rade them rightly,
Them as could.

They danced till broad daylight,
When some one was suggestin'
To wind up wid a fight
An' make it interestin';
But they'd have none o' that —
An' what is shtill more funny —
Some rashcal passhed the hat
An' shtole the fiddler's money,
The auld thief.

Then homewards all did trudge,
O, how they'd brag an' swagger;
Some were too full o' "budge" —
So full it made them shtagger;
Some shtrayed off an' got losht,
Were nabbed but got no bail, sir;
'Twas ten dollars an' cost,
An' twenty days in jail, sir,
That's too bad!

THE CONNAUGHT MAN.

BY D. D. EMMETT.

Air: Connaught Man's Ramble.

I'm somewhat a rover,—
Have travelled all over,
Thro' Victoria's kingdom that shouldn't be hers;
This jolly ould crayter,
This lump o' good nature,
Is kind to the poor, and it often occurs.
But time it works wonders,

And cures many blunders,
 We see it laich day, yet our life's but a span;
 The true Irish nation,
 Is ould as creation,
 For Adam himself was the first Connaught man

CHORUS:

Just take the world aisy,
 They'll call yez a daisy,
 Be true to your friends for it is the best plan;
 Then spend your last shilling
 With hearts that are willing —
 Is a rule that will work — with a true Connaught man.

But "Soldier and glory,"
 Is an ould Irish story —
 You fight like the devil for somebody's king;
 Just when you begin it
 Your heart is not in it,
 For fighting is not "getting girls on a string."
 Your teeth they may chatter,
 And swords flash and clatter,
 Your comrades may fall and their faces you scan;
 By grief you'r o'erpowered,
 Yet still you'r no coward,
 You carry the heart of a true Connaught man.

AULD MRS. MADIGAN'S CAT.

BY D. D. EMMETT.

Air: Brannagan's Pup.

'Twas ould Mrs. Madigan owned a tom cat,
 That slept on the fence every night;
 His hair stood on end like a war Democrat,
 And he spiled every day for a fight.

CHORUS:

He'd climb up the fence and hollow "murriare";
 But devil an answer he'd get,
 For pussy she lay by the hot kitchen fire,
 While Tommy stood out in the wet.

Now Tom sent a challenge to every yard,
 To fight at catch weight for the cup;

But his name was a terror throughout the whole ward,
And not a cat dare take it up!
He climbed to the top of a liberty pole,
And yelled: "I'm the cock-o'-the-walk!"
Then the neighboring cats crept into their hole
And said, "Hear the old bully talk."

A splinter stuck in 'im just close to his hip,
Where the hide is most generally thin;
He turned to descend when he heard something rip,
He'd pulled himself out of his skin!
Every night, so they say, when the weather is clear,
Be it winter or hot summer time;
On the top of the pole his skinned ghost will appear,
As a warning to cats not to climb.

CHORUS:

No more on the fence will he hollow "murriare,"
Nor try for an answer to get;
No more pussy sleeps by the hot kitchen fire,
But the "ghost it still walks" in the wet!

These extracts are from the manuscript collection to which reference is made on a preceding page:

GRACE AT MEALS.

Heavenly Father: I desire to thank Thee for this frugal meal, and all other meals Thou hast permitted me to enjoy during my past existence. I pray Thee appropriate it to my good, to the benefit of the health and strength of both body and mind, and to whatever seemeth good for me in Thy sight.

FOR DAILY PRAYER.

O Lord God of hosts, who reigneth in heaven and ruleth this earth and the universe, grant, I beseech Thee, to me who ask, the gift of Thy divine love, that I may love Thee with my whole heart, both in word and work, and never cease from showing forth Thy praise.

Grant, O Heavenly Father, that I may have perpetual fear and love of Thy holy name. * * * Grant that Thy praise may always be in my mouth. I hope in Thy infinite goodness and mercy and I love Thee with all my heart.

Pour down Thy blessings upon me, should I prove worthy of them. Bless my parents and relatives that lie in their cold and silent graves. Help the poor and the sick and those that are in agony. Con-

vert the unbelievers and enlighten them in the true faith, and let me not waver in faith in Thee and Thy promises.

Heavenly Father, give ear to Thy supplicant, that in Thy bounty Thou mayest grant me both pardon and peace.

Show forth upon me, O Lord, in Thy mercy, Thy unspeakable loving kindness; that Thou mayest loose me from all my sins and deliver me from the punishment that I deserve from them. Assist my weakness and suffer me not again to fall into my past sins and to be separated from Thee. As the heart panteth after the fountains of water, so my soul panteth after Thee, O God! For what have I in heaven? and besides Thee, what do I desire on earth? O my God! this house of my heart is too narrow for Thee! Do Thou enlarge it; it is falling to ruin, do Thou repair it; it has been defiled by sin; I pray Thee cleanse and purify it. Let Thy tender mercies come unto me, and I shall live. Let my soul enjoy the sweetness of Thy presence.

AT GOING TO BED.

