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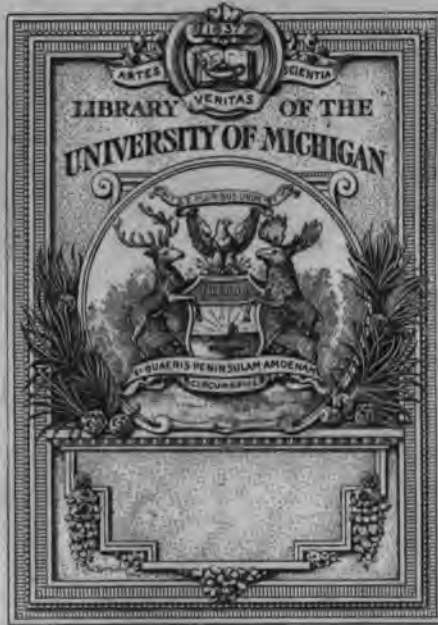
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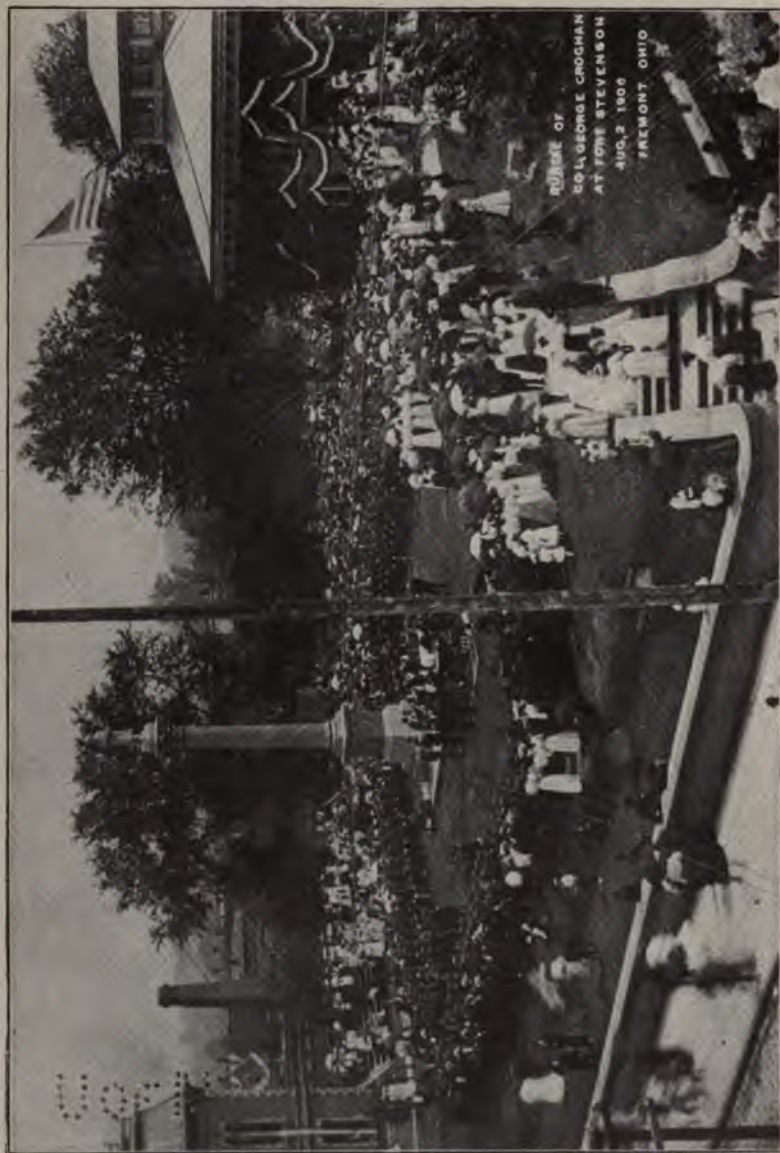
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BURIAL OF
COL. GEORGE CROGHAN
AT FORT STEVENSON
AUG. 2 1906
FREMONT OHIO

BURIAL OF REMAINS OF COL. GEORGE CROGHAN.

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THE CROGHAN CELEBRATION.

LUCY ELLIOT KEELER.

It was not bad usage of the old Romans to bring down from its niche the waxen image of an eminent ancestor on the anniversary of his natal day, to recall his features and achievements to their own minds and impress them upon the younger generation. A like tribute the patriotic citizens of Fremont, Ohio, pay from time to time to their local hero, Major George Croghan, on the anniversary of that notable second of August, 1813, when with his little band of soldiers he defeated a foe overwhelming in numbers under the British General Proctor and the Indian Chief Tecumseh. It was not only a feat of incomparable bravery, but it marked the turning of the tide in the War of 1812, which up to that time had been a series of disasters to the American arms.



COL. WEBB C. HAYES.

The first formal observance of the anniversary of Croghan's Victory occurred in 1839, at which time messages from Croghan himself were received. Since that date every decade has witnessed one or more celebrations, notable among which were those of 1852, when "Old Betsy" was brought back to the scene of

her great triumph; 1860, presaging the Civil War, when Cassius M. Clay was the orator of the day; and 1885, when the Monument on the fort was unveiled in the presence of the President of the United States and many other distinguished soldiers and civilians.

The celebration of August 2d, 1906, was, however, more notable and imposing than any of its predecessors, since on that date the remains of Croghan were interred at the base of the monument erected to the memory of himself and the brave men of his command, on the very spot they had so gallantly defended ninety-three years before.

Following the defense of Fort Stephenson Croghan figured conspicuously in the closing events of the War of 1812. His subsequent career as Colonel Inspector General, United States Army, during the Mexican War and until his death, will be noted in the pages following. He died of cholera, in New Orleans, January 8, 1849, his spirit taking flight just as the last gun of the national salute commemorating the 34th anniversary of Jackson's victory, was fired.

For many years past it was the general supposition that the remains of this hero lay in one of the numerous cemeteries of New Orleans. Colonel Webb C. Hayes, imbued with patriotic sentiment and historic spirit, began several years ago the search for the grave of Croghan. Through Colonel Hayes' efforts the Quartermaster General at Washington took up the matter and made diligent investigation in New Orleans, but finally was compelled to abandon the search as fruitless. Colonel Hayes persevered and in February, 1906, received a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Croghan Kennedy, grand daughter of George Croghan and wife of the late Captain Kennedy, U. S. N., which gave the information leading to the coveted discovery of the remains in the family burial plot in the beautiful old Croghan estate, Locust Grove, on the Ohio river, several miles from Louisville, Kentucky.

Col. Hayes, in company with R. C. Ballard-Thruston and S. Thruston-Ballard, of the Kentucky Historical Society, proceeded to the old estate, now owned by J. S. Waters, and located the burial plot about 300 yards from the mansion. Thickly over-

grown with beautiful myrtle were the moss-covered tombstones of Major William Croghan and wife, the parents of George Croghan, his brothers, Dr. John and N. Croghan, and one sister, Elizabeth. In one corner lay an overturned headstone on which appeared the inscription, Col. G. C., marking the long-sought resting place.

General George Rogers Clark, brother of Lucy Clark Croghan and uncle of George Croghan, died at the Croghan homestead and was buried in the Croghan family burying ground at Locust Grove, Ky. In 1869 the State of Kentucky authorized the removal of the remains to Cave Hill Cemetery, Louisville, Ky., where a beautiful and imposing monument was erected in his honor.

Arrangements were at once made for the disinterment by Messrs. Ballard and Thruston who, with their wives and Miss Mary Clark, of St. Louis, were present, all being related to Col. Croghan through his mother, of the great Clark family.

The mahogany casket, found at a depth of six feet, was badly decomposed, but the leaden casket within was intact, being six and one-half feet in length, 20 inches wide and eight inches deep. It was immediately boxed and taken to Louisville and thence directly to Fremont.

The remains arrived in Fremont Monday evening, June 11th, 1906, and were conveyed to the city hall on the fort. The room had been beautifully decorated by the George Croghan Chapter, D. A. R., with flowers and evergreen, and myrtle from the Kentucky grave. A detail from Company K stood at the head and foot of the casket as the remains lay in state. On the afternoon of the 13th, the flag-draped casket was lifted to the shoulders of six members of Company K, who were preceded by the company's trumpeter, and followed by the five local veterans of the Mexican War who had served in that campaign under Croghan. These veterans acted as honorary pall-bearers. The ladies of the D. A. R. and many citizens followed. The procession passed out in front of the Soldiers' Monument, where it was photographed, and then proceeded to Oakwood Cemetery, marching over the Harrison trail through Spiegel Grove. At Oakwood the remains were placed in the vault, a song was sung by the D. A. R., and the trumpeter sounded taps.

The surviving members of the Croghan family graciously acquiesced in Col. Hayes' action and gave all assistance in their power. The following letter, from a nephew of Colonel Croghan, Mr. R. C. Ballard-Thruston, tells the story of the discovery, together with other important facts regarding the distinguished family to which our hero belonged. We give the letter entire:

LOUISVILLE, KY., June 13, 1906.

COL. WEBB C. HAYES.

My Dear Colonel: As per my letter of a few days ago I now take pleasure in writing you of certain data regarding the Clark family, which you desired and, in addition thereto, the facts regarding the location of the grave of Col. George Croghan and the exhuming and forwarding of his remains to you.

Major William Croghan and wife Lucy, lived about five or six miles east or northeast of the court house of Louisville, Ky., and probably something over a mile from the Ohio river, at a place which was called Locust Grove, now owned by J. S. Waters. What was formerly the rear of the house is now the front. An illustration of the house with the present front is shown in Gov. English's work, vol. II, page 887. And it is north of this house about 300 yards that their family burying ground is located. A description of this and what we found there will follow later. Quite an account of them is given by Gov. English in his work, vol. II, page 1002 et seq., in which there are a few errors that should be corrected as follows: Page 1003, first line, "1767" should be "1765." Page 1004, line four, "seventy-first" should be "seventy-third." And on line 3, after the word "marriage" should be inserted the words "License issued July 13, 1789—no return made." In the next paragraph on that page is a list of the children of Major William Croghan and wife, which I notice does not include "Serina E," mentioned in the foot note on that page. I think she was Serena Livingston, wife of George Croghan, and therefore a daughter-in-law.

I have no list of the dates of the births of these Croghan children. Their names as given in Gov. English's work, page 1004, are correct. From an original letter which I have, written about the early part of last century, John, George and Nicholas were among the eldest of the children and I have a newspaper clipping giving the death of Nicholas Croghan in 1825.

The marriage records of this county show that a marriage license for George Hancock and Elizabeth Croghan, daughter of Major William Croghan, was issued September 29, 1819, and return made by the Rev. D. C. Banks on the same day. A marriage license for Gen. Thomas Jessup with Ann Croghan, daughter of Maj. William Croghan, was is-

sued May 15, 1832. Return made two days later by the Rev. Daniel Smith. My notes on this subject were made some years ago and I fail to find among them the marriage records of any other of these Croghan children.

As to the family burying ground at Locust Grove. It lies about three hundred yards north of the dwelling surrounded by a stone wall eighteen inches thick and from three to five feet high, the sides facing the cardinal points, and the entrance six feet wide in the center of the southern wall. It, however, has since been filled in with stone, making a north and south walls which are each 48 feet long on the outside, the east and west walls being 47 feet. There are quite a number of trees within the enclosure, the most prominent of which is a five-pronged elm. We also found two red elms, four hackberries, two cherries and two locusts. Almost the entire space is covered with myrtle and some underbrush. The walls are largely overgrown with Virginia creeper and poison ivy or oak. The graveyard seems to have been designed with four parallel rows of graves running from north to south, in each case the grave facing the east. The eastern one of these rows apparently was not used, as we saw neither headstone nor evidence of a grave on that row. On the next row, five feet from the north wall, we found a headstone marked "McS." I am at a loss to know whose grave this could be. Fourteen feet from the north wall on this line is the center of a one-foot space between two large marble slabs, each being three feet wide and six feet long with ornate edges. The northern one of these seems to have rested on four pedestals, one at each corner. They have since fallen and the slab is now resting on the ground and covers the remains of Mary Carson O'Hara, wife of William Croghan, Jr. The inscription on this slab is as follows:

Beneath this slab
are deposited the remains of
Mrs. Mary Carson Croghan
(late of Pittsburgh)
who departed this life
October 15th, A. D. 1827,
In the 24th year of her age.

Also
her infant daughter,
Mary O'Hara,
who expired July 18, 1826,
in the ninth month of her age.

Slab B rests on four slabs, each of which is ornately carved. The inscription being:

Eliza,
youngest daughter of
William and Lucy Croghan,
born April 9th, 1801,
married George Hancock Sept., 1819,
died July 12th, 1833.

The next headstone was twenty feet from the north wall and was marked "Mrs. L. C." The next headstone, twenty-three feet from the north wall, was marked "Maj. W. C." These were evidently the graves of Major and Mrs. William Croghan, the parents of Colonel George Croghan. On this same row south of Major Croghan's grave was quite a sunken space, which probably marks the spot from which the remains of Gen. George Rogers Clark were removed in 1869. On the next row of graves west of the last and fourteen feet from the north wall is a headstone marked "E. C." This is probably Edmund Croghan's grave. On this row, seventeen feet from the north wall, is a headstone marked "N. C.," or Nicholas Croghan, a brother of Col. George Croghan, who died in 1825. At ten feet from the south wall on this same row is a headstone marked "Dr. J. C." Dr. John Croghan, who lived at Locust Grove after the death of his parents and at whose home my mother was a frequent visitor in her younger days. As there were no other headstones found between those of Dr. John Croghan and Nicholas Croghan, the probabilities are that other members of the family were buried within this enclosure whose headstones have since been lost, or whose graves were not properly marked.

Near the southwest corner in the most western one of these rows, we found but one headstone, four feet from the western wall and five feet from the southern wall. It was lying on its face entirely covered with myrtle and upon investigation bore the marks of "Col. G. C." marking the grave of Col. George Croghan, which you were searching for, and whose remains you desired to remove to Fremont, Ohio, having obtained permission of his daughter and other descendants.

When this grave was found, on Thursday, June 7, there were present yourself, my brother, S. Thruston Ballard, Mr. J. S. Waters and myself. After definitely locating and identifying the grave, my brother sent to his country place for two negro hands (John Bradford and Alex Howard) and after lunch we proceeded to open the grave. At nearly five feet below the surface we found fragments of a mahogany casket, now almost entirely decayed, and a leaden case which contained the remains. This latter was broken in several places, and as would naturally be expected, its top was resting upon the skeleton.

This leaden case containing the remains, the headstone above mentioned, a footstone marked "G. C." which we also found at the foot of the grave, and some myrtle which was growing over the grave, which you desired, were carefully taken to my brother's place, and the following morning brought into Louisville, where I had them properly boxed (the leaden case being covered with a United States flag) and the following day, June 9, expressed them to you at Fremont, Ohio, and I hope, before this, have reached you in proper shape.



GRAVE OF GEORGE CROGHAN AT
LOCUST GROVE, KY.

In addition to those present at the finding of the grave of Colonel George Croghan, above mentioned, there were present at the exhuming of his remains, my sister-in-law, Mrs. S. Thurston Ballard, Miss Mary Clark, of St. Louis, Mrs. J. S. Waters, four of the Waters' children, my little nephew Rogers Clark Ballard, and one or two servants of Mr. Waters.

My brother carried a kodak with him and made several attempts to get kodaks of the old Croghan residence and family burying ground, copies of which will be sent you as soon as they are printed.

With sincerest regards, I
am yours very truly,

R. C. BALLARD THRUSTON,

Member of the Filson Club, Virginia Historical Society.

George Croghan himself left three children; a son, Col. St. George Croghan, a brave soldier on the Confederate side, killed in Virginia, in one of the early battles of the Civil War; Mrs. Mary Croghan Wyatt, who died in California in February, 1906; and the youngest and only surviving child, Mrs. Serena Livingston Rodgers, wife of Augustus F. Rodgers, U. S. N. Mrs. Rodgers lives in San Francisco, and is now 86 years of age.

Col. St. George Croghan left two children, both living, a son, George, and a daughter, Elizabeth Croghan, now the widow of Capt. Duncan Kennedy, U. S. N., who has one son.

Mrs. Rodgers has a daughter, and Mrs. Wyatt a son, Judge Wyatt, of New York. All living descendants of Croghan were invited to be present at the re-interment of the remains of their famous father, grandfather and great-grandfather.

On the occasion of the unveiling of a tablet to Croghan, on Fort Stephenson Park, by the D. A. R., Mrs. Wyatt, to whom an invitation to be present had been sent, wrote, under date of July 14, 1903:

"My Dear Miss Keeler: It was indeed most gratifying to receive your invitation to be with you when the Croghan tablet will be unveiled. It would indeed be a delight to me to be present when such honor was paid to my dear father, but with sorrow I must decline. My journeyings in this world are pretty much over. I have lately injured my knee and walk with difficulty. * * *

Sincerely,

"MARY CROGHAN WYATT."

CROGHAN'S ANCESTRY AND LIFE.

The name Croghan is an illustrious one in the early annals of our country, especially in the Western annals preceding the establishment of the Republic.

On the paternal side George Croghan came of fighting blood. He belonged to the race of "the Kellys, the Burkes and the Sheas," who always "smell the battle afar off." The first Croghan we hear of in this country was Major George Croghan, who was born in Ireland and educated at Dublin University. Just when he came to America we do not know. He established himself near Harrisburg, and was an Indian trader there as early as 1746. He learned the language of the aborigines and won their confidence. He served as a captain in Braddock's expedition in 1755, and in the defense of the western frontier in the following year. The famous Sir William Johnson, of New York, who was so efficient in dealing with the natives and whom George II had commissioned "Colonel, agent and sole superintendent of the affairs of the Six Nations and other northern Indians," came to recognize Croghan's worth, and made him deputy Indian agent for the Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians. In 1763 Sir William

sent him to England to confer with the ministry in regard to some Indian boundary line. He traveled widely through the Indian country which is now the Central West. While on a mission in 1765 to pacify the Illinois Indians he was attacked, wounded and taken to Vincennes. But he was soon released and



MAJOR GEORGE CROGHAN.

accomplished his mission. He was deeply impressed with the great possibilities of this western country and urged upon Sir William Johnson the importance of securing this region to the English colonies. It is a singular coincidence that this first Major George Croghan was pitted against Pontiac in much the

same way that Major George Croghan the second was pitted against Tecumseh. In May, 1766, he fixed his abode near Fort Pitt, using his good offices and influence in pacifying the Indians and conciliating them to British interests. He died about 1782. It is altogether probable that his reports regarding the northwestern country had something to do with impressing George Rogers Clark with its importance.

The similarity of name and title makes this reference to the first George Croghan pertinent, although his kinship with the second George Croghan was but collateral. The father of our hero of Ft. Stephenson was William Croghan, born in Ireland in 1752. Just when he came to this country it has been impossible to ascertain. At any rate the young man was well established here at the time of the Declaration of Independence. He promptly volunteered his services, becoming a captain of a Virginia company. He served to the end of the war, being mustered out the senior Major of the Virginia line. He took part in the battles of Brandywine, Monmouth and Germantown; and he was with the army that bitter winter at Valley Forge. In 1780 his regiment was ordered South and he was made prisoner at the surrender of Charleston. He was present at Yorktown, when the last great battle of the war was fought, though he could not share in the fighting, as he was on parole. He served for a time on the staff of Baron Steuben, and he was one of the officers present at the Verplanck mansion on the Hudson in May, 1783, when the Society of Cincinnati was instituted. Shortly after the war Croghan joined the increasing drift of Virginians over the mountains into the new land of Kentucky and found a home near the Falls of the Ohio.

There, presumably, he won and wed his wife. She, too, came of valorous stock. Her name was Lucy Clark, daughter of John Clark, recently come to Kentucky from Virginia. She had five brothers, four of whom served in the Revolutionary War. The most distinguished of these was George Rogers Clark, to whose great and heroic campaign through the wilderness to Vincennes we owe the winning of the Northwest Territory. It was to this George Rogers Clark, uncle of Croghan, that Harrison referred in his official report of the

battle when he said with evident gratification: "It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications to know 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. G. R. Clark, and I bless my good fortune in having first introduced this promising shoot of a distinguished family to the notice of the government." Another brother, William, who was too young to participate in the Revolution, was the Clark who, with Captain Lewis, made the famous expedition of exploration across the continent. He was appointed in 1813 by President Madison Governor of Missouri Territory.

To William Croghan and his wife, Lucy, at Locust Grove, Ky., November 15, 1791, was born the boy that was destined to make the family name illustrious. He was christened George, in honor of the mother's brother, whose great and daring achievement had given his name vast renown. We know practically nothing of George Croghan's boyhood. Doubtless it was like that of the ordinary Virginia boy of the period, who was the son of a well-to-do planter, modified by the exigencies of frontier life.

Our boy had books to read, and lessons to learn; and there were always his father's and his uncles' tales of the recent Revolutionary War and of the untamed country through which they had traveled; as well as of the Dublin kindred and society.

George was ready for college at an early age, and went to William and Mary, in Virginia, next to Harvard the oldest college in the land. From it graduated four presidents of the United States, Jefferson, Monroe, Tyler and Harrison, beside Chief Justice Marshall and Gen. Winfield Scott. After Croghan's graduation he took up the study of law. War was in the air, however, as well as in his blood, and in 1811 the youth enlisted as a private in the volunteer army under Harrison. His handsome face, alight with intelligence, won him speedy notice from the officers, a good impression which was strengthened by his conduct and ability. He was soon appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Boyd, second in command. At the battle of Tippecanoe, shortly after, his zeal and courage induced Gen. Harrison to recommend

the lad's appointment to the regular army, and he was made captain of the 17th U. S. Infantry.

In August, 1812, his command accompanied the detachment under Gen. Winchester, which marched from Kentucky to the relief of Gen. Hull at Detroit. Hull's disgraceful surrender made a change of plan necessary, and Winchester's men marched through the wilderness to assist Gen. Harrison at Fort Wayne, and then down the Maumee to Fort Defiance, in September, 1812. Here, in spite of his extreme youth, Croghan was left in command by Harrison. So successful was he in this trying ordeal that Winchester left him in command of Fort Defiance, while he himself marched on to the River Raisin. All know the frightful massacre which followed, Croghan owing his escape to his duty at Defiance.

Capt. Croghan then joined Gen. Harrison at the newly constructed Fort Meigs on the Maumee, taking gallant part in its defense during the seige. Here the famous pair, Proctor and Tecumseh, the one with a thousand British regulars and the other with twice that number of Indians, were the besieging leaders. The siege continued during thirteen days of that May, and included one direful incident. Col. Dudley, with his Kentucky troops, came to the relief of the fort, but owing to an ambuscade arranged by Tecumseh, Dudley's forces were surrounded and 650 of the 800 soldiers were killed, wounded or taken prisoners.

In a sortie made to save these unfortunate troops, Capt. Croghan so distinguished himself by the vigor and bravery of his assault on a battery, that Gen. Harrison recommended him for further promotion. He was soon afterward commissioned major in the 17th U. S. Infantry. In July of that year he and his command appeared at Fort Stephenson, the wretched little stockade in Lower Sandusky. When they left this place three weeks later, they were the heroes of the whole country.

The story of the battle of Fort Stephenson, the hurried preparation therefor, and its results in the War of 1812 are given on a later page in the words of a contemporary. For this notable victory Croghan was brevetted lieutenant colonel by the president of the United States; Congress awarded him a medal, and the

ladies of Chillicothe, then the capital of Ohio, presented him with a beautiful sword. The famous repulse of August 2, 1813, marks the turning point in the war that ended in sweeping the haughty British navy from our Lakes, and hurling their army from our borders.

Croghan remained in the army after the close of the war till March, 1817, when he resigned. In May, 1816, he married Serena Livingston, daughter of John R. Livingston, of New York, and niece of Chancellor Robert Livingston, famous as jurist and diplomat, who administered the oath of office to Washington when he first became president of the United States, and who as minister to France negotiated with Bonaparte the Louisiana purchase. She was also a niece of the widow of Gen. Montgomery, of Quebec fame.



GEN. J. C. CHANCE.

After resigning from the army Croghan took up his residence in New Orleans and was postmaster of that city in 1824. The following year he returned to the army as inspector general with rank of colonel and served as such with Gen. Taylor during the Mexican War, 1846-47.

With such an ancestry and such an early environment it is slight wonder that the flame of patriotism burned intensely in the veins of Croghan.

There was much of the Irish in our hero, as his impulsive speeches, which sometimes got him into trouble, easily testify; and like well-born Irish everywhere, he was proud of his good blood, proud of his forebears, and determined not to bring discredit on their name. It is the best heritage any man can have, and Croghan, for one, knew it.

Just before the attack on Fort Stephenson Croghan wrote a friend:

"The enemy are not far distant. I expect an attack. I will defend this post to the last extremity. I have just sent away the

women and children, with the sick of the garrison, that I may be able to act without incumbrance. Be satisfied. I shall, I hope, do my duty. The example set me by my Revolutionary kindred is before me. Let me die rather than prove unworthy of their name."

THE CELEBRATION.

Thursday, August 2, 1906, dawned auspiciously on the historic city of Fremont. The Toledo battery which had arrived the night before and was stationed in Fort Stephenson aroused the people at sunrise with a salute of twenty-one guns, announcing that the events of the day had begun. Thousands of visitors from far and near, including many prominent officials of state and nation, made pilgrimage to the historic shrine of Fort Stephenson. The city was appropriately decorated and every hospitality and courtesy possible was extended by the citizens to their guests. At eight o'clock the casket of Major Croghan, which had been temporarily placed in the vault at Oakwood, was taken therefrom and borne to the city, with military honors of music and soldiery escort. The line of march was over the old Harrison trail, through Spiegel Grove, down Buckland and Birchard avenues to Park avenue and then to the high school building where, in the hallway, the casket, draped with flags, was placed. Guarded by a detachment of state troops the remains lay in state until the big parade of the day passed the school house, when the casket, borne on the shoulders of six stalwart members of the National Guard, was tenderly escorted to Fort Stephenson Park. The civic and military parade, which was the feature of the forenoon, was an imposing spectacle. It was headed by the city police force and fire department, followed by a provisional Brigade of the Ohio National Guard commanded by Brigadier General W. V. McMaken, O. N. G. the local and visiting posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, Spanish War Veterans, Masons, Woodmen of the World and secret orders, German musical societies, commercial organizations and school children waving the American emblem and singing patriotic songs. An interesting link in the procession brought the present event in close touch with the historic past, for in a spacious carryall were Fremont's five Mexican War veterans, Captain Andrew Kline, his brother

Louis Kline, Grant Forgeron, Martin Zeigler and Jacob Faller. They had all personally known Croghan. The parade passed in review before the handsomely decorated stand at Croghan street and Park avenue, on which stood Vice President Fairbanks, Governor Harris, Mayor Tunnington, General Chance, Congressman Mouser, Hon. J. F. Laning and Hon. A. H. Jackson ; behind them the governor's staff, Col. Kautzman, Col. Weybrecht, Major Hall, Captain Williams, Capt. Knox, Capt. Garner, Capt. Wood and



MEMBERS OF COMPANY K GUARDING CASKET.

Lieut. Moulton. Vice President Fairbanks stood up in his automobile almost the entire length of Front street, and with his hat in hand acknowledged the cheers and applause of the crowds, while Governor Harris kept bowing to people on both sides of the street in response to the cheers with which he was greeted. At the high school the procession halted and the Croghan remains were escorted from their resting place at the base of the monument by the George Croghan Chapter of the D. A. R., the mem-

bers of which had charge of the final interment. The children scattered flowers in the grave, a salute was fired, taps were sounded, and the honored dust of the gallant George Croghan was consigned to its final resting place on the spot and in the sacred soil he had so bravely and loyally defended ninety-three years before. The grave was covered with a large block of Quincy granite bearing this inscription:

George Croghan
 Major 17th U. S. Infantry,
 Defender of Fort Stephenson,
 August 1st and 2d, 1813.
 Born Locust Grove, Ky., Nov. 15, 1781.
 Died New Orleans, La., Jan. 8, 1849,
 Colonel Inspector General
 United States Army.
 Remains removed from
 Croghan Family Burying Ground,
 Locust Grove, Ky.,
 August 2, 1906.



MAJOR C. C. TUN-
 NINGTON.

The oratorical exercises were held in the afternoon in the open air within the precincts of the fort. Vast crowds gathered and listened intently to addresses. General Jesse C. Chance, of Fremont, was president of the day and introduced the speakers, after the assembly had been called to order by Mayor C. C. Tunnington. The speeches were interspersed with patriotic songs by the school children and martial strains by the Light Guard Band.

THE INVOCATION.

REV. W. E. TRESSEL, CHAPLAIN.

God of our fathers, we praise and worship Thee! Assembled on historic ground, which has been consecrated by heroes' blood, we not only hold in glad and grateful remembrance the noble deeds of valiant men,

but we proclaim Thy great glory, O Lord of hosts; for Thou art the God of battles, and right and truth triumph by Thy blessing. And whilst we thank Thee for the brave men of that older day who fought so nobly in freedom's holy cause, we give Thee laud and honor for the patience, the skill, the industry, through which were won those notable victories of peace, no less renowned than those of war, that made the wilderness to blossom as the rose and laid the foundations for the splendid material prosperity which to-day is our portion. For health, and peace, and plenty, for home, good government, for our great educational system, we give Thee thanks, O God. And richer gifts than these have flowed to us from Thy bounteous hand. Thou hast revealed to us Thy dear son, Jesus Christ, and hast made Him to be our Savior from the bondage of sin and from eternal death; and in Thy precious word Thou hast conveyed to us Thy saving grace and power. Eternal praise be to Thee for these, Thy choicest gifts!

We pray Thee to continue to us Thy favor. To this end bless with repentance and faith; help us to renounce all sin and error, to love and to follow truth and righteousness, that we may hold fast what Thou hast in mercy given. Instil more and more into our hearts love of country. Do Thou use the exercises of this day to impress on our mind the responsibilities of citizenship. Awaken and quicken within us civic spirit. And thus let this memorable day on which we stand before Thy holy throne, result in countless blessings, for time and eternity, to us and to our children.

“Our God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home!

“Under the shadow of Thy throne
Thy saints have dwelt secure:
Sufficient is Thine arm alone,
And our defence is sure.

“Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting Thou art God,
For aye wilt be the same.

“A thousand ages in Thy sight
Are like an evening gone;
Swift as the watch that ends the night
Before the rising sun.

"Time, like an ever-rolling stream,
 Bears all its sons away:
 They fly, forgotten, as a dream
 Dies at the opening day.

"O God, our help in ages past,
 Our hope for years to come,
 Be Thou our Guard while troubles last,
 And our eternal home!"

Thou, who hearest prayer, for Jesus' sake give ear to these our prayers and praises, which we sum up in the words of our Lord:

Our Father, Who art in heaven; Hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen!

ADDRESS OF HON. SAMUEL D. DODGE.

When your fellow citizen, Col. Webb C. Hayes, asked me to address you upon this occasion, and I accepted the invitation, I did so with the full appreciation that I should be able to add nothing to the historical information which you citizens of Sandusky County possessed, I should be able to say no word which could in any way increase your admiration for the distinguished youth, who, almost a century ago, stood near this spot, and with one gun and a few brave soldiers routed the British forces and their Indian allies.



SAMUEL D. DODGE.

You citizens of Sandusky County have studied your histories well; you have shown full appreciation for the courage displayed on that occasion and you have honored many times the memory and deeds of the distinguished Soldier. Students of American history have related to you the causes that led up to the War of 1812; eminent writers have described to you the campaign preceding the attack on Fort Stephenson; and distinguished orators, with brilliant phrases, have pictured to you the handsome youth standing upon the ramparts of Fort Stephenson, and amid the yells of savages and the fierce attacks of the veterans of Wellington urging his little band to deeds of hero-

ism. The life and deeds of George Croghan are familiar tales in every household of this historic neighborhood. Your fellow townswoman, Miss Julia M. Haynes, in her admirable paper, "Fremont in History," read to you a few years ago, has given us a clear, concise and eloquent statement of the events which have made your city famous. Dr. Charles R. Williams, in his public address delivered at Spiegel Grove, a few years since, has added to the historical literature of Fremont a brilliant and polished essay, and other distinguished men and women have placed before you the geography, history, and traditions of your town in pamphlet and speech. You have listened to the thrilling eloquence of General Gibson and the polished sentences of Governor Jacob D. Cox, and at that memorable meeting when you dedicated this handsome monument, a meeting presided over by your distinguished citizen, Rutherford B. Hayes, you listened to the voices of Sherman, Foraker, Henry B. Payne and others. That I could add anything to what has been said and written concerning these historical events, I have not for a moment dared to hope, but perhaps a personal allusion, if I may be allowed, will partially explain my presumption and willingness to accept this invitation.

On July 9th, 1813, there was born in my grandfather's house in Cleveland, a son, and for several weeks no agreement could be reached as to the name he was to bear. Less than a month after the child's birth, from every hill top to every valley, from settlement to settlement of pioneers along shores of Lake Erie came the news that Major George Croghan, a young man, had put to rout the English and Indians and saved Fort Stephenson, and my grandfather's family had found a name for their son, and to-day there is a grave in Lake View cemetery in Cleveland and at its head a simple granite monument with the inscription George Croghan Dodge, born July 9th, 1813, died June 6th, 1883; and so I regard it as a privilege to pay a simple tribute to-day to a man whose name my father bore, the story of whose achievement told me in my boyhood was a narrative to which no tale of giants or fairies could compare.

Fifty years before the defense of Ft. Stephenson or "Sandusky," as the name was engraved on the gold medal presented by congress to the peerless Croghan, this historic neighborhood had been the scene of the capture and utter destruction at the outbreak of Pontiac's gigantic conspiracy of old Fort Sandusky, built in 1745 on the left or west side of Sandusky bay and river on the Marblehead peninsula.

"The storm burst early in May of 1763. * * * Nine British forts yielded instantly and the savages drank, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, the blood of many a Briton. * * * Sandusky was the first of the forts to fall, May 16th. Ensign Paully * * * was seized, carried to Detroit, adopted, and married to a squaw, who had lost her husband, the remainder of the garrison were massacred and the fort burned."

Fort Sandusky, the first fort established in Ohio, was built in 1745 by British traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia under the instruction, it is said, of George Croghan, later deputy Indian Commissioner to Sir. Wm. Johnston. It was located on the Marblehead peninsula on the left or west side of the Sandusky river and bay at the portage where Indians and trappers coming from Detroit, in their course skirting the chain of islands in Lake Erie, would land to carry their canoes across to the Sandusky river on their way to the Scioto and Ohio. The French, resenting this intrusion, "usurped F. Sandoski" and in 1754 built another fort, "Junundat," on the east or right side of the Sandusky river and bay. The maps of John Mitchell and Lewis Evans, both published in 1775, clearly show the location of these two forts.

Mitchell's map shows the fort on the west side of the river and bay with the notation "Sandoski usurped by the French, 1751," while Evans' map has "F Sandoski" on the west side and also "F Junundat built in 1754" on the east side of the river and bay and diagonally across from "Sandoski."