Almighty God and Heavenly Father, bless that repose I am about to take in order to renew my strength that I may be the better able to serve Thee. O all ye saints and angels, intercede for me this night and during the rest of my life, but particularly at the hour of my death. Merciful God, I beseech Thee, give me sweet and refreshing sleep. * * *

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

Since the foregoing article has been put into type, additional material of interest has come to the hands of the writer which he may publish later in different form. Much has recently been said about the original manuscript of *Dixie*. It is not probable that it is in existence. It was lost years ago. The author made many manuscript copies and it is but natural that some of these should be presented as the original.

MONUMENT.

Steps have been taken to raise funds to erect a monument to the author of *Dixie*. Mr. Al. G. Field is chairman of the general commission appointed by the Mayor of Mt. Vernon, O.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The writer wishes to make grateful acknowledgment to the following persons for assistance in the preparation of the foregoing sketch: Rev. Wm. E. Hull, Rector of St. Paul's, Mt. Vernon, O., and administrator of the estate of Daniel D. Emmett; Mr. Al. G. Field, Mrs. Daniel D. Emmett, and Mr. J. C. Scott. Much valuable material has been gleaned from the files of *The Democratic Banner* and *The Republican News*, of Mt. Vernon, O. The photograph for full page illustration was furnished by Sherman, photographer, Mt. Vernon, O.

OHIO IN THE SPANISH AND PHILIPPINE WAR.

THOMAS M. ANDERSON.

Few can fulfill Pliny's motto: "To do what deserves to be written. To write what deserves to be read."

Great generals are nearly always able administrators, and have often proved themselves great statesmen. The ability to command and to administer go together, but few military commanders have wielded equally well the sword and pen. Julius Cæsar, "The foremost man of all the world," was at once a great orator, author and warrior. Grant, a great soldier, wrote an unpretentious memoir of his life, which may survive as long as Cæsar's Commentaries. Sherman was a great soldier and eloquent talker. Napoleon, the greatest military genius, was a poor writer, but a great administrator. But a combination of brilliant intellectual faculties is not always united with the gift of expression.

Yet even an ordinary soldier may "narrate a plain unvarnished tale," and when he can do justice to comrades living or dead, he should try to write what deserves to be read on their account.

At the outbreak of the Spanish War, Wm. McKinley, an Ohio soldier, was President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of our army and navy. Another Ohio soldier was Adjutant General of the Army. As it has always happened to us, we were unprepared for war, and the burden of preparation and organization fell upon these two men. Ohio did not seem to play so conspicuous a part in our war with Spain, and its corollary the Philippine Insurrection as in the Civil War. The contest did not last long enough, nor was it severe enough to test the mettle of our soldiers or the ability of our officers, yet the promptness with which our forces were gotten to the front was remarkable, and reflected great credit on the two men upon whom the responsibility rested.

In appointing general officers, the President selected among the first, Generals Keifer, Lawson, Chaffee, Anderson, Garrison and Ernest, of Ohio.

The first battle of the war, El Cane, was won by Gen. Lawson, who carried, after a stubborn resistance, a strongly fortified position. Lawson commanded a division which bore its part in the second day's fight at San Juan Hill, and the subsequent siege of Santiago.

After Spain sued for peace he was transferred to the Philippines and put in command of the 1st Division of the 8th Army Corps, which he led with marked ability and success. Neither intense heat nor tropical storms stopped his ceaseless attacks on the enemy. Over miles of swamps and almost impenetrable jungles he led the way in person. In a desperate battle at Zopote river he won a decided victory, and a little later, like the great Turrense, he sacrificed his life in an unimportant combat. In Indian wars in the United States he proved himself a natural born partizan leader, and in his campaigns in Luzon showed that he was a daring and skillful general.

Genl. Anderson, another Ohio soldier, led our first expedition to Luzon, and raised the first American flag on its shores. He directed the first land attack on Manila, and as a division commander won battles at Santana, Pasay and Guadalupe Church. These engagements and those of McArthur on the north of the Pasig were the only ones in which the American troops sustained any considerable loss. But the enemy lost three thousand men and nearly all their artillery.

There were no Ohio regiments in these engagements, but there were four Ohio officers on the staff of the 1st Division, 8th Army Corps, Capt. C. C. Walcutt, Chief Quartermaster; Capt. Wm. Anderson, of Greenville, Commissary of Subsistence; Major W. E. Bickheimer, Judge Advocate; and Capt. T. M. Anderson, Jr., A. D. C.

The next native of Ohio to claim attention is Genl. Fred. Funston, a tireless campaigner and energetic fighter. He is best known as the captor of Aguinaldo.

Genl. Adna R. Chaffee was a Brigade Commander in the Santiago campaign, doing such excellent service that he was

made a Major General of Volunteers, and put in command of our contingent in the march to Pekin. He bore a conspicuous part in the capture of that city, and was made a Major General in the Regular Army without passing through the grade of Major General. He is now Lieut. General and Chief of the General Staff.

The prompt mobilization and muster in of twelve regiments of the Ohio National Guard, and their field service has been so well told in the history of the State Guard that it is needless to repeat the story. It is sufficient to say that the organizations and the service were alike creditable. To the deep disappointment of the rest, only two of the members saw active service in the field. The 8th O. V. I. under Col. C. V. Hart, reached Santiago just too late to take part in the siege, but in time to perform its share of routine duty afterwards.