"Sandusky was afterward evacuated and on the 8th of September, 1760, the French governor, Vandreueil surrendered Canada to the English" and then ended French dominion in America. "Major Robert Rogers, a native of New Hampshire, was directed to take possession of the western forts. He left Montreal on the 13th of September, 1760, with two hundred rangers. * * * Proceeding west, he visited Sandusky * * * after securing the fort at Detroit returned by land via Sandusky and Tuscarawas trail to Fort Pitt."

Soon after Major Rogers took possession of the western forts for the British, Ensign Pauly was placed in command of Fort Sandusky and so remained until his capture, and the massacre of his garrison and the utter destruction of the fort on May 16, 1763, at the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy. As soon as the news of the capture of the nine British forts reached the British authorities, Detroit and Fort Pitt alone escaping capture, expeditions were sent to relieve the latter and to re-establish British supremacy in the northwest. Captain Dalyell arrived at the ruins of old Fort Sandusky in the fall of 1763 and then proceeded up the Sandusky river to the village of the Hurons and Wyandots at the lower rapids of the Sandusky river (now Fremont) and utterly destroyed the Indian villages located there.

In 1764, twelve years before the declaration of Independence, Col. John Bradstreet started from Albany to relieve Major Gladwyn at Detroit. Pontiac, the crafty, powerful and ambitious chief of the Ottawa Indians, the year before, had sent his red-stained tomahawk and his war belts to the various Indian tribes between the Allegheny mountains and the Mississippi river, stirring the hearts of the red men against the pioneers, and was preparing to continue his attacks upon the various western forts, and in his hatred toward the whites was determined

to accomplish by force what he could not accomplish by treachery. He had returned from Detroit in November, 1763, and it was evident that he was preparing for a more complete siege of that important military post. It was then that General Thomas Gage wrote the Colonies and asked for troops to suppress the growing insurrection of the Indian nations; and Colonel Bradstreet set forth from Albany with his army of 1180 men, 766 being provincial troops from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut under Israel Putnam. Along they came to Lake Ontario and with two vessels, 75 whale boats, and numberless canoes, issued forth and steered westward. Remaining a while at Fort Niagara, passing on and founding Fort Erie, they pushed on to Detroit after making short encampments on the banks of the Cuyahoga river, on the present site of Cleveland, and at the ruins of old Fort Sandusky. All along the journey Indians had been sent to treat for peace, but knowing from experience the treacherous character of the Indians, Bradstreet was warned against putting trust in the overtures of the savages. Yet notwithstanding the protests of his followers, Bradstreet promised to refrain from marching against the Delawares, Shawanese and other tribes, if within twenty-five days the representatives of the tribes would meet him at Fort Sandusky for the purpose of giving up prisoners and concluding a definite treaty. Bradstreet had, however, been ordered to give to the Wyandots, Ottawas and Miamis a thorough chastisement, but on the approach of the English commander these three tribes sent deputies to meet him and promised to follow him to Detroit and make a treaty there, if he would abandon the hostile plan against them. It was with this expectation that he reached Detroit, only to learn that the Indians whom he had expected to meet on his return to Fort Sandusky for the purpose of making a treaty, had assembled there to oppose the disembarkment of the English soldiers. So Bradstreet started with sixty long boats and one barge and glided down the Detroit river out upon the bosom of Lake Erie. All expected to engage in a fierce combat with the savage foe, but Bradstreet soon received better news. With this expedition of Bradstreet was one Lieutenant Montresor, who kept a journal, and this journal has been preserved among the collections of the New York Historical Society. From the journal we learn that "news soon arrived that the Delawares and Shawanese are assembled at Sandusky where the old fort stood in order to treat with us for peace." With this information Bradstreet's "troops entered Sandusky lake or bay" September 18, 1764, and "encamped on a good clay bank half a mile west of the spot where sixteen months before Pontiac had butchered the English garrison and burned the fort." Indians soon appeared and pledged if he would not attack the Indian village they would conclude a definite treaty and surrender all prisoners they had. Bradstreet did not attack them. After waiting seven days "Col. Bradstreet then proceeded up Sandusky river to the village of the Hurons and Wyandots, which had been destroyed by Cap-

tain Dalyell the preceding year." Montresor in his journal says "Bradstreet's whole force proceeded and encamped one mile below the rapids of the Sandusky River, and here at this camp near the Huron village on Sandusky river, Major Israel Putnam served as Field Officer for the picket and presided at a General Court Martial at his own tent to try all prisoners brought before him."* So to this very spot, now Fort Stephenson Park, Fremont, Ohio, fresh with the laurels won while in command of Provincial troops in the siege of Havana, Cuba, with this expedition came Israel Putnam, who afterwards became Senior Major General in the army of the United States of America, one of the heroes of Bunker Hill, an indomitable soldier, a man of generous soul and sterling patriotism, and of whom his biographer, Col. David Humphreys, says, "He seems to have been formed on purpose for the age in which he lived. His native courage, unshaken integrity, and established reputation as a soldier gave unbounded confidence to our troops in their first conflict in the field of battle."

The colonial records of Connecticut for March, 1764, says this assembly doth appoint Israel Putnam, Esq., to be major of the forces now ordered raised in this colony for his Majesty's service against the Indian Nations who have been guilty of perfidious and cruel massacres of the English.

Thus to the long list of patriots and statesmen and pioneers, who in the early days wandered through the densely wooded trails, over these plains which smiled to the sun in grass and flowers, and along the banks of this historic river; to the names of Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, William Henry Harrison, George Croghan and a host of others we can add the immortal name of Israel Putnam.

The fifty odd years between the campaign of Bradstreet and the War of 1812, the years preceding and following the Revolutionary War are filled with the stirring events of pioneer history. Northern Ohio was the scene of border wars and Indian outrages. The massacre of the Moravians, Crawford's Expedition, the destruction of St. Clair's army, and the victory of General Wayne at Fallen Timbers are a few of the many important events that go to make up the history of the region around the Maumee and Sandusky rivers. The disasters to the American arms incident to the opening of the campaign of the War of 1812 in the northwest—the disgraceful surrender of Hull at Detroit, the massacre of Winchester's men at the River Raisin, and Dudley's massacre, so-called, in the otherwise successful defence of Fort Meigs culminated, however, on August 2, 1813, in the unparalleled discomfiture of the British and Indians by a young Kentucky major. This defense, so brilliant and complete, followed by Perry's Victory on Lake Erie and General Harrison's triumph at the battle of the Thames practically closed the campaign.

* Livingstone's Life of Israel Putnam, p. 139.

• The war of 1812 only supplemented the Revolutionary War. We had become at once independent and feeble. Articles of confederation bound us loosely together, and we had not yet fully won our place among the nations of the earth. Other nations looked upon us as an easy prey—they could seize our ships and imprison our seamen, but these results were only incidents which gave rise to the conflict for which the time was ripe and for which there was and could be no postponement. This war must be had. We must consolidate and finish the work of independence. It must be a reality and not a name, England must acknowledge us as a distinct member of the family of nations, and this is what we accomplished by the contest of 1812 and 1813. When that war broke out the Indians were banded together in this Northwestern quarter of the state under the leadership of Tecumseh, to whom the English had given the rank of a general in their army. There was no city of Fremont. The spot called Lower Sandusky was a military reservation two miles square, established by treaty in 1785. Here was built Fort Stephenson—one of the many outposts in the midst of this hostile country. Built to protect the communications of the army with the more distant posts at Chicago and Detroit; built perhaps that a crossing at this point of this then important river might be made in safety. Up this Sandusky river from the lake came all who wished to reach the Ohio river on their way from Canada to Mississippi for, with a short portage, they could enter the Scioto and then on down to the great rivers beyond. It was an important place then for a growing settlement, a vigorous colony might be started here and Major Croghan appreciated its importance even if Harrison did not. The English had made allies of the Indians. Tecumseh was made a general. British emissaries were busy among the Northwest tribes stirring them up to war upon the Americans. General Proctor, with his savage allies had failed to capture Fort Meigs, and Proctor had withdrawn to his old encampment and there he remained until on July 28th, 1813, the British embarked with their stores and started for Sandusky bay and river for the purpose of attacking Fort Stephenson. Again and again have you heard the story of this fight. How General Harrison had sent word to Major Croghan that if the British approached with force and cannon and he could discover them in time to retreat, that he must do so. How Harrison in council with his other Generals had decided that the fort was untenable and ordered him to abandon it. How the messenger lost his way, and when he did arrive Croghan sent back word to Harrison the memorable message, "We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens we can." The natural anger of General Harrison at this seeming disobedience to his order and the summoning of Croghan to come to Fort Seneca and the placing of another in command until the gallant boy had explained and appeased the wrath of his superior and was sent back to his post, are familiar facts of history. On the afternoon of August 1st,

1813, we find the young hero back in command and with 160 men and "Old Betsy," sending back to Proctor with his 700 veterans, 2,000 Indians and Barclay's gunboats in the river, a defiant refusal to his summons to surrender.

General Harrison, in his report to the Secretary of War, thus describes the battle. "Their troops were formed into two columns, one led by Lieut.-Colonel Short, headed the principal one. He conducted his men to the brink of the ditch under a galling fire from the garrison, and by Lieut.-Colonel Shortt headed the principal one. He conducted his men and the light infantry. At this moment a masked porthole was sud-



ATTACK ON FORT STEPHENSON.

denly opened and the six-pounder, with a half-load of powder and a double charge of leaden slugs, at a distance of thirty feet, poured destruction upon them, and killed or wounded every man who entered the ditch. In vain did the British officers try to lead on the balance of the column. It retired under a shower of shot, and sought safety in the adjoining woods."

And who was this young man who defended this place against a force of British and Indians and drove them discomfited from the field of battle. We seem to see him now as he stood there a model of manly beauty in his youthful prime, "a man in all that makes a man ere man-

hood's years have been fulfilled"; standing on the threshold of his career. This young, accomplished, handsome youth was born at Locust Grove, Ky., November 15, 1791. His mother was Lucy Clark. Of uncles he had upon his mother's side, George Rogers Clark, whose great campaign through the wilderness won for us the Northwest Territory was one; and William Clark, who with Captain Lewis made the famous Lewis and Clark expedition of exploration across the continent, was another. His father, William Croghan, was born in Ireland in 1752, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War and fought at Brandywine, Monmouth and Germantown, and when young George had finished his preliminary schooling he entered at the age of 17 the College of William and Mary and graduated two years later with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His purpose was to become a lawyer, but when the governor of Indiana, William Henry Harrison, called for volunteers to strike at Tecumseh and his stirring red men, Croghan joined the little army as a private and began his life as a soldier at the battle of Tippecanoe.

From that day until General Harrison sent him to this place, the spirit of the soldier in him had met every test of skill and bravery, and he took command of Fort Stephenson with the confidence of his superiors and with the love and admiration of his soldiers. In a report of this battle by an English historian occurs this sentence: "The first division were so near the enemy that they could distinctly hear the various orders given in the fort and the faint voices of the wounded and dying in the ditch, calling out for water, which the enemy had the humanity to lower to them on the instant."

Over in that beautiful cemetery at Clyde, on its sunkissed slopes, bright with the foliage of this August day, rests one who, fifty years after the defense of Fort Stephenson, honored this country, his state and his country by his conduct upon the field of battle—General James B. McPherson, as good a soldier, as chivalrous a leader, as gallant a gentleman, as pure a man as ever fell upon the field of battle. General Sherman says of him "History tells us of but few who so blended the grace and gentleness of the friend with the dignity, courage, faith and manliness of the soldier." Now Sandusky County has gathered to herself all that remains of another hero, her first if not her greatest. Here under the shadow of this monument among the people who love to do him honor, on the very spot he so gallantly defended, will he lie

Till mouldering worlds and tumbling systems burst;
When the last trump shall renovate his dust.
Till by the mandate of eternal truth,
His soul will flourish in immortal youth.

Such names as Croghan and McPherson are like the sound of a

trumpet. They are the precious jewels of our nation's history, to be gathered up among the treasures of the nation and kept immaculate from the tarnishing breath of the cynic and the doubter.

My Friends; Wars are cruel. They crush with bloody heel all justice, all happiness, all that is God-like in Man. We have but to read the History of Nations to discern the hideous slaughters which have marked their progress, and yet man is such a savage that until the present generation he has insisted that the only way to settle things is by the gage of battle. He has covered a hundred battle fields with men and horses; with the groans of the wounded and the dying. He has covered the pages of our history with gore, and if history, such history as you have learned here on the banks of this gentle flowing river that for a half a century had been the scene of strife and battle, if such history I say, cannot cultivate out of man the brutal spirit of war, teach him the wisdom of diplomacy and the need of arbitration, then has the lesson been lost and he has failed to taste the fruit or imbibe the philosophy of humanity. It is for us to substitute law for war, reason for force, courts of reason for the settlement of controversies among nations following up the maintenance of the law with the vitalizing forces of civilization until all nations are molded into one International Brotherhood, yielding to reason and conscience. Then can we draw the sword from its sheath and fling it into the sea rejoicing that it has gone forever. Let us recognize this truth and today on this anniversary we will lay a new stone in the temple of Universal Peace. This temple which shall rise to the very firmament and be as broad as the ends of the earth. May such occasions as this lead us away from an era of wars and battleships and new navies and bring us to a time when Patriotism and Humanity can be compatible one with another and to a time

When navies are forgotten
 And fleets are useless things,
 When the dove shall warm her bosom
 Beneath the eagle's wings.

When memory of battles.
 At last is strange and old,
 When nations have one banner
 And creeds have found one fold.

Then Hate's last note of discord
 In all God's world shall cease,
 In the conquest which is service
 In the victory which is peace!

ADDRESS OF HON. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS.

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I am gratified, indeed, to be present and participate with you for a brief while upon this historic occasion. I have not come to make a formal speech, nor did I come to make you a speech at all. According to the programme, I am to indulge only in a few "remarks."

What I shall say to you shall be born of the moment. I have brought with me no well-turned phrases. I have come simply to join with you in paying tribute to the memory of men who did valiant service in the cause of the Republic in the long ago.



C. W. FAIRBANKS.

The spot whereon we stand is sacred ground, for wherever men have fought in the cause of American liberty, that ground is sacred and ever will be held so.

George Croghan is a name that is indelibly written in the history of the Republic, and this great community honors itself when it brings back his remains from the sunny South and gives them sepulcher in the soil hallowed by his genius and valor.

We bring to-day beneath this beautiful summer sky a tribute of our gratitude for what he did for us and for our successors in the centuries which stretch before us with so much promise. We lay the remains of this brave soldier to their everlasting sleep beneath the shade of yonder monument.

I wish we knew the names of the hundred and sixty men who stood with him August 2, 1813, that we might call the roll of them here to-day and pay to them the tribute of our gratitude and our admiration. The brave commander who rendered illustrious service here in a critical period of the war of 1812, is known to us and his name is upon our lips and it will be sung by our children in days to come, but his brave compatriots are unknown. The one hundred and sixty men who stood here—as brave men as ever placed their lives upon the sacrificial altar of their country—are known, for God Almighty knows men who go down to the battle field to preserve American institutions for ages to come.

There is one brave young man, who stood with Croghan, whose name we cannot forget, and which we recall with pride and satisfaction, and that is the name of Ensign Shipp. When the British General Proctor

came bearing a flag of truce, supported by an army trained in the art of arms—five hundred British, eight hundred savages, I believe, twelve hundred in all,—against an hundred and sixty-one, commander and soldiery, it was believed that the flag of truce would win a complete surrender of the small garrison. But the British commander knew little of the metal that was in George Croghan and Ensign Shipp and the hundred and fifty-nine others who shared with them the fortunes of war. The young commander who had barely reached his majority sent to meet the officers bearing the flag of truce, this young Ensign, younger still than himself. The British officer demanded the surrender of the garrison. The Ensign answered—and history can never forget his answer: "My commandant and the garrison," said he, "are determined to defend the post to the last extremity and bury ourselves in its ruins rather than surrender to any force whatever."

It was pointed out by the British commander that resistance would probably result in massacre by the savages. To this suggestion the Ensign defiantly replied: "When the fort shall be taken there will be none to massacre. It will not be given up while a man is able to resist."

This was the note of sublime heroism. It was essentially the answer of a brave American patriot. It was a sentiment kindred to one uttered by General Grant during the Civil War. The great General, as I remember, in one of his campaigns, crossed a river and sought an engagement with the enemy with the river in his rear, and with only one transport. When it was suggested that this was, perhaps, inadequate provision in the event of the necessity of a retreat, the great captain of our armies made the laconic reply that if he was obliged to retreat, one transport would be sufficient.

As Shipp made his way back to the fort, Major Croghan awaited him. The latter knew the British would demand surrender and that the brave Ensign would decline to accede to his demand. As the fort opened for the Ensign's return, Croghan said: "Come in Shipp and we will blow them all to Hell." That was a naughty word. (A voice: "But it was the right one under the circumstances.") Yes, you are right. If it was ever to be used, then was the occasion to use it, and I think that a word like that, used in the cause of liberty, is a disinfected word.

(The Vice-President indicated he was about to close. Several voices: "Go on! Go on!")

I do not want to talk longer than it took George Croghan to lick the British and the savages here. He illustrated better than any man can that it is not words which win victories, but it is deeds that accomplish them.

Fellow citizens, American liberty has cost something. It is a singular fact that those great blessings to the human race which it most longs for, which it most prays for, always come at the greatest

cost. Humanity, in all her march, back from the early mist of history, down to this present hour, has won her victories for liberty mainly upon the battle field. We who are here to-day are in the enjoyment of liberty which was won upon the field of battle. We are a great, happy, contented nation of eighty millions. We look out across the sea to the Empire of Russia, with her one hundred and forty millions struggling with the great problems of human liberty. We see their wars, we see their massacres, we see their bloodshed unspeakable. We each and every one wish that those people could come out of the bondage of iron rule into the glad sunshine of liberty.

America has had five wars: the War of the American Revolution; the War of 1812 which made us forever secure against the efforts of



VICE PRES. FAIRBANKS IN PARADE.

Great Britain to wrest liberty from us — the liberty fought for by our continental fathers; the war with Mexico was the third, and I am glad to see here to-day and take by the hand several of the survivors of the war with Mexico. Their presence is an inspiration. It is a curious coincidence that there is now present a man who knew Croghan in the Mexican War. It seems to carry us back from the present to the very presence of the hero of Fort Stephenson. Then the war of the great Rebellion — the mightiest war in the history of man. There are here to-day scores of men bearing upon their breasts the evidence of their loyalty to the Union in the hour of its supremest exigency. And later came the war with Spain.

These five wars were fought by the people of the United States,

not to enslave men but to make men free, to enlarge in a vast degree the zone of Republican government.

All honor to George Croghan and his heroic band. All honor to the soldiers of the revolution. All honor to the soldiers of the Mexican war. All honor to the soldiers of the Union. All honor to the soldiers of the Spanish-American war. The American people honor them. They honor them each and all. They hold them forever within the embrace of their fondest memory.

Fellow citizens, it would be impossible for me to close these few words without expressing that appreciation to Col. Webb C. Hayes which is in the hearts of all of us here to-day. It is a happy circumstance that he, a soldier himself, and a son of one of the brave defenders of the Union in the Civil War, should thoughtfully and generously bring back from the soil of Kentucky where he was sleeping his everlasting sleep the remains of this brave, fearless leader, in order that they might rest here amid the theater of his immortal achievements.

All honor to Colonel Hayes for what he has so splendidly done, and all honor to the community which respects and preserves the memory of those who have served so well in the cause of their country.

I will leave you, my friends, and I leave you with regret. I leave you, however, with the confident hope that you will go forward in the enjoyment of peace and happiness which are the legitimate fruits of those who fought here and elsewhere for Republican government.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL ANDREW -L. HARRIS.

GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

The chairman has stated that I will make a few remarks, and this is truly said. When your committee came to Columbus to invite me to participate on this occasion I frankly told them that it would be impossible for me to make any preparation, but that I could come providing no speech was expected of me, and, fellow citizens, Col. Hayes gladly accepted the promise, and it was with that understanding that I am here to-day, for the purpose of participating with you in my presence more than by words or speech on this memorable occasion.

I sometimes think that we have never given sufficient importance in history to the gallant deeds that were performed here in 1813. You remember that up to that time the results of the war seemed against us. We had met many reverses, but it was Col. Croghan and his 160 men who won one of the most important victories, according to the numbers engaged on our side and the numbers of the enemy, that is recorded in American history. It was from this moment that the tide of the battle turned in our favor. From that time victory after victory followed until in a few months' time the war was ended, and victory seemed vouchsafed to us so far as the mother country was concerned, the

liberty that we are enjoying to-day, and I wish to say that upon this spot, this historic spot that the tide turned in favor of the American nation, in the war of 1812-13. How unfortunate you are to have within your corporate limits the most historic spot in the United States of America. I never stood upon this ground, upon this battlefield until to-day. My mind turns back to my youthful days, when I read of the bravery of Croghan and his 160 men, and I often thought it was a miracle, he being a mere youth and only 160 men, and defending the fort against so many British and Indians. But it was done, and from that day to this, this spot has been a historic spot, a spot that is dear in the minds of our American citizens.



GOVERNOR HARRIS.

Now, there are others to make a few remarks, and I want to give them a chance to make them, and I only want to say in conclusion that I congratulate the city of Fremont in the respect and love that it has shown for this spot, and its great defender. I want to congratulate the city of Fremont for having in your midst a young soldier who is aiding to keep this a historic spot, dearer and dearer each year in the memory of the American people, in the person of Col. Webb C. Hayes. I thank you for your attention for you must be getting tired and I will leave you, saying that I am glad it was my privilege to be with you to-day, and I will ever remember this meeting as long as I live. This day will be deep in my memory.

ADDRESS OF E. O. RANDALL.

SECRETARY OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The only apology I have for the honor of appearing before you on this interesting occasion is that my college friend of years ago, your splendid, patriotic and enterprising fellow-citizen, Colonel Webb C. Hayes, invited me to come; his apology being that I am an official of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, whose business it is to gather, preserve and disseminate the lore, historic and prehistoric of our great state. The orator of the day, the Hon. Samuel D. Dodge, has recited to you in graphic terms the history that led up to the siege of Fort Stephenson and the incomparable bravery and patriotism with which the youth George Croghan and his gallant little band defended the crude stockade fort and stemmed the tide that to that moment seemed against the Americans. The successful repulse of Proctor and the British

soldiers and Tecumseh, with his hundreds of braves, was the first real victory on Ohio soil in the War of 1812. That we may all the more appreciate the extent and significance of that event, let us for purposes of comparison look to other parts of the world, and note some of the stupendous acts that were being performed in the theatre of great things. In this very month, indeed on this very day and the days following, in August, 1813, Bolivar, known as the Liberator and often called the Washington of South America, as the head of several hundred volunteer revolutionists, was entering as conqueror, Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, which country was thus freed from the oppression of Spanish monarchical rule and became one of the first republics of South America. In Europe a greater scene was being enacted. The incomparable Napoleon was engaged in that series of military movements on the banks of the Elbe, which were the crowning events of his generalship and the culmination of his career. At this date (August 1813) Napoleon was



E. O. RANDALL.

approaching Dresden with an army of 100,000 troops and upon that field he defeated 150,000 of the allied forces. Two months later on the nearby famous field of Leipsic with 150,000, the flower of the French army, he was overwhelmed by the tremendous host of 250,000 soldiers under the combined powers of Europe. It was a crushing defeat for the sublime rogue of Corsica, the greatest military genius of modern times. These stupendous events shook the foundations of European dynasties, but were contests not for humanity and liberty so much as for the supremacy of one form of monarchy over another. Not on the banks of the Elbe, but here on this picturesque spot, on the banks of the peaceful little Sandusky, in the wild woods of the Ohio Valley, devoid of the "pomp and circumstance" of gigantic war, was being fought the battle for freedom and the best form of democratic government ever given man. Here, in this little stockade fort George Croghan, a native American lad, with but 160 men, heroes of struggle and sacrifice with a might almost miraculous, repelled the forces of the British under Proctor, with 500 of the weathered veterans of the Peninsula War, the trained troops of the victorious Wellington and two thousand or more Indian braves under command of Tecumseh, the most sagacious and daring leader of his race. How did George Croghan do it? He had the versatility as well as the valor of the pioneer soldier. He had but one mounted gun, "Old Betsy," whose venerable presence now stands guard over the new grave of her old commander,—this one cannon Croghan so deftly shifted behind the stockade walls, firing a shot now through one port-hole and then through another, that the enemy were fooled into the idea that Fort Stephenson was "chuck full" of firing

Betsies. The bravery of this American boy and his dauntless band exceeded in results for the betterment of humanity and the advance of civilization all the campaigns combined of Napoleon and his antagonists. Croghan and his 160 followers were victorious because they were typical pioneer Americans — Americans, a new type of character in the history of the world. Someone has said that God sifted four races to produce the American. Each one of you within the sound of my voice can vividly recollect how on that magnificent May morning, 1898, Dewey sailed into the Bay of Manila and almost in the twinkling of an eye sunk the Spanish fleet, without the loss of a single American sailor and scarcely the scratching of the paint from any of the American ships. We thought that that was the most unparalleled event in history and could never be repeated, but in sixty days thereafter it was encored in the Bay of Santiago when the fleet of Cervera emerged and on that July Sunday morning left the bay for the sea to encounter the storm of fire and shot from the ships of Sampson and Schley. The war correspondent of the *London Times*, one who for the last forty years had been an eye-witness of the chief military and naval feats, both in the old world and the new, gave in his paper a most graphic picture of this battle of Santiago, which he viewed from the deck of one of the American vessels. At the close of his vivid description, he made the significant remark that the behavior of the American sailor was one of the most marvelous exhibitions of coolness, bravery and accuracy he had ever witnessed. Said he, "I verily believe that had those rival seamen exchanged places, namely, had the Spanish sailors possessed the modern, thoroughly equipped American ships and thus emerged from the bay, and had the American sailors possessed the decrepid and time-worn ships of Spain, the result would have been the same, namely, that the Americans would have won the victory, because that victory was won by the character of the American boy who manned the American ships." The American boy, Croghan, who defended Fort Stephenson against such tremendous odds was the same type as the sailors of Dewey and Sampson and Schley and the followers of the generals who led in the Spanish War. It is related that when the Sultan of Turkey heard of the great victory of the Americans at Manila and Santiago, he sent for the American ambassador and asked him if the reports of the marvelous feats of the Americans were true. The ambassador replied that they were, when the sultan asked if he could buy ships and guns like those which the Americans employed. The ambassador told him that he supposed the sultan could get them, they were made in America for money by great manufacturers. "Then," said the sultan, "I will buy some of them that I may win great victories." "Oh," said the ambassador, "that you can do; but you cannot buy the American boys to man them for you." It is of such men and boys as those who fought the American Revolution,

the War of 1812, of 1848, the Rebellion of 61-5 and the Spanish War that this republic is composed. Your Vice-President and your Governor have told you in eloquent language of the heroism and patriotism of the American soldiers in those wars for independence, unity, liberty and humanity. It is a noble record of a noble people and in that record Ohio has taken a most conspicuous part. Three thousand Revolutionary soldiers, scarred and wearied after the battles for independence, came across the Alleghanies to establish homes for their declining years in the peaceful and fruitful plains and valleys of Ohio. Their lives had been dedicated to independence and freedom and their buried bones made sacred the soil of Ohio. The seed of that Revolutionary patriotism ripened into an hundred fold in the war for the national Union, for 300,000 loyal recruits went forth from the "Buckeye State" to fight on the battle-fields of the Sunny South for the preservation of the republic whose foundation was laid by their revered sires. In the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, that splendid temple erected to the faith of Christianity, lie the remains of its great architect, Christopher Wren. They repose beneath the floor in which is sunken a simple plate, upon which is inscribed the name "Christopher Wren," and the Latin inscription "si monumentum requiris, circumspice"; if you seek his monument, look about you. So I say, we may erect monuments, the graven metal or carved marble, to the heroes of the past, not for them, for they need them not, but for us that this reminder of their heroic deeds may lead us to emulate their examples and push on to loftier heights. No, I would say of George Croghan and the heroes of 1776 and 1812, if you should ask for their monument, look about you and contemplate the magnificent republic of which they laid the corner-stone, a republic whose people present the highest of type character and civilization and whose principles of liberty and humanity are being borne to all the inhabitants of the earth and the islands of the sea. James A. Garfield, than whom there was no more exalted example of the American citizen, soldier, statesman, scholar and orator, a martyred President from Ohio, at the close of one of his brilliant addresses used these words: "The history of the worlds is a divine poem; the history of every nation is a canto in that poem; and the life of every man is a word in that poem. The harmony of that poem has ever been resounding through the ages and though its melody has been marred by the roaring of cannon and the groans of dying men, yet to the Christian philosopher, to you and me, that poem breathes a prophecy of more happy and halcyon days to come." What a word was the life of George Croghan in that poem of universal history—a word that was a clarion note of bravery, heroism and patriotism, a note that shall ever resound clear and distinct in the harmony of American history.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

BY BASIL MEEK, ESQ., FREMONT, OHIO.

We have met today on this ground, famous in history, because of the victorious defence of Fort Stephenson, then standing on this spot, by Major George Croghan, and the band of heroes under his command, ninety-three years ago,—not only to commemorate that brilliant achievement, but also to further consecrate and make sacred the spot by the re-interment of the remains of its gallant defender.



BASIL MEEK.

To Col. Webb C. Hayes great praise is due, for his patriotic, persistent and successful quest for the grave of the hero, and in procuring evidence conclusive of the identity of the body, which, with the casket enclosing the same he caused to be brought here for interment. His efforts have been loyally seconded by the ladies of the George Croghan Chapter, D. A. R., of this city, who recently dedicated a commemorative

tablet near the spot from which the British cannon bombarded the fort. The tablet reads as follows:

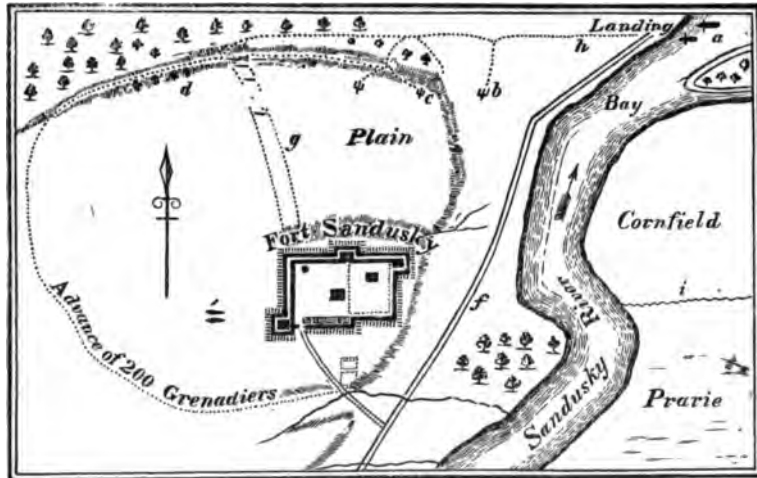
Near this spot
British cannon from Commodore Barclay's fleet bombarded
Major Croghan in Fort Stephenson August 1, and 2, 1813.
General Proctor attempted to capture the fort by assault with
his Wellington veterans, assisted by Indians under Tecumseh.
Major Croghan with only 160 men and one cannon
"Old Betsy," repulsed the assault.
The British retreated to their ships with many killed and wounded,
but leaving Lt. Col. Short, Lieut. Gordon
and 25 soldiers of the 41st regiment dead in the ditch.
Commodore Barclay was wounded and with his entire fleet including
the cannon used against Fort Stephenson was captured by
Commodore Perry at the battle of Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813.
General Proctor, with his British regulars, was defeated and
Tecumseh with many of his Indians, was killed by
General Harrison at the battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813.
Major Croghan was awarded a gold medal and each
of his officers a sword by the congress of the United States
for gallantry in the defense of Fort Stephenson.
Erected by the George Croghan Chapter, D. A. R.

It is not for me, in this paper, to enter into any detailed account of the engagement, or any description of the fort; nor to enter into details of the causes or military movements that led up to the attack,

as these have been assigned to others. Reference, however, is made to the accompanying cut of the plan of the fort and its environs.

"In long years past, on the banks of this river
Whose current so peaceful, flows silently down,
Roamed the race of the red man, with bow and with quiver,
Where stands fair Fremont, 'our beautiful town."

Here centuries ago, according to tradition, there were two fortified neutral towns. One on the east and one on the west bank of the river, remains of which, in the shape of earthworks were visible within the remembrance of inhabitants now living.



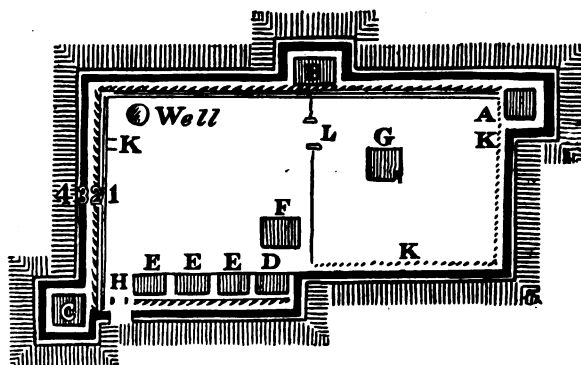
FORT SANDUSKY AND ENVIRONS.

REFERENCE TO THE ENVIRONS. — *a* — British gunboats at their place of landing. *b* — Cannon, a six-pounder. *c* — Mortar. *d* — Batteries. *e* — Graves of Lieut. Col. Short and Lieut. Gordon, who fell in the ditch. *f* — Road to Upper Sandusky. *g* — Advance of the enemy to the fatal ditch. *i* — Head of navigation.

Major B. F. Stickney, for many years Indian agent in this locality and familiar with its history and traditions, in a lecture in Toledo in 1845, speaking of these towns, said: "The Wyandots have given me this account of them. At a period of two and a half centuries ago all the Indians west of this point were at war with those east. Two walled towns were built near each other, inhabited by those of Wyandot origin. They assumed a neutral character. All of the west might enter

the western city and all of the east the eastern. The inhabitants of one city might inform those of the other that war parties were there; but who they were or whence they came or anything more must not be mentioned."

Gen. Lewis Cass, in an address in 1829 before the Historical Society of Michigan, alluding to these neutral towns, said: "During the long and disastrous contest which preceded and followed the arrival of the Europeans, in which the Iroquois contended for victory, and their enemies for existence, this little band (Wyandots) preserved the integrity of their tribe and the sacred character of peacemakers. All who met upon their threshold met as friends. This neutral nation was still in existence when the French Missionaries reached the upper lakes two centuries ago. The details of their history and of their character and privileges are meager and unsatisfactory, and this is the more to be regretted as such a sanctuary among the barbarous tribes is not only a



FORT SANDUSKY.

REFERENCES TO THE FORT. — *Line 1* — Pickets. *Line 2* — Embankment from the ditch to and against the picket. *Line 3*. Dry ditch, nine feet wide by six deep. *Line 4* — Outward embankment or glacis. A — Blockhouse first attacked by cannon, *b*. B — Bastion from which the ditch was raked by Croghan's artillery. C — Guard blockhouse, in the lower left corner. D — Hospital during the attack. E E E — Military store-houses. F — Commissary's store-house. G — Magazine. H — Fort gate. K K K — Wicker gates. L — Partition gate.

singular institution but altogether at variance with that reckless spirit of cruelty with which their wars are usually prosecuted." Internal feuds finally arose, as the tradition goes, and the villages were destroyed.