The 4th O. V. I. under Col. Alonzo Coit, received its baptism of fire in a combat at the Barrio de Las Palmas, near Guayamas in Porto Rico. Five of the command were wounded. The whole division under Genl. Brook then advanced to attack the Spanish forces at Cayey. Just as a battery of the 4th Artillery, under Capt. R. H. Anderson, who hails from the Pickaway plains, had opened fire, a mounted orderly brought a dispatch announcing the peace protocol. But a number of Ohio's officers were more fortunate. Maj. Genl. Keifer commanded a division near Havana after the protocol and before the confirmation of the treaty.

Brig. Genl. Garretson commanded a brigade in Porto Rico. The following officers were made Brig. Generals of Volunteers for efficient service in the Spanish and Philippine wars: Genl. Wm. Sinclair, Genl. M. V. Sheridan, Genl. Gilbert S. Carpenter, Genl. Jacob Smith, Genl. Chas. Hood, Genl. A. S. Burt, Genl. H. B. Freeman, Genl. Oswald Ernest, Genl. G. M. Randall, Genl. E. B. Atwood, Genl. J. C. Chance, Genl. C. M. Miner, Genl. Funston already mentioned. Maj. Genl. Wade, a son of old Ben Wade, the Ajax of the anti-slavery movement, is now in command in Manila.

Mike Sheridan, as he is familiarly known in the army, is a brother of Genl. Phil. Sheridan. Generals Ernest, Smith and Burt were all brigade commanders. The first named in Porto

Rico, Smith in Samar and Burt in the Zambele Province in Luzon. General G. M. Randall is still in the service. Of all these Ohio generals, only two were graduated from the Military Academy. The others, with the exception of Lieut. Genl. Chaffee, began their military careers in the volunteer service.

The people of Ohio are not a warlike people. They prefer the arts of peace to the science of war. Yet those of her sons who have adopted the military profession seem to master its theories, acting on the principle that what is worth doing at all, is worth doing well.



AN UNKNOWN GRAVE.

JOHN JAMES PIATT.

[The following poem with preface was read by Mr. Piatt at the Annual Banquet of the Ohio Society S. A. R., held at the Columbus Club on the evening of April 19, 1904.]

On the title page of an interesting volume of family history recently published at Columbus, I read two sentences,— the first from Edmund Burke: “Those who do not treasure up the mem-



JOHN JAMES PIATT.

ory of their ancestors do not deserve to be remembered by posterity.” The other is from the Bible: “Children’s children are the crown of old men; and the glory of children are their fathers.” I thought, therefore, if I were to speak here to-night, as an hereditary member of the Society of the Cincinnati, I might not appear too personal,— not unpardonably personal, I hope,— if I should take occasion to honor, so far as I could, the New Jersey officer of the Revolution whom I represent, when I may explain that, eight years after his seven years’ service in the Continental Army — having been in every important engagement under his great commander, including that at Yorktown, (he was with three brothers in the battle of Trenton) it is reported he received a new commission, raised a band of men at his New Jersey home, and marched with them across the country in the autumn of 1791, and, joining St. Clair’s army at Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, was killed in the memorable defeat on Ohio soil. There is an interesting reference to him in Howe’s Historical Collection, describing his unwillingness to believe that a retreat had been ordered. It is said that General Washington, when he learned of St. Clair’s defeat, wept at hearing of Captain Piatt’s fate. Capt. Jacob Piatt, his younger

brother — who came to Cincinnati five years later and settled in Boone County, Kentucky — had been on Washington's staff.

Captain William Piatt's eldest son, Captain James Piatt, my grandfather, served in the War of 1812, commanded a garrison in New York Harbor, and was in the battle of Plattsburgh. He came west to Cincinnati fifteen years later, and also sleeps in an unmarked grave, dying a few weeks after his coming, on the banks of the Ohio in Boone County, Kentucky. One of Captain William Piatt's nephews, his namesake, Colonel William Piatt, was with General Harrison at Tippecanoe; he was also on General Jackson's staff in the battle of New Orleans. He lived at Home City, near Cincinnati, and died there. Another nephew, John H. Piatt, at one time a wealthy banker in Cincinnati, under assurances from James Monroe, then Secretary of War, provisioned the northwestern army in the War of 1812, but died in a debtor's prison at Washington, while vainly seeking repayment from the Government. Among Captain William Piatt's grand-nephews is General Abram S. Piatt, of Logan County, Ohio, as was the latter's brother, Colonel Donn Piatt; and, it may be added, another was the late Major General Canby, at one time Secretary of War, who shared his grand-uncle's fate in being killed in battle by the Indians. Captain William Piatt was thus the pioneer of his name and family in Ohio and the Ohio Valley. He became their Moses, so to speak, and, having looked upon the Promised Land, had, if he had any, an unknown grave in Ohio.

AN UNKNOWN GRAVE IN OHIO.

In Memoriam: Captain William Piatt, New Jersey Line, Army of the Revolution, 1775-1783. Killed at St. Clair's Defeat, in Ohio, November 4th, 1791.

Why came I here to live? Because he came
Hither, my great-grandsire, who came — to die.
Leading his little neighbor dwelling band,
A century and thirteen years ago,
Across the mountain wilderness, he came,
Who had left his all to serve the Common Weal;¹
Then out of all that seven-years' fight unscathed,

¹ *Omnia relinquit servare Rempublicam* is the inscription on the medal of the Society of the Cincinnati.

In which his sword was given to Her, our Land,
(In which his life was offered, too, for Her.)
Briefly indeed went back unto his plow
Like him our prototype of Roman name,
Like him our chieftain first and best beloved;
Then hither brought his sword, to give his life
In that lost fight there in the marshy wood, —
First of his name to touch the Ohio sod,
Only to bathe it with his blood, and fill
An unknown grave in the vast wilderness.
True son of the Revolution thou, indeed!
Ohio-born in thy baptism of blood,
But in an unknown sepulchre dost sleep,
Like him of old whose burial no man saw,

And no man knoweth his grave unto this day:
Not all forgotten could I lay my flower
(My poor unworthy bud, not bloom, of song)
Where it might bear me witness, me thy heir
In that great brotherhood with him thy chief,
Who wept unwonted passionate angry tears
To learn thy fate, with theirs thy fellows — thou
Who wouldst not leave, and didst not leave the field:
He brought his sword and gave his life no less,
Rock-built metropolis of my Valley Land,
To make thine earlier tenure possible
In that stronghold named for his comrade chief
(His brother in the brave fraternity
Named for that Roman name which soon was thine)—¹
He brought his sword and gave his life no less,
Ohio, toward thy making, he who sleeps
There in thy unrecognizable earth,
Whose coming hither was his going hence,
Whose going hence my coming hither brought,
By some mysterious thread of human fate
That drew in far-off years all mine and me.

¹ The City of Cincinnati was named after the Society of the Cincinnati, of which Washington was the first President. The Miami Purchase had been largely in the interest of the impoverished officers and soldiers of the Revolution, according to Judge Burnet, the name being given by General St. Clair, who, by the way, was the owner of many of the lots in Judge John Cleves Symmes's proposed city, antedating Cincinnati, at North Bend.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XIII. No. 4.

E. O. Randall

OCTOBER, 1904

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

On August 19, 1904, a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was held in the conference room of the Public Library, with the following members present: Mr. Geo. F. Bareis, Col. John W. Harper, Prof. B. F. Prince, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Secretary E. O. Randall and Mr. E. F. Wood representing Mr. S. S. Rickly. Letters of regret on account of inability to attend were received from Mr. W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe; Hon. M. S. Greenough, Cleveland; Prof. C. L. Martzloff, New Lexington and Prof. G. F. Wright, Oberlin.

Mr. E. F. Wood made a verbal report of his visit to Ft. Ancient on July 4th and 5th, when he held a conference with Mr. Warren Cowen, the custodian, and also made a careful inspection of the Fort, and study of contemplated improvements on the property. Mr. Wood's statement was one exceedingly satisfactory to the committee and complimentary to Mr. Warren Cowen. The latter has been most loyal and faithful in his labors in the care of the Fort and in looking after the interests of the Society. Mr. Cowen has also been most efficient and painstaking in carrying out all instructions of the Trustees in their supervision of the property. After hearing the report of Mr. Wood the Secretary was instructed to renew the present contract, with some slight changes, which the Society has had with Mr. Cowen the past two years, the new contract to be effective from August 1, 1904, and continue for two years, until August 1, 1906.

Standing committees for the ensuing year were decided upon as follows: Finance, Rickly, Ryan, Bareis; Ft. Ancient, Prince, Harper, Bareis; Serpent Mound, Martzloff, Hunter, Randall; Museum and Library, Wright, Greenough and Brinkerhoff; Publications, Ryan, Keifer and Randall.

The Secretary reported an account of his visit to the St. Louis Exposition on June 15th and 16th, at which time he carefully inspected the exhibit being made by the Society in its quarters in the Anthropological Building. This is one of the permanent and therefore most desirable buildings on the grounds, it being one of the main structures recently erected for the Jefferson University, to be occupied by the University after the Exposition has closed. In the same building is the Egyptian

exhibit, and several exhibits of archæology and anthropology. About one thousand people daily inspect the display of the Society, and amongst these are professors, scholars and students from all parts of the world. The Society is certainly to be congratulated upon the exhibit it is making and upon the attention it is attracting from the public and the influence it is exerting in behalf of the Society. The newspapers not only in St. Louis but throughout the country are giving it admirable and wide-spread notice. Prof. Mills has most admirably arranged the exhibit and he has been the recipient of innumerable compliments for his competency as Curator of the Society.

The Secretary reported the issuing of the July Quarterly and stated that the October Quarterly was being rapidly prepared for publication, and would probably come from the press early in September. He also reported that the reprint of the Centennial proceedings had been completed. Fifteen hundred copies were now at the disposal of the Society, and a certain number would be sent to each member of the last legislature in lieu of their failure to receive the contingent which had been provided for in the appropriation bill, and which item had been vetoed by the Governor.

The committee authorized the Secretary and Treasurer Wood to arrange for a visit by the Executive Committee to Fort Ancient on Monday, August 29th.