Here then the Indians for centuries had their homes and swarmed along the banks and in the forests and plains of the valley of their beloved river. Large game abounded on every hand, the river teemed with fish,

and the marshes were alive with wild fowl. To them it was an ideal abode and typical of their heaven, the happy hunting ground. They were mostly of the Wyandot tribe, whose ancestors' home was once on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, and who, becoming involved in a war with the Senecas, living on the opposite side, which threatened their extermination, concluded to leave their country. They settled first in the vicinity of Greenbay; the Senecas followed them and the war was renewed with varying fortunes, until finally it came to an end with the Wyandots victors, but so badly worsted as to be unable to take much advantage of their victory, and they finally settled here. They were more civilized than any of the other tribes inhabiting this region, among whom were Delawares, Shawanees and Ottawas.

The origin of the name of the river has been variously explained. A map, published in Amsterdam in 1720 founded on a great variety of Memoirs of Louisiana, represents within the present limits of Erie county a water called Lac Sandouske. There is also a map published by Henry Popple, London in 1733, where the bay is called "Lake Sandoski." A very probable account of the origin of the name is the tradition of aged Wyandot warriors given to Gen. Harrison in the friendly chat of the Wigwam from which it appeared that their conquering tribes in their conflict with the Senecas, centuries ago, having landed at Maumee, followed the lake shore toward the east, passing and giving names to bays, creeks and rivers until on coming to Cold creek, where it enters the bay, they were so charmed with the springs of clear, cold water in the vicinity that they pitched their tents and engaged in hunting and fishing, and by them the bay and river was called Sandusky. Meaning in their language "At the Cold Water." Butterfield gives a conversation of John M. James, with William Walker, principal chief of the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, at Columbus, 1835. He said the meaning of the word was "at the cold water," and should be pronounced San-doo-tee. The Lower San-doo-tee (cold water) and Upper San-doo-tee being the descriptive Wyandot Indian names known as far back as our knowledge of this tribe extends.

Here at Lower Sandusky was one of the most important Wyandot villages, named Junque-indundeh, which in the Wyandot language, noted for its descriptive character, signifies "at the place of the hanging haze or mist (smoke)," a name applicable and of a poetic tinge when its site with the surrounding forests, prairies and marshes, and the burning leaves and grass are considered. Through this village passed one of the main Indian trails from Detroit to the Ohio River country through the Ohio wilderness. There was good navigation from here to Detroit and the upper lakes, and a good waterway for their canoes, with but a short portage, between the Sandusky river and the Scioto, to the Ohio river.

For a period of nearly sixty years before the battle of Fort Stephen-

son this spot was on the route pursued by military expeditions of France, Great Britain and our forefathers, and by the war parties of the savage red man from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. The first military expedition of white men to this place of which we have a record at the present time, was that of the French sent out by DeLongueuil, commandant at Detroit, in 1748, during the conspiracy of Nicolas, the Wyandot chief who resided at Sandosket, on the north side of the bay of that name, and who had permitted English traders from Pennsylvania to erect a large blockhouse at his principal town on the north side of Lake Sandoski, in 1745, named Fort Sandusky. After the failure of his conspiracy, Nicolas resolved to abandon his towns on Sandusky Bay, and on April 7, 1748, destroyed his villages and forts and with his warriors and their families moved to the Illinois country.

The French sent another expedition in 1749 under Captain de Celeron who after passing up the Sandusky river conducted an expedition to the Ohio country, burying engraved leaden plates along the Ohio river. The first British expedition up the Sandusky was after the close of the old French War in 1760, when Robert Rogers, a native of New Hampshire, was directed to take possession of the western forts. He left Montreal on the 13th of September, 1760, with two hundred Rangers—proceeding west he visited Sandusky—after securing the fort at Detroit returned by land via Sandusky and Tuscarawas Trail to Fort Pitt, stopping at the Lower Rapids of the Sandusky, probably on this very knoll. The succeeding expedition, that of Colonel Bradstreet and Israel Putnam in 1764, was outlined in the address of Hon. S. D. Dodge.

In May, 1778, the Renegades Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty passed through Lower Sandusky to join the notorious Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton at Detroit, and lead the savages in their attack on the settlers. James Girty came from Fort Pitt a few weeks later to join them. Later in the year 1778 Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, then held captive by the Indians, at different times passed through Lower Sandusky en route to Detroit. Strange to say Simon Girty saved Simon Kenton's life and sent him to Detroit after he had been condemned to be burned and tortured.

The next military expedition of which we have knowledge which stopped at or passed through this place was the British contingent which served with the Indians in repelling Crawford's expedition which culminated in the terrible scene of Crawford's execution by burning at the stake. This followed about two months after the passage of the Moravians through this place on their removal to Detroit.

The pathetic story of the Moravian Indians whose villages were originally planted on the banks of the Tuscarawas river, in 1772, had a sad ending some ten years later in the brutal massacre which forms one of the darkest pages of Revolutionary times. The Moravian missionaries and Christian Indians seemed to excite the special enmity of the

savages both white and red, British and American. The renegades, Elliott, Girty and McKee, finally persuaded the British Commandant at Detroit to order their removal, and sent the bloody Wyandot Indians under their war chiefs Kuhn of Lower Sandusky, and Snip of Upper Sandusky, accompanied by the famous Delaware chief Captain Pipe of Upper Sandusky, to transfer them to the Sandusky villages or to the vicinity of Detroit. This was carried out in their usual ruthless manner. While the Indian converts remained at Upper Sandusky, De Peyster, the Commandant of Detroit, through the machinations of Simon Girty, ordered the missionaries brought before him. Rev. John Heckewelder, one of the missionaries, afterward wrote, in his "History of the Mission": "On the morning of the 13th of March, 1782, a Frenchman named Francis Levallie, from Lower Sandusky, gave us notice that Girty who was to have taken us to Detroit, having gone with a party of Wyandots to war against the Americans on the Ohio, had appointed him to take his place in taking us to Detroit, and that on the next day after tomorrow (the 15th) he would be here again to set out with us. A little conversation with this man satisfied us that we had fallen into better hands. He told us: 'Girty had ordered him to drive us before him to Detroit, the same as if we were cattle, and never make a halt for the purpose of the women giving suck to their children. That he should take us around the head of the lake (Erie) and make us foot every step of the way.' He, however would not do this, but would take us to Lower Sandusky, and from that place send a runner with a letter to the Commandant at Detroit, representing our situation and taking further orders from him respecting us."

Notwithstanding Girty's hard order, the kind-hearted Frenchman conducted the missionaries with every regard for their comfort and safety, and boats were sent to take them from Lower Sandusky to Detroit. A short time after reaching Lower Sandusky they received word that the almost equally brutal white borderers on the American side, led by the notorious Col. Williamson, had marched from Fort Pitt and cruelly slaughtered some ninety or more Christian Indians who still remained at the Moravian villages on the Tuscarawas. The missionary band at Lower Sandusky consisted of the senior missionary David Zeisberger, and his wife; John Heckewelder, wife and child; Senseman, wife and babe but a few weeks old; Youngman and wife; and Edwards and Michael Young, unmarried. The two latter were, while in Lower Sandusky, lodged in the house of Mr. Robbins. The other four missionaries with their families were guests of Mr. Arundel. Robbins and Arundel were English traders at this place.

Heckewelder in his History of Indian Nations describes the ordeal of running the gauntlet as follows:

"In the month of April, 1782, when I was myself a prisoner at Lower Sandusky, waiting for an opportunity to proceed with a trader to

Detroit,—three American prisoners were brought in by fourteen warriors from the garrison of Fort McIntosh. As soon as they had crossed the Sandusky river to which the village lay adjacent, they were told by the captain of the party to run as hard as they could to a painted post which was shown to them. The youngest of the three without a moment's hesitation immediately started for it, and reached it fortunately without receiving a single blow; the second hesitated for a moment, but recollecting himself, he also ran as fast as he could and likewise reached the post unhurt. 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 him, saying that he was a mason and would build him a fine large stone house or do any work for him that he would please.

"Run for your life," cried the chief to him, "and don't talk now of building houses!" But the poor fellow still insisted, begging and praying to the captain, who at last finding his exhortations vain and fearing the consequences turned his back upon him and would not hear him any longer. Our mason now began to run, but received many a hard blow, one of which nearly brought him to the ground, which, if he had fallen would have decided his fate. He, however, reached the goal, and not without being sadly bruised, and he was beside bitterly reproached and scoffed at all round as a vile coward, while the others were hailed as brave men and received tokens of universal approbation."

"In the year 1782," says Heckewelder, "the war chief of the Wyandot tribe of Indians of Lower Sandusky sent a young white man whom he had taken as prisoner as a present to another chief who was called the Half King of Upper Sandusky, for the purpose of being adopted into his family in the place of one of his sons who had been killed the preceding year. The prisoner arrived and was presented to the Half King's wife, but she refused to receive him; which according to the Indian rule was in fact a sentence of death. The young man was therefore taken away for the purpose of being tortured and burnt on the pile. While the dreadful preparations were making and the unhappy victim was already tied to the stake, two English traders, moved by feelings of pity and humanity, resolved to unite their exertions to endeavor to save the prisoner's life by offering a ransom to the war chief; which however he refused, saying it was an established rule among them to sacrifice a prisoner when refused adoption; and besides the numerous war captains were on the spot to see the sentence carried into execution. The two generous Englishmen, were, however, not discouraged, and determined to try another effort. They appealed to the well-known high-minded pride of an Indian. 'But,' said they, 'among all these chiefs whom you have mentioned there is none who equals you in greatness; you are considered not only as the greatest and bravest, but as the best man in the nation.' 'Do you really believe what you say?' said

the Indian looking them full in the face. 'Indeed we do.' Then without speaking another word, he blackened himself, and taking his knife and his tomahawk in his hand, made his way through the crowd to the unhappy victim, crying out with a loud voice, 'what have you to do with my prisoner?' and at once cutting the cords with which he was tied, took him to his house, which was near that of Mr. Arundel, whence he was secured and carried off by safe hands to Detroit, where the Commandant sent him by water to Niagara, where he was soon after liberated; the Indians who witnessed this act, said it was truly heroic; they were so confounded by the unexpected conduct of this chief and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach."



REDOUBT OF THE FORT.

Another description of the same ordeal is related by Jeremiah Armstrong, who with an older brother and sister, was captured by the Indians in 1794 opposite Blennerhassett's Island and brought to this place. He says: "On arriving at Lower Sandusky, before entering the town, they halted and formed a procession for Cox (a fellow prisoner), my sister and myself to run the gauntlet. They pointed to the home of their chief, Old Crane, (Tarhe), about a hundred yards distant, signifying that we should run into it. We did so and were received very kindly by the old chief; he was a very mild man, beloved by all." Tarhe when critically analyzed means "at him," "the tree," or "at the tree," the tree personified. Crane was a nickname given him by the French on account

of his height and slender form. Tarhe's wife was a white woman, a captive named Sally Frost, who had been adopted by the Wyandots.

LOWER SANDUSKY.

The two mile square tract which still comprises the corporate limits of the city of Fremont, was ceded to the government of the United States by the Indians at the treaty of Fort McIntosh, January 21, 1785, renewed at Fort Harmar, January 9, 1789, and reaffirmed at the treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795; and has constituted a distinct military or civil jurisdiction now for 121 years. Gen. George Rogers Clark, the uncle of our Major George Croghan, was one of the Commissioners of the United States who made the treaty with the Indians at Fort McIntosh, by which the spot so gallantly defended by his nephew, twenty-eight years after, was first ceded to the government.

While this region was within the jurisdiction of Delaware county (1809-15) the term or name Lower Sandusky was sometimes understood to apply to all that region within the Sandusky river valley north of an undefined line dividing the upper from the lower Sandusky country. On April 29, 1811, as recorded in journal 1, page 35, the board of county commissioners of Delaware county passed the following resolution:

"Resolved by the board of commissioners of Delaware county in conformity to a petition from the white inhabitants of Sandusky and by the verbal request of some of the inhabitants of Radnor township, that all that part of country commonly known and called by the name of Upper and Lower Sanduskys shall be and now is attached to Radnor township enjoying township privileges so far as is agreeable to law."

This is the first record concerning local civil government here, that I have been able to find.

It is quite reasonable to conclude that more than the two-mile square tract is meant by "All that part of country commonly known and called by the name of Lower Sandusky." In further support of this conclusion may be mentioned a criminal prosecution in the common pleas court of Huron county at the May term, 1819, while this territory was within that jurisdiction. — Law Record, Vol. 1, page 217.

The case referred to was the State of Ohio vs. Ne-go-sheek, Ne-gon-e-ba and Ne-gossum, three Ottawa Indians, indicted for the murder of John Wood and George Bishop, white men, at a hunter's and trapper's camp on the Portage river, at a point about twelve miles from its mouth, near what is now Oak Harbor in Ottawa county, April 21, 1819. The indictment was drawn and the prosecution conducted by Ebenezer Lane, assisted by Peter Hitchcock, both very able lawyers and not likely to be mistaken in the averments as to the venue or place where the crime was committed, which, though known to have been several miles distant from the two-mile square tract, was nevertheless charged in the indictment as committed "At the county of Huron in Lower Sandusky."

A very interesting account of this case may be found in the *Fireland Pioneer*, June 1865, page 43. Ne-gossum was discharged without trial. The other two were convicted and sentenced to be hung, which sentence was executed at Norwalk, July 1, 1819. Lane and Hitchcock both subsequently became Judges of the Supreme Court of the State.

On August 1, 1815, while the region known as Lower Sandusky was within the civil jurisdiction of Huron County, having been transferred from Delaware County to Huron, January 31, 1815, the Township of Lower Sandusky was formed by the commissioners of that county, and provision made for the first election of township officers for the township, the same to be held August 15, 1815, at the house of Israel Harrington.

The order, among other things, provided: "Said township to comprise all that part of Huron County west of the 24th range of Connecticut Reserve," which meant then all that region of country between the west line of Huron and the east lines of Hancock, Wood and Lucas Counties, lying south of Lake Erie and extending to the south line of Seneca County.

At this election Israel Harrington, Randall Jerome and Jeremiah Everett (father of Homer Everett) were elected township trustees; Isaac Lee, clerk; Morris A. Newman and William Ford, overseers of the poor, and Charles B. Fitch and Henry Dubrow, appraisers.

This immense township thus remained until May 18, 1819, when by action of the county commissioners of Huron County another township was formed by detaching from the township of Lower Sandusky all that part of the same east of the Sandusky river. To the new township the name of Croghan was given.

FORT STEPHENSON PARK AND BIRCHARD LIBRARY.

Fort Stephenson Park, the site of the fort, covers a little more than two acres of ground, and is a part of a 57 acre tract, numbered 9, of the subdivision of the two-mile square reservation made in 1817, and about that time platted into inlots and is located near the center of the historic two-mile square tract. The first purchaser from the government was Cyrus Hulburd, whose deed is dated March 11, 1824. From him it passed through successive grantees till the title to the three-fourths part fronting Croghan street was acquired by Lewis Leppelman, the southwest one-eighth by Dr. W. V. B. Ames, and the southeast one-eighth by Lucinda Claghorn. The city of Fremont purchased this property in 1873, the Birchard Library Association, having contributed \$9,000 toward the purchase of the property, and being the equitable owner of one-third thereof. On March 29, 1878, the Birchard Library Association became the owner of the legal title to the undivided one-third of this ground by deed of conveyance from the City council of Fremont pursuant to an ordinance duly passed February 18, 1878. This deed

contained the conditions prescribed in the ordinance which are as follows: "That said Birchard Library Association are to have the right to erect, maintain and occupy a building for the Birchard Library on Lots number two hundred and twenty-one (221) and two hundred and forty (240), and that said City have the right to erect, maintain and occupy a building on said premises for a City Hall, where the same is now being erected on the corner of Croghan and Arch streets, and that no other building, fence or structure of any kind shall hereafter be erected or put upon any part of said Lots, nor shall the same ever be used for any purpose other than as a Public Park or any part thereof sold or conveyed without the consent of both the said City Council and the said Birchard Library Association. The control and supervision of said Park shall be vested in the City Council and said Birchard Library Association jointly, but said City Council shall have the exclusive use and control of the building now on said Lots."

The Birchard Library Association, which was largely instrumental in preserving old Fort Stephenson for the public, was founded in 1873 by Sardis Birchard, who named a Board of Trustees of which his nephew Rutherford B. Hayes was the president, and arranged to place with such Board property and securities to the value of \$50,000. Mr. Birchard died January 21, 1874, before the property intended to be given was legally vested in this Board of Trustees, and his last will, dated August 21, 1872, contained no provision for the Library.

His nephew and residuary legatee, Rutherford B. Hayes, however, on February 14, 1874, but fifteen days subsequent to the probating of Mr. Birchard's will, himself made a will in his own handwriting, witnessed by J. W. Wilson and A. E. Rice, which will was for the sole purpose of correcting this omission and securing for the Library the endowment intended by Mr. Birchard. Item 2 of General Hayes's will was as follows:

"To carry out the intention of my uncle for the benefit of the people of Fremont and vicinity, I give and bequeath to the Birchard Library all my right, title and interest to the following property, viz." Then followed the description of parcels of real estate in Toledo, out of which was to be realized an aggregate of \$40,000 for the Library. Subsequently this property was conveyed by deed and later it was sold. It was undoubtedly the expectation and intention of Mr. Birchard to complete his gift while living; hence the absence of any provision for it in his will, although his cash bequests to educational and charitable institutions and relatives and friends other than his residuary legatees, aggregated some \$40,000.

General Hayes, in making this will at the time he did, evidently intended that even in the case of his own death, the people of Fremont and vicinity should receive the unexecuted gift of Mr. Birchard; so that the people are indebted both to the benevolence of Sardis Birchard and to the generosity of Rutherford B. Hayes for Birchard Library.

It is an interesting fact that the existence of the above mentioned will was only learned during the present year by the finding of a photographic copy of it, which has since been placed in Birchard Library.

The name Fort Stephenson first appears in the military records as follows:

"FORT STEPHENSON, May 22, 1813.

May it please your Excellency:

Sir: Agreeably to your orders I have forwarded all the articles specified therein. * * * Considerable manual labor has been done on the garrison since you left this place and improvements are daily making. * * * One person has been buried since you left this place. He came from Fort Meigs with a part of the baggage of Major Tod. * * * "

R. E. Post, Adjutant.

The Major Tod mentioned became the president judge of the common pleas court of the district to which Sandusky county was attached when organized and presided at the first term of that court held in the county, May 8, 1820, at Croghansville.

At the time of the defense of Fort Stephenson there were but very few white inhabitants in Lower Sandusky, as is evidenced by the following petition to Governor Meigs, dated December 21, 1813:

"May it please your Excellency:—

"The undersigned inhabitants and settlers on the plains of Lower Sandusky on the reservation beg leave to humbly represent their present situation."

"In the first instance B. F. Stickney, Indian Agent has denied us the right or privilege of settling on these grounds * * * and has actually instructed Gen. Gano, our present Commandant, to dispossess us of our present inheritance. Many of us * * * have been severe sufferers since the commencement of the present war. * * * We do not, neither can we attempt to claim any legal right to the ground or spot of earth on which we have each individually settled; but the improvements which we have made and the buildings which we have erected we trust will not be taken from us. * * * Permission to build has been granted by Gen. Gano to those who have erected cabins since his arrival."

Signed by Morris A. Newman, Israel Harrington, George Bean, Geo. Ermatington, R. E. Post, Asa Stoddard, R. Loomis, Jesse Skinner, William Leach, Walter Brabrook, Louis Moshelle, Wm. Hamilton, Lewis Geaneau, Patrick Cress.

Whether this petition was granted or not there is no record to show, but it is probable that it was. But few of the names of the fourteen signers appear in the subsequent history of the county affairs. Israel Harrington and Morris A. Newman, however, became Associate Judges of the Common Pleas Court, and Judge Newman was also County Commissioner. It was at his tavern on the northeast corner of Ohio

Avenue and Pine Street, in Croghansville, that the first term of the common pleas court in the county was held, and Judge Harrington was one of the associate judges presiding at that term.

BALL'S BATTLE.

On July 30, 1813, when General Harrison sent Colonel Wells to relieve Major Croghan from command at Fort Stephenson, he was escorted from Fort Seneca by Colonel Ball's squadron, consisting of about 100 horse. On the way down they fell in with a body of Indians and fought what has since been called Ball's Battle. Israel Harrington, a resident of Lower Sandusky at the time of the battle and one of the first associate judges of Sandusky county, said that "three days after he passed the ground and counted thereon thirteen dead Indians awfully cut and mangled by the horsemen. None of the squadron were killed and but one slightly wounded." The scene of this battle is about one and a half miles southwest of Fremont on the west bank of the river, near what is now the residence of Birchard Havens. There was an oak tree on the site of the action within the memory of persons still living, with seventeen hacks in it to indicate the number of Indians killed; but this tree has unfortunately disappeared as have many other monuments of those stirring times. Howe says: "The squadron were moving toward the fort when they were suddenly fired upon by the Indians from the west side of the road, whereupon Colonel Ball ordered a charge and he and suite and the right flank being in advance first came into action. The colonel struck the first blow. He dashed in between two savages and cut down the one on the right; the other being slightly in the rear, made a blow with a tomahawk at his back, when, by a sudden spring of his horse, it fell short and was buried deep in the cantel and pad of his saddle. Before the savage could repeat the blow he was shot by Corporal Ryan. Lieut. Hedges (now Gen. Hedges of Mansfield) following in the rear, mounted on a small horse pursued a big Indian and just as he had come up to him his stirrup broke, and he fell headfirst off his horse, knocking the Indian down. Both sprang to their feet, when Hedges struck the Indian across his head, and as he was falling buried his sword up to its hilt in his body. At this time Captain Hopkins was seen on the left side in pursuit of a powerful savage, when the latter turned and made a blow at the captain with a tomahawk, at which the horse sprang to one side. Cornet Hayes then came up, and the Indian struck at him, his horse in like manner evading the blow. Serj. Anderson now arriving, the Indian was soon dispatched. By this time the skirmish was over, the Indians who were only about 20 in number being nearly all cut down; and orders were given to retreat to the main squadron. Col. Ball dressed his men ready for a charge, should the Indians appear in force, and moved down without further molestation to the fort, where they arrived about 4 P. M."

Among Colonel Ball's troopers was a private, James Webb, the father of Lucy Webb Hayes, whose old flint-lock rifle and hunting horn are among the treasures of Spiegel Grove.

In the plan of the environs of the Fort, it will be noted that the spot where the British officers, Lieut. Colonel Shortt and Lieut. Gordon were buried, is marked. The new High School building now covers this spot, and in 1891, while excavating for its foundation portions of the graves were uncovered and metallic buttons with the number of the regiment, 41, stamped on them were found, which have been placed in Birchard Library by Mr. H. S. Dorr, their owner. Mr. Dorr, soon after finding these buttons showed them to President Hayes who stated that in reading an autobiography of a Scotch Bishop Gordon, he found the following: "The great sorrow of my life was the loss of a son in an unimportant battle in an obscure place in North America—called Fort Sandusky."

From an English work, the "Dictionary of National Biography" the following facts are gathered. The father of Lieut. Gordon was James Bently Gordon (1750-1819) of Londonderry, Ireland, who graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1773 took Holy Orders and subsequently was presented with the living, first of Cannaway on Cork and finally that of Killegney in Wexford, both of which he retained till his death, in April, 1819. He was a zealous student of history and geography and a voluminous writer of books on such subjects, among which were "Terraquea or a New System of Geography and Modern History," "A History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1798," "A History of the British Islands" and "An Historical and Geographical Memoir of the North American Continent."

He married in 1779 a daughter of Richard Bookey of Wicklow, by whom he had several children. His eldest son, James George Gordon, entered the army and was killed at Fort Sandusky in August, 1813.

DEFENDERS OF FORT STEPHENSON.

The public is greatly indebted to Col. Webb C. Hayes for his untiring and partially successful efforts in procuring the names, appearing below, of the officers and soldiers in the garrison at Fort Stephenson at the time of its heroic defence.

The list is not complete, containing only seventy-eight names out of the 160 in the fort at the time. The war records at Washington do not show the names of the volunteers, who were detached and assigned to this service; hence it was impossible for him to obtain their names.

The following are the names furnished by Col. Hayes:

Major George Croghan, Seventeenth U. S. Inf., commanding.

Captain James Hunter.

First lieutenant, Benjamin Johnson; second lieutenant, Cyrus A.

Baylor; ensign, Edmund Shipp; Ensign, Joseph Duncan, all of the Seventeenth U. S. Infantry.

First Lieutenant, Joseph Anthony, Twenty-fourth U. S. Infantry.

Second Lieutenant, John Meek, Seventh U. S. Infantry.

Petersburg Volunteers.

Pittsburg Blues.

Greensburg Riflemen.

Captain Hunter's company, Capt. James Hunter commanding. Sergeants, Wayne Case, James Huston, Obadiah Norton. Corporals, Matthew Burns, William Ewing, John Maxwell.

Privates: Pleasant Bailey, Samuel Brown, Elisha Condiff, Thomas Crickman, Ambrose Dean, Leonard George, Nathaniel Gill, John Harley, Jonathan Hartley, William McDonald, Joseph McKey, Frederick Metts, Rice Millender, John Mumman, Samuel Pearsall, Daniel Perry, William Ralph, John Rankin, Elisha Rathbun, Aaron Ray, Robert Row, John Salley, John Savage, John Smith, Thomas Striplin, William Sutherland, Martin Tanner, John Zett, David Perry.

Captain Duncan's company, 17th U. S. Inf., First Lieutenant Benjamin Johnson commanding. Second Lieutenant Cyrus A. Baylor. Sergeants, Henry Lawell; Thomas McCaul, John M. Stotts, Notley Williams.

Privates: Henry L. Bethers, Cornelius S. Bevins, Joseph Blamer, Jonathan C. Bowling, Nicholas Bryant, Robert Campbell, Samuel Campbell, Joseph Klinkenbeard, Joseph Childers, Ambrose Dine, Jacob Downs, James Harris, James Heartley, William Johnson, Elisha Jones, Thomas Linchard, William McClelland, Joseph McKee, John Martin, Ezekiel Mitchell, William Rogers, David Sudderfield, Thomas Taylor, John Williams.

Detachment Twenty-fourth U. S. Infantry. First Lieutenant Joseph Anthony commanding.

Privates: William Gaines, John Foster, ——— Jones, Samuel Riggs, Samuel Thurman.

Greensburg Riflemen. Sergeant Abraham Weaver.

Petersburg Volunteers. Private Edmund Brown.

Pittsburg Blues.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL BRADY.

During the war of the Revolution, Captain Samuel Brady was sent here by direction of Washington to learn if possible the strength of the Indians in this quarter. He approached the village under cover of night and fording the river secreted himself on the Island just below the falls. When morning dawned a fog rested over the valley which completely cut off from view the shore from either side. About 11 o'clock a bright sun quickly dispelled the mist and the celebrated borderer became the witness from his concealment of a series of interesting horse races by the Indians during the three days he remained on the Island, from which

he concluded that they were not then preparing for any hostile movements, and started to return, and after a perilous tramp of several days reached the fort from which he had been sent out. This Island where Brady secreted himself was known among the early settler's as Brady's Island. Capt. Brady subsequently started on a scout towards the Sandusky villages as before and had arrived in the neighborhood, when he was made a prisoner and taken to one of the villages. There was great rejoicing at the capture of Brady, and great preparation and parade were made for torturing him. The Indians collected in a large body, old and young, on the day set for his execution. Among them was Simon Girty, whom he knew, they having been boys together. Girty refused to recognize or aid him in any way. The time for execution arrived, the fires were lighted, the circle around him was drawing closer and he began sensibly to feel the effects of the fire. The withes which confined his arms and legs were getting loose and he soon found he could free himself. A fine looking squaw of one of the chiefs ventured a little too near for her own safety and entirely within his reach. By one powerful exertion he cleared himself from everything by which he was confined, caught the squaw by the head and shoulders, and threw her on top of the burning pile, and in the confusion that followed made his escape. The Indians pursued, but he outdistanced them, the crowning feat being his celebrated leap across the Cuyahoga river at the present site of Kent, known as Brady's Leap. ,

Brady's name is perpetuated in the chief island of Sandusky river, within the limits of the city of Fremont; his exploits are typical of the emergencies of that early frontier life and of the spirit in which they were everywhere met.

SANDUSKY COUNTY.

Gen. Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, organized Hamilton County, February 11, 1792, with Cincinnati as the county seat, and the present Sandusky County forming a very small portion of it. Subsequently Wayne County was organized, August 15, 1796, with Detroit as the county seat, covering a vast extent of territory from the Cuyahoga river on the east and extending as far west as Fort Wayne, Indiana, and the present site of Chicago, with its northern boundary the Canadian boundary line, extending through the Great Lakes from Lake Superior to Lake Erie. This included the present county of Sandusky. On the organization of the state of Ohio it was included in Franklin county with Franklinton as the county seat, until February 17, 1809, when it became a part of Delaware county with Delaware the county seat, and so remained until January 31, 1815. In April, 1811, Lower Sandusky by name was attached to Radnor township of Delaware county, by the county commissioners for township purposes. On January 31, 1815, it became a part of Huron county with Avery, now Milan, as the county seat, until 1818, and after that date with Norwalk as the county

seat. On February 20, 1820, the state legislature organized the territory ceded by the Indians under the treaty of September 29, 1817, into fourteen counties, of which Sandusky was one. Sandusky county as thus organized, extended from the west line of the Western Reserve to the east line of Wood county, and from the north line of Seneca county to the lake; and included all of the present counties of Sandusky and Ottawa, and parts of Erie and Lucas. For the first four years, Sandusky and Seneca counties were joined for judicial purposes. Croghansville, on the east bank of the Sandusky river, was the first county seat, until 1822, when the town Sandusky on the west bank became the permanent county seat and later these two towns were joined and known as the town of Lower Sandusky, as mentioned below.

The name of the county is derived from that of the river, which enters from the south, two miles east of the southeast corner of Ballville township, and flows northeasterly, entirely across the county, a distance, following its meanderings, of about thirty miles, when it empties into the bay which by early geographers was named Lake Sandusky.

Originally, as is shown by a plat of a survey made by Josiah Atkins, Jr. (Plat Record 3, page 3), the term "Lower Sandusky" was applied to the entire tract of "two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of the Sandusky River," as originally ceded by the Indians at the treaty of Fort McIntosh, January 21, 1785, and contained the village of Croghansville. According to this plat, Croghansville extended across the river and included several inlots and some larger tracts on the west side, the 57-acre tract containing the site of the Fort being one.

After the township of Croghan was formed in 1819, this term had reference to the whole tract on both sides of the Sandusky river; but thereafter the name "Sandusky" was applied to the west side exclusively, both as to the village and township, the village being sometimes called "Town of Sandusky."

When the county was organized it contained two townships only, namely, Sandusky, which included the village of that name on the west side and all of the county west of the river; and Croghan, which included the village of Croghansville and all of the county east of the river. Subsequently, in 1827, that portion of Croghan township in which the village on the east side was located, was attached to Sandusky township by the county commissioners. In 1829 the territory of both villages, by act of the legislature, was incorporated by the name of the "Town of Lower Sandusky." It was changed to Fremont at the October term, 1849, of the common pleas court (Journal 6, page 437).

It is a matter of regret that the name about which cluster so many interesting traditions and local historical associations was ever changed to one which, however highly honored, carries with it no suggestions of these traditions or local history. The change was, however, thought to be called for in order to prevent confusion in the matter of the postal service, owing to the quadruplication of names.

The name Croghansville, for the village, was probably first suggested by Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Office, in a letter from Washington City, April 12, 1816, in which, among other words are these: "If it were left to me to name the town at Lower Sandusky I should name it in honor of the gallant youth, Col. Croghan — and should say it should be Croghansville.

The name is still preserved in that of the school on the hill on the East Side, known as Croghansville School, as well as in the street abutting on Fort Stephenson.

REMARKS OF J. P. MOORE.

I was born in Pennsylvania in 1829 and brought to the Black Swamp in 1834. All my older brothers attended the Croghan celebration at Lower Sandusky in 1839 and I have been present at every celebration since that time.



J. P. MOORE.

My early associations in Lower Sandusky and Fremont were with such men as Thomas L. Hawkins, dramatist, poet and preacher; David Gallagher, a narrator of early history; David Deal, a hotel keeper, who saw service at Fort Meigs, all soldiers of the war of 1812. Also Israel Harrington, a neighbor in Sandusky county. James Kirk and a man named Figley, both of whom worked on the old fort before the battle of August 2, 1813, have visited me here in Fremont and while visiting the fort and going over the ground in its vicinity have graphically described to me the location and

construction of the fort and many incidents connected with its building and its defense against the British and Indians.

The late David Deal, who was a member of Col. James Stephenson's regiment of Ohio militia, told me that Col. Stephenson left them at Fort Meigs in January, 1813, to go to Lower Sandusky to build the fort which has ever since been called Fort Stephenson.

I had always supposed that the first fort constructed on this site was built by Col. Stephenson's soldiers in January, 1813, but Col. Hayes has shown me a number of official records and a copy of an order issued by Brig. General William Irvine dated at Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg) November 11, 1782, during the Revolutionary War, to Major Craig as follows: "Sir. I have received intelligence through various channels that the British have established a post at Lower Sandusky, etc., etc., also a copy of the treaty by which the reservation (present corporation limits of Fremont), two miles square, of which Fort Stephenson is about the center, was established by the treaty of Fort McIntosh as early as 1785 and continued in all subsequent treaties. Also an order from Governor Meigs of Ohio to Captain John Campbell dated Zanes-

ville, June 11, 1812. "You will take with you the necessary tools for building two blockhouses at Sandusky." * * *. "You will build two blockhouses and piquet them so as to protect the United States trading house and store at the place." * * *. "I expect you will meet at Sandusky Major Butler, from Delaware with a company to assist you."

Governor Meigs' letter shows that the fort was built in 1812, but the official record also shows that it was abandoned for a short time after Hull's surrender.

The old soldier Figley, of Columbiana county, came here early in February, 1813, and worked on the fort until mustered out at Cleveland on June 1st of that year. He related to me how the pickets were drawn by oxen from the vicinity of Stony Prairie to the fort and points sharpened and the posts set in the ground close up one against the other. Many of the oxen engaged in drawing them died of starvation or were devoured by the wolves howling around the fort.

The company to which James Kirk belonged came to the fort June 1, 1813, and worked here until the arrival of the British and Indians the day before the battle. James Kirk himself had been detailed to carry dispatches to Fort Seneca the day before the battle so that he was not present but came down early on the morning of August 3 and helped bury the British dead. He distinctly heard the firing of the British cannon and howitzers and noticed that some discharges were louder than others.

Kirk was 25 years old at that time and after his discharge opened a blacksmith shop in Lower Sandusky in 1818 and in 1828 went to Port Clinton. He said that the well in the fort was not a good one, so that the garrison got their water from a spring at the foot of Garrison street, bringing it through a small gate on the east side of the fort, for which gate Kirk made the hinges.

I sent my son Theodore to visit James Kirk in 188— and get a description of the fort. Kirk said "Mark off a square plat of ground containing half an acre with a block house on the northeast corner and one in the northwest corner, this was the original fort. In June, 1813, when we came here the fort was found to be too small. He said, "mark off another square on the west side of the old square and this you will see will place the northwest blockhouse in the center of the north line of the enlarged fort. This was the blockhouse from which "Old Betsy" cleared the ditch when it was filled with Col. Shortt's men. There was a sealed log house in the new part filled with biscuit for Perry's fleet. This house was knocked down level with the pickets by the British cannon balls. The northeast blockhouse was in the center of Croghan and Arch streets. The center blockhouse was about opposite the monument. The northwest angle of the fort extended out about 15 feet into High street. There were many extra guns in the fort, as a company of Pennsylvania soldiers had deposited their guns there a few days be-

fore the battle on their way here from Fort Meigs. Their time being out, they were on their way home to be mustered out.

The walls of the fort were made of logs, some round, some smooth on one side, half of the other logs averaging about 18 inches in thickness, all set firmly in the earth, each picket crowded closely against the other and all about ten feet high, sharpened at the top. The walls enclosed about one acre of ground. After Major Croghan took command July 15, 1813, he had a ditch dug six feet deep and nine feet wide around the outside, throwing about one-half of the earth against the foot of the pickets and graded down to the bottom of the ditch;



SPIEGEL GROVE.

the rest of the earth was thrown on the outer bank and the depth of the ditch thus increased.

Major Croghan had large logs placed on top of the wall of the fort, so adjusted that an inconsiderable weight would cause them to fall from their position and crush any who might be below.

When the British landed opposite Brady's Island they sent a flag of truce under Col. Elliott who was met by Ensign Shipp on the ridge where the parsonage of St. John's Lutheran Church (which was formerly the court house), now stands. This was eloquently described to me by Thomas L. Hawkins, the poet, preacher and orator.

A ravine ran up from the river north of the fort through Justice street across the pike in a southwestern direction near the court house,

the British brought their cannon up this ravine. They would load their cannon and then run them up out of the ravine and after discharging them, back them down again to reload out of range of the guns of the fort. The next ravine south of this ran up Croghan street, turning to the southwest at High street, thence northwest through the northwest corner of the Presbyterian church lot. This ravine formed the north boundary of the plateau or ridge on which Fort Stephenson was located and on which ridge ran the Harrison trail to the southwest up through Spiegel Grove and on to Fort Seneca. The next ravine south of this extended between Birchard avenue and Garrison street, one branch ran towards the Methodist church through the Dorr and McCulloch property. It was from this last named ravine that the British Grenadiers made a feint against Capt. Hunter's company just before Col. Shortt made his assault on the northwest corner of the fort.

Lieut. Col. Short and Lieut. J. G. Gordon, of the 41st Regt. were buried near the south entrance of the high school building.

RECEPTION AT SPIEGEL GROVE.

Following the exercises of the afternoon at Fort Stephenson, an informal reception was held at Spiegel Grove, to the out-of-town guests of the city and the citizens at large. Col. Webb C. Hayes, the prime mover of the whole celebration, Mr. and Mrs. Birchard A. Hayes and Mrs. Fanny Hayes Smith cordially received the guests on the great piazza, where the Vice-President, the Governor, the Governor's Staff and the staff and line officers of the Sixth Regiment were guests of honor. Great numbers of persons moved about through the beautiful grounds, enjoying the music by the Light Guard Band stationed in front of the house, the superb weather and the gay spectacle. The week having been observed as Old Home Week, many former residents of Fremont were at hand to renew old acquaintances and assist in doing the honors of the place to the crowds of strangers.

THE VENETIAN SPECTACLE.

With the falling of dusk the immense crowds commenced to assemble to witness the glories of as realistic a Venetian night as was possible to produce, following the plans originated by Dr. Stamm, who has several times viewed these spectacles in Venice.

The river banks between the L. E. & W. and State street bridges were thronged with crowds, while the special guests and those, by whose efforts the day was a success, occupied the guests' stand, built on the water just north of the bridge.

More than a hundred boats and launches, gaily decorated and illuminated, approached the reviewing stand, presenting a beautiful sight with their swaying colored lights on a background of dark sky,

emphasized by the hundreds of Japanese lanterns strung along either bank and in sweeping festoons across the big Lake Erie bridge. Near the bridge, and extending across the river, were seven of the largest boats in the river, bearing huge electric transparencies upon which appeared six-foot letters spelling the name Croghan, which was also seen in a set piece. The hit of the evening was the reproduction of Fort Stephenson on the southern extremity of Brady's Island.



DR. STAMM.

Old Betsy in life-size reproduction belched forth volleys of colored fireballs, accompanied with heavy detonations and clouds of smoke and the sharp reports of musketry and small arms, cleverly imitated with fireworks. At brief intervals the entire fort was beautifully illuminated with red fire, which brought out in striking relief the details of the stockade, Old Betsy, her men, the sally posts, etc.

The barge on board of which were the Light Guard band, the Maennerchor singers, Miss Reese, the vocalist of the evening, and the orchestra were moored near the Lake Erie bridge and strung with electric lights.

The fireworks, in charge of Chief Reiff, of the fire department, were magnificent and no accidents occurred. Especial praise is due Charles Hermon, the lamplighter, who superintended the illuminations. Commodore Coonrod's fleet as managed by Charles Grable, was a thing of beauty. The display occupied three hours and general satisfaction on the part of all was evident in their attention.

HARRISON'S NORTHWESTERN CAMPAIGN.

The best description extant of General Harrison's Northwestern Campaign is that contained in "A History of the Late War in the Western Country," by Robert B. McAfee, Lexington, Ky., 1816, a rare and valuable volume.

Major McAfee was himself an officer in that campaign, serving as a captain in the regiment of mounted riflemen commanded by Col. Richard M. Johnson.

In his Preface he acknowledges his indebtedness to Gen. Harrison, Governor Shelby, Colonels Croghan and Tod and Colonel Wood of the Engineers for official correspondence and assistance in procuring material and formation. The chapter relating to the Tippecanoe campaign in 1811 contains the following references to some of the Kentucky Volunteers:

"Colonel Keiger, who raised a small company of 79 men near Louisville, including among them Messrs. Croghan, O'Fallen, Shipp, Chum and Edwards, who afterward distinguished themselves as officers in the army of the United States."

Governor Shelby in his letters to the War Department speaks highly of Colonel Boyd and his brigade and of Clark and Croghan who were his aides.

Of the above, Croghan and Shipp fought together at the defense of Fort Stephenson. Shipp was the officer sent by Croghan to meet the flag of truce sent by General Proctor when the formal demand for the surrender of Fort Stephenson was made. O'Fallen was a cousin of Croghan and during the campaign was aide-de-camp to General Harrison. We copy from McAfee his account of the defense of Fort Stephenson and of Harrison's expedition to Canada and the victorious battle at the Thames. Also Colonel Croghan's subsequent campaign against the British at Mackinac in the joint army and naval expedition under the command of Commodore Sinclair.

"General Harrison had returned from Cleveland to Lower Sandusky (July, 1813) several days before the arrival of the enemy, and received at that place from the express the information that Camp Meigs was again invested. He then immediately removed his headquarters to Seneca town, about nine miles up the Sandusky river, where he constructed a fortified camp, having left Major Croghan with 160 regulars in Fort Stephenson and taken with him to Seneca about 140 more, under the immediate command of Colonel Wells. A few days afterward he was reinforced by the arrival of 300 regulars under Colonel Paul, and Colonel Ball's corps of 150 dragoons, which made his whole force at that place upwards of 600 strong. He was soon joined also by Generals McArthur and Cass; and Colonel Owings with a regiment of 500 regulars from Kentucky, was also advancing to the frontiers; but he did not arrive at headquarters before the siege of Fort Meigs had been abandoned by the enemy. * * *

The force which Proctor and Tecumseh brought against us in this instance has been ascertained to have been about 5,000 strong. A greater number of Indians were collected by them for this expedition than ever were assembled in one body on any other occasion during the whole war.

Having raised the siege of Camp Meigs, the British sailed round into Sandusky bay, whilst a competent number of their savage allies marched across through the swamps of Portage River, to co-operate in a combined attack at Lower Sandusky, expecting no doubt that General Harrison's attention would be chiefly directed to forts Winchester and Meigs. The General however had calculated on their taking this course, and had been careful to keep patrols down the bay, opposite the mouth of Portage River, where he supposed their forces would debar.

Several days before the British had invested Fort Meigs, General Harrison, with Major Croghan and some other officers, had examined the heights which surround Fort Stephenson; and as the hill on the opposite or southeast side of the river, was found to be the most commanding eminence, the General had some thoughts of removing the fort to that place, and Major Croghan declared his readiness to undertake the work.

But the General did not authorize him to do it, as he believed that if the enemy intended to invade our territory again, they would do it before the removal could be completed. It was then finally concluded, that the fort which was calculated for a garrison of only two hundred men, could not be defended against the heavy artillery of the enemy; and that if the British should approach it by water, which would cause a presumption that they had brought their heavy artillery, the fort must be abandoned and burned, provided a retreat could be effected with safety. In the orders left with Major Croghan it was stated,—“Should the British troops approach you in force with cannon, and you can discover them in time to effect a retreat, you will do so immediately, destroying all the public stores. * * * You must be aware that the attempt to retreat in the face of an Indian force would be vain. Against such an enemy your garrison would be safe, however great the number.”

On the evening of the 29th, Gen. Harrison received intelligence by express from Gen. Clay, that the enemy had abandoned the siege of Fort Meigs; and as the Indians on that day had swarmed in the woods round his camp, he entertained no doubt but an immediate attack was intended either on Sandusky or Seneca. He therefore immediately called a council of war, consisting of McArthur, Cass, Ball, Paul, Wood, Hukill, Holmes and Graham, who were unanimously of the opinion that Fort Stephenson was untenable against heavy artillery, and that as the enemy could bring with facility any quantity of battering cannon against it, by which it must inevitably fall, and as it was an unimportant post, containing nothing the loss of which would be felt by us, that the garrison should therefore not be reinforced but withdrawn and the place destroyed. In pursuance of this decision the General immediately despatched the following order to Major Croghan:

“Sir, immediately on receiving this letter, you will abandon Fort Stephenson, set fire to it and repair with your command this night to headquarters. Cross the river and come up on the opposite side. If you should deem and find it impracticable to make good your march to this place, take the road to Huron and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and despatch.”

This order was sent by Mr. Conner and two Indians, who lost their way in the dark and did not arrive at Fort Stephenson before 11 o'clock the next day. When Major Croghan received it, he could not then retreat with safety, as the Indians were hovering round the fort in considerable force. He called a council of his officers, a majority of whom coincided with him in opinion that a retreat would be unsafe, and that the post could be maintained against the enemy at least until further instructions could be received from headquarters. The major therefore immediately returned the following answer:

“Sir, I have received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received

too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place and by heavens we can."

In writing this note Major Croghan had a view to the probability of its falling into the hands of the enemy, and on that account made use of a stronger language than would otherwise have been consistent with propriety. It reached the General on the same day, who did not fully understand the circumstances and motives under which it had been dictated. The following order was therefore immediately prepared, and sent with Colonel Wells in the morning, escorted by Colonel Ball with his corps of dragoons.

"July 30, 1813.

"Sir. The General has received your letter of this date, informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the order issued from this office, and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated the order was incorrect; and as you did not receive it in the night as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstance and your situation, before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over, but I am directed to say to you, that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his General can no longer be entrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him and repair with Col. Ball's squadron to this place. By command etc.; A. H. Holmes, Asst. Adj. General."

The squadron of dragoons on this trip met with a party of Indians near Lower Sandusky and killed 11 out of 12. The Indians had formed an ambush and fired on the advance guard consisting of a sergeant and five privates. Upon seeing the squadron approach they fled, but were pursued and soon overtaken by the front squad of Captain Hopkins's troop. The greater part of them were cut down by Colonel Ball and Captain Hopkins with his subalterns, whose horses being the fleetest overtook them first. The loss on our part was two privates wounded and two horses killed.

Colonel Wells being left in the command of Fort Stephenson, Major Croghan returned with the squadron to headquarters. He there explained his motives for writing such a note, which were deemed satisfactory and having remained all night with the General who treated him politely, he was permitted to return to his command in the morning with written orders similar to those he had received before.

A reconnoitering party which had been sent from headquarters to the shore of the lake, about 20 miles distant from Fort Stephenson, discovered the approach of the enemy by water on the evening of the 31st of July. They returned by the fort, after 12 o'clock the next day, and had passed it but a few hours when the enemy made their appearance before it. The Indians showed themselves first on the hill over the river,

and were saluted by a 6-pounder, the only piece of artillery in the fort, which soon caused them to retire. In half an hour the British gun-boats came in sight; and the Indian forces displayed themselves in every direction, with a view to intercept the garrison should a retreat be attempted. The 6-pounder was fired a few times at the gun-boats, which was returned by the artillery of the enemy. A landing of their troops with a 5½-inch howitzer was effected about a mile below the fort; and Major Chambers accompanied by Dickson was despatched towards the fort with a flag, and was met on the part of Major Croghan by Ensign Shipp of the 17th Regiment. After the usual ceremonies Major Chambers observed to Ensign Shipp, that he was instructed by Gen. Proctor to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, which he could not do, should he be under the necessity of reducing it by the powerful force of artillery, regulars and Indians under his command. Shipp replied that the commandant of the fort and its garrison were determined to defend it to the last extremity, that no force however great could induce them to surrender, as they were resolved to maintain their post or to bury themselves in its ruins. Dickson then said that their immense body of Indians could not be restrained from massacring the whole garrison in case of success — of which we have no doubt, rejoined Chambers, as we are amply prepared. Dickson then proceeded to remark that it was a pity so fine a young man should fall into the hands of the savages — sir, for God's sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful massacre that will be caused by your resistance. Mr. Shipp replied that when the fort was taken there would be none to massacre. It will not be given up while a man is able to resist. An Indian at this moment came out of an adjoining ravine and advancing to the Ensign took hold of his sword and attempted to wrest it from him. Dickson interfered, and having restrained the Indian, affected great anxiety to get him safe into the fort.

The enemy now opened their fire from their 6-pounders in the gun boats and the howitzer on shore, which they continued through the night with but little intermission and with very little effect. The forces of the enemy consisted of about 500 regulars, and about 800 Indians commanded by Dickson, the whole being commanded by Gen. Proctor in person. Tecumseh was stationed on the road to fort Meigs with a body of 2,000 Indians, expecting to intercept a reinforcement on that route.

Major Croghan through the evening occasionally fired his 6-pounder, at the same time changing its place occasionally to induce a belief that he had more than one piece. As it produced very little execution on the enemy, and he was desirous of saving his ammunition, he soon discontinued his fire. The enemy had directed their fire against the north-western angle of the fort which induced the commandant to believe that an attempt to storm his works would be made at that point. In the

night Captain Hunter was directed to remove the 6-pounder to a block-house from which it would rake that angle. By great industry and personal exertion, Captain Hunter soon accomplished this object in secrecy. The embrasure was masked, and the piece loaded with a half charge of powder and double charge of slugs and grape shot.

Early in the morning of the second, the enemy opened their fire from their howitzer, and three 6-pounders which they had landed in the night, and planted in a point of woods about 250 yards from the fort. In the evening, about 4 o'clock, they concentrated the fire of all their guns on the northwest angle, which convinced Major Croghan that they would endeavor to make a breach and storm the works at that point; he therefore immediately had that place strengthened as much as possible with bags of flour and sand, which were so effectual that the picketing in that place sustained no material injury. Sergeant Weaver with five or six gentlemen of the Petersburg Volunteers and Pittsburgh Blues, who happened to be in the fort, was entrusted with the management of the 6-pounder.

Late in the evening when the smoke of the firing had completely enveloped the fort, the enemy proceeded to make the assault. Two feints were made towards the southern angle, where Captain Hunter's lines were formed; and at the same time a column of 350 men were discovered advancing through the smoke, within 20 paces of the north-western angle. A heavy galling fire of musketry was now opened upon them from the fort which threw them into some confusion. Colonel Shortt who headed the principal column soon rallied his men and led them with great bravery to the brink of the ditch. After a momentary pause he leaped into the ditch, calling to his men to follow him, and in a few minutes it was full. The masked porthole was now opened, and the 6-pounder, at a distance of 30 feet, poured such destruction upon them that but few who had entered the ditch were fortunate enough to escape. A precipitate and confused retreat was the immediate consequence, although some of the officers attempted to rally their men. The other column which was led by Colonel Warburton and Major Chambers, was also routed in confusion by a destructive fire from the line commanded by Captain Hunter. The whole of them fled into the adjoining wood, beyond the reach of our small arms. During the assault, which lasted half an hour, the enemy kept up an incessant fire from their howitzer and five 6-pounders. They left Colonel Shortt, a lieutenant and 25 privates dead in the ditch; and the total number of prisoners taken was 26, most of them badly wounded. Major Muir was knocked down in the ditch, and lay among the dead, till the darkness of the night enabled him to escape in safety. The loss of the garrison was one killed and 7 slightly wounded. The total loss of the enemy could not be less than 150 killed and wounded.

When night came on, which was soon after the assault, the wounded in the ditch were in a desperate situation. Complete relief could not be

brought to them by either side with any degree of safety. Major Croghan however relieved them as much as possible — he contrived to convey them water over the picketting in buckets, and a ditch was opened under the pickets through which those who were able and willing were encouraged to crawl into the fort. All who were able preferred of course to follow their defeated comrades, and many others were carried from the vicinity of the fort by the Indians, particularly their own killed and wounded; and in the night about 3 o'clock the whole British and Indian force commenced a disorderly retreat. So great was their precipitation, that they left a sail boat containing some clothing and a considerable quantity of military stores; and on the next day 70 stand of arms and some braces of pistols were picked up round the fort. Their hurry and confusion was caused by the apprehension of an attack from Gen. Harrison, of whose position and force they had probably received an exaggerated account.

It was the intention of Gen. Harrison, should the enemy succeed against Fort Stephenson, or should they endeavor to turn his left and fall back on Upper Sandusky, to leave his camp at Seneca and fall back for the protection of that place. But he discovered by the firing on the evening of the 1st inst that the enemy had nothing but light artillery, which could make no impression on the fort; and he knew that an attempt to storm it without making a breach could be successfully repelled by the garrison; he therefore determined to wait for the arrival of 250 mounted volunteers under Rennick, being the advance of 700 who were approaching by the way of Upper Sandusky, and then to march against the enemy and raise the siege, if their force was not still too great for his. On the 2d inst. he sent several scouts to ascertain their situation and force; but the woods were so infested with Indians that none of them could proceed sufficiently near the fort to make the necessary discoveries. In the night a messenger arrived at headquarters with intelligence that the enemy were preparing to retreat. About 9 o'clock Major Croghan had ascertained from their collecting about their boats that they were preparing to embark, and immediately sent an express to the commander-in-chief with this information. The general now determined to wait no longer for reinforcements, and immediately set out with the dragoons, with which he reached the fort early in the morning, having ordered Generals McArthur and Cass, who had arrived at Seneca several days before, to follow him with all disposable infantry at that place, and which at this time was about 700 men, after the numerous sick, and the force necessary to maintain the position were left behind. Finding that the enemy had fled entirely from the fort so as not to be reached by him, and learning that Tecumseh was somewhere in the direction of Fort Meigs with 2,000 warriors, he immediately ordered the infantry to fall back to Seneca, lest Tecumseh should make an attack on that place, or intercept the small reinforcements advancing from the Ohio.

In his official report of this affair, General Harrison observes that, "It will not be among the least of Gen. Proctor's mortifications to find 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."

"Captain Hunter, of the 17th Regiment, the second in command, conducted himself with great propriety; and never was there a set of finer young fellows than the subalterns, viz., Lieutenants Johnson and Baylor, of the 17th; Anthony, of the 24th; Meeks, of the 7th, and Ensigns Shipp and Duncan of the 17th."

Lieutenant Anderson, of the 24th, was also mentioned for his good conduct. Being without a command, he solicited Major Croghan for a musket, and a post to fight at, which he did with the greatest bravery.

"Too much praise," says Major Croghan, "cannot be bestowed on the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates under my command for their gallantry and good conduct during the siege."

The brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel was immediately conferred on Major Croghan by the president of the United States for his gallant conduct on this occasion. The ladies of Chillicothe also presented him an elegant sword accompanied by a suitable address.

On the 9th of August, at Lower Sandusky, a British boat was discovered coming up the river with a flag. When it landed below the fort, Captain Hunter was sent to meet the commander, who proved to be Lieut. LeBreton, accompanied by Doctor Banner, with a letter from Gen. 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 blind-folded, as usual in such cases; but Captain Hunter told him to come on, that there was nothing in the fort which there was any reason 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. Gen. 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 the prisoners to his government and must wait for their determination. Dr. Banner in the meantime had examined the situation of the wounded, and was highly gratified with the humane treatment they had received. He informed Major Croghan that the Indians were highly incensed at the

failure of the late expedition and were kept together with the utmost difficulty.

* * *

[Governor Shelby.]

HEADQUARTERS, SENECA. 12 Sept., 1813.

"You will find arms at Upper Sandusky; also a considerable quantity at Lower Sandusky. I set out from this place in an hour. Our fleet has beyond all doubt met that of the enemy. The day before yesterday an incessant and tremendous cannonading was heard in the direction of Malden by a detachment of troops coming from Fort Meigs. It lasted two hours. I am all anxiety for the result. There will be no occasion for your halting here. Lower Sandusky affords fine grazing. With respect to a station for your horses, there is the best in the world immediately at the place of embarkation. The Sandusky Bay, Lake Erie, and Portage river form between them a peninsula, the isthmus of which is only a mile and a half across. A fence of that length, and a sufficient guard left there, would make all the horses of the army safe. It would enclose fifty or sixty thousand acres, in which are many cultivated fields, which have been abandoned are now grown up with the finest grass. Your sick had better be left at Upper Sandusky or here.

HARRISON."

Within half an hour after the above letter was written, the general received the following laconic note from the commodore, by express from Lower Sandusky:

"U. S. BRIG NIAGARA, OFF THE WESTER SISTER, ETC.,

September 10, 1813.

"DEAR GENERAL— We have met the enemy and they are ours— two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop.

"Yours with great respect and esteem,

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY."

The exhilarating news set Lower Sandusky and camp Seneca in an uproar of tumultuous joy. The general immediately proceeded to the former place, and issued his orders for the movement of the troops, and transportation of the provisions, military stores, etc., to the margin of the lake, preparatory to their embarkation.

In bringing down the military stores and provisions from the posts on the Sandusky river, to the vessels in the lake, a short land carriage became necessary to expedite the embarkation. The peninsula formed by the Sandusky Bay on the right and by the Portage river and Lake Erie on the left, extending between fifteen and twenty miles from the anchorage of the shipping in the mouth of the Portage; at which place the isthmus on which the army was encamped was less than two miles

across from one river to the other. The boats in going round the peninsula to the shipping, would have to travel upward of forty miles, and to be exposed to the dangers of the lake navigation. It was therefore deemed the most safe and expeditious to transport the stores and drag the boats across the isthmus, which was accomplished between the 15th and 20th of the month, whilst the army was detained in making other necessary arrangements.

The Kentucky troops were encamped across the narrowest part of the isthmus, above the place of embarkation; and each regiment was ordered to construct a strong fence of brush and fallen timber in front of its encampment, which extended when finished, from Portage River to Sandusky River. Within this enclosure their horses were turned loose to graze on ample pastures of excellent grass. The preparations for the expedition being nearly completed, it became necessary to detail a guard to be left for the protection of the horses. The commandants of regiments were ordered by the governor to detach one-twentieth part of their commands for this service; and Colonel Christopher Rife was designated as their commander. In furnishing the men, many of the colonels had to resort to a draft, as volunteers to stay on this side the lake could not be obtained.

On the 20th, Gen. Harrison embarked with the regular troops under Generals McArthur and Cass, and arrived the same day at Put-in-Bay in Bass Island, and about 10 miles distant from the point of embarkation. Next morning the governor (Shelby) sailed with a part of his troops, having ordered Major General Desha to remain at Portage and bring up the rear, which he performed with great alacrity and vigilance. On that and the succeeding day all the militia arrived at Bass Island. Colonel Rife was left in command at Portage, with Doctor Maguffin as his surgeon. The whole army remained on Bass Island on the 24th, waiting for the arrival of all necessary stores and provisions at that place.

On the 25th, the whole army moved to the Middle Sister, a small island containing about five or six acres of ground, which was now crowded with men, having about 4,500 upon it. Whilst the transport vessels were bringing up the military stores and provisions on the 26th, Gen. Harrison sailed with Commodore Perry in the *Ariel* to reconnoitre off Malden, and ascertain a suitable point on the lake shore for the debarkation of his troops.

On Monday the 27th, the whole army was embarked early in the day, and set sail from the Middle Sister for the Canada shore, Gen. Harrison having previously circulated a general order among the troops in which he exhorted them to remember the fame of their ancestors and the justice of the cause in which they were engaged.

Soon after the British force had surrendered and it was discovered that the Indians were yielding on the left, Gen. Harrison ordered

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Major Payne to pursue Gen. Proctor with a part of his battalion. * * * But Proctor was not to be taken. His guilty conscience had told him that his only chance for safety from the vengeance of those whose countrymen he had murdered lay in the celerity of his flight. The pursuers, however, at last pressed him so closely that he was obliged to abandon the road, and his carriage and sword were captured by the gallant Major Wood.—Six pieces of brass artillery were taken, three of which had been captured in the Revolution at Saratoga and York, and surrendered again by Hull in Detroit.”

Lieut.-Colonel Eleazer Wood was one of the first graduates of the military academy at West Point, 1806, and was a distinguished engineer. In 1812 he built the fort at Lower Sandusky, which was later named after Col. Stephenson, and was so gallantly defended by Major George Croghan on the 2d of August, 1813. He was also the engineer who planned Fort Meigs in 1813, and participated most gallantly in its siege and also in the Battle of the Thames. He was killed September 17, 1814.

Proctor's carriage, captured by Major Wood, was brought to Lower Sandusky, and for many years was shown upon all public occasions as one of the trophies of the war, second in interest only to "Old Betsy."

One of the "six pieces of brass artillery" referred to above, is now one of the most cherished relics in the museum on Fort Stephenson. It is a handsome brass piece, evidently a French gun originally, as it has near its muzzle the royal cipher of King Louis of France. It was presented to King George of England, or was captured by him, and has the monogram G. R., with the crown, near its base. It was captured from the British under Burgoyne at Saratoga, and in common with other trophies was elaborately inscribed:

<p>TAKEN AT THE STORM OF THE BRITISH LINE NEAR SARATOGA. BY October 7, 1777.</p>
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After Benedict Arnold turned traitor at West Point, his name was carefully erased from all trophies. This gun was one of the number so ignominiously surrendered at Detroit by Gen. Hull, August 16, 1812, to the British Major General Brock. After being captured for the second time from the British under Proctor, by the Americans under Gen. Harrison at the Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813, it was retired from active service and has now for more than twenty-five years been an object of the greatest interest in the museum on the site of old Fort Stephenson.

McAfee's History continues: In April, 1814, Colonel Butler obtained leave to return to Kentucky, and the command of Detroit devolved on Lieut.-Col. Croghan, Commodore Sinclair, who succeeded Commodore Perry as the naval commander on the lakes, had received orders to conduct a military and naval expedition against the British on Lake Huron.

About the time these instructions were communicated to the Commodore, the secretary of war thought proper to send a corresponding order directly to Major Holmes, entirely passing by Col. Croghan, the commandant at Detroit, and merely notifying Gen. Harrison, the commander of the district, through whom the arrangements for the expedition should have been made. This course of the secretary was a violation not only of military etiquette, but also of the most important military principles, which require that the commander of a district, or of a separate post, especially when situated on a distant frontier, should have the supreme direction of minor matters within the sphere of his command. The interference of the government in such matters must inevitably derange his plans, and produce confusion and disaster in the service. The general should be furnished with the object and outlines of the campaign or expedition and with the necessary supplies of men, money and munitions for accomplishing that object; and then be made responsible for their proper management. But the secretary in this instance issued his orders to Major Holmes under the nose of his colonel, whereby the rank and authority of the latter were superseded, and the resources of his post were to be clandestinely withdrawn from his power. This was highly resented by Colonel Croghan, who communicated his sentiments on this subject without reserve to Commodore Sinclair and Gen. Harrison. He assured the Commodore that he had already taken every means to reconnoitre the upper lakes and the country with a view to obtaining such information as he requested, and that he would be happy to co-operate and assist him in the enterprise, but could not pledge himself in the present state of his resources to furnish any important assistance. To the general he wrote: "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."—*Croghan.*

In answer to a second letter from the commodore, written in the latter part of May, he proceeds: "I much fear, sir, that in your expectation of being joined at this place by a battalion or corps of regulars under Major Holmes, you will be disappointed. Major Holmes, it is true, has been notified by the war department that he is selected to command the land troops on the expedition up the lakes. But this no-

tification, even did it amount to a positive order to the major, could not be considered as an order to me; nor can I deem it in itself sufficient to justify me in weakening the present reduced strength of my command. My objection to co-operate with you at this time is not, I assure you, moved by anything like chagrin at this departure from military etiquette, but is bottomed on a thorough conviction that nothing less than a positive order could justify or excuse my detaching a part of the small force under my command from the immediate defence of this frontier. I agree with you that the promised force under Major Holmes appears too weak to effect the desired end. I cannot speak positively on the subject, as my knowledge even of the geographical situation of the country is but limited; yet my belief is, that if resistance be made at all,



SCENE IN PARADE.

it will prove too stout for 1,000 men. The position of Mackinaw is a strong one, and should the enemy have determined on holding it, he has had time enough to throw in reinforcements. The Engages in the employ of the N. W. Co., generally get down to Mackinaw from their wintering grounds, about the last of May in every year. Will these hardy fellows, whose force exceeds 1,000, be permitted to be idle? Will it not be the interest of the N. W. Co. to exert all its means in the defence of those posts in which it is so immediately concerned? I send you a few queries on the subject, with the answers as given by an intelligent gentleman, formerly an agent to the N. W. Co., and well acquainted with the geographical situation of that country. Every arrangement is made for securing the entrance into Lake Huron. I am under no solicitude about the passage up the strait."—*Croghan*.

Although the colonel appears to consider the order to Holmes as a mere notification of his appointment, yet it was certainly intended by the secretary to be sufficiently positive and ample to put the expedition in motion, without any other communication from the war department, except the instructions to the Commodore. Soon after the above was written, the Colonel addressed another letter to Gen. Harrison, from which the following is an extract: "I know not how to account for the Secretary of War assuming to himself the right of designating Major Holmes for this command to Mackinaw. My ideas on the subject may not be correct, yet for the sake of the principle were I a general commanding a district, I would be very far from suffering the Secretary of War, or any other authority, to interfere with my internal police.

"I have not yet been able, even by three attempts, to ascertain whether the enemy is building boats at Mackedash (Gloucester Bay). None of my spies would venture far enough, being either frightened at the view of Lake Huron, or alarmed at the probability of meeting hostile Indians."—*Croghan*.

This letter was written in the latter part of May. Gen. Harrison, actuated by similar sentiments, had already resigned his commission of Major General in the army, which he had received about the time his appointment in the Kentucky militia had expired. He believed that the Secretary of War disliked him, and had intentionally encroached on the prerogatives of his rank to insult him, by corresponding with the officers under his command, and giving them orders direct which ought at least to have been communicated indirectly through the commander-in-chief of the district. He had remonstrated in a spirited manner against this interference, and finding it again renewed in the present case, he resigned his commission by the following letters to the Secretary and President.

"HEADQUARTERS, CINCINNATI, 11th May, 1814

"SIR, I have the honor through you to request the President to accept my resignation of the appointment of major general in the army with which he has honored me.

"Lest the public service should suffer, before a successor can be nominated, I shall continue to act until the 31st inst., by which time I hope to be relieved.

"Having some reasons to believe that the most malicious insinuations have been made against me in Washington, it was my intention to have requested an inquiry into my conduct, from the commencement of my command. Further reflection has however determined me to decline the application—because from the proud consciousness of having palpably done my duty, I cannot believe that it is necessary either for the satisfaction of the government or the people, that I should pay so much respect to the suggestions of malice and envy.

"It is necessary, however, that I should assure you, sir, that I sub-

scribe implicitly to the opinion that military officers are responsible for their conduct, and amenable to the decisions of a court martial after they have left the service, for any improper act committed in it.

"The principle was established in England, in the case of Lord George Sackville after the battle of Minden; it was known and recognized by all the ancient republics; and is particularly applicable I think to a government like ours. I therefore pledge myself to answer before a court martial at any future period, to any charge which may be brought against me.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"The Hon. J. Armstrong, etc."

"HARRISON.

OLD BETSY.

Fort Stephenson is unique in retaining its original area, armament and the body of its Defender. Armament is an imposing name for the one six-pound cannon, affectionately called "Old Betsy" which was Croghan's single piece of artillery. Betsy was old even ninety-three years ago, being a naval cannon captured from the French in the French and Indian wars of 1756-63.



"OLD BETSY."

Oùr first knowledge of the gun is upon the occasion of the first 4th of July celebration ever held in this place, which occurred in 1813. On the 3d, 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 here. "The Fourth was celebrated," says McAfee's *History of the Late War*, "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."

Major McAfee, in his *History of the Late War*, says: "A

reconnoitering party which had been sent from headquarters to the shore of the lake, about twenty miles distant from Fort Stephenson, discovered the approach of the enemy by water on the evening of the 31st of July. They returned by the fort, after twelve o'clock the next day, and had passed it but a few hours, when the enemy made their appearance before it. The Indians showed themselves first on the hill over the river, and were saluted by a six-pounder, the only piece of artillery in the fort, which soon caused them to retire. In half an hour the British gun-boats came in sight; and the Indian forces displayed themselves in every direction with a view to intercept the garrison should a retreat be attempted. The six-pounder was fired a few times at the gun-boats, which was returned by the artillery of the enemy."

McAfee further says: "Sergeant Weaver with five or six gentlemen of the Petersburg Volunteers and Pittsburg Blues, who happened to be in the fort, was entrusted with the management of the six-pounder."

On the first and second days of the following month "Old Betsy" lifted her voice in deadly earnest. How she was shifted from place to place in the fort to convey the impression that the defenders had several guns; how she was finally hoisted into the blockhouse and stationed behind a masked port hole and at the psychological moment "raked the ditch" with a double charge of leaden slugs; and the appalling fatal effect — these facts have been related in preceding pages.

General Harrison winds up his official report to the Secretary of War, August 4, 1813, as follows:

"A young gentleman, a private in the Petersburg Volunteers, of the name of Brown, assisted by five or six of that company and the Pittsburg Blues who were accidentally in the fort, managed the six-pounder, which produced such destruction in the ranks of the enemy." The private Brown referred to was so severely burned by the frequent explosions of powder in the priming of Old Betsy, that his condition was graphically described by the last survivor of the Petersburg Volunteers, Reuben Clements, in 1879, who also said that he was quite positive that

Brown was the only member of the Petersburg Volunteers present during the engagement.