On Monday, August 29th, in accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee at its last meeting, members of the Executive Committee and certain invited State officials made a visit to Fort Ancient. Those participating were: Hon. L. C. Laylin, Secretary of State and Mrs. Laylin; Hon. W. D. Guilbert, Auditor of State and Mrs. Guilbert; Prof. C. G. Heckert, President of Wittenberg University, Springfield, and Mrs. Heckert; Mr. W. H. Raynor, Springfield and Mr. D. A. Randall, Columbus. Of the members of the Executive Committee there were Hon. D. J. Ryan and Mrs. Ryan, Columbus; Mr. Geo. F. Bareis and Mrs. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Col. John W. Harper and Mrs. Harper, Cincinnati; Prof. C. L. Martzloff and Mrs. Martzloff, New Lexington; Prof. B. F. Prince and Miss Grace Prince, Springfield; Secretary E. O. Randall and Mrs. Randall, Columbus. The party reached the Fort at 9:00 A. M., and were met at the station by Mr. Warren Cowen the Custodian, who with carriages, escorted the party to and about the Fort. A thorough examination of the embankments and enclosures was made. The work done by the Society in the embellishment and improvement of the property was also carefully noted and commended. Further proposed work by the Society was also considered and certain features of it determined upon. The party partook of a sumptuous country dinner at the Fort house; all agreeing that if the menu enjoyed was any sample of the provender partaken of by the prehistoric man, the

mysterious Mound Builder was at all events a good liver. The weather proved delightful, and the State officials, as well as trustees, pronounced themselves as highly pleased first with the fact that the State had secured the property, and second that it was being so admirably protected under the custodianship of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

HARRISON-TARHE PEACE CONFERENCE MEMORIAL.

On Tuesday, June 28, 1904, at Columbus, Ohio, a most delightful and appropriate program of ceremonies was carried out by the Columbus Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution commemorative of the peace conference between President Harrison and the famous Wyandot Indian chief, Tarhe, at Franklinton, on the west side of the Scioto, opposite Columbus. This peace conference was held June 21, 1813. The exercises of the celebration were held in the open air near the historic spot where the conference took place. Temporary seats were provided for the auditors in the little park which ornaments that part of the city, the speakers occupying an elevated platform over which was spread a canopy. The audience, it goes without saying, was a sympathetic one, being composed mainly of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, and members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, to whom the committee in charge had courteously extended invitations. The Columbus Rifles Band furnished fitting music. Invocation was pronounced by the Reverend Washington Gladden. An immense granite boulder made an imposing monument, upon which was attached a beautiful bronze tablet stating the event which it commemorated. A most admirable and appropriate address presenting the peace memorial to the City was made by Mrs. Edward Orton, Jr., Regent of the Columbus Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and to whose energetic and persistent efforts was mainly due the idea and its fulfillment of the erection of this tablet. The act of unveiling was most unique and interesting, as the immense stars and stripes which served as the veil were drawn aside by Masters Milton Wilcox and Allen G. Thurman. The address of acceptance on behalf of the City was made by Hon. Robert H. Jeffrey, Mayor of Columbus, who spoke briefly but eloquently of the inspiration of honored ancestry. The chief address of the occasion was made by General Benjamin R. Cowen, life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, who spoke at some length, in his usually graceful and scholarly manner, dwelling upon the historic conflict between the white and red races for supremacy, the past achievements, present conditions and future prospects of the white race. It was an occasion much enjoyed by those who were so fortunate as to be present, and greatly to the credit of the Daughters of the Revolution, who find in such occasions fitting opportunity to express

their enthusiasm in and loyalty to the order to which they belong. We do not give the proceedings in full as they will be published in book form by the Columbus Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution.

HARWOOD R. POOL.

Mr. Harwood R. Pool, a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, died in New York, December 30, 1903. He was the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Pool, and was born in Elyria, Ohio, October 22, 1860. He went to New York in 1868, attended private school and later fitted for college at Hopkins Institute, New Haven, Connecticut. In 1877 he entered the Ohio State University, and was graduated therefrom on June 22, 1881, with the degree of Ph. B. While in college he took lead in important measures affecting college life, and was one of the organizers of the Greek letter society, Phi Gamma Delta. He was one of the organizers and first president of the Alcyone Literary Society. He was also one of the establishers and first editors of the college paper, "The Lantern." He was a splendid student, a fine athlete, and, through his frank and winning manner, not only one of the leaders in all college affairs, but a most popular man with all classes of students. Immediately upon his graduation from O. S. U., he attended the Columbia Law School, from which he received his diploma on June 13, 1883, as Bachelor of Laws "*cum laude*," and was admitted to practice by the Supreme Court in 1883. He took a most active interest in the progress and welfare of his Alma Mater, O. S. U., and was honored by receiving office from the Alumni Association. He also became prominent as an alumnus of the Law School at Columbia University. He was elected a member of the Loyal Legion, New York Commandery, of the second class, April 4, 1888. This latter order, at a stated meeting of the commandery held at Delmonico's, made fitting recognition of the decease of their honored member, the formal resolution being presented by Brevet Brigadier General Anson G. McCook. The death of Harwood Pool in the prime of his activity was not only a sad blow to his innumerable friends and associates but a decided loss to the community and profession of which he was so conspicuous and valuable a member. Mr. Pool, from the beginning of his membership in the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, took deep interest in its welfare; his removal to New York and residence in that metropolis seemed in no way to lessen his love for his native state and interest in the progress of the society which promotes the history of the Buckeye Commonwealth.

GATHERING UNDER THE OAKS.

On July 6th the Secretary of the Society was the honored invitee of the committee of arrangements at the semi-centennial anniversary celebration of the birth of the Republican party held at Jackson, Mich., in a picturesque grove of oak trees just outside the city limits.

It was at Jackson, Mich., on July 6, 1854, that the first great mass meeting of members of the Whig, Abolitionist, Anti-slavery Democrat, and other members of nondescript political parties met "under the oaks" and organized and named the Republican party. This meeting led to the nomination of a State ticket for Michigan, which was elected the following fall. Some ten thousand voters in Michigan signed the petition for this meeting. The anniversary meeting was one of great interest and patriotism. The platform for the speakers was located in a hollow of the grove, in front of a large temporary enclosure, to the seats of which were admitted some eight hundred veteran Republicans who cast their first vote in that party for Fremont in 1856. Of these eight hundred, some four hundred were present at the initial meeting held in Jackson fifty years before. It was a remarkable audience of political veterans, many of them scarred and maimed from service in the great rebellion. The honor address of the day was by Mr. John Hay, the distinguished Secretary of State, formerly private secretary to President Lincoln, and since the statesman and diplomat, and a life member from its organization of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. His address was in eloquence and scholarship worthy of the occasion and the reputation of the speaker. Addresses were also made by Senators Fairbanks and Burrows, Governor Bliss of Michigan, Speaker Joseph Cannon and others,

HISTORICAL BULLETIN.

The *Historical Bulletin*, an interesting publication issued at Washington, D. C., and devoted to genealogy, patriotism and historical research, in its issue for August, 1904, has, as its initial article, an informing account of the inception of the National Society Sons of the American Revolution, by George Williams Bates, of Detroit, Michigan. Mr. Bates is the Historian-General of the National Society, S. A. R., and moreover one of its most enthusiastic and popular workers. At the last National Convention of the Society, held at St. Louis, Mr. Bates, who on that occasion delivered an admirable address on the Louisiana Purchase, was re-elected Historian-General for the fourth term, evidencing not only the value of his labors in his office but the appreciation of the same by the members of the organization. Mr. Bates is a descendant of a number of distinguished New England

families, through his mother being connected with Roger Williams and related to the Reverend John Robinson, pastor and founder in 1606 of the Pilgrim Church at Leyden, Holland. Mr. Bates is a graduate of the University of Michigan, and is a practicing attorney in the city of his birth, Detroit, and wields a potent influence in social, Masonic, educational, and scientific circles of that beautiful, enterprising city. Mr. Bates is an orator of unusual force and eloquence and is always listened to with great pleasure and interest, especially by audiences of the Sons of the American Revolution.

OHIO STATE BAR ASSOCIATION.

The Ohio State Bar Association held its 25th annual meeting at Hotel Victory, Put-in-Bay, July 6-7-8, 1904. It was unusually well attended, there being some four hundred lawyers of the State present at the various sessions. Addresses were delivered by the Hon. Henry J. Booth, annual address of the President; Judge William Z. Davis, of the Ohio Supreme Court on "The Trial Judge"; Hon. S. S. Wheeler on "State Taxation of Real and Personal Property"; Hon. Lebbeus R. Wilfley, Attorney-General for the Philippine Islands, on "The New Philippine Judiciary"; Mr. Emilius O. Randall, Reporter of the Ohio Supreme Court, on "Legal Reporting and Indexing." Hon. Joseph Wilby and Hon. David F. Pugh discussed the subject of "Municipal Ownership."

LETTERS BY GOVERNOR TIFFIN.

Through the courtesy of Hon. Robert W. Manly, the Society has received as donations for permanent possession, from Mr. Charles G. Comegys, Cincinnati, and Edward T. Cook, Chillicothe, both grandsons of Edward Tiffin, Ohio's first governor, an autograph commission by Governor Tiffin issued the 10th day of December, 1806, and appointing one Mathew Nimmo, Esq., an agent to enforce certain laws enacted for the peace to the commonwealth, etc. Also autograph letters from the Governor to Mathew Nimmo concerning the performance of the duties of his office, and an autograph letter of Secretary H. Dearborn of the War Department to Governor Tiffin. These documents will be securely placed in the archives of the Society as valuable historical acquisitions to the Society's library.

COMMERCIAL VS. SCIENTIFIC COLLECTING.

In the January number of the Society's Quarterly there appeared an article from the distinguished archæologist, Warren K. Moorehead, on the subject of commercial and scientific collecting; "a plea for art for art's sake." The author vigorously deprecated the vandal system

of destroying archæological mounds and remains, and the disposing of archæological artifacts by collectors as a mere matter of barter and sale. The article attracted the wide notice of archæologists throughout the country, and Mr. Moorehead has been the recipient of commendatory communications from many of the leading scholars in archæology, from which we select the following:

MAY 30, 1904, ST. LOUIS, MO.