A roster of the Greensburg Riflemen has been furnished by Richard Coulter, jr., a grandnephew of Major John B. Alexander, who commanded an independent battalion of U. S. twelve-month Volunteers, consisting of the Pittsburg Blues, Capt. James R. Butler; the Petersburg Volunteers, Capt. Robert McRae; the Greensburg Riflemen, Lieut. Peter Drum, vice Alexander, promoted Major. The roster of the Greensburg Riflemen contains the name of Abraham Weaver as a private in 1812, who was the Sergeant Weaver in charge of the firing squad of Old Betsy, and who returned to Greensburg, where he died in 1846.

After the war in which the gun did such valiant service it was removed to the Pittsburg arsenal. Later Congress ordered its return to Lower Sandusky. The ingenious Thomas L. Hawkins, commissary officer at Fort Stephenson during the campaign, identified the gun in Pittsburg, recognizing it by the scar on its breach which he believed was made by a cannon ball while in action, during the old French and Indian war. Owing to the duplication of the name Sandusky the cannon was sent to Sandusky City, which for many years after the battle was called Ogontz's Place, and later Portland, and of course had no claim to the gun. The authorities there tried to keep it, and for better concealment buried it under a barn. Mayor B. J. Bartlett, of Lower Sandusky, traced the gun and sent men and a wagon to bring it home. This home-coming of Old Betsy was just prior to the 2d of August celebration of 1852, when the Tiffin fire department came down to join in the festivities. William H. Gibson, clad in the red shirt and white trousers of the fire brigade uniform, delivered the stirring address of the day, in the woods back of the Rawson house on State street.

"Old Betsy" is frequently mentioned in press notices of former years. The *Fremont Journal* of September 12, 1856, says:

"On the 10th, about one hundred and fifty Republicans of Fremont took passage on the Island Queen for Sandusky to join in the mass gatherings of Freemen. 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.

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

In a long article on the celebration of August 2, 1860, the Journal says: "At 6 o'clock Captain Parrish brought out 'Old Betsy' and fired a salute of thirteen rounds. Soon after the people of the county began to pour in. Cassius M. Clay was the orator of the day." At the celebration of 1852 Thomas L Hawkins, a well-known Methodist preacher and the town poet, who had been appointed commissary of the fort after the battle of Fort Stephenson, read a poem addressed to the old six-pounder, apostrophizing her as Betsy Croghan, a name by which she is frequently called. This poem is printed below. In another poem on Croghan's victory, Mr. Hawkins calls her "Our Bess," while tradition has it that the garrison called her "Good Bess." But "Old Betsy" she is now and ever will be in local and national parlance. Little children play about her, the birds often build their nests in her mouth, visitors pass curious hands over her breech, and young reporters take her photograph and write "story" about her. After all she is the only one left who saw our hero in battle, who heard the quick orders of those two days' fight, who faced the oncoming veterans of Wellington's troops and settled it that they should rest thereafter in Lower Sandusky soil.

"Old Betsy's" voice will probably never be heard again, but as she stands her silent guard over the remains of George Croghan, on the scene of their great victory, she "yet speaketh."

"OLD BETSY."

THOMAS L. HAWKINS.

Hail! thou old friend, of Fort MeGee
Little did I expect again to see,
And hear thy voice of victory,
Thou defender of Ohio!

I wonder who it was that sought thee,
To victory's ground again hath brought thee
From strangers' hands at length hath caught thee;
He is a friend to great Ohio!

He is surely worthy of applause,
To undertake so good a cause,
Although a pleader of her laws,
And statutes of Ohio.

What shame thy blockhouse is not standing,
Thy pickets as at first commanding,
Protecting Sandusky's noble landing,
The frontier of Ohio!

Thy pickets, alas! are all untrained,
No faithful sentinel on guard,
Nor band of soldiers well prepared,
Defending great Ohio.

Where have the upthrown ditches gone,
By British cannon rudely torn?
Alas! with grass they are o'ergrown,
Neglected by Ohio.

O tell me where thy chieftains all —
Croghan, Dudley, Miller, Ball,
Some of whom I know did fall
In defending of Ohio.

Canst thou not tell how Proctor swore,
When up yon matted turf he tore,
Which shielded us from guns a score,
He poured upon Ohio?

And how Tecumseh lay behind you;
With vain attempts he tried to blind you,
And unprepared, he'd find you,
And lead you from Ohio.

Perhaps like Hamlet's ghost, you've come,
This day to celebrate the fame
Of Croghan's honored, worthy name,
The hero of Ohio.

I greet thee! Thou art just in time
To tell of victory most sublime,
Though told in unconnected rhyme;
Thou art welcome in Ohio.

But since thou canst thyself speak well,
Now let thy thundering voice tell
What bloody carnage then befell
The foes of great Ohio.
(And then she thundered loud.)

PROCTOR'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF FORT STEPHENSON.

The following letter, recently unearthed by Col. Webb C. Hayes in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, is most interesting as giving General Proctor's own account of the battle in which he was so badly worsted. It is addressed to Sir George Provist, Lieut. General, at Kingston, and reads :

"SIR: It being absolutely requisite for several urgent reasons that my Indian force should not remain unemployed, and being well aware that it would not be movable except accompanied by a regular force, I resolved, notwithstanding the smallness of that force to move and where we might be fed at the expense of the enemy. I had, however, the mortification to find that instead of the Indian force being a disposable one, or under my direction, our movements would be subject to the caprices and prejudices of the Indian body to a degree in which my regular force was disproportionate to their numbers. For several weeks after the arrival of Mr. R. Dickson, his Indians were restrainable and tractable to a degree that I could not have conceived possible. I am sorry to add that they have been contaminated by the other Indians.



MAJOR CROGHAN.

I was, very contrary to my judgment, necessitated to go to the Miami, in the vicinity of the enemy's fort, where I remained a few days in the hope that General Harrison might come to the relief of the fort which was invested in the Indian mode, when finding that the Indians were returning to Detroit and Amherstberg I moved to Lower Sandusky where, however, we could not muster more hundreds of Indians than I might reasonably have expected thousands. The neighborhood of Sandusky, and the settlement on the Huron river, eight miles below it, could have afforded cattle sufficient to have fed my whole Indian force for some time, had they been induced to accompany us. Sandusky is

nearly fifty miles by water from Lake Erie and nearly forty miles from several points whence strong reinforcements might be expected; I could not therefore with my very small force remain more than two days, from the probability of being cut off and of being deserted by the few Indians who had not already done so.

The fort at Sandusky is composed of blockhouses connected by picketing which they flank, and is calculated for a garrison of five or six hundred men. On viewing the fort I formed an opinion entirely different from any person under my command. The general idea being that that garrison did not exceed fifty men, and that the fort could be easily carried by assault. On the morning of the 2d inst. the gentlemen of the Indian Department, who have the direction of it, declared formally their decided opinion that unless the fort was stormed we should never be able to bring an Indian warrior into the field with us, and that they proposed and were ready to storm one fan of the fort, if we would attempt another. I have also to observe that in this instance my judgment had not that weight with the troops I hope I might reasonably have expected. If I had withdrawn without having permitted the assault, as my judgment certainly dictated, much satisfaction would have followed me and I could scarcely have reconciled to myself to have continued to direct their movements. I thus with all the responsibility resting on me was obliged to yield to circumstances I could not possibly have prevented. The troops, after the artillery had been used for some hours, attacked two fans, and impossibilities being attempted, failed. The fort, from which the severest fire I ever saw was maintained during the attack, was well defended. The troops displayed the greatest bravery, the much greater part of whom reached the fort and made every effort to enter; but the Indians who had proposed the assault and had it not been assented to would have ever stigmatized the British character, scarcely came into fire, before they ran off out of its reach. A more than adequate sacrifice having been made to Indian opinion, I drew off the brave assailants who had been carried away by a high sense of honor to urge too strongly the attack. I enclose a disembarcation return to show how small my disposable force was. The enemy had a six-pounder and a smaller one in the fort. I also enclose a return of the killed, wounded and missing. Our loss though severe and much to be regretted, is less, everything considered, than could have been expected. You will perceive that the Indian force is seldom a disposable one, never to be relied on in hour of need, and only to be found useful in proportion as we are independent of it. Ten Indians were surprised on a plain near Sandusky and were cut to pieces. The Indians have always had a dread of cavalry of which the enemy have a considerable number. A troop of the 19th would be of the greatest service here in the confidence they would give to our mounted Indians. I have experienced much deficiency in my artillery, another officer at least is absolutely requisite, and one of

science and experience. The enemy's defences are composed of wood; if we knew how to burn them as they did ours at Fort George, Mr. Harrison's army must have been destroyed long since. The enemy's vessels are out of Presqueisle Harbor, and so decidedly stronger than ours that Captain Barclay has been necessitated to return to Amherstburg, and with all haste to get the new vessel ready for sea, where she will be in eight or ten days at furthest, and then only wants hands.

Whatever may happen to be regretted may be fairly attributed to the delays in sending here the force your Excellency directed should be sent. Had it been sent at once, it could have been used to the greatest advantage, but it arrived in such small portions and with such delays that the opportunities have been lost. The enemy are in great numbers at Presqueisle and have been already reinforced at Fort Meigs. Gen. Harrison's headquarters are near Lower Sandusky where he arrived on the 3d inst. I must now look for the enemy from two quarters and will have to meet them with my small force divided, for the Indians will make no stand without us. You will probably hear of the enemy's landing shortly at Long Point, where they may gain the rear of the Center Division and also affect my supplies. An hundred and fifty sailors would have effectually obviated this evil. I apprehend the enemy's rapid advance to the River Raisin in force, and establishing himself there, which he can do surprisingly soon. If I had the means I would establish a post at that river, but not having two or three hundred men to send there it is not in my power. I must entreat your Excellency to send me more troops, even the 2d Battalion of the 41st Regt., though weak, would be extremely acceptable. If the enemy should be able to establish themselves in the Territory it will operate strongly against us with our Indian allies. Your Excellency may rely on my best endeavors, but I rely on the troops alone, and they are but few and I am necessitated to man the vessels with them. I have never desponded, nor do I now, but I conceive it my duty to state to your Excellency the inadequateness of my force.

I have the honor to be with much respect, etc.,

HENRY PROCTOR,
Brigadier General Commanding.

The British War Office contains the following brief records of the attack on Fort Stephenson, as mentioned in the colonial correspondence of that time.

"HEADQUARTERS, KINGSTON, UPPER CANADA, Aug. 1, 1813.

"My Lord — The arrival of Mr. Dickson from the mission with 2,000 Indian warriors, has enabled me to resume offensive operations with the left division of the Upper Canada army under the command of Brig. Gen. Proctor. Maj. Gen. Harrison having shown some of his cavalry

and riflemen in the Michigan territory, a forward movement has been made by the Indian warriors, upon Sandusky, from whence they will unite with Tecumseh's band of warriors, employed in investing Fort Meigs.—George Provost." Also:

"St. Davids, Niagara Frontier, Aug. 25, 1813. Maj. Gen. Proctor having given way to the clamor of our Indian Allies to act offensively moved forward on the 20th ult. with about 350 of the 41st regiment and between 3,000 and 4,000 Indians and on the 2nd inst. attempted to carry by assault the block houses and works at Sandusky where the enemy had concentrated a considerable force.

He however soon experienced the timidity of the Indians when exposed to the fire of musketry and cannon in an open country and how little dependence could be placed on their numbers. Previous to the assault they could scarcely muster as many hundreds as they had before thousands, and as soon as it had commenced they withdrew themselves out of the reach of the enemy's fire. They are never a disposable force.

The handful of his Majesty's troops employed on this occasion displayed the greatest bravery; nearly the whole of them having reached the fort and made every effort to enter it; but a galling and destructive fire being kept up by the enemy from within the block houses and from behind the picketing which completely protected them and which we had not the means to force, the Major General thought it most prudent not to continue longer so unavailing a combat; he accordingly drew off the assailants and returned to Sandwich with the loss of 25 killed, as many missing and about 40 wounded. Amongst the killed are Brevet Lieut. Col. Shortt and Lieut. J. G. Gordon of the 41st Regt."

"The Military Occurrences of the War of 1812," by William James, an English publication of the time, contains the following story of General Proctor's campaign against Fort Stephenson on the Sandusky, which is a typical British account, showing the writer's patriotic bias:

"The American headquarters were at Seneca-town, near to Sandusky Bay on Lake Erie. Fort Meigs, already so strong, had its works placed in a still more vigorous state of defence; and a fort had since been constructed on the west side of Sandusky river, about 40 miles from its mouth, and 10 from the general's headquarters. It stood on a rising ground, commanding the river to the east; having a plain to the north and south, and a wood to the west. The body of the fort was about 100 yards in length and 50 in breadth, surrounded outside of all by a row of strong pickets, 12 feet over ground; each picket armed at top with a bayonet. Next to and against this formidable picket was an embankment, forming the side of a dry ditch, 12 feet wide, by seven feet deep; then a second embankment or glacis. A strong bastion and two blockhouses completely enfiladed the ditch. Within the fort were the hospital, military and commissary store-houses, magazines, etc. As far as we can collect from the American accounts, the fort mounted but one 6-pounder; and that in a masked battery at the northwestern angle. The

number of troops composing the garrison cannot exactly be ascertained. One American account states that the *effective* force did not amount to 160 men, or rank and file.

"Major General Proctor when he landed near the mouth of Sandusky river, on the 1st of August, had it is admitted no other white troops with him than the 41st regiment. An American editor says that the major general, previous to his appearance on the Sandusky, had detached 'Tecumseh with 2,000 warriors, and a few regulars, to make a diversion favorable to the attack upon Fort Stephenson; and yet the same editor states Major General Proctor's force before the fort, on the evening of the 1st, at 500 regulars and 700 Indians.' Of the latter there were but 200 and they, as was generally their custom when the object of assault was a fortified place, withdrew to a ravine, out of gun-shot, almost immediately that the action commenced. Of regulars there were two lieutenant-colonels, four captains, seven subalterns, (one a lieutenant of artillery) eight staff, 22 sergeants, seven drummers, and 241 rank and file, including 23 artillerymen; making a total of 391 officers, non-commissioned officers and privates.

"On the morning of the 2nd the British opened their artillery consisting of two light 6-pounders, and two $5\frac{1}{2}$ howitzers upon the fort; but without producing the slightest impression; and the different American accounts, as we are glad to see, concur in stating, that the fort 'was not at all injured' by the fire directed against it. Under an impression that the garrison did not exceed 50 or 60 men, the fort was ordered to be stormed. Lieut. Col. Shortt at the head of 180 rank and file, immediately advanced toward the northwest angle; while about 160 rank and file, under Lieut.-Col. Warburton, passed around through the woods skirting the western side of the fort, to its south side. After sustaining a heavy fire of musketry from the American troops, Lieut.-Col. Shortt approached to the stockade; and with some difficulty, succeeded in getting over the pickets. The instant this gallant officer reached the ditch he ordered his men to follow and assault the works with the utmost vigor. The masked 6-pounder, which had been previously pointed to rake the ditch, and loaded 'with a double charge of leaden slugs,' was now fired at the British column, 'the front of which was only 30 feet distant from the piece.' A volley of musketry was fired at the same instant and repeated in quick succession. This dreadful and, as to the battery, unexpected discharge killed Lieut.-Col. Shortt, and several of his brave followers; and wounded a great many more. Still undaunted, the men of the 41st, headed by another officer, advanced again to carry the masked 6-pounder, from which another discharge of 'leaden slugs' aided by other volleys of musketry, was directed against them, and cleared the 'fatal ditch' a second time. It was in vain to contend further; and the British retired, with as many of their wounded as they could carry away.

"Lieut. Col. Warburton's party, having a circuit to make, did not

arrive at its position till the first assault was nearly over. After a volley or two, in which the British sustained some slight loss, the troops at this point also were ordered to retire. The loss amounted to 26 killed, 29 wounded and missing, and 41 wounded (most of them slightly) and brought away; total 96. The Americans state their loss at one killed and seven wounded. Considering the way in which they were sheltered, and the circumstances of the attack altogether, no greater loss could have been expected.

"The American editors seem determined to drag the Indians, in spite of their confirmed and to an American well-known habits, within the limits of the 'fatal ditch.' 'The Indians,' says Mr. Thomson, 'were enraged and mortified at this unparalleled defeat; and carrying their dead and wounded from the field, they indignantly followed the British regulars to the shipping.' 'It is a fact worthy of observation' says Mr. O'Connor, 'that not one Indian was found among the dead, although it is known that from three to four hundred were present.' A brave enemy would have found something to praise in the efforts of Colonel Shortt and his men, in this their 'unparalleled defeat;' but all is forgotten in the lavish encomiums bestowed upon Major Croghan and the band of 'heroes,' who 'compelled an army,' says an American editor, 'much more than 10 times superior,' to relinquish the attack."

LAST SURVIVOR OF FORT STEPHENSON.

A group of distinguished visitors entering unannounced the Blue Room at the White House, during the administration of President Hayes, were surprised to find the beautiful mistress of the house sitting on the floor, needle and thread in hand, while before her half reclining on the central divan, sat an old soldier in the uniform of an ordnance sergeant of the United States Army.

The callers, who were Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister, with some English friends, were about to retire, when Mrs. Hayes looked up from her work, saw them, and laughingly called them to stay. She rose from the floor, shook hands warmly with the old man, and parrying his thanks and assuring him that his uniform was now perfect, handed him over to the care of her son.

The story is one of her many kindly, self-unconscious acts. One of her sons, visiting the Barnes Hospital at the Soldiers' home near Washington, had examined the list of soldiers living there and discovered that one was a veteran of Fort Stephenson,

at Fremont, Ohio, the home of the Hayes family, named William Gaines, late ordnance sergeant United States Army.

Subsequently Sergeant Gaines was granted a pension for his service in the War of 1812 and also for the Mexican War, and a complete full dress uniform was ordered sent to the White House for him. Sergeant Gaines was brought in from the Soldiers' Home to don his uniform and have his photograph taken in it. After putting on his uniform, the old soldier trembling with excitement and weakness discovered that the sergeant's stripes for the seam of his trousers had been sent loose to be used at the wearer's discretion, and he was greatly distressed at the thought of having his photograph taken without this insignia of rank. Mrs. Hayes, who had come down to greet him in the Blue Room, learning the cause of his distress, at once sent for needle and thread, saying that she would herself stitch them on. She was just finishing the task, sitting on the floor with the old soldier standing before her, when the British Minister and his guests entered, and caught the charming picture to carry away to their English home.



SERGEANT
GAINES.

It was a notable battle when, under Major George Croghan, a youth of twenty-one years, one hundred and sixty men, having but a single small cannon, defeated five hundred British soldiers and two thousand or more Indian allies; this battle being the prelude to Perry's victory on Lake Erie and the decisive Battle of the Thames.

At the request of the members of the Hayes family, Representative William McKinley introduced a bill to place William Gaines, late ordnance sergeant, U. S. Army, on the retired list of the army with seventy-five per cent. of the full pay and allowance of an ordnance sergeant; he having served faithfully and honorably in the army of the United States for more than fifty-one years, having been an ordnance sergeant for over thirty-three consecutive years of said service, and having participated

in the siege of Fort Meigs, the defense of Fort Stephenson, and the Battle of the Thames in the War of 1812.

Gen. Anson G. McCook secured the passage of the bill through the House of Representatives and Gen. A. E. Burnside secured concurrent action by the Senate, and the Act was approved by President Hayes.

Sergeant Gaines' story as told by himself in an interview with Mr. Webb C Hayes at Washington in 1879, is as follows:

"My name is William Gaines. I was born in Frederick City, Md., Christmas Day, 1799. My father and mother were both born in Virginia. My father and General Gaines were cousins. My father had died and my mother was not in very good circumstances. We started from Frederick City, and when we reached Washington stopped for five or six hours and called on President Madison. Our folks came from Montpelier, Va., President Madison's home, and my uncle and President Madison were well acquainted. I had another uncle in Kentucky named Daveiss. They both lived in Lexington. During the Indian war in 1811, my uncle, Colonel Daveiss, raised a volunteer regiment and joined General Harrison. He took me along with him to take care of his horses and that is the way that I came to be in the battle of Tippecanoe, November 5, 1811.

"I occupied a tent with the Orderly Sergeant of the company. His tent was next to that of my uncle, Colonel Daveiss, and then came the company tent. We were surprised by the Indians, who got in the camp before we were aware of it. Some rushed into our tent, but we crawled out on the opposite side. Before getting out, however, the thumb of my left hand was cut by an Indian tomahawk or knife and laid wide open. It was sewed up by Dr. Woodward. The Indians were defeated, but my uncle, Colonel Daveiss, was killed.

"I enlisted on July 18, 1812, as a drummer boy in Captain Armstrong's company of the Twenty-fourth Infantry. I was then in my thirteenth year. We marched from Knoxville to Nashville, and then against the Creek nation. We marched from Nashville down the Cumberland river to the Ohio, which was full of ice and impassable, and were obliged to stop at a small French fort called Fort Massack, which was occupied by one company, about forty men of the Second Artillery under Lieutenant Tanner. We remained there until next spring and then started for Fort Meigs. We marched first to Newport, Ky., which took us, I think, twenty days, but we made a stop at Harrisonburg, where we were invited to the farm of Col. George Harrison and had everything we wanted. We stopped at Newport three days washing and cleaning ourselves and then crossed to Cincinnati. From Cincinnati we marched due north through the state of Ohio until we came to Franklinton, which was the extreme frontier. At Franklinton two deserters were tried and

shot. They came from camp Meigs, where they had mutinied and came near killing the captain. They were taken by some citizens between Upper Sandusky and Franklinton. General Harrison ordered a general court martial and charges were sent from Fort Meigs. Both were sentenced to be shot and both were shot the next day. They were buried on the banks of the Little Sciota.

"We then marched due north to Upper Sandusky. At Upper Sandusky we drew two days' rations to carry us through the Maumee Black Swamp. We then marched due north until we reached a point about five or six miles from Fort Stephenson, and then turning west the road ran through the Maumee Valley Black Swamp on to Fort Meigs, which we reached the next day. Gen. Green Clay was in command. While we were at Fort Meigs, Gen. Harrison established his headquarters at Fort Seneca, so that he might be handy for the different departments. We were at Fort Meigs something like a month, and during a portion of the time were besieged by Indians and British, and kept up a constant fire on them for about eight days.

"Our company was then ordered to Camp Seneca, in July I think, and while there a rumor came that Fort Stephenson was to be attacked. A detail was made from the different companies to relieve Fort Stephenson, and that was done that each company should have equal chance in the glory. All this time I was a private in Captain Armstrong's company, Twenty-fourth Infantry, having exchanged my drum for a musket, and was acting as cook for Lieutenant Joseph Anthony of my company. Lieutenant Anthony, Samuel Thurman, John Foster, James Riggs, a man named Jones and myself composed the detail from my company. We started at the break of day, and got to Fort Stephenson between nine and ten o'clock. We had not been there more than an hour and a half or two hours before the British hove in sight and began landing their troops, cannon, etc. Between 11 and 12 o'clock there came a flag of truce and an officer and six men; they were blindfolded and taken in at the west gate. It was rumored that the officer was sent to demand the surrender of the fort or to show no quarter. When they were gone Major Croghan told us to prepare ourselves, as no quarter was to be shown. They came around on the northwest side which was covered with woods, about 150 yards distant, and between the woods and fort was a ravine down which they would haul the cannon to load and then push up on the brow of the hill and fire. They could not approach from the east side because that was an open field, and we could have brought them down. To the north and south it was also quite open. The weather was good but warm, and a storm which had threatened finally disappeared. They fired on us for a time, but Major Croghan would not let us return it. Samuel Thurman was in the block house and determined to shoot a red coat. He climbed up on top of the block house and peered over, when a six-pound ball from the enemy's cannon took his head off. Finally toward evening they made a charge, and when they got

on level ground we got orders to fire. We shot through loop holes in the pickets and port holes in the blockhouses. I recollect very well when Colonel Shortt fell. I see it all now as distinctly as I see you two gentlemen. Our cannon was loaded with six-pound ball and grape. I was in the blockhouse and after Col. Short fell he held up a white handkerchief for quarter. Somebody in the blockhouse said, 'That man is hollering for quarter. He said he would show none. Now give him quarter.' It passed all through the fort. Then the bugle sounded the retreat. They had old Tecumseh and about 1,500 Indians, and I think about 700 or 800 regulars. I only estimated them by seeing them marching away.

There were no buildings near the fort, nor any women in the fort, as there was not settlement nearer than Franklinton. They landed below us, near the race track, opposite the Island. The British wounded who were not taken away lay in the ditch. I do not know anything about the passing of water over to the wounded. It might have been done unbeknown to me. The British soldiers were buried the next day. I do not know how many were killed. You see they took them away at night and we did not know anything about it.

"At the siege of Fort Meigs there was a large tree into which an Indian climbed and thus obtained a view of the interior of the fort. A man named Bronson brought him down with a rifle. I do not think it can be true that we loaded our cannon with nails and scraps on account of lack of ammunition. I have often thought that if General Harrison had marched his troops from Fort Seneca down the east side of the Sandusky river and crossed, it would have brought him between the enemy and their boats, and thus we could have captured them all. I have often thought of it and talked it over with men of our company. When the firing commenced, Lieut. Anthony was panicstruck and secreted himself, and did not come out until the battle was over. He was put under arrest by Major Croghan and sent to Fort Seneca and court-martialed for cowardice and cashiered the service. Gen. Harrison was a small and very slim man, a little on the dark complected order, and advanced in years. Major Croghan was a very thin man and stood about five feet eight or nine inches. He was tall and slim. He became very corpulent and fleshy some years after. I remember well when Colonel Croghan was placed in arrest. He had an order from Gen. Harrison to destroy all public property that he could not bring away and retreat. When he got the order it was too late to retreat. He was tried and acquitted. He was a very courageous man, afraid of nothing under the sun. After the battle of Fort Stephenson we were returned to our companies again. Every company got their own men but ours, which had one killed, Samuel Thurman, who was the only man killed on our side. We lay at Camp Seneca until the news came from Commodore Perry that "we have met the enemy and they are ours." We then marched past Fort Stephenson to the lake, where we were furnished with boats

and crossed over into Canada. We landed about one mile below Colonel Elliott's quarters. I must tell you a little story about this. I took six beautiful silver spoons from that man's house. Everybody had left and I was hard up. The house was furnished in the English fashion. I sold them at Detroit. We did not get paid in those days like we do now. We often went eighteen months without pay. From Elliott's we went to Fort Malden. They had evacuated and taken all they could get from there, and then we went up to Sand Beach. Colonel Johnson followed with more men, and we all followed the British troops until they got to Moravian Town. On the 2d of October we fought the battle of the Thames. I recollect that day just as well as I do sitting in this chair. It was their last battle. We made short work of the British. They knew we were com-



SCENE IN CROGHAN PARADE.

ing and General Proctor and an aide fled before we were within a mile of them. We captured all of them but these two. We had more fighting with the Indians than with the British Regulars. The Indians retreated across the river in canoes, but many of them were shot and tumbled over in the water. We marched to Detroit, where we embarked in Commodore Perry's fleet. General Harrison and my company were on the same boat with Commodore Perry, and also a British Commodore and other British officers who were prisoners. We sailed to Buffalo, and then marched to Sackett's Harbor, where we joined General Wilkinson's command that was to attack Montreal. We took open boats and started across, but owing to the ice we had to abandon the expedition and return to the shore, from where we marched to a place called Chateaugay Four Corners, on a little lake, and wintered there. The next spring the captain,

one officer and myself went to New York on recruiting service. That was in 1814. I remained in New York about two years. When we left New York we marched with recruits to fill up the companies stationed on the northern frontier. I had re-enlisted on the 23d of November, 1816, for five years. We marched to Sackett's Harbor, and I was there assigned to Company D, Second Infantry. The other recruits were distributed at the different stations. I was stationed at Sackett's Harbor something like seventeen years. We remained quietly at barracks all this time, until the Black Hawk War broke out beyond Chicago. We started in the month of July, 1832, and got back October 6, of the same year. We had no battles in that campaign. There was nothing but hard marching, etc. I was appointed an ordinance sergeant of the U. S. army October 18, 1833, and was ordered to Boston, but finally exchanged with the ordnance sergeant at Madison barracks. Colonel Kirby, paymaster, and others arranged the matter for me. During the Florida War I was in Sackett's Harbor in charge of all the property at that post. I was there too during the Mexican War and got an order from General Augur to enlist all the men that I could and send them to Syracuse. I got from four to six every day, and sent them to Syracuse for Mexico. I was a recruiting officer for General Augur. During the war of the Rebellion I was left alone in charge of the quartermaster's stores, medical and other property at Madison Barracks, New York. I was discharged December 31, 1866, by Secretary Stanton and came to this home. I have had charge of a great many improvements in the home and was lodge keeper at the Whitney Avenue gate for a number of years."

Sergeant Gaines was at the time of this interview an active old man about five feet seven inches in height, of dark complexion. He had bright grey eyes, white hair and strongly marked features. He stood perfectly erect, and had a very soldierly bearing. His mind was clear and his memory quite remarkable. He described with great detail the incident of his early service. He was the last survivor of the gallant defenders of Fort Stephenson. He enlisted when in his thirtieth year and probably no man served longer in the United States Army than he.

REUBEN CLEMENT.

In 1880 there still lived in Petersburg, Va., a survivor of the War of 1812, one of the Petersburg Volunteers, one member of which, Brown, fought at Fort Stephenson. A letter from this aged man, Mr. Reuben Clements, reads:

"PETERSBURG, VA., 4th March, 1880.

Colonel:

According to promise I will now attempt to tell you what little I know about Croghan and Sandusky. The opening of the spring campaign in 1813 found the garrison of Fort Meigs exceedingly weak. General Harrison having gone in the states to hasten forward reinforcements, leaving General Clay in command. The British and Indians in considerable numbers, knowing perhaps of the absence of the General-in-Chief, and our weakness, as also our expecting succor from Kentucky, surrounded the fort and engaged in a sham battle, hoping by this ruse to draw us out. Failing in this they left us, taking the Military Road in the direction of Fort Stephenson, which was said to have been forty miles in length, and fell upon Major Croghan and his little band at Sandusky. The fort at this place was quite small, covering I should say not more than one English acre of ground. In form it was quadrilateral, without traverses, but having in front of curtain on its four sides a broad and deep fosse. At the north-east angle of the fort was a blockhouse, and just here was mounted the only cannon (a six pounder) which made such havoc with the red coats occupying the ditch. My impression is that my old comrade Brown was the only member of my company present on that occasion; and that he did not (as has been asserted) command the piece but only assisted in working it. The captain of the gun was a sergeant either of the Pittsburg Blues, or Greensburg Blues. However Brown was terribly burned about the face which disfigured him for life. I forgot to state that the Fort was short of ammunition of all sorts, having only three rounds in all for the cannon. You ask if I knew Major Croghan. I answer, Yes, I have seen him oftentimes before and after the glorious fight at Sandusky. He was a beardless stripling; I should say rather below the medium size, and did not look more than eighteen years of age. This is about all I know of Croghan and Sandusky. I might add, though not exactly pertinent, that our Company was quite largely represented on the decks of Commodore Perry's ships, when he so gloriously fought and overcame the British Fleet on Lake Erie.

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

REUBEN CLEMENTS.

THE FIRST PERMANENT WHITE SETTLERS IN OHIO, JAMES WHITAKER AND ELIZABETH FOULKE.

The first permanent white settlers in Ohio were James Whitaker and Elizabeth Foulks, who were captured in western Pennsylvania in 1774 and 1776 respectively, by the Wyandot Indians, by whom they were adopted and taken to Lower San-

dusky, now Fremont, Ohio, where they were brought together as adopted members of the Wyandot tribe. They were married in Detroit, in 1781, and returned to a tract of land which had been given to them by the Wyandots on the Sandusky River, three miles below the lower rapids known as Lower Sandusky. Here they lived and raised a family of eight children. Two of their grandchildren and several great grandchildren are residents of Fremont and vicinity.

James Whitaker, who became an Indian trader, died of poison, it is said, in 1804, at Upper Sandusky, where he had a store; but his remains were brought to his home established in 1781, where he was buried on the tract originally given him as a wedding gift by the Indians, which tract, containing 1280 acres, was set aside to his widow by the treaty made at Fort Industry September 29, 1817. His tombstone was brought from the old Whitaker farm and placed in Birchard Library, just one hundred years after its erection over his grave. It bears the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
JAMES WHITEACRE
WHO DIED
DEC. 17, 1804
In the 48th year of his age.

The tombstone of his daughter, Mary Whitaker Shannon, was also brought from the Whitaker family burying-ground to Birchard Library. Its inscription records her death as occurring August 15, 1827, in the 36th year of her age, which places her birth in 1791. She was the fourth child of James Whitaker.

The Hon. Homer Everett, who came to Fremont in 1815, and was the recognized authority and historian of Sandusky county, relates in his History of Sandusky County an interview with Mrs. Rachel Scranton, the seventh child of James Whitaker, as follows:

"About the year 1780 two brothers, Quill and James Whitaker, in company with another young man, left Fort Pitt one morning on a hunting expedition. They wandered a considerable distance from the fort, intent upon securing game with which to gratify their friends, but at an unexpected moment a volley of rifle balls rattled among the trees. One took mortal effect in the body of the young man, another passed through the hat of Quill Whitaker, who saved himself by flight; a third ball shattered the arm of James, the younger brother, and in a few minutes he was the prisoner of a band of painted Wyandot warriors. After several days' hard traveling, the Indians with their captive reached a village within the present boundaries of Richland County, Ohio. Here the lines were formed and Whitaker's bravery and activity tested on the gauntlet course. The boy, wounded as he was, departed himself with true heroism. The first half of the course was passed without a single scratch, but as he was speeding on toward the painted goal an old squaw who cherished a feeling of deep revenge, mortified by the captive's successful progress, sprang forward and caught his arm near the shoulder, hoping to detain him long enough for the weapon of the next savage to take effect. The prisoner instantly halted and with a violent kick sent the vicious squaw and the next Indian tumbling from the lines. His bold gallantry received wild shouts of applause along the line. Attention being thus diverted, he sprang forward with quickened speed and reached the post without material injury. Not satisfied that this favorite amusement should be so quickly ended, it was decided that the prisoner should run again. The lines for the second trial were already formed, when an elderly and dignified squaw walked forward and took from her own shoulders a blanket which she cast over the panting young prisoner, saying, 'This is my son. He is one of us. You must not kill him.' Thus adopted, he was treated with all that kindness and affection which the savage heart is capable of cherishing."

Miss Helen Scranton, daughter of Mr. Everett's informant above, relates that her grandfather, James Whitaker, was born in London, England, in 1756, and brought to New York when twelve years of age by his uncle, John Whitaker, who was a trader and the captain of his own ship. The boy wandered away from his uncle's ship while in New York and was later reported as having been captured by the Indians.

The first documentary evidence we have of James Whitaker is found in his signature to a proclamation issued by Henry Hamilton, the British Lieutenant Governor at Detroit. This notorious scalp-hunter three months later welcomed the renegades Girty, Elliott and McKee, and sent them forth to lead the

savages against American settlers on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The proclamation reads:

“DETROIT, January 5th, 1778.

“Notwithstanding all endeavors to apprize his majesty’s faithful and loyal subjects, dispersed over the colonies of his gracious intentions towards them, signified to them at different times, it is to be feared the mistaken zeal of the deluded multitude, acted upon by the artful and wicked designs of rebellious counsellors has prevented many from profiting of his majesty’s clemency. This is to acquaint all whom it may concern, that nothing can give greater satisfaction to those persons who command for his majesty at the different posts, than to save from ruin those innocent people who are unhappily involved in distresses they have in no ways merited. The moderation shown by the Indians who have gone to war from this place, is a speaking proof of the truth; and the injunctions constantly laid upon them on their setting out, having been to spare the defenceless and aged of both sexes, show that compassion for the unhappy is blended with the severity necessary to be exercised in the obstinate and perverse enemies of his majesty’s crown and dignity.

“The persons undernamed are living witnesses of the moderation and even gentleness of savages shown to them, their wives and children; which may, it is hoped, induce others to exchange the hardships experienced under their present masters, for security and freedom under their lawful sovereign.

“The bearer hereof, Edward Hazle, has my orders to make known to all persons whom it may concern, that the Indians are encouraged to show the same mildness to all who shall embrace the offer of safety and protection, hereby held out to them; and he is further to make known, as far as lies in his power, that if a number of people can agree upon a place of rendezvous, and a proper time for coming to this post, the Miamis, Sandusky or post Vincennes, the properest methods will be taken for their security, and a safe guard of white people, with an officer and interpreter sent to conduct them.

“Given under my hand and seal in Detroit.

“Signed, Henry Hamilton[Seal], Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent.

“God save the King.”

“We who have undersigned our names, do voluntarily declare that we have been conducted from the several places mentioned opposite our names to Detroit by Indians accompanied with white people; that we have neither been cruelly treated nor in any way ill used by them; and further that on our arrival we have been treated with the greatest humanity and our wants supplied in the best manner possible.

“George Baker, for himself, wife and five children—now here from five miles below Logstown.

- "James Butterworth from Big Kenawha.
"Thomas X Shoers, from Harrodstown, Kentucky.
his mark.
"Jacob Pugh, from six miles below the fort at Wheeling.
"Jonathan Muchmore, from Ft. Pitt.
"James Whitaker, from Detroit, taken at Fish Creek.
"John X Bridges, from Detroit, taken at Fish Creek.
his mark.

After Whitaker's marriage and return to Lower Sandusky, he became an influential Wyandot chief and follower of Tarhe, the Crane, the famous Indian chieftain whose home was at Lower Sandusky. Charles Johnson, states in his Narrative that Whitaker fought with the Wyandots under Crane in the defeat of St. Clair in 1791, and again in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, when Wayne defeated the Indians so decisively and brought permanent peace to the frontier.

James Whitaker died in 1804, but the Wyandots of Lower Sandusky, under Tarhe, fought on the American side in the War of 1812. Although compelled through self-interest and the circumstances of his location to fight the battles of his adopted Indian brothers, there are many notable instances of his kindness to white prisoners, and his constant efforts to alleviate their sufferings whenever possible. A number of instances are cited later.

Mr. Everett's narrative, cited above, continues:

"About two years after the capture of Whitaker, another party of warriors made an incursion into Pennsylvania and captured at Cross Roads, Elizabeth Foulks, a girl eleven years old, whom they carried into captivity and adopted into a family of the tribe. Both captives lived contentedly and happily, having adopted the manners and customs of their hosts.

"A few years after—probably here on the Sandusky river, at a general council of their tribe, these two adopted children of the forest made each other's acquaintance. A marriage according to the customs of civilized life was at once arranged and the couple, ardent in their love and happy in their expectations, set off for Detroit, where the Christian ritual was pronounced which made them man and wife.

"The Indians seemed well pleased by this conduct of their pale-faced children. They gave them a choice tract of farming land in the river bottom. Mr. and Mrs. Whitaker reared a large family for whose education they expended considerable sums of money.

"Mr. Whitaker entered into mercantile business, for which he was

well fitted. He established a store at his residence, one at Tymochtee and one at Upper Sandusky. He accumulated wealth rapidly, having at the time of his death his goods all paid for and 2,000 pounds on deposit with the Canada house where he made his purchases. At Upper Sandusky he had a partner, Hugh Patterson, with whom in the year 1804 he drank a glass of wine and died a short time afterwards, his death being attributed to poison in the wine. Mrs. Whitaker, to whom a reservation was granted in the treaty of 1817, survived her husband many years."

Miss Helen Scranton states that her grandmother, Elizabeth Foulks, was taken prisoner by the Wyandots during the first year of the War of the Revolution, 1776, when eleven years old, at Beaver Creek, Pa. The children of the neighborhood were making sugar when they were attacked by the Indians, her brother John Foulks was tomahawked and killed, and her brother George, who was several years older than Elizabeth, was taken prisoner with her. Both were carried through to the vicinity of Detroit. She remained with the Indians at Detroit, being very kindly treated by them, until she was married to James Whitaker, also a prisoner at Detroit, some five years and three months after her capture, namely in 1781 or 1782. She was adopted by the Wyandots, but in common with the white prisoners, including her brother George, she was freed a short time before her marriage. George Foulks returned at once to Beaver Creek, Pa., where he married, leaving at least ten children. Elizabeth was married to James Whitaker according to rites of civilized life, but whether by a civil or a religious ceremony is not known. In 1782, very soon after their marriage, Whitaker and his wife left Detroit and returned to the banks of the Sandusky River, where they built a log cabin three miles below Lower Sandusky, now Fremont. A few years after settling on the Sandusky, Whitaker traded his furs and Indian supplies for lumber from Canada, and after rafting it up the Sandusky River built a large frame, two-story house, also a warehouse and store building. When her first child, Nancy, was nine or ten months old, Mrs. Whitaker started on her first trip home to Beaver Creek, carrying her baby on her horse in front of her and being accompanied by two Wyandot squaws. She was the mother of eight children, from her marriage in 1782 until

the death of her husband in 1804, at Upper Sandusky. She made several trips to her old home in Beaver Creek, going for the last time in 1823 to attend a family reunion at the home of her sister. An incident of that occasion is that her sister sat at the table with twenty-two of her own children, two others having died. Of the twenty-two, a quartet of boys, born at one birth, were dressed in suits of handsome green cloth presented to them by President Monroe. Mrs Whitaker died suddenly in 1833,



CASKET CONTAINING REMAINS OF MAJOR CROGHAN IN STATE IN CITY HALL.

while on a visit to Upper Sandusky, where her husband also had died nearly thirty years before. She was buried at Upper Sandusky, although her husband's body had been taken back to Lower Sandusky. Her will, dated February 13, 1833, was admitted to probate in this county September 13, 1833, in which are mentioned the names of several of her children, including Isaac and James, the latter being her executor. In her will among other things

mentioned as her property was "a chest containing valuable articles." From the inventory of her estate as recorded in the office of the probate judge the following articles of silver were found in a chest: Silver castor, cruets, tablespoons, sugar tongs, Indian armband and shoe buckles.

The children of James Whitaker and Elizabeth Foulks Whitaker were all born on what was afterward called the Whitaker Reservation, a tract of 1280 acres set aside for her by the treaty of 1817, which reads:

"To Elizabeth Whitaker, who was taken prisoner by the Wyandots and has ever since lived among them, 1280 acres of land, on the west side of the Sandusky river, near Croghansville, to be laid off in a square form, as nearly as the meanders of the said river will admit, and to run an equal distance above and below the house in which the said Elizabeth Whitaker now lives."

A deed was made to her by the Government in 1822 for these lands, containing the restriction that she should not convey them to others without permission from the President of the United States. This permission she obtained from President Monroe and in 1823, for the consideration named in the deed of \$1200, conveyed the whole tract to her son George Whitaker.

The names of the children of James and Elizabeth Whitaker were:

Nancy, born in 1782, married William Wilson in 1803.

Isaac moved to Indiana.

James moved to Michigan.

Mary, born in 1791, married George Shannon, died in 1827.

Elizabeth who died during the War of 1812.

Charlotte who died in 1824.

Rachel, born in 1801, who married James A. Scranton in 1823.

George, born in 1803, moved to Missouri in February, 1884.

James Whitaker had a number of trading posts or stores, one at his home, one on the Tymochtee and one at Upper Sandusky. While visiting the latter he died suddenly, in 1804, supposedly being poisoned by his partner, Hugh Patterson, a Canadian from Sandwich, Upper Canada, who owed Mrs. Whitaker

“\$1300 on a judgment on which Richard Patterson was surety,” as stated in Elizabeth Whitaker’s will.

James Whitaker did a great deal of his trading at Montreal, making one or two trips thither a year. On one of these trips he took his eldest daughter, Nancy, a young girl, to Montreal, where she visited an English family named Wilson. The Wilsons proposed sending one of their daughters to Scotland to be educated, and Nancy Whitaker accompanied her and remained at Glasgow, Scotland, at school for nearly three years. Shortly after Nancy’s return to her father’s home near Lower Sandusky, William Wilson, an English officer and son of the Montreal Wilsons, came to visit the Whitakers, and on a second visit some months later he was married to Nancy at the Whitaker home, when she was between seventeen and eighteen years of age.

William Wilson, the British officer, and his wife Nancy lived with the Whitakers, where they had many English officers as visitors. Two girls and a boy were born to them before the death of Nancy Whitaker Wilson, which occurred shortly before the death of her father, James Whitaker, in 1804. The British officer, Wilson, was recalled to England in 1810 or 1811 to assume the position of Captain in his regiment, and left his three children with their grandmother, Elizabeth Whitaker, who had charge of them until after the close of the war between Great Britain and America, as well as of her own seven children.

One of her children, Mary, married George Shannon. She died in 1827, leaving five sons and one daughter; two sons, James and John, lived and died here, leaving large families who are prosperous people. Rachel Whitaker Scranton died October 7, 1862, eleven years after the death of her husband, James A. Scranton, who died while Sergeant-at-Arms of the Ohio State Senate, in 1851. They had ten children, of whom two survive: James A. Scranton, a farmer near Fremont, and Mrs. Hannah Scranton-Stoner, a widow.

Charles Johnston of Botetourt County, Virginia, while engaged in securing depositions of witnesses in litigations in relation to lands in Kentucky, left his home in 1789 and repaired to what is now Point Pleasant on the Ohio river. While passing down the river with Mr. May, Mr. Skyles, William Flinn and Peggy and Dolly Fleming, one of

whom was a particular friend of Flinn who with the young women were residents of Pittsburg, the party was hailed by two white men who implored to be taken on board and rescued from the Indians by whom they had been captured. These white men were simply used as a decoy, and when the boat containing Johnston and his companions approached the shore they were fired on by a body of 54 Indians, killing Dolly Fleming and Mr. May, and capturing Skyles, Flinn, Peggy Fleming and Charles Johnston. The date was March 20, 1789. The prisoners were separated and later Flinn was burned at the stake on the Sandusky river, Skyles was condemned to a similar fate on the Miami of the Lakes, but providentially escaped to Detroit. In 1827, Johnston, then a prominent citizen of his native state, printed a "Narrative of the Incidents attending the Capture, Detention and Ransom of Charles Johnston." The following extracts relate to his fellow captive, Peggy Fleming, and to his experiences at Lower Sandusky. When he reached Upper Sandusky, he met a Canadian trader, named Francis Duchouquet, who succeeded after many efforts in purchasing Johnston from the Indians for 600 silver broaches. "This event" says Johnston, "to me the most important of my life, by a singular coincidence occurred on the 28th of April, in the year 1790, the day on which I attained the age of 21 years."

"The small band of Cherokees, three in number, to whom Peggy Fleming had been allotted in the distribution made of the prisoners on the Ohio, brought her to Upper Sandusky while I was there. She was no longer that cheerful, lively creature such as when separated from us. Her spirits were sunk, her gayety had fled; and instead of that vivacity and sprightliness which formerly danced upon her countenance she now wore the undissembled aspect of melancholy and wretchedness. I endeavored to ascertain the cause of this extraordinary change, but she answered my inquiries only with her tears; leaving my mind to its own inferences. Her stay with us was only for a few hours, during which time I could not extract a word from her, except occasionally the monosyllables *yes* and *no*. Gloom and despondency had taken entire possession of her breast; and nothing could be more touching than her appearance. Her emaciated frame and dejected countenance, presented a picture of sorrow and of sadness which would have melted the stoutest heart, and such was its effect upon me that I could not abstain from mingling my tears with hers. With these feelings we parted. When we met again it was under far different and more auspicious circumstances, as will hereafter be seen.

"Mr. Duchouquet sold his goods and collected his peltry at Upper Sandusky. The season had arrived for transporting his purchases to Detroit; and with a light heart I began the journey to that post in his party. The Sandusky river is not navigable from the upper town; and Mr. Duchouquet's peltry was carried on pack horses to Lower Sandusky; whence there is a good navigation to Detroit. When we reached Lower Sandusky, a great degree of consternation prevailed there, produced by

the incidents of the preceding day, and of the morning then recently past. The three Cherokees, who had possession of Peggy Fleming, had conducted her to a place where they encamped, within a quarter of a mile's distance from the town. It was immediately rumored that they were there, with a white female captive. The traders residing in the town instantly determined to visit the camp of the Cherokees and to see her. Among them was a man whose name was Whitaker, and who like the one that I had met at Upper Sandusky had been carried into captivity from the white settlements by the Wyandots in his early life. He was not so entirely savage as the first; could speak our language better; and though naturalized by his captors retained some predilection for the whites. The influence which he had acquired with his tribe was such that they had promoted him to the rank of chief; and his standing with them was high. His business had led him frequently to Pittsburg where the father of Peggy Fleming then kept a tavern in which Whitaker had been accustomed to lodge and board. As soon as he appeared with the other traders at the camp of the Cherokees, he was recognized by the daughter of his old landlord, and she addressed him by his name, earnestly supplicating his efforts to emancipate her from the grasp of her savage proprietors. Without hesitation he acceded to her request. He did not make an application to the Cherokees but returned to the town and informed the principal chief, distinguished by the appellation of King Crane, that the white female captive was his sister; a misrepresentation greatly palliated by the benevolent motive which dictated it.

"He had no difficulty in obtaining from the King a promise to procure her release. Crane went immediately to the camp of the Cherokees; informed them that their prisoner was the sister of a friend of his, and desired as a favor that they would make a present to him of Peggy Fleming, whom he wished to restore to her brother. They rejected his request. He then proposed to purchase her; this they also refused with bitterness telling him that he was no better than the white people and that he was as mean as the dirt; terms of the grossest reproach in their use of them. At this insult Crane became exasperated. He went back to the town; told Whitaker what had been his reception and declared his intention to take Peggy Fleming from the Cherokees by force. But fearing such an act might be productive of war between his nation and theirs, he urged Whitaker to raise the necessary sum in value for her redemption. Whitaker, with the assistance of the other traders at the town, immediately made up the requisite amount in silver broaches. This was not accomplished until it was too late to effect their object on that evening. Early next morning, King Crane, attended by eight or ten young warriors, marched out to the camp of the Cherokees, where he found them asleep, while their forlorn captive was securely fastened, in a state of utter nakedness, to a stake, and her body painted black; an indication always decisive that death is the doom of the prisoner.

Crane, with his scalping knife, cut the cords by which she was bound; delivered her the clothes of which she had been divested by the rude hands of the unfeeling Cherokees; and after she was dressed, awakened them. He told them in peremptory language that the captive was his, and that he had brought with him the value of her ransom. Then throwing down the silver broaches on the ground, he bore off the terrified girl to the town, and delivered her to Whitaker; who after a few days sent her, disguised by her dress and paint as a squaw, to Pittsburg, under the care of two trusty Wyandots. I never learnt whether she reached her home or not; but as the Indians are remarkable for their fidelity to their undertakings, I presume she was faithfully conducted to her place of destination.

"The Cherokees were so incensed by the loss of their captive, that



FREMONT (LOWER SANDUSKY) 1846.

they entered the Wyandot town of Lower Sandusky, declaring they would be revenged by taking the life of some white person. This was the cause of the alarm, which was spread among the traders at the time of our arrival, and in which our party necessarily participated; as it was indispensable that we should remain there several days, for the purpose of unpacking Mr. Duchouquet's peltry from the horses, and placing it on board the batteaux in which it was to be conveyed to Detroit. The Cherokees painted themselves, as they and other savages are accustomed to do when they are preparing for war or battle. All their ingenuity is directed to the object of rendering their aspect as horrible as possible, that they may strike their enemies with terror, and indicate by external signs the fury which rages within. They walked about the town in great anger, and we deemed it necessary to keep a watchful eye upon

them and to guard against their approach. All the whites, except Whitaker, who was considered as one of the Wyandots, assembled at night in the same house, provided with weapons of defence, and continued together until the next morning; when to our high gratification they disappeared and I never heard of them afterwards."

Mr. Johnston's Narrative continues:

"At Lower Sandusky we found Mr. Angus McIntosh, who was extensively engaged in the fur trade. This gentleman was at the head of the connection to which Mr. Duchouquet belonged, who was his factor or partner at Upper Sandusky, as a Mr. Isaac Williams was here. Williams was a stout, bony, muscular and fearless man. On one of those days which I spent in waiting until we were ready to embark for Detroit, a Wyandot Indian, in his own language, which I did not understand, uttered some expression offensive to Williams. This produced great irritation on both sides and a bitter quarrel ensued. Williams took down from a shelf of the store in which the incident occurred two scalping knives; laid them on the counter; gave the Wyandot choice of them; and challenged him to combat with these weapons. But the character of Williams for strength and courage was so well known, that he would not venture on the contest and soon afterward retired.

"Lower Sandusky was to me distinguished by another circumstance. It was the residence of the Indian widow, whose former husband I had been destined to succeed, if the Mingo had been permitted to retain and dispose of me according to his intentions. I felt an irresistible curiosity to have a view of this female, and it was my determination to find her dwelling, and see her there, if no other opportunity should occur. She was at last pointed out to me as she walked about the village, and I could not help chuckling at my escape from the fate which had been intended for me. She was old, ugly and disgusting.

"After the expiration of four or five days from that on which we reached Lower Sandusky, our preparations were completed; the boats were laden with the peltry of the traders; and the whole trading party embarked for Detroit. On the afternoon of the second day, having descended the river into Sandusky Bay, we landed on a small island near the strait by which it enters into Lake Erie. Here we pitched a tent which belonged to our party. The island was inhabited by a small body of Indians, and we were soon informed that they were preparing for a festival and dance. If I then understood the motive or occasion which induced this dance, it is not now within my recollection. Several canoes were employed in bringing guests from the main, which is at a short distance, separated from the island by a narrow arm of the bay. We were all invited to the dance by short sticks, painted red, which were delivered to us, and seemed to be intended as tickets of admission. A large circular piece of ground was made smooth, and surrounded by something like a pallsade, within which the entertainment was held. We had expected that it would commence early in the evening, but the

delay was so long that we laid down to sleep in the tent, which stood near the spot of ground prepared for the dance.

"About eleven o'clock we were awakened by the noise of Indian mirth. One hundred, perhaps, of both sexes had assembled. Both men and women were dressed in calico shirts. Those of the women were adorned with a profusion of silver broaches, stuck in the sleeves and bosoms; they wore, besides, what is called a match-coat, formed of cloth, confined around the middle of their bodies by a string, with the edges lapping toward the side, and the length of the garment extended a little below the knees. They wore leggings and moccasins. Their cheeks were painted red, but no other part of their face. Their long black hair was parted in front, drawn together behind, and formed into a club. The liberal use of bear's oil gave it a high gloss. Such are the ornaments and dress of an Indian belle, by which she endeavors to attract the notice of admiring beaux. The men had a covering around their waists, to which their leggings were suspended by a string, extending from their top to the cord which held on the covering of the waist; and a blanket or robe thrown over the shoulders and confined by a belt around the body, of various colors and adorned with beads. The women were arranged together and led the dance, the men following after them and all describing a circle. The character of this dance differed essentially from that of the war dance, which I had witnessed on a former occasion. The one was accompanied by horrid yells and shrieks and extravagant gestures, expressive of fury and ferocity, with nothing like a mirthful cheerfulness. The other which I saw in this last instance was mere festivity and lively mirth. The women were excluded from the first, but had an active share in the second; and both sexes were highly animated by the music of the tamborine. An abundant supper had been provided, consisting altogether of the fresh meat of bears and deer, without bread or salt and dressed in no other manner than by boiling. It was served up in a number of wooden trenchers, placed on the ground and the guests seated themselves around it. We were invited to partake but neither the food nor the cookery were much to our taste; yet we were unwilling to refuse their hospitality, and joined in their repast. We were not gainers by it; for when we were faring not very sumptuously on their boiled meat, without bread or salt, they entered our tent and stole from our basket which contained provisions enough for our voyage, a very fine ham on which we had intended to regale ourselves the next day."

It is a curious fact that of the first settlers of the Ohio Company at Marietta, the first organized settlement in the Northwestern Territory, who were captured by the Indians to be taken for ransom to Detroit, two of their number, Major Nathan Goodale, the Revolutionary hero, and Daniel Convers,

1800

then a young lad, should have been treated with great kindness by the Indian trader James Whitaker and his family, the first permanent white settlers in Ohio, at their home near Lower Sandusky. In fact Major Goodale died at the home of the Whitakers and was buried by them; while young Convers makes personal mention of their kindness to him, in his *Reminiscences*.

The lad Daniel Convers was captured by nine Indians on the 29th of April, 1791, just outside of Fort Frye, while engaged with three armed soldiers in cutting a tree for the purpose of making a hoop for the body of a drum. They were fired on, when the three soldiers ran, leaving Daniel, who was unarmed, to be captured by the Indians. He was hurried into a canoe on the river which crossed over to the mouth of Wolf Creek. On arriving at Lower Sandusky, on the 9th of May, he found oxen and other cattle that had been taken from the settlement at Marietta.

Some young Indian boys ran with him up the river bank to keep him out of sight of the other Indians who lived in the large Indian village, and he thus received only kind treatment, except in the case of a drunken Indian, who knocked him down several times. Hildreth's *Pioneer History* says that they moved the next day down the Sandusky, "and stopped a short time at Mr. Whitaker's, an Indian trader. He had a white wife who like himself had been taken prisoner in childhood and adopted into the tribe. The trader made them a present of a loaf of maple sugar, giving Daniel a share. Whitaker said but little to the prisoner, lest he should excite the jealousy of the warriors."

On arriving at the mouth of the Portage River, near the ruins of old Fort Sandusky, Convers was delivered to his new master, a Chippewa. The price paid for him was a horse and several strings of wampum.

He was then taken to Detroit, where on the 14th of July he escaped and after secreting himself for several weeks was finally taken to the hospital by the son of the British Commandant, who treated him kindly and sent him on down to Montreal and then on to his relations in Killingly, Connecticut. He returned to Marietta in February, 1794, and became an influential

citizen. He drew the sketch of Fort Frye found in Hildreth's Pioneer History, which he assisted, as a boy, in building.

Of the many acts of kindness extended by James Whitaker and his wife during their residence among the Indians at Lower Sandusky, the most noted person whom they were able to assist was Major Nathan Goodale. Gen. Rufus Putnam, the intimate friend of Washington and his chief engineer and the "Father of Ohio" in its first organized settlement, was warmly attached to Major Goodale, who had served as an officer in his regiment through the entire war. General Putnam, in a remarkable letter to General Washington written at Massachusetts Huts, June 9, 1783, calls Washington's attention to the numerous conspicuous acts of personal bravery and of the gallant duty performed by Major Goodale during the Revolutionary War.

Major Goodale was a native of Brookfield, Mass., but joined the Ohio Company in 1788. He removed to Belpre, near Marietta, in 1789, where he was captured March 1, 1793, while working on his farm within fifty rods of the garrison, by eight Wyandot Indians, who hurried him off toward Detroit in order to secure a large ransom. While en route, near Lower Sandusky, he fell sick and could not travel. The Whitakers learning of his condition took him to their home, where Mrs. Whitaker carefully nursed him until he finally died and was probably buried in what afterward became the Whitaker family graveyard. Mrs. Whitaker said "the Indians left him at her house, where he died of a disease like pleurisy without having received any very ill usage from his captors other than the means necessary to prevent his escape."

James Whitaker may be regarded as the first educator of this region. About 1800, at large expense, he hired a teacher from the east to instruct the older children. His oldest daughter, Nancy, had been taken to Montreal, and then sent to Scotland, where she remained three years at school, returning well qualified to teach her younger brothers and sisters.

The Sandusky and Maumee Valleys, as well as Detroit and the Michigan peninsula, practically remained under British dominion until after the Battle of Fallen Timbers and the subsequent treaty of Greenville. Detroit was evacuated by the British in

1796, nevertheless the British through their Indian allies kept an envious eye on this region and almost immediately after the declaration of war in June, 1812, again took possession of much of this territory through the ignominious surrender of Detroit. Under these circumstances and on account of James Whitaker's almost semi-annual business trips to Montreal it was but natural that he and his family, including his son-in-law, Captain Wilson of the British Army, should be counted on as having warm British sympathies, many British officers, including Proctor himself it is said, visited at the Whitaker home at Lower Sandusky prior to the War of 1812. After James Whitaker's death in 1804, and for nearly thirty years thereafter, Mrs. Whitaker resided in the old home and transacted the business of a frontier trader, but her connections were more with the Americans on the Ohio River and at Pittsburg than with the British at Montreal. Many acts of kindness on her part to the foreign missionaries are recorded.

The Rev. Joseph Badger, born in Springfield, Mass., and a Revolutionary soldier who fought at Bunker Hill, was appointed a missionary in the Connecticut Western Reserve in October, 1800, and in 1801 began his work which also extended into the Sandusky Valley. In 1805, in the records left by him, we read of his swimming his horse across the Sandusky River by the side of his canoe. Associated with him was Quintus F. Atkins, whose diary is in the W. R. Historical Society. There we read that in 1806 these two men sailed up the Sandusky River to Mrs. Whitaker's, where they unloaded and had family prayers. A little later they 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." In the fall of 1809, when war rumors were afloat, Mr. Badger made an appointment for the Indians to meet him at Mrs. Whitaker's, at Lower Sandusky. His address to them was so convincing and his influence over them for four or five years had been so powerful for good, that they resolved to take no part against the Americans. This was doubtless one of the reasons together with the influence of Mrs. Whitaker, why the Wyandots under Tarhe at Lower Sandusky, kept their faith with

the Americans and did not join the other Indians in behalf of the British.

General Harrison often stopped at her house and she nursed him there through an illness of over six weeks. When the British expedition set out from Detroit under Proctor late in July, 1813, against Fort Meigs and then against Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky, it is only fair to presume that they counted on Mrs. Whitaker being friendly or at least neutral, as it was known that she had in her house the three children of a Captain in the British Army in the persons of the children of her daughter Nancy. The British gun-boats stopped at Whitaker's wharf three miles below the fort, where the large fine dwelling-house, store-house, factory



GOLD MEDAL AWARDED MAJOR CROGHAN BY CONGRESS.

and wharves of the Whitakers were located, but Mrs. Whitaker with her children and grandchildren on the approach of Tecumseh's horde of Indians had fled to the protection of Fort Stephenson and had been sent but a day or so before the battle, with other refugees, women and children, on toward Upper Sandusky and Delaware. She, herself, was fired on by the Indians, whose bullets riddled her cape. Her descendants, and in fact many old residents, ascribe much of Major Croghan's success to the information and advice given him by Mrs. Whitaker. She certainly had every opportunity of learning of the intention of the Indian allies of the British and this information she undoubtedly imparted to General Harrison and Major Croghan, although it

is hard to estimate the actual value of the assistance given to Croghan in the battle. Nevertheless the British were so incensed at her conduct that they stopped at the Whitaker home on their retreat down the river from Fort Stephenson and remained long enough to utterly destroy the old home, the warehouse, the factory and the wharves. Before Mrs. Whitaker fled from her riverside home, she buried a handsome silver service which had been presented to her and her husband, years before, by British officers. It was unearthed and carried off by the British. Among the evidences of the landing of British soldiers at the Whitaker homestead and also of the character of the troops engaged against Fort Stephenson is a Wellington half-penny token, coined in 1813, and presented to British troops participating in Wellington's Peninsular Campaign in Spain and Portugal, which was found within the last ten years near the Whitaker homestead and was placed in the Birchard Library Museum. After the close of General Harrison's Northwestern Campaign he appointed a commission to appraise the damage and loss sustained by American citizens by the British invasion of Ohio during the War of 1812. This commission awarded Mrs. Whitaker \$8000 as the damage and loss sustained in the destruction of her property by the British forces under General Proctor. "I have claims on the United States," says her will, probated in 1833, "to \$8000 for spoilation during the last war." Voluminous papers were prepared many years ago containing original affidavits of settlers of that period, and placed in the hands of Congressman Frank H. Hurd, who represented this Congressional District some twenty-five years ago.

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THE OHIO RIVER.

It was one of Pascal's thoughts that "rivers are highways that move on, and bear us whither we wish to go." Surely it is, that primeval and pioneer man has followed the courses of great streams because along those channels have been found the lines of least resistance. On the rivers and their banks therefore has history found its favorite haunts. Dry up the currents of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Danube, the Tiber, the Rhine, the Seine, and the Thames, and you will have changed if not have wiped out the courses of civilization.

In the stored records of our country the rivers have played their part, picturesque and potent. The St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Connecticut, the Colorado, the Illinois, the Wabash, the Wisconsin and the Father of Waters have had their historians. Nor has the Ohio escaped the pen of the chronicler. Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, the scholarly secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was perhaps the first to produce a volume devoted to the waters of the La Belle Riviere, as the early French navigators styled the Ohio. His brochure issued first as "Afloat on the Ohio," and reissued as "The Storied Ohio," is a delightful account of a canoe voyage on this historic waterway from Redstone creek to Cairo, with landings at and observation upon the points of interest along the route.

Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert, secretary of the Ohio Valley Historical Society and a Life Member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, is the author of an extensive and elaborate work entitled "The Ohio River, a Course of Empire," recently put forth by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Mr. Hulbert had already made himself known to the reading public as the author of the unique and valuable contribution to American History, "The Historic Highways of America." Mr. Hulbert made his initial bow as the author on this subject, in which he has become the highest authority, in the pages of this QUARTERLY for January, 1900.

"The Ohio River" is a masterly and entertaining presentation of the subject comprising some 350 octavo pages, with maps and copious illustrations. Mr. Hulbert has the historic instinct and discrimination with rare powers of description. He carries the reader along through the

scenes and events touched by his theme as delightfully as the most accomplished Cicerone guides the traveler through the bewildering wealth of a museum or picture gallery. Mr. Hulbert is an enthusiast in historic lore and his fervor is contagious. History to the average person suggests little more than a series of dry dates of a funeral procession of lifeless figures and embalmed incidents. Mr. Hulbert galvanizes the past into a living present. His *Ohio River* is a continuous panorama and the reader moves from picture to picture without wearying, indeed with accelerating interest. The best test of the book is that you close it with the regret that the *finis* has been reached. It is doubtful if any other American waterway touches in its course so much of historic value and variety. It was first discovered and navigated in 1670, so far as records go, by the famous La Salle, foremost in chivalry, romance and adventure among the French explorers. It was the logical and natural highway and connecting link between the French settlements on the St. Lawrence and those on the Mississippi. Its source at the Forks of the Allegheny and Monongahela was the great gateway to the boundless west and that strategic gateway was the point of contest bitter and bloody between the Gaul and the Saxon. Its banks were the scene of the initial struggles between the two great white races. Later it was decreed by the Redmen, the aborigine, as the boundary line between the advancing pale face and the indigenous children of the forest. Again and again did the savage strive to drive back the English and the American across its majestic current. Its meandering course through the magnificent wilderness of the untrodden west suggested its name:

“The first brave English adventurers who looked with eager eyes upon the great river of the Middle West learned that its Indian name was represented by the letters *Oyo*, and it has since been known as the Ohio River. The French, who came in advance of the English, translated the Indian name, we are told, and called the Ohio *La Belle Riviere*, ‘the beautiful river.’ We have, however, other testimony concerning the name that cannot well be overlooked. It is that of the two experienced and well-educated Moravian missionaries, Heckewelder and Zeisberger, who came into the trans-Allegheny country long before the end of the eighteenth century. Upon such a subject as the meaning of Ohio, one might easily hold these men to be final authorities. John Heckewelder affirms that *Oyo* never could have been correctly translated ‘beautiful’; Zeisberger adds that in the Onondago dialect of the Iroquois tongue there was a word *oyoneri* which meant ‘beautiful’ but only in the adverbial sense—something that was done ‘beautifully’, or, as we say, done ‘well’. Mr. Heckewelder, knowing that it was commonly understood that the

French had translated *Oyo* when they gave the name of La Belle Riviere to the Ohio, took occasion to study the matter carefully. He found that in the Miami language *O'hui* or *Ohi*, as prefixes, meant 'very'; for instance, *Ohiopeek* meant 'very white'; *Ohiopeekhanne* meant 'the white foaming river.' The Ohio River [he writes], being in many places wide and deep and so gentle that for many miles, in some places, no current is perceivable, the least wind blowing up the river covers the surface with what the people of that country call 'white caps'; and I have myself witnessed that for days together, this has been the case, caused by southwesterly winds (which, by the way, are the prevailing winds in that country), so that we, navigating the canoes, durst not venture to proceed, as these white caps would have filled and sunk our canoes in an instant. Now, in such cases, when the river could not be navigated with canoes, nor even crossed with this kind of craft—when the whole surface of the water presented white foaming swells, the Indians would, as the case was at times, say, 'juh Ohiopechan, Ohio peek, Ohio peekhanne'; and when they supposed the water very deep they would say 'Kitschi, Ohiopeekhanne,' which means, 'verily this is a deep white river.'

"For one, I like the interpretation of 'Ohio' as given by those old missionaries—the 'River of Many White Caps.' True, there is a splendid, sweeping beauty in the Ohio, but throughout a large portion of its course the land lies low on either bank, and those who have feasted their eyes on the picturesque Hudson, or on the dashing beauty of the Sagueny, have been heard to call in question the judgment of the French who named the Ohio Belle Riviere. But it must be remembered that the French first saw the upper waters of the Ohio, which we now know as the glittering Allegheny. La Belle Riviere included the Ohio and the Allegheny; its was not until the English had reached the Ohio, about the middle of the eighteenth century, that it came to be said that the Allegheny and Monongahela formed the Ohio, at Pittsburgh. To one acquainted with the roaring Allegheny, dancing down through the New York and Pennsylvania hills, and who can see how clear the waters ran in the dense green of the ancient forest—to such a one it is not difficult to see why the French called it La Belle Rivier."

Mr. Hulbert then unfolds the history of the river from its earliest discovery to the present time; the more memorable voyages on its waters; the spectacular expedition of Celoron de Bienville (1749) in

which that romantic chevalier with his detachment of two hundred French officers and Canadian soldiers, sixty Iroquois and Abenake Indians in a flotilla of twenty birchbark canoes embarked from Montreal and pushing up the St. Lawrence to the waters of Lake Erie, ascended the Chautauqua creek, crossed the lake and swung into the Allegheny and finally into the Ohio. It reads like a fairy tale, this voyage down the Ohio, the ceremonious burying at the mouth of debouching rivers of leaden plates, claiming the territory for France; the ascent of the Great Miami and the return by the Maumee and the Great Lakes to Montreal.