MY DEAR PROF. MOOREHEAD:—I have read with interest your recent article on "Commercial vs. Scientific Collecting" and am pleased to note that your views on the subject are so fully in accord with my own and those of many of my co-laborers in the Wisconsin field. But few other states in the Union have suffered more severely at the hands of commercially inclined persons than has our own and it is by this means that many of our choicest archæological treasures which should have remained at home have gone to enrich distant collections and institutions, and are at present inaccessible to the local student for whom they must possess the greatest value. In the past, professional relic hunters and others have traversed the length and breadth of our state offering fancy prices for desirable artifacts and thus forever placing beyond the reach of local institutions and students these and any similar objects which might be brought to light in the future. These long continued raids upon our antiquities have done much to encourage the plundering and destruction of our mounds and there is no question but that they are also responsible for the extent to which the manufacture of and traffic in fraudulent implements has grown in late years. This spirit of commercialism has also been the means of introducing into local collections a large number of artifacts from other regions which might to all intents and purposes far better have been retained at home. That the commercial evil is a growing one cannot be denied. For several years past the Wisconsin Archæological Society recognizing the disastrous effects of a continuation of such practices has been doing its best to secure the retention of desirable archæological material by local institutions. We are pleased to note that this plan has met with some success. If we were to undertake to point out those whom we consider responsible or in part responsible for such local conditions as now exist it might occasion some surprise.

Yours sincerely,

CHAS. E. BROWN,
Secretary Wisconsin Archaeological Society.

PEABODY MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE, MASS., March 22, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. MOOREHEAD:—I have read your paper "Commercial vs. Scientific Collecting" with much interest. Irreparable harm has been done the science of American archæology by amateur as well as commercial explorers of mounds, burial places and village sites. In fact very little archæological work has been done in the United States in a thoroughly competent manner, until within the last few years, even by professionals.

As to commercial explorers, their work should be discouraged in every way. Competent amateurs should be encouraged to do better work. A study of the reports of the best work that has been accomplished will greatly help those who usually destroy what they would record. Careful maps, photographs, measurements and notes should always be made as the work progresses. Officers of archæological museums are usually glad to give advice as to the best methods of exploring. All specimens should

be marked in a permanent manner with small gummed labels, for catalogues of amateur collections are sure to be lost sooner or later.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES C. WILLOUGHBY,

Assistant Curator Peabody Museum, Harvard.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1904.

MY DEAR MOOREHEAD:—There are two kinds of commercial collectors of archæological objects—the one who collects in a systematic manner, keeping notes of excavations and all the circumstances connected with the finding of the objects, thus giving the collection a value far beyond that possessed by the objects alone, and that abomination who spoils everything for the purpose of gathering specimens for sale to anyone who will purchase them, regardless of whether the story they tell is forthcoming or not. The former class I have heard of but never seen; the latter can be discouraged in a measure at least, if every respectable scientific institution or individual will refuse to have dealings with him. There is urgent need of agitation to prevent the further despoliation of the public ruins and other antiquities in the far West and to place their excavation under scientific control for the sole benefit of institutions of learning. Within a week I have seen in an American archæological journal that has recently made an appeal for the protection of our antiquities, an advertisement of a dealer who makes a specialty of prehistoric pottery “direct from the ruins”! If the vandalism continues much longer, the means for real scientific study of our western antiquities will be no more.

Sincerely yours,

F. W. HODGE,

Editor American Anthropologist.

TORONTO, CANADA, March 19, 1904.

DEAR SIR:—I carefully read the article when it originally appeared in the Ohio State *Archæological and Historical Quarterly*.

In this country we are not very much troubled with a class of people to whom you refer, otherwise than as their advertisements may happen to reach us from the United States. No one can doubt the truthfulness of the remarks you make respecting the collection of archæological material for mercenary or commercial purposes, and while in the interests of science the carrying on of such a business is something to be deplored, I am afraid that very little can be done to put a stop to it. Thousands of people of the tourist type, patronize dealers in curiosities to be carried away as souvenirs without any discrimination as to where the things were found, or even whether they were ever found. As a result of this thoughtless method of purchasing, it is only natural for an ingenious person to supply the demand as a result of his own skill, for the purpose of earning a few dollars. If we could only convince dealers, into whose hands most undoubtedly much highly valuable material sometimes falls, to exercise judgment in the disposal of the goods, i. e. as to whether he is selling to a souvenir customer, or for scientific purposes, a good deal of the trouble will be avoided. I don't think it is possible to enact any law that would prevent carrying on this trade, and although it might be well for responsible institutions to refrain from making any purchases from establishments where relics are sold, it would be somewhat difficult at times to avoid temptation.

Would it be of any use, or would it be practicable for State, University, Museum or Historical Society authorities to supply reputable

dealers of the kind in question with something of the nature of a certificate from year to year? Yours respectfully,

www.hbttool.com.cn

DAVID BOYLE,
Superintendent Provincial Museum.

PAGE HALL, COLUMBUS, O., March 25, 1904.

MY DEAR PROF. MOOREHEAD:— I feel that the dealers and so-called commercially inclined collectors are a great menace to our scientific museums in very many ways. Many dealers collect specimens giving little or no attention to authentic data and offer same for sale. When called upon to give the necessary data, they are able to furnish a complete history of each specimen? For instance, I know a collector who has in his cabinet a number of specimens labeled "Found in Montgomery County, Ohio"; these he procured from a dealer. The specimens are clearly not Ohio specimens and are typical Georgia finds.