In 1770 came the journey down the Ohio of George Washington prospecting for land pre-emptions and who "has left the clearest picture of the Ohio of pre-Revolutionary day, as the result of his trip." It was on this trip that Washington at least twice stood upon the territory now included in the boundaries of the Buckeye State.

The Fall of 1774 was memorable on the Ohio because of Dunmore's War. The Earl of Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia took up arms against the Indians of the trans-Ohio country. His army numbered three thousand, divided into two divisions of fifteen hundred each; one division under General Andrew Lewis proceeded down the Great Kanawha to its mouth (Point Pleasant) where it encountered the crafty and brilliant Shawnee leader Cornstalk at the head of fifteen hundred chosen Ohio braves. The Virginia backwoodsmen were victorious and following their defeated foe crossed the Ohio and proceeded to the site of Chillicothe where they met the division under Dunmore, which in a hundred canoes, rafts and pirogues had embarked on the upper Ohio and "landed in what is now the state of Ohio at the mouth of the Hockhocking, where a stockade was erected." Even the worthy Homer sometimes nods and at this point Mr. Hulbert, omits to our mind, one of the most interesting and noteworthy events that ever transpired on the Ohio. As the army of Dunmore returned from the interior it encamped at Fort Gower, mouth of the Hockhocking. There on November 5, 1774, was held an historic meeting of the Virginia officers. The welcome message was brought them of the patriotic action taken by the Continental Congress then in session at Philadelphia and these Virginia officers resolved "That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to his Majesty, King George, the Third, whilst His Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will at the expense of life, and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support of his crown and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty and attachment of the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous and tumultuous manner, but when regularly called for by the unanimous

voice of our countrymen." That was a public, formal, spontaneous declaration of American freedom announced by Virginia colonists on the banks of the Hockhocking and the Ohio in the future Buckeye State, six months before the shot was fired at Lexington that echoed around the world and more than a year and a half before the Liberty Bell, in the Quaker City, rang forth the glad tidings of national independence. Surely *The Ohio River* deserves all credit accruing from that historic fact. The Ohio bore its patriotic part in the Revolution and to that Mr. Hulbert does justice. In the summer of 1778, the period of the deepest decline of the American cause, occurred the beginning of the brilliant successful campaign of the Revolution in the West, the conquest of Illinois by that daring "Washington of the West" the intrepid Virginian youth, George Rogers Clark. He raised a motley contingent of some two hundred Virginia and Pennsylvania volunteer backwoodsmen and at Fort Pitt embarked for the lower Ohio, the Falls at Louisville, whence he invaded the Illinois country and performed that perilous and almost unparalleled feat of capturing the same and holding the Northwest to the American cause. The Revolution was followed by that most potent of all Ohio river expeditions—that is potent to Ohio State—the trip of the *Adventure Galley* or the *Mayflower*.

"The New Englanders at once began preparations to emigrate to the shore of the 'River of Many White Caps.' The vanguard of about fifty officers and workmen left for the West in the winter of 1787-88, and after a tedious journey over Forbe's Road through Pennsylvania reached the Youghiohony in the early spring. Here at what is now West Newton, Pa., boats were constructed for the river trip, the flagship of the tiny squadron being the *Adventure Galley*, afterwards called the *Mayflower* in memory of the historic ship of the Pilgrim fathers. Descending the Youghiohony, Monongahela, and the Ohio the veteran hero General Putnam, landed at Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum, April 7, 1788. On the opposite shore of the Muskingum the pioneer town in the Northwest Territory was founded by these forty-eight founders of Ohio. Fort Harmar, erected partly to prevent the Virginian and Pennsylvanian squatters from crossing the Ohio, received with equanimity the legal purchasers of the Ohio company's domain. At once a blockhouse was erected by the New Englanders and named the 'Campus Martius'; about it the little town began to grow up. In the fall preceding, Congress had elected General Arthur St. Clair governor of the territory northwest of the river Ohio. In July, 1788, he arrived, and on the fifteenth of that month the inauguration ceremony was duly celebrated. The veterans of the Revolution on the Ohio

gave the name of Marietta to the new town in honor of Mary Antoinette and France. Generals St. Clair of Pennsylvania, and Putnam of Massachusetts, Samuel Holden Parsons of Connecticut, and James M. Varnum of Rhode Island were the leaders in the work of establishing the settlement, aided by Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the Territory, and by the noble Manasseh Cutler, who was a frequent visitor and a powerful advocate in the East. Parsons, Varnum, and John Cleve Symmes, Chief Justice of New Jersey, were elected Judges of the Territory."

Over against the safe and sane settlement at Marietta, followed in 1796 the erratic and almost ridiculous settlement of the deluded Parisians at Gallipolis. That incident is the vaudeville act in the history of Ohio, it is the comedy amid many tragic surroundings. Another theatrical scene on the Ohio was the journey of the conspirator Aaron Burr from Pittsburgh to Blennerhassett Island and his inveiglement of the stupid but doubtless well-meaning Herman Blennerhassett. That was another tragico-comedy on the Ohio which Mr. Hulbert gracefully depicts. But we must refer the reader to *The Ohio River* for a proper appreciation of its extent and value. It will be read with equal interest by teacher and pupil, young and old. Mr. Hulbert has a clear, vigorous, easy-moving style. If anyone thinks history is stupid, let him read this book and learn otherwise; if one imagines the Ohio river is a commonplace "shallow babbling run" let him read this book and learn of its mighty influence in the western advance of civilization and its fascinating career through the history of American progress.

Mr. Hulbert's Ohio River is not only the most complete and satisfactory contribution to the literature of the subject which it treats but we know of no American waterway having so accomplished and accurate a chronicler.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXHIBIT.

In the early autumn of 1906 the New York Academy of Science through Dr. Wissler, Chairman of the Committee on Archæology and Ethnology, invited the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society to make an exhibit of the progress accomplished by the Society in archæological science in Ohio during the past year. The Executive Committee of the Society authorized Prof. W. C. Mills, Curator, to make such exhibit. Prof. Mills prepared a miniature model, on the scale of one foot to forty feet, in plaster and wood of the Harness Mound, which was exhumed by the professor in the summer of 1906. The model represented three fourths of the mound completed with the exact position of the burials and fire places. The burials represented were two kinds, cremated and uncremated. Of the latter but few were found in the mound,

there being but five uncremated in a total of 133 burials. The evidence from the explorations revealed that the process of cremation generally took place at some spot more or less distant from the grave, the charred bones and ashes being gathered up after the burning and placed in the grave. All the graves showed careful preparation and in each instance a platform of clay was arranged surrounded with logs. The platform was usually oval in shape, the center being raised above the level of the sides.

In several cases the center of the grave had been hollowed out, thus forming a basin shaped receptacle. In many instances the graves were constructed in the form of a parallelogram, being more than a foot in depth, the cremated remains having been placed in the bottom of the grave. All these various forms were developed in the model. In addition to the model of the mound two other models were prepared exhibiting typical graves and made the exact size of the original, showing the oval basin shape and the parallelogram form. Casts of the various pieces of copper, stone and bone implements were placed in the model graves duplicating the originals as found in the exhumation.

The exhibition of these models and other constructions illustrative of the advance of science was held in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, during the holiday week and some two weeks following. The occasion was the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. During the exercises of the Association, Professor Mills read two papers relating his experience in the exploration of Ohio mounds and describing the results of his observations. The models exhibited by the professor were examined with great interest by the distinguished members of the Scientific Association. Professor Mills is now engaged in the construction of an exact miniature reproduction of the Serpent Mound. These models will be exhibited at the forthcoming Jamestown Exposition.

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than four feet in height. The embankment of the square is perceptibly heavier than that of the small circle, which is also heavier than that of the larger one. The square work measures 1,080 feet upon each side; and its walls are interrupted at the corner and upon the middle of each side by gateways thirty feet in width. The central gateways are each covered by a small mound, of about the same height with the embankment, and placed forty feet interior to it. The manner in which the circular works are connected with the square enclosure are accurately shown in the plan, precluding the necessity of a long and intricate description. It will be observed, that while the wall of the larger circle is interrupted throughout,—a feature for which it is, of course, impossible to assign a reason. Besides the small mounds at the gateways, there are three others within the works, two of which are inconsiderable, while the other is of the largest size, being 160 feet long by not far from 20 feet high. There are also a few other mounds outside of the walls, reference to which is had elsewhere. Numerous dug holes occur in the vicinity of the great mound. Most of these are interior to the works,—a very unusual circumstance. In fact, the whole work appears to have been but partially finished, or constructed in great haste. The mounds at the gateways and those outside of the walls are formed by carelessly scooping up the earth at their base, leaving irregular pits near them. In most of the regular works the material seems to have been taken up evenly and with great care or brought from a distance.

“No one would be apt to ascribe a defensive origin to this work, yet it is difficult to conceive for what other purpose a structure of such dimensions, embracing nearly one hundred acres could have been designed. The great mound is anomalous in its character, and throws no light on the question. That there is some hidden significance, in the first place in the irregularity, and secondly in the arrangement of the various parts, can hardly be doubted. Nor can the coincidences observable between this and the other succeeding works of the same series be wholly accidental.”

Mr. Gerard Fowke in his “Archæological History of Ohio”

discusses at some length the discrepancies in the surveys of Squier and Davis.³

I have prepared a drawing of the works, Fig. 1, following the suggestions and corrections of Mr. Fowke and have verified his statements by a personal examination of every portion of the earthworks available.

Many changes have taken place since the survey by Squier and Davis. At that time almost the entire works were covered with the native forest, but now only a part of the small circle shows the original form as it was a half century ago, and a greater portion of the land has been under cultivation for more than a quarter of a century.

A railroad,—The Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton,—has cut through a portion of the earthworks on the east side of the pike, and Mr. Harness has built a large house and barn on a portion of the site of the small circle.

The land upon which the earthworks are located was formerly owned by two brothers, Messrs. Edwin and Daniel Harness. The line separating their farms extends almost east and west about twenty-five feet south of the large mound.

Since the survey by Mr. Fowke Mr. Daniel Harness has died, and his estate has been apportioned among his heirs, and Mr. Edwin Harness has divided his land and the part now occupied by the greater portion of the mounds and earthworks belongs to his son, Mr. John M. Harness, who aided in many ways to make our examination of the earthworks pleasant and profitable.

THE EDWIN HARNESS MOUND.

The Edwin Harness mound has been a noted one since the early examination in 1846 by Squier and Davis. During the last half century many attempts to explore the large structure have been made by various institutions and by private individuals, and as a consequence the various artifacts taken from the graves of this mound are greatly scattered. The specimens taken by Squier and Davis during their examination in 1846 are in the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, England. Peabody Museum,

³ "Archæological History of Ohio," by Gerard Fowke, page 184.

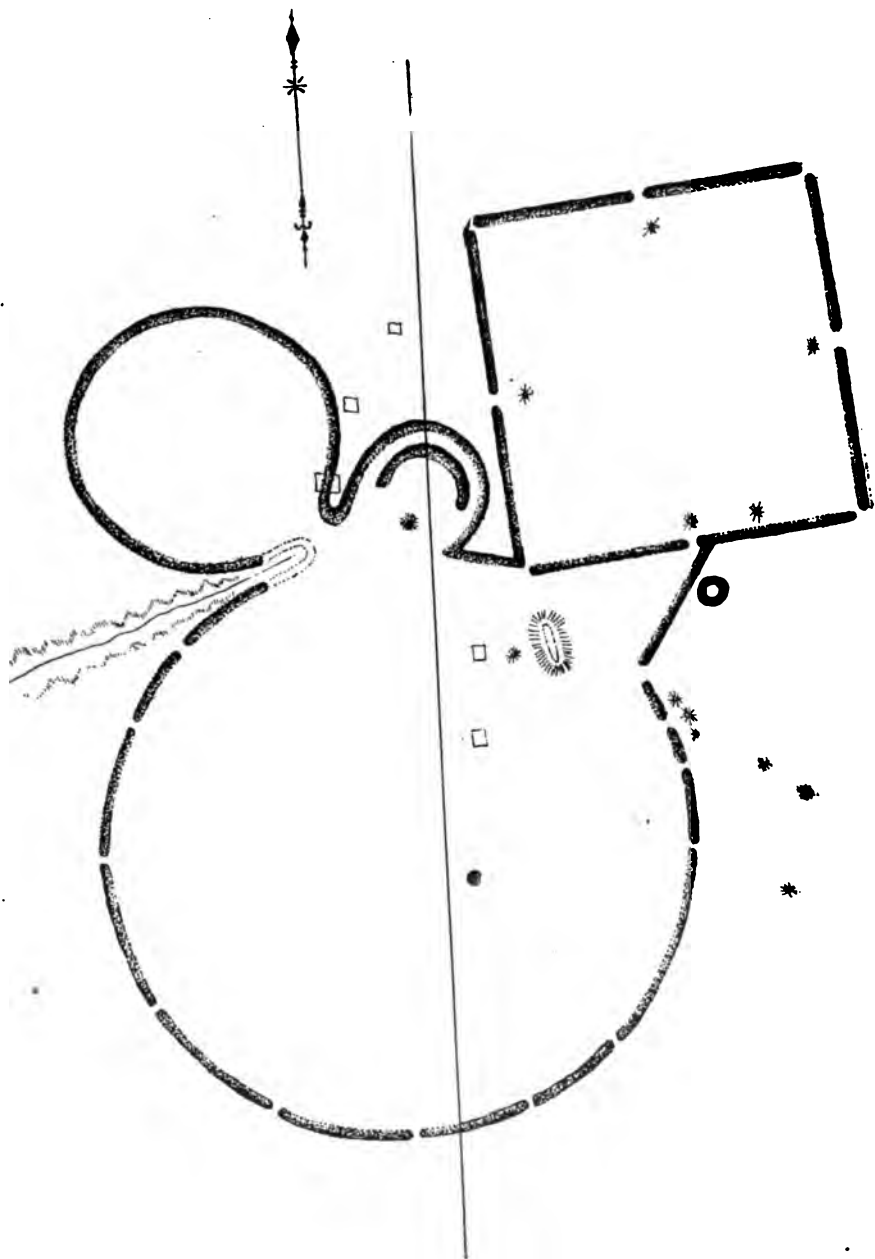


FIG. 1 — The Harness Group.

Harvard University, contains some 278 recorded specimens taken from this mound and the two small mounds outside of the inclosure, the results of the explorations by Prof. F. W. Putnam in 1885. Our own museum contains more than 12,000 specimens secured by the two expeditions sent into the field by the Society, the first in 1896, by Professor Moorehead, who secured several hundred specimens, and the last expeditions by the writer in 1903 and 1905, when the remainder of the 12,000 specimens were secured and the examination of the mound was completed.

Outside of the specimens accounted for in the various museums of the country some four or five private individuals, who were school boys in the early fifties, each have in their possession from two to ten copper pieces taken from the mound during their school days,⁴ and at one time there was scarcely a home in the neighborhood that did not have from one to a dozen artifacts of various kinds from this mound, but these specimens are now so scattered that they will probably never be recovered.

In the following pages I propose to give a detailed account of the final explorations of this mound, and the recital would not be complete without including all the explorations made in connection with this mound.

EXPLORATIONS BY SQUIER AND DAVIS.

Squier and Davis in their classification of the mounds⁵ recognize four distinct features based upon position, form, structure and contents, and in this classification they distinguish —

First — “Altar mounds which occur either within, or in the immediate vicinity of the inclosures; which are stratified, and contain altars of burnt clay or stone; and which are places of sacrifice.

⁴The school house is near and for years the school boys would spend much time in digging holes into the mound in search of relics, and some of the most interesting specimens were secured by these boys as shown by the Report of Prof. Putnam which will be noted in this monograph.

⁵“Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley,” by Squier and Davis, page 142.

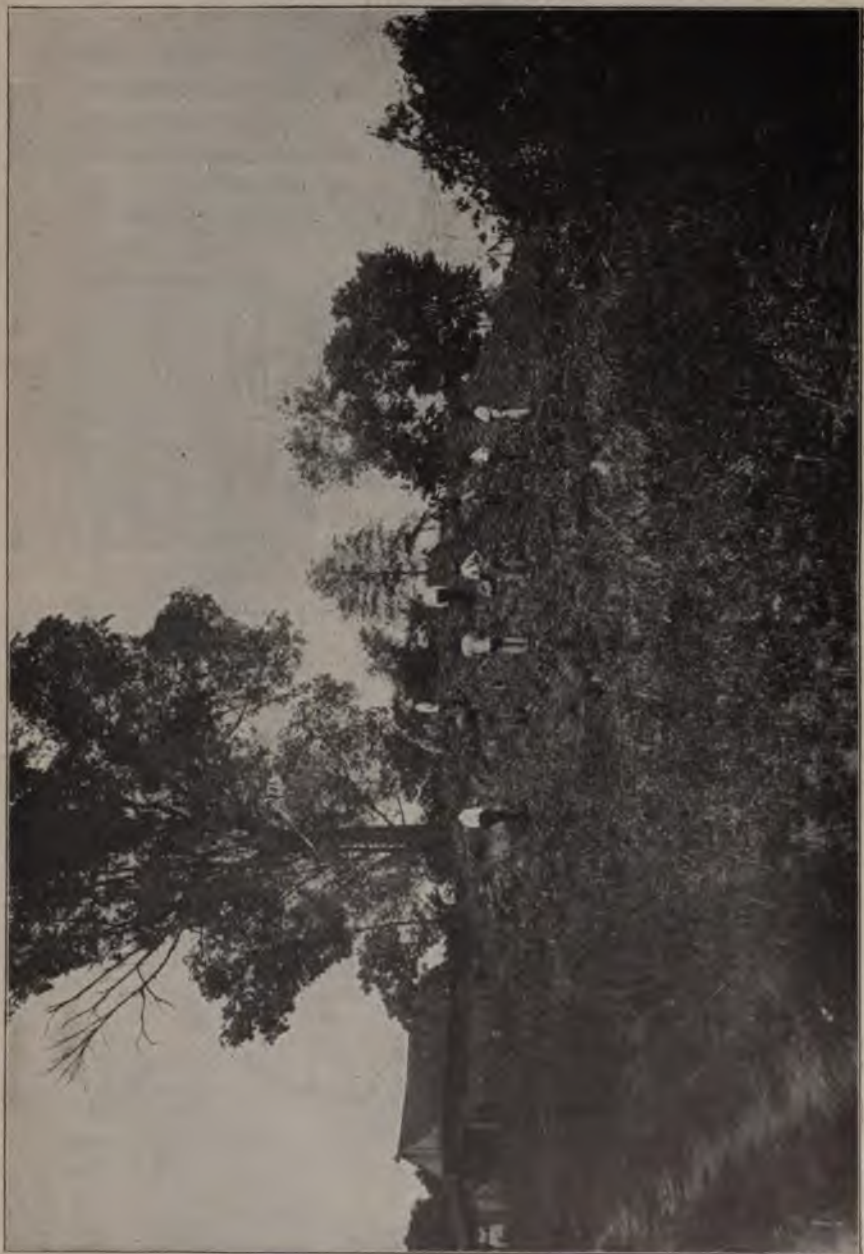


FIG. 2 — The Mound cleared of underbrush and ready for examination.

Second — “Mounds of sepulcher, which stand isolated or in groups more or less removed from the inclosure, which are not stratified; which contain human remains; and which were the burial places and monuments of the dead.

Third — “Temple mounds which occur most usually within but sometime without the walls of the enclosure; which possess great regularity of form; which contain neither altars nor human bones; and which are ‘high places’ for the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, the site of structure, or in some connected with the superstitions of the builders.

Fourth — “Anomalous mounds including mounds of observation and such as were applied to a double purpose or of which the design and objects are not apparent. This division includes all which do not clearly fall within the three preceding classes.”

Squier and Davis have placed the Harness Mound in the fourth class or anomalous mound group, basing its classification upon its form as being both a sepulchral and an altar mound, and I quote at some length concerning their collections and finds:

“Besides the mounds already described,⁶ the purpose of which seem pretty clearly indicated, there are many which will admit of no classification. Some of them possess features in common with all classes, and seem to have been appropriated to a double purpose; while others, in our present state of knowledge concerning them, are entirely inexplicable.

“As these mounds differ individually from each other, it is of course impossible to present anything like a general view of their character. We can therefore only describe a few of the more remarkable, dismissing the remainder with the single observation that their features do not indicate any specific design, and are not sufficiently distinct or uniform to justify or sustain a classification.

“One of the most singular of these mounds, and one which best illustrates the remark that certain mounds were probably made to subserve a double purpose, is situated within a large enclosure on the east bank of the Scioto river. A plan and section of the mound are herewith presented (Fig. 3). It is an irregu-

⁶Squier and Davis “Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley,” page 178.

lar oval in form, and is one hundred and sixty feet long, ninety broad at its larger end, and twenty feet in height. Excavations were made at the points indicated in the section. The one towards the right or smaller end of the mound disclosed an inclosure of timber, eight feet square, and similar, in all respects, to those found in the sepulchral mounds, except that, in this instance, posts eight inches in diameter had been planted at the outer corners, as if to sustain the structure. These posts had been inserted eighteen inches in the original level or floor of the mound. The holes left by their decay were found filled with

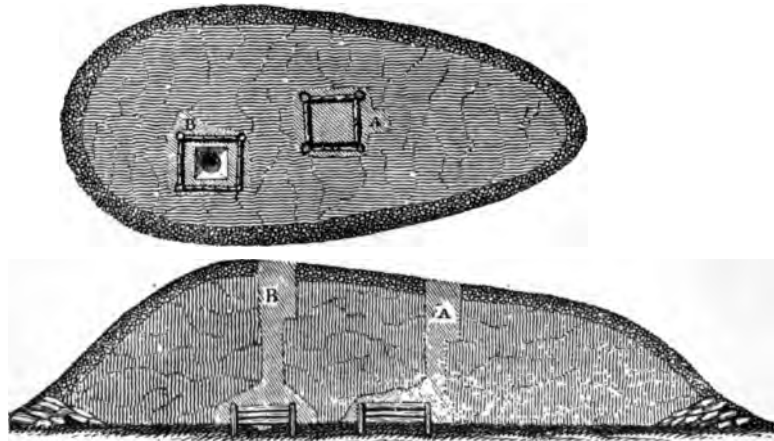


FIG. 3—A plan and section of the Harness Mound after Squier and Davis.

decomposed material; when this was removed, they exhibited perfect casts of the timbers. The casts also of the horizontal timbers were well retained in the compact earth, and one of the workmen, without much difficulty, was enabled to creep more than half of the way around the enclosure which they had formed. Within this chamber the earth was as firm as in any portion of the mound. Upon removing a portion, a skeleton partly burned was found, and with it a thin copper plate seven inches long and four broad, perforated with two small holes; also a large pipe of bold outline, carved from a dark compact porphyry (Fig. 4). The bones seemed to have been enveloped in a species of matting, which was too much destroyed to be distinctly made out. The

floor of the mound, it should be mentioned, as far as explored, was composed of clay, was perfectly level, and had been burned to considerable hardness.

"The second excavation (B) was made in the larger end of the mound, somewhat to one side of the centre, at a spot marked by a depression in the surface. At the depth of twenty feet was found an altar of clay of exceeding symmetry. This was sunk, as shown in the section, in the general level or floor of the mound, and had been surrounded by an enclosure in all respects similar to the one above described, except that the timbers had been less in size. A fine carbonaceous deposit, resembling burned leaves, was found within the altar. Amongst the decayed materials of the surrounding enclosure were found several skewers, if we may so term them, in lack of a better name, made of the



FIG. 4—Pipe from the Harness Mound, after Squier and Davis.

bones (ulna) of the deer. They were finely tapered to a point, and had evidently been originally highly polished. Some were not less than nine or ten inches long. Though apparently sound, they were found to be exceedingly brittle, retaining little if any of their animal matter. Drifts were carried in the course shown in the section, and the evidences of another enclosure discovered. The excavation was suspended at this point, in consequence of heavy and continued rains. The holes soon became filled by the caving in of the loose earth near the surface; which discouraging circumstance, joined to the extreme difficulty of digging,⁷ pre-

⁷The difficulty of carrying on investigations in the large mounds cannot be appreciated. The earth is always so compact as to require, literally, to be cut out. It has then to be raised to the surface,—a

vented a resumption of the investigation. It is very certain that another, perhaps several other chambers are concealed by this mound.

"The surface of this mound was covered with the layer of pebbles and coarse gravel already mentioned as characterizing the mounds of the first class; but the sand strata were absent. Around the base had been laid, with some degree of regularity, a large quantity of flat stones, constituting a sort of wall for the better support of the earth. These stones must have been brought from the hills, which are here nearly half a mile distant. Why the altar as well as the skeleton had been enclosed, and why the floor of the mound had been carefully leveled, cast over with clay, and then hardened by fire, which will probably remain unanswered and unexplained unless future investigations serve further to elucidate the mystery of the mounds. At any rate, this singular mound can prove no greater puzzle to the reader than it has to the authors of these inquiries."

EXPLORATIONS OF PROFESSOR PUTNAM.

In 1885 Professor F. W. Putnam, of Harvard University, examined a portion of the mound by beginning a trench at the north end and extending it with a varying width, averaging about 18 feet at the top with a gradual slope to the bottom. The trench extended into the mound about one-third of its length.

I quote at some length from Professor Putnam's Report,⁶ as he includes an examination of several small mounds outside of the great earthworks and proves by the contents of the smaller that the builders belong to the peoples who constructed the large mound.

"Squier and Davis represent five small mounds inside the great square of twenty-seven acres. These have been leveled by cultivation, but we could trace the outlines of three at least, one

task of great labor, and only accomplished by leaving stages in the descent and throwing the earth from one to the other, and finally to the surface. Four industrious men were employed not less than ten or twelve days in making the excavations in this mound alone.

⁶ Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Reports of the Peabody Museum, Vol. 3.

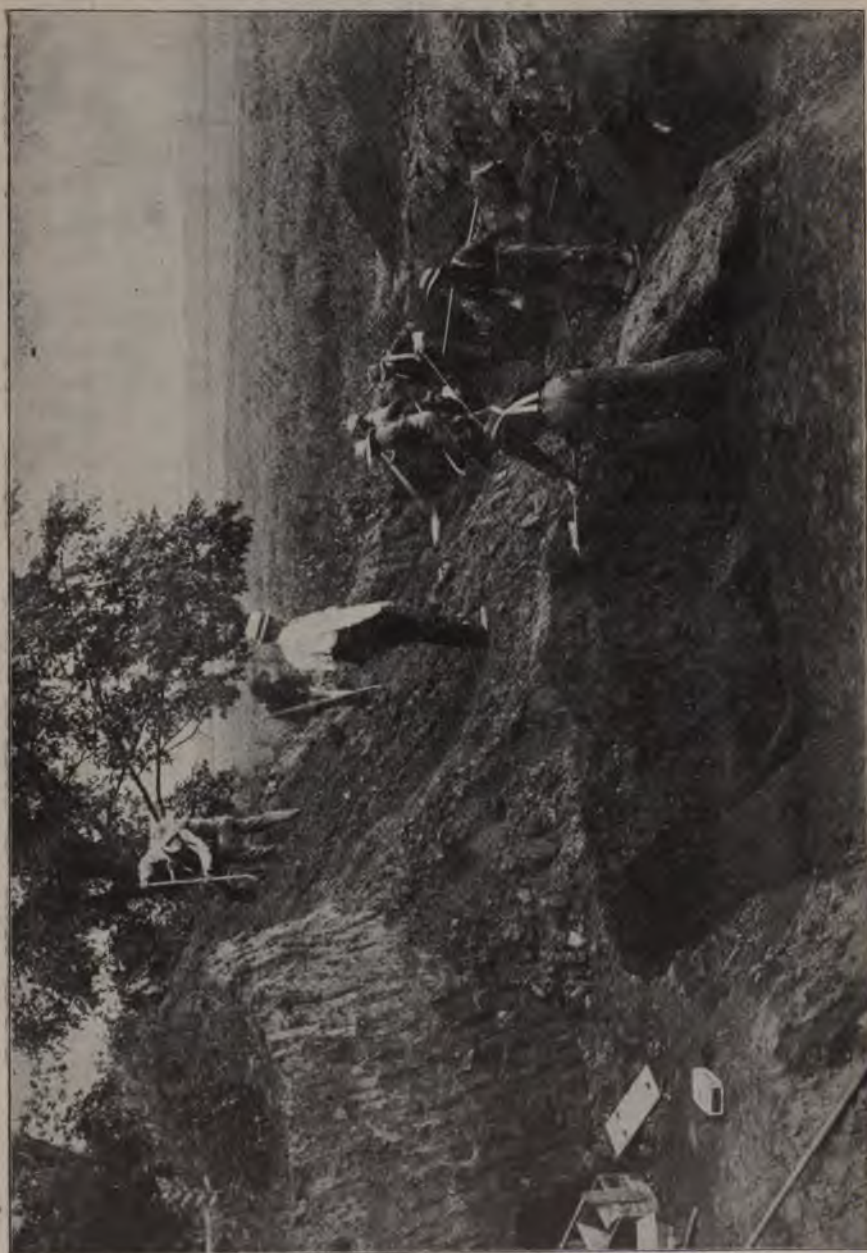
of which we thoroughly examined, and found that it had been a simple mound of earth thrown up inside of one of the 'gateways' of the square. Three mounds, one twice the size of the others, are represented on the plan as just outside one of the 'gateways' on the eastern side of the great circle of forty acres' area. All three have been much reduced in height by ploughing over them, but probably only the superficial portions have been disturbed. These three mounds we examined with care, and found that the small one to the westward contained only a small bed of ashes. The other two proved to be burial mounds of considerable interest. The human bones were much decayed. We found in these mounds various objects made of copper, stone, shell and mica, of the same character as those found in the large one of the group, consisting of copper plates, spool-shaped ear ornaments, a crescent-shaped ornament cut out of slate, another small stone ornament, a few large beads covered with copper, and a smaller one, covered with silver over the copper, shell beads and numerous other small articles.

"Another mound in the corn field, north of the three above mentioned, was also dug over completely.

"In this we found a large bed of ashes and charcoal about at the level of the natural surface upon which the mound was made. This ash bed covered nearly the whole area occupied by the mound, and in it we found many fragments of pottery and cut pieces of mica, some of which were circular. A large piece of grass matting and a mass of burnt seeds, nuts and acorns, were found in the bed of ashes. In one place the charcoal matting was in several layers, making a thickness of an inch or more. Near the centre of the mound, extending to the south, was a long, narrow pit, about nine by two feet, which was a foot in depth. At the bottom of this pit were burnt stones, and over them ashes and charcoal, fragments of pottery and a few burnt bones.

"Thus it will be seen that the several mounds connected with the extensive earthwork were erected for different purposes and vary considerable in their structure.

"Near the eastern corner of the part of the earthwork which we have called the 'great square,' and within the line of the cir-



cular embankment forming the 'great circle,' stands the largest mound of the group, which is known as the 'Edwin Harness Mound.' This mound proved to be of great interest, and unlike any other mound which we have explored. It is 160 feet long, from 80 to 90 feet wide and from 13 to 18 feet high along the central portion, which rises gradually from the southern to the northern part. Up to this time we have made a thorough exploration of about one-quarter of the mound, and have ascertained that it is a burial mound of a remarkable character. In the northern portion, forty feet from the center, we discovered the first of the burial chambers, of which we found a dozen in all. These chambers were made by placing logs, from five to six inches in diameter, on the clay which forms the lowest layer of the mound, in such a way as to make enclosures six to seven feet in length, and from two to three in width, and about a foot in height. In these the bodies were placed, evidently wrapped in garments, as indicated by the charred cloth and mats found in several of the chambers. With the bodies were buried various objects, such as copper plates, ear-rings, shell beads, and, in one instance, long knives chipped from flint. In two instances, the skeletons were found extended at full length within the chambers, the outlines of which could be traced by the imprint of the logs in the clay, the logs themselves having decayed, leaving only a dark dust. On the breast of one of the skeletons was a thin copper plate or ornament. The chemical action of the copper had preserved the texture of the finely woven cloth lying between the plate and the bones of the chest. In other chambers, the bodies had been burned on the spot, as conclusively shown by the relative positions of the bones, and the fact that, in two instances, portions of the body had fallen outside of the fire and escaped burning. It became evident, as our explorations progressed, that these chambers were covered by little mounds of gravel and clay, and that, in those where the burning had taken place, the coverings of earth were placed in position before the bodies were consumed, shown by the small amount of ashes and the reduction of the logs to charcoal in their position on the clay floor of the chamber, which was burned to a thickness varying with the amount of heat. It is probable that the burials and cremations

did not occur at one time, and that, after all these mounds had been made, earth was brought from various surrounding places and heaped over all. Then the mound was finished with a covering of gravel and a low border of loose stones was placed around its base.

"It is of interest to note that Squier and Davis, in 1840, dug two pits in this mound. At the bottom of their pit A, which was just south of the center of the mound, they opened one of the burial chambers, and they state that the skeleton in it was partly burned, that it was enclosed in a framework of logs, and that with it were a copper plate and a pipe carved out of stone. They remark that the body seemed to have been enveloped in matting. Their pit B, about twenty feet northwest of the centre, and there they came to another burnt skeleton, as shown by their exploration, although, deceived by the imperfect examination which the caving of the pit compelled them to make, they thought they had found an 'altar,' and mention the burnt burial chamber as such. They state that they found at this point several implements made of bone. At the side of their excavation we took out about half a dozen pointed implements made from the leg bones of deer. Several months before our work was begun, as already referred to, the school boys, under the lead of Mr. Wilson, dug two pits in the mound, one of which was between those made by Squier and Davis over forty years ago, and the other at the side of Squier and Davis' pit B. In each of these many remarkable objects were found. So far as 'relics' are concerned, the boys made a lucky hit and took out more objects from one of their pits than were found in all our explorations. The larger part of these we have been able to secure from the boys, and from Mr. Daniel R. Harness, who very kindly gave to the Peabody Museum all that he had purchased from the boys at the time, realizing that they would be of more importance and value to science if placed in the museum with other objects from the mound, than if held in private hands as mere curiosities. Among the specimens thus obtained were two copper celts and three or four copper plates, also several copper ear ornaments, some of which were covered with meteoric iron in the same way as those from the Turner Mounds in the Little Miami Valley, and a celt

made of meteoric iron. Thus we have an important link, connecting the people who built this great mound and the earthworks about it in the Scioto Valley, with the builders of the singular group on the Turner farm, in the Little Miami Valley.

"Burnt human, animal and bird bones; shells of different kinds, some of them perforated; cores and chipped points of flint; ornaments made of stone; hammer-stone and discoidal stone; beads of pearl, bone and shell; canine teeth of large bears, some of them perforated; teeth of deer and a shark's tooth; ornaments made of copper; ear ornaments of copper, a few covered with a thin layer of silver and others with meteoric iron; small hemispheres of stone and of pottery, covered with silver, copper and meteoric iron; fragments of silver ornaments; a celt of meteoric iron and one of copper; ornaments and fragments of mica; portions of a pipe carved out of stone; a large mass of galena; cloth, seeds, nuts, (corn and grass, all charred; fragments of matting partly burnt; balls of clay; fragments of pottery; bone handles, awl points and other implements of bone; braided grass; charcoal, ashes and burnt clay, some of the latter still bearing the impress of logs of wood; portions of burnt and unburnt human skeletons; all from the mounds belonging to the Liberty group on the land of Edwin Harness, Esq., in Liberty Township, Ross County, Ohio."

EXPLORATIONS OF PROFESSOR MOOREHEAD.

In 1896 Professor Warren K. Moorehead, under the auspices of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, examined the south part of the mound, beginning where Professor Putnam left off. His examinations were for the most part carried on by means of tunnels, and I quote from his report:⁹

"Our work upon the mound was begun July 22d and ended the evening of August 9th. We first cleaned out the end of the trench abandoned by Professor Putnam, and measuring the mound thence to its end, ascertained the distance to be about eighty feet, at least sixty feet of which should be excavated. We

⁹ Publications of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Volume 5.

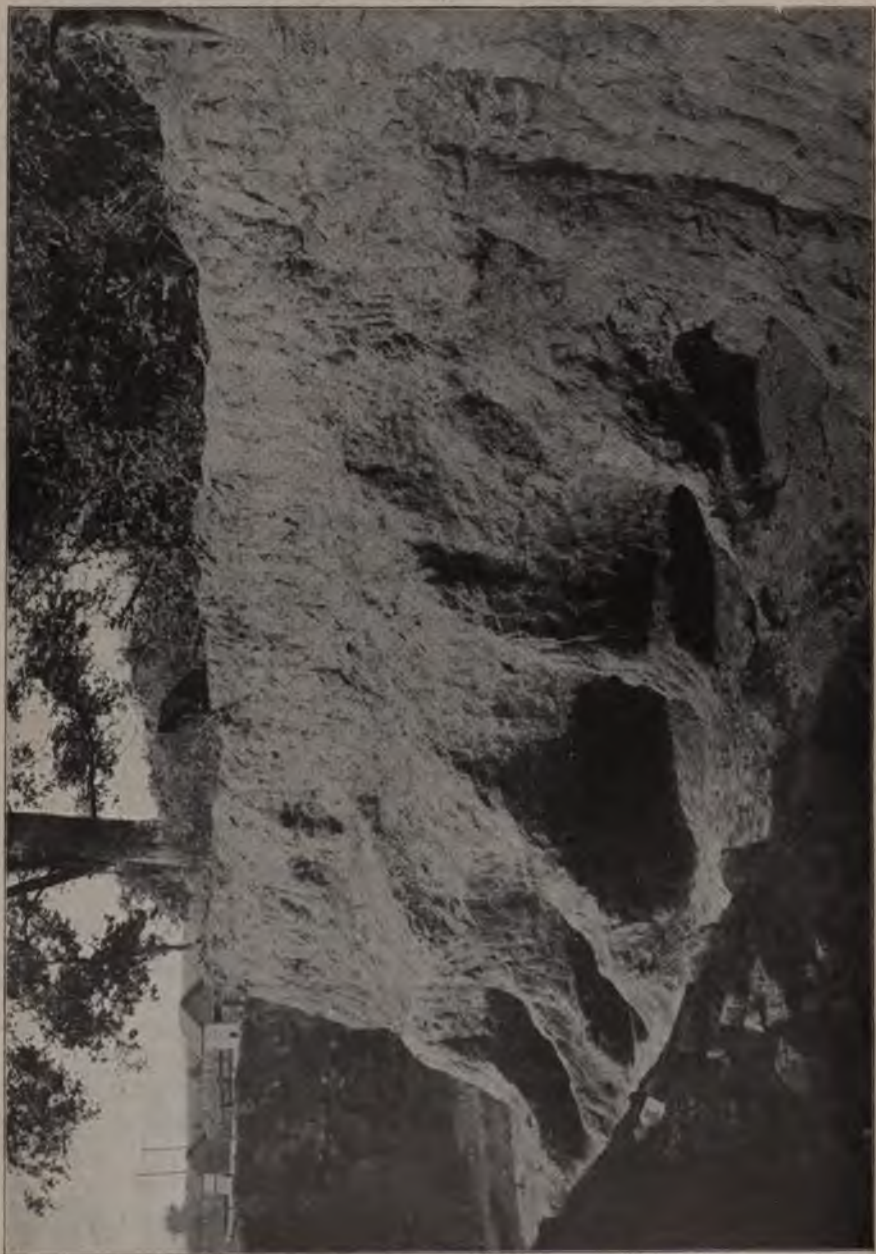


FIG. 8.—A row of masses exposed at one time.

started in with a trench some thirty feet in width, being a little wider than the excavation he had conducted. We had proceeded twelve or fifteen feet when we ascertained that burials followed each other pretty much the same distance apart on either side of the mound, and that there were few burials in the main or central portion. Most of the burials in these rows occupied little domes or pits, varying from three to five feet in diameter and three to five feet in height.

"We decided to explore the mound by means of tunnels, which should follow the lines of the burial, and, at short distances, to run side branches from the main tunnels toward the center, and, if necessary, toward the edges of the mound. As the work proceeded the scheme was found to be practical, and the whole base of the mound was thoroughly covered at much less expense than would have resulted had we attempted to remove the entire structure. The total length of tunnels and branches was 253 feet, the main tunnels 98 feet, the branches 155 feet. It occupied the time of from four to five men continuously for sixteen days. They were five feet wide at the base and about four and one-half feet high.

"In the end of the mound opened by Professor Putnam a number of entire skeletons were found, accompanied by various objects. In the end which we explored were a total of twenty-seven interments, but two of which were uncremated skeletons, a child and an adult. All the others were more or less burnt. In Fig. XVII all skeletons with which relics were found are numbered, and the brief description accompanying the illustration will acquaint readers with the find. Skeletons Nos. 4 and 5 had some of the copper objects with them. No. 10 had the best copper plate. Eight of the bodies had objects buried with them. Every one of these skeletons had been cremated, and even some of the beads and copper showed marks of fire. The total interments in the mound numbered 27.

"Nearly all of the skeletons were on little raised platforms of burnt earth, varying in height from four to ten inches. The platforms were usually about two by three feet. Such relics as accompanied the remains, were placed in no special order and many of them were partly burnt up. The looseness of the earth

above the skeletons, or the little domes to which we have referred, is probably due to small structures of poles having been built about the remains. The supports remained in position sufficiently long for the earth to become somewhat packed, and after their decay just enough earth fell upon the remains to cover them loosely. Frequently there was a space of about a foot between the top of the dome and the loose earth below. The good copper plate found in No. 10 is nine inches long and five inches wide. It had two small perforations. With No. 5 was a burnt plate, three-fourths of which we took out entire, beads and bear tusks, etc.

"The skeleton uncremated (and placed by itself) was found as indicated by No. 12 in Fig. XVII. These individual interments, at a distance or isolated from the other burials, are often observed in the large mounds of the Scioto.

"In the heavy layer of charcoal and carbonized wood accompanying skeletons Nos. 7 and 3, were fragments of cloth, which we preserved in order that the texture and manner of weaving might be carefully studied."

FINAL EXPLORATIONS.

On the 14th of August, 1903, I commenced the final explorations of the mound, by exposing to view from time to time as the work progressed, the entire site of the mound, recording and photographing the burials and other important features of the mound.

The mound at the time work was begun, was covered with a dense tangle of underbrush and trees (See Frontispiece). A deep cut beginning at the north end of the mound extended almost to the center, while dug holes extending down to the tunnels below made the place very unsightly, and to say the least, not very promising of results.

After the underbrush and trees were removed the surface of the mound was examined and measured. The results of the measurements are as follows: Length of mound, 160 feet; width of mound, at the north end, 85 feet; at the south end, 70 feet, with a height of 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the north end, which gradually tap-



FIG. 7.—View showing tunnels made by Prof. Moorehead.

ered to $11\frac{1}{4}$ at the south end, the mound containing approximately 4,700 cubic yards of earth.

The mound for the most part was constructed of loam or surface soil, secured in close proximity to the mound, however, a hard, compact clay, overlying the gravel, and which clay is found to a depth averaging from 3 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and which was used in constructing nearly all the well prepared graves, which latter will be described at some length later on, was also used.

The clay used in covering the graves would average in thickness from a few inches to fourteen inches and was secured from deep holes which are quite noticeable a few hundred feet east and north of the mound.

The flat stones described by Squier and Davis as placed upon the sides of the mound were found at three different points upon the mound. At the west end of the mound stones were found extending up the side of the mound to the height of about six feet. These stones consisted of slabs of sandstone averaging in length from a few inches to several feet, and in thickness from one to four inches. These had been laid with some degree of regularity and placed upon the mound in the form of a circle forty feet in diameter, the highest point being near the center of the mound, and then gradually tapering toward each end. On the east side, two of these circles were present, one near each end of the mound. The stones on the east side were different in size, none of them being large, and all less than a foot in length, averaging in thickness from one-half to one inch. The greater number of these flat stones showed use as a digging implement, and were no doubt employed in digging the soil used in the preparation of the graves and the building of the mound.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE INTERIOR OF THE MOUND.

Many interesting features were brought to light in the examination of the mound.

First. The object of the mound was for burial purposes only.

Second. The site of the mound was an enclosure consisting of large posts placed in the ground to the depth of two and one-

half to three feet, as evidenced by the post molds; the posts having been burned off to the surface of the ground when the charnel house was filled and ready for the mound to be heaped over all.

Third. All the burials in the mound had graves carefully prepared for the reception of the dead.

Fourth. The burials were of two kinds, cremated and uncremated.

Fifth. The cremation for the most part took place away from the grave and the ashes and charred bones of the deceased were gathered together and placed in the prepared grave, though a few bodies were evidently cremated at the grave.

Sixth. A final ceremony was performed when the cremated dead were placed in the grave. The uncremated dead were placed in graves similar to those for the cremated.

Seventh. The builders of this mound were representatives of the highest culture of the aboriginal man found in Ohio.

I shall attempt in the following pages to discuss all the special features of the mound, including a detailed account of the artifacts taken from the graves.

THE OBJECT OF THE MOUND.

Squier and Davis in their discussion of this mound, previously referred to, describe it as an anomalous mound, namely, that it was used for a double purpose and describe that double purpose as a sepulcher and altar mound. In my examination of the mound I was fortunate in finding the shaft B which Squier and Davis describe and figure, and is reproduced in Fig. 3 of this article.

Professor Putnam states that he took from the side of the excavations half a dozen of the large bone implements made from the leg of the deer. These were described by Squier and Davis as the "skewers" found in the altar enclosure.

I cleaned out the shaft made by Squier and Davis and found the grave described as an altar, but it was similar in every respect to the hundred or more other graves found in the same mound. The charred remains of the cremated dead were remaining in the grave, but had been greatly disturbed, and four

more of the large bone implements, one large perforated canine of the bear and two copper ear ornaments were left in the grave.

One of the most interesting features of this grave was the finding of a large number of bone implements stuck in the clay layer which immediately covered the grave. All of these implements were so placed as to point toward the center of the grave, and twenty-six were taken out in a perfect condition, while innumerable pieces of these implements were found in the loose dirt which had been handled by Prof. Putnam, so there is no way of telling how many of these artifacts were placed with this burial, and was the only instance in which the large bone implements, made from the metapodiale bone of the deer and elk, were found in the entire mound.

One of the conditions, according to Squier and Davis, characterizing the altar or sacrificial mound is a stratification of the different soils, but this condition occurs practically in all mounds, and this change in the earth was easily discerned whenever the sides of the mound were sufficiently exposed. This stratification was caused by a variation in the soil as it was taken from its original bed and placed upon the mound. When the gravel, or in some cases sand, was encountered it was placed over the mound, and at various places in this mound the gravel was several inches thick and seriously annoyed the workmen.

At the Seip Mound, on Paint Creek, a layer of gravel, in some places thirty inches in thickness, was encountered, so that I fear it would be impossible to characterize a mound as being stratified to signify a certain definite type, for all mounds show different layers caused by a difference in the soil.

It seems probable that Squier and Davis imagined that in the two burials, or as they characterized them, a burial and an altar, they had secured about all the great mound revealed, though they said, "It is very certain that another, perhaps several other chambers, are concealed by this mound."

Professor Putnam in his investigations removed twelve burials, two of which were uncremated and ten cremated.

Professor Moorehead secured twenty-seven burials, of which twenty-five were cremated and two uncremated, and our present investigation secured one hundred and thirty-three burials. Five



FIG. 8.—View showing a row of the various kinds of graves.

were uncremated and one hundred and twenty-eight cremated, which shows a total taken from this mound of ten uncremated and one hundred and sixty-four cremated, still it is known that quite a number were destroyed by the school children in their search for relics, as Professor Putnam states that the school children secured more relics from one pit than he secured in all their explorations, hence it is safe to say that at least ten graves were destroyed in this way. Therefore it seems to me that this mound must be considered purely as a burial mound; that no altars occurred in the mound; that all burials had prepared graves; that for the most part cremation took place at the charnel house where eight great fire places were found, which were perfectly devoid of ashes except in one, where a small charred piece of human skull was found, thus indicating that these fire places were used for the crematory. After the cremation took place the ashes and charred bones were gathered together and placed in a grave near by. In a number of instances the cremation took place at the grave. These are all characterized by finding portions of the unburnt skeleton intact. The uncremated were placed in regular order with the cremated, and in no instance were two uncremated burials side and side, but were invariably followed by a cremated burial.

CHARNEL HOUSE.

The site of the great mound had been properly prepared and its beginning was at the south end of the mound, marked by large posts set in the ground at a depth varying from two and one-half to three feet. The south end of the enclosure was made in the form of a semicircle, and the sides continuing in a straight line north for sixty feet, when the line of posts was turned at right angles to the east wall and running across toward the west side, where an opening was left for an entrance. This enclosure of sixty feet in length measuring from the center of the circle on the south to the row of posts running across the mound at right angles to the outside walls, forty feet in width at the north end, was no doubt the first structure or enclosure for the reception of the dead.

The second enclosure was merely a continuation of the out-

side walls of the first, extending some seventy feet directly to the north, when another wall at right angles to the east wall was run directly to the west, and similar in every respect to the opening at the south part of the mound; however, the posts were not in a straight line in the north section of the mound, and the inside of the mound at the north end measured fifty-one feet. It is impossible to tell whether the two enclosures were built at the same time or not, but I am inclined to believe from a careful observation, that the portion to the north was not constructed until the south portion had been filled with the dead, though I feel assured that the south portion was not completed, and a mound heaped over it until the north portion had been also filled and the entire site was ready for the building of the great monument.

On the interior of the mound at irregular points large post molds were found, and in the north section of the mound one of these posts extended above the floor of the mound a few inches more than ten feet, indicating that perhaps other posts, as evidenced by the post mold, extended above the graves, and therefore might have supported a covering or roof for the charnel house.

I am inclined to believe that such a roof existed, although no definite proofs of such a roof, other than the uprights to support it, were found in the mound. The posts forming the outer row varied in size from six to ten inches, however, a very great number of the upright supports consisted of a combination of smaller posts placed together, and this was evidenced by the post molds showing a number of smaller posts placed together. In a number of instances these posts had been split, and in several cases posts seven inches in diameter were split and used for support. After the posts were placed in position the base of the mound was carefully prepared by the formation of a clay floor which gave great evidence of having been puddled before being placed in position. This clay floor extended from a few to fifteen inches beyond the posts on the outside of the enclosure. After the floor had been carefully prepared there was placed over it a layer of fine sand, varying in thickness from one-half to three quarters of an inch, and so compact was this sand at the time of our examination that where it was the thickest it could be taken out in

large slabs. The clay floor was also dug up by us and examined from one end of the mound to the other. This floor varied in thickness. In some places it was only three or four inches in thickness, in other places from ten to twelve. This, like the sand layer, could be taken out at the time of examination in great blocks, as the original surface of the site was covered with ashes and charcoal which readily separated the clay floor from the original surface, and showed that the site had been carefully cleaned of all debris by burning. Nowhere were there evidences of any prolonged fire on the original surface, rather only the burning of small limbs as was evidenced by the charcoal remains. After the charnel house was filled with the dead, the final preparation for the erection of the mound was completed by burning off the superstructure and exposing to view the graves as they had from time to time been made.

We know that the graves were covered before the superstructure was destroyed as the covering of many of them, which were placed near the outer row of posts, extended around these posts, and when the superstructure was burned the charred remains of the top of the posts were three and four inches and sometimes more, above the other posts which were not so covered. The charred tops of the posts were always present, these were never destroyed, but the portions of the posts that extended into the base below had entirely rotted away, leaving the exact mold of the post. Very frequently these molds would contain broken animal bones, mussel shells and occasionally a piece of mica, but we have never been able to find, in the great number of molds examined, any implements or ornaments.

BURIALS.

All the burials, whether cremated or uncremated, were placed in a prepared grave and great care and some degree of skill was displayed in their construction. The graves of the cremated were similar to each other so far as the outside construction was concerned, but unlike in the general make up of the inside of the grave. Out of one hundred and twenty-eight graves unearthed,

four different types¹⁰ were found, and these were many times duplicated during the explorations.

First. The plain elevated platform made of clay and usually elevated from three to six inches above the prepared platform. In a number of graves this clay had the appearance of being puddled and then used in constructing the platform, while in other cases the clay did not have that appearance, but seemed to have been used in making the platform in the dry state. This plain elevated platform grave was invariably higher at the center, gradually sloping to the sides and ends where small logs, averaging in diameter from three to six inches had been placed, usually in the form of a parallelogram, but often very nearly in a square. These plain platforms averaged in length about four feet and in width two and one-half to three feet. The logs were usually made the exact size of the graves. In a few instances they extended over at one end or the other, and not a single grave was found on the base of this entire mound that did not show the use of logs as an outline for the grave. In many instances the logs were put in place upon the platform and plastered over with this clay, and then the inside of the grave was made. Fig. 9 is a good illustration of the prepared grave of the plain platform type.

Second. The next type of grave was similar to the first and apparently made in the same way, with this difference: the top of the platform was cut out and made in the form of a basin, varying in depth at the center from two to four inches. A good illustration of this platform is shown in Fig. 10.

Third. Elliptical shaped grave. In this form of grave the platform was similar to the other graves, but the timber used in the construction of the outside portion was made of small pieces of logs and the clay plastered over them, forming a regular elliptical grave. This type is shown in Fig. 11. This form of grave

¹⁰The four types of graves mentioned above were similar in every respect to the altars described by Squier and Davis, and I quote from "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," page 143 as follows. "The altars or basins found in these mounds are almost invariable of burned clay though a few of stone have been discovered.

They are symmetrical but not of uniform size and shape, some are round, others elliptical and others square or parallelogram."

would vary in depth from four to eight inches, and required much skill and labor in its construction.



FIG. 9—Typical platform grave.

Fourth. The grave made in the form of a parallelogram. This form of grave was found in various portions of the mound and was constructed similar in every respect to the other types, the logs being put in place and plastered over, while the inside was removed to a depth varying from four to twelve inches. This grave is best illus-

trated in Fig. 12, which shows one of the graves and its contents.

For the uncremated similarly prepared platform graves inclosed by logs were made, and the body was placed at full length within the inclosure. Fig. 13 is a good illustration of this form of burial, and represents the one hundredth burial unearthed. All the remains placed in the graves described above were cremated and uncremated. The



FIG. 10—A typical basin shaped grave.

cremated remains for the most part were brought to the grave, the cremation of the body taking place away from the grave, and

as previously stated, I have great reason to believe that the cremation took place at the eight great fire-places found within the chancel house. In only one was there left anything to show for what purpose these great fire-places were intended. In the one in question a portion of a human skull was found, indicating that the cremation took place after which the remains were gathered up and removed to the grave. In all of the other great fire-places found, not even a small amount of ashes could be secured, as all had been gathered and carried away, though a number of the bodies were undoubtedly cremated at the grave.



FIG. 11 — A typical oval grave.

By careful examination I found that out of the nine burials which occurred in this way, all had a grave of the first type with the exception of one, where a grave had been prepared of the type of No. 3. It did not show that fire had been used any great length of time, consequently it was not a crematory prior to the time the body was placed there to

be cremated. In all of the graves where cremation took place at the grave a portion of the fleshy part of the body would not be wholly destroyed, consequently the innominate and parts of the femur would be in place while the other portions would be destroyed. One of the singular features of the cremations which took place at the grave was that the implements and ornaments would be almost totally destroyed, while in the cremations which took place away from the graves the implements and ornaments were placed in the grave in a perfect state with the ashes and the incinerated bones of the body. After these remains were deposited in the grave they were frequently covered over with mat-

ting or some woven fabric, and then a covering of grass and twigs, and as a last ceremony this covering was set on fire, and while it was thus burning clay was carried and covered over the fire, thus preserving the cloth, the grass and twigs in a charred state. The covering of these graves, as heretofore stated, was of



FIG. 12—A typical rectangular grave.

clay similar in every respect to the clay used in making the platform and in forming the grave. This covering of clay would vary in thickness from a few inches to fourteen inches, the average being very close to ten inches, and was the temporary covering for all the graves as they were placed in the charnel house.

The uncremated graves were prepared in the same way as

Fig. 18 — An uncremated burial.



shown in the illustration, Fig. 13. This individual was placed in the grave at full length, with him were ornaments of copper, such as the ear ornaments, which can be seen at the side of the head, and a great copper plate which is under the loins. The ornaments are similar to those found in the cremated graves. On the right hand side of the body, as it lay in the grave, was placed the incinerated remains of an adult, on the left hand was a human skull, and near the head on the left side of the body, was placed another cremated skeleton; near the knees on the right side of the body, was placed the skeleton of a little child, and near this skeleton were two human jaws, perforated, and which no doubt had been used for ornament..

ARTIFACTS FOUND WITH THE BURIALS.

The articles taken from the burials of this mound were most interesting as to quantity and quality and represent the highest art of prehistoric man in Ohio. From the 133 burials, upwards of 12,000 specimens, including implements and ornaments of copper, shell, bone and stone were removed. Some of the copper pieces contained small nuggets of silver, showing that the copper came from the Lake Superior region. Large ocean shells that were made into drinking cups and ornaments of various kinds were unearthed, which came evidently from the region of the southern gulf. There were also found great quantities of mica, some pieces representing the original blocks as they were quarried, other pieces had been cut into geometrical forms and used for decoration. This mica no doubt came from North Carolina. Again we found crystals of galenite as well as large lumps of the lead ore, which came from the north Illinois region. Obsidian was also found, and this no doubt came from the far west, perhaps the Yellowstone region. The finding of so much material of this sort, whose source of supply was so far from the site of the mound, indicates that the prehistoric inhabitants of this section had an inter-tribal trade, for it certainly would have been impossible for the Ohio tribes to visit those distant points mentioned.

The artifacts were made into various forms of implements and ornaments. The most interesting of these are the large cop-



FIG. 14 — View showing two rectangular graves and one platform.

per plates of which ten were found, the largest one being ten inches in length by five and one-half inches broad. It was made of very thin copper one-eighth of an inch in thickness, in the form of a parallelogram, with the ends cut concave. It was pierced with two holes near one edge. Of the ten copper plates removed, all showed contact with some woven fabric.

The next largest copper plate is shown in Fig. 15, and this may be taken as a type of the plates from this mound. As shown in the figure, the entire surface is covered with the remains of a woven fabric. This plate is nine inches in length by four and three-quarters in width, and would average about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. Some of these plates show contact with fire, which in this instance, doubtless burned a little longer than usual during the last ceremony at the grave.

A good illustration of the copper thus burned, the incinerated bones of the dead clinging to it can be seen in Fig. 16. This copper plate is perfect with the exception of one corner, which entirely crumbled when the plate was removed from the grave, and with the further exception of a small piece broken out of the side. This specimen is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. When the copper plates were placed in the cremated grave they were usually placed upon the bottom, and the calcined bones and ashes of the dead were placed immediately over the plates. In two instances plates, found with the uncremated had been placed directly under the loins, while in another the plate was placed upon the breast. A great number of these plates were taken from this mound. As near as I can learn, one was taken out by Squier and Davis, three by Professor Putnam, and two by Professor Moorehead, and four others owned by as many individuals living in various parts of the country, making a total of twenty taken from this entire mound.

Another interesting specimen of copper is shown in Fig. 17, which represents a thin piece of this metal about one-eighth of an inch in thickness, ten and one-half inches in length by three and one-quarter inches in width at the larger end and two inches at the smaller end. Three specimens of this character were found, and all fairly well preserved. The other specimens were perhaps more curved than the one shown in the illustration and somewhat



FIG. 15.—Typical copper plate from one of the graves. (Length nine inches.)



FIG. 10.—Copper plate showing contact with fire. (Two-thirds size.)

FIG. 17—Crescent shaped copper ornament. (Length ten and one-half inches.)



larger. The larger end of these specimens was invariably square or nearly so, and perforated with three holes, one at each corner and one in the center. The other end is invariably oval, more so in the other specimens than in the one shown. This end is perforated with two holes near the center of the specimen, and is concave upon the inside, and looks in every respect as though it might have been used for a head-dress, although this is only conjecture, as all the specimens found came from the cremated burials, and no specimens, as far I know, have been found with the uncremated.

EAR ORNAMENTS.

Ornaments designated as "spool shaped" ear ornaments were more abundant than any of the copper pieces found in the mound, as more than fifty perfect pieces were taken from this mound during the last explorations. These objects were found with all of the uncremated burials, with the exception of one, and were placed invariably on each side of the head close to the temporal bone.

which would indicate that they were used for ear ornaments.¹¹ The ear ornaments taken from this mound exhibit a degree of skill in their manufacture and show the high degree of advancement made in ornamental art, as many of these ornaments were overlaid with a thin covering of iron, presumably meteoric, and a few had a thin covering of silver and copper hammered together.

Fig. 18 shows a specimen covered with iron, and Fig. 19 shows a specimen covered with a thin layer of copper and silver mixed. This silver and copper layer was hammered very thin and resembles very much the thickness of ordinary writing paper. Four different types of these ornaments are found, and all were many times duplicated during the explorations.



FIG. 18—Copper ear ornament. (Two-thirds size.)



FIG. 19—Copper ear ornament. (Two-thirds size.)

The form of manufacture of the various types was similar and consisted of two concavo-convex plates connected by a central cylindrical column. These plates varied in diameter from one and one-half inches to two and one-quarter inches. As a rule, one of the plates forming the ornament was larger than the other, in a number of cases the plates were alike on each side.

¹¹ Professor Putnam in his account of the Marriott Mound No. 1, describes specimens of the "spool-shaped" ornaments and proves beyond a doubt that they were used as ear ornaments. In this connection he speaks of these same ornaments taken from the Liberty Group, now known as the Harness Group.

The concavo-convex plates were evidently made over a wooden pattern and the copper hammered into form.¹²

Fig. 20 shows one of the types frequently met with. It is made of four plates of copper, two of which are circular plates, pierced at the center with a hole, and these two plates are connected together with a small cylinder of copper about three-quarters of an inch in length passing through the holes and clinched on the inside. The space between the two circular disks varies from a quarter to half an inch. The next process in the manufacture of the ornaments is the putting in place of the concavo-convex disks. Before this is done the concavo-convex disk at the center of the concave portion is extended by hammering so as to fit into the cylindrical column and is then perforated.



FIG. 20 — Copper ear ornament. (Two-thirds size.)



FIG. 21 — Copper ear ornament. (Two-thirds size.)

The convex portion of the concavo-convex disk is filled with a yellow clay and the concavo-convex plate is then fitted to one of the circular pieces which has been attached to the cylinder connecting the two sides of the ornament and the edges of the outer concavo-convex plate are turned over the inner circular plate, and is firmly held in place. The other side is made in the same way, and frequently when the ornament is finished the two outside plates are connected to the cylindrical column so that a cord could be readily passed through the hollow column from one side to the other.

¹² Professor C. C. Willoughby of Harvard University describes the process of making the copper ear ornaments in *American Anthropologist*, Volume 5, 1903.

Fig. 21 shows the next type of ear ornament. These are made from two circular pieces of copper hammered into the concavo-convex forms and connected together by a cylindrical column.

This again shows great skill employed in connecting these two pieces, as in the first type the concave portion is greatly extended so as to fit in the column and apparently held in place by being pressed firmly to the side of the cylinder, and the cylinder wrapped with a cord to hold the various parts together.



FIG. 22—Copper ear ornament. (Two-thirds size.)

Type No. 3 is shown in Fig. 22, and like the last type described, consisted of two concavo-convex plates connected together by a cylinder extending through the hole cut in the concave portion and then clinched upon the outside, and as in type No. 2, only three pieces of copper are used in their construction.

Type No. 4. This type is very much like the other three only it is made of four pieces of copper. One side of the concavo-convex part is double, while the outer piece extends down through the central cylinder and is there fastened while the cylinder extends through the opposite side of the concavo-convex cylinder and is clinched on the outside. Many of these ear ornaments when placed in the burials of the cremated dead show contact with woven fabrics, while others show contact with ornaments made of feathers, while still others show contact with human hair. Many of the ear ornaments have a string wound around the central column. I am inclined to believe from my examination of a number of these ornaments that the string wrapped around the central column served to hold together the various parts of the ear ornament.



FIG. 22a—String used to fasten the plates of the ear ornament. (Full size.)

Fig. 22a shows one of the columns wrapped with a string and tied, the knot showing in the photograph.

COPPER COVERED ORNAMENTS.

It is quite apparent from the extensive use of copper in connection with aboriginal ornamentation that it was greatly

prized by the ancient artificer, and that he soon learned to know its malleable nature, and could readily adapt it to his use and wants. He made molds in the shape of hemispheres out of the wood, perhaps, and hammered the copper to fit these molds, and afterwards by attaching two of these hemispheres together almost a perfect ball was formed. One of these is shown in Fig. 23. The specimen is almost a perfect ball three-quarters of an inch in diameter and filled with yellow clay. The specimens have been found attached to charred woven fabrics,



FIG. 23—Round ball of copper. (Two-thirds size.)

indicating that they were used for ornamental purposes. Copper was also used as a setting for pearls.¹³ Large and select pearls were flattened upon one side by grinding, and then placed upon a circular disk of copper a little larger than the pearl. The edges were then turned around the pearl holding it in place. This is shown in Fig. 24. Not only were pearls set in this way, but various pieces of shell cut in a circular form were thus set in copper.



FIG. 24—Pearl set in copper. (Full size.)

Fig. 25 shows one of the copper pieces with the edges turned. The setting was lost out.

Another of the interesting objects used for ornament were small hemispheres made of wood and covered over with iron, presumably meteoric,¹⁴ and then set in copper. These are perhaps the most interesting of the many artifacts found in the mound.

The manner of attachment of the hemispheres is shown in Fig. 26, which shows that two small holes were drilled into the copper setting,



FIG. 25—A copper setting pearl having been removed. (Full size.)

¹³ Large quantities of fresh water pearls made into beads were found in every section of the mound. In one instance more than 2,000 of these beads were found with one burial, and these will be noted later.

¹⁴ Implements of meteoric iron were found in this mound by Prof. F. W. Putnam. Peabody Museum Report, Vol. 3.

and the set having been prepared before hand by cutting a crease into the wood so that a cord could be passed from one hole to the other in order that the ornament could be attached.

Associated with the small hemispheres covered with iron were a few tubular beads from one-half to three-quarters of an inch in length.



FIG. 26 — Shows the manner in which the copper settings were attached. (Two-thirds size.)

With one of the burials was found a small ornament made of thin copper representing a leaf shaped arrow point, being one and five-eighths inches in length, one and one-eighth inches in width at the widest part. It is very finely wrought, the edges being perfectly smooth and the convex top nicely rounded. No holes are found for its attachment or suspension, but as the surface is greatly corroded perhaps the holes have been entirely filled. This specimen is the only one of the kind found in the mound, and is shown in Fig. 27.

IMPLEMENTS OF COPPER.

The implements made of copper were not numerous in this mound. Most of the copper employed in this section seems to have been used for making ornaments, yet four copper axes and one copper needle were found with the burials. One fine axe, larger than any one of the four taken out during our explorations was presented to us by Mr. Vause Harness, who secured the specimen from the mound some twenty-five years ago. This specimen is shown in Fig. 28.

The axes for the most part are small, and all are practically one type and made from masses of native copper by hammering into form. The surfaces of the axes are very much corroded, but they plainly show the irregularities in the surface so characteristic of the specimens found in the Scioto Valley. Several of the axes show the remains of a woven fabric plainly imprinted upon their face, and the meshes of some of this cloth are so



FIG. 27 — Copper pendant. (One-half size.)

firmly attached to the copper that it cannot be removed without destroying it entirely, while in another instance the cloth covering one side of the axe was readily separated and the cloth was well preserved by the salts of copper.

The pole or blunt end of the axes was invariably square, and one side perfectly flat, the width gradually enlarging from the blunt end to the cutting edge, which shape was produced by pounding from the flat side. The cutting edge, which was very much expanded at the bit, is fairly sharp, and has the convex curve of modern axes. The other side of the axe is an oval gradually tapering from the center or thick portion to the edges. This rounded portion of the axe is very smooth, showing that much care and labor had been expended in fashioning the implements, and since we have learned that the concavo-convex portions of the ear ornaments, previously described, were no doubt formed in a mold expressly prepared for that purpose, I am inclined to believe that plano-convex axes were made in the same way, and that a mold was made out of stone the size required for the individual lump of copper and then the annealing and hammering into form would go rapidly forward. Again, I am inclined to believe that when the partly hammered copper was placed in the fire to be annealed it was returned to the mold while hot and rapidly hammered into shape.

Fig. 28 shows the large copper axe presented by Mr. Vause Harness. This axe was taken from the mound by Mr. Harness when he was a boy attending the school, some twenty-five years ago. When Mr. Harness secured this axe a number of other specimens were taken from one of the graves. Mr. Harness also presented us two parts of an ear ornament, a perforated bear canine and several pieces of mica. The axe is five and one-half inches in length, two and a quarter inches in width at the blunt end and three and three-eighths at the cutting edge, and seven-tenths of an inch in thickness, and weighs one and one-half ounces short of two pounds, and is decidedly of the plano-convex type. Mr. Harness tells me that this axe was taken from near the center of the mound, and as near as he can recall, was not on the base line.



FIG. 28 — Copper axe. (Length five and one-half inches.)

Fig. 29 is another axe of this same general type, both sides of which are greatly corroded and covered with a finely woven fabric. Beneath the fabric there seems to be a skin of some animal with short hair. This can be seen in the figure in the right hand corner of the cutting edge. On the opposite, or flat side, a covering of bark lies directly over the cloth. The axe is five



FIG. 29 — Copper axe covered with cloth. (Length five inches.)

inches in length, one and one-half inches in width at the blunt end. One side gradually tapers to the bit, but the other side is cut off at an angle of forty-five degrees, and one inch below the blunt end the axe is two inches wide and then gradually tapers to the cutting edge, where it is three and one-half inches in width. It weighs one pound and ten ounces. The axe was found near the left knee of one of the uncremated burials