Further, the country has been flooded with spurious artifacts "with complete records," furnished by dealers throughout the country. The commercially inclined collector destroys the mounds and village sites merely for the relics they find, blotting out forever what might be of great importance to the archaeologist who will sooner or later make an examination of this work. Of the two, the commercially inclined collector is the one to be avoided. He is very often unscrupulous in procuring specimens and many fall into his hands through false pretenses. Many so-called collectors travel through the country, preying upon farmers and small collectors by telling them that they are collecting for some museum, or collecting specimens to photograph, or make drawings for some book on archaeology, and when completed the specimens will be returned, with a fine copy of the book gratis. The book is never published, consequently the specimens are never returned.

We are prevailed upon many times during the year to purchase specimens from parties who have "just opened a mound," or "found on grandfather's farm," and I am happy to say that they have never made a sale here. I feel that it is the duty of every museum curator never to purchase specimens of any kind from dealers or commercially inclined collectors.

Very truly yours, W. C. MILLS,
Curator Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

SHAKERS AND THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In the January number of the current volume was made mention of valuable MSS. and articles of industry secured from the Shakers through the agency of Dr. J. P. MacLean. During the months of June, July and August of this year, Dr. MacLean made a tour of all the Eastern Shaker communities, and wherever he went, the Historical Society's interests were not neglected. The result was a donation of nineteen cases of books and relics now within the Library and Museum. amounting in value to many hundred dollars. For these valuable acquisitions the Society is indebted to Elder Timothy Rayson, Alonzo G. Hollister, Eldress Anna White, Eldress Sarah Burger, Eldress Julia Scott, Eldress Clarissa Jacobs, Eldress Sarah Collins, Sisters Catherine Allen, Sadie and Emma J. Neale and Eunice Cantrell of Mt. Lebanon, N. Y.; Eldress Sophia Helfrich, Eldress Catherine Piper and Sister Martha Johnson, of the Hancock Society; Elder Joseph Holden and Eldress Mary Ellston of the Shirley Society; Eldress Margaret O. Egges-

ton of the Harvard Society; Eldress Miriam Offord and Sister Angelina Brown, of the Enfield, Conn., Society; Sister Rosetta Cummings of the Enfield, N. H., Society; Elder Henry C. Blinn and Eldress Mary A. Wilson, of the Canterbury Society; Eldress Fannie Casey, of the Alfred Society, and Sisters Aurelia G. Mace and Sarah Fletcher of the Sabbath-day Lake Society.

Besides the Shaker books received, there were several hundred others, of a miscellaneous variety, all of which are valuable, besides over thirty bound volumes of newspapers and journals, mostly published in New York. These latter came from Elder Timothy Rayson and Eldress Anna White.

Among the Shaker relics were the hat, knife, thimble, basket and part of dress of Mother Ann Lee; china mug and dress of Mother Lucy Wright; hats once worn by Elders F. W. Evans, Daniel Boler and Richard Bushnell; wine cup of Eldress Olive Spencer (first eldress of Mt. Lebanon); saddle-bags of Elder Eleazer Rand (over 100 years old); one full suit of Brother's clothes; shoes of Eldress Antoinette Doolittle; under jacket of F. W. Evans; large spinning wheel, bed warming pan; reel, canes, razors, looking glasses; wash bowl of Elder James Whittaker; tailor's compass; suit of boy's dolls clothes, made by Eldress Sarah Burger; one very large doll dressed in Shaker Sister's suit of the present, by Sister Sadie Neale; another in Sister's old style, dressed by Eldress Clarissa Jacobs; trunk of Eldress Eliza Babbitt; fancy box made by Elder Richard Bushnell; fourteen samples of Shaker cloth, etc., etc. One of the canes had belonged to Elder Benjamin Dunlavy of Pleasant Hill, Ky.; thence to Elder Harvey L. Eads of South Union, Ky., and finally to John Bradford of Enfield, N. H. The latter died at an advanced age, while Dr. MacLean was addressing the Society on Early Shakerism in the West. Dr. MacLean made eleven different addresses at Mt. Lebanon, one each at Enfield, Conn., Enfield, N. H., Harvard and Sabbathday Lake. He was made a member of North Family, Enfield, Conn., and also of the Church Family of Harvard. He had previously been made a member of the North Family at Union Village and of the North Family at Mt. Lebanon. The Shakers report that privileges were accorded to Dr. MacLean that never were bestowed upon any other non-member. They were drawn to him by the fairness of his writings concerning them, claiming that he is more just and discerning than any other author. Dr. MacLean in due time, will give a full account of his life among the Shaker communities, which will be published. He is now at work preparing a bibliography of Shakerism.

The Historical Society now rejoices in having the largest Shaker collection of books and relics of any public institution in the world. A further very large donation is promised from James H. Fennessey, manager of Union Village, Eldress Clymena Miner and Sister Susannah C. Liddell. The North Family of Mt. Lebanon has become a life member of the Historical Society.

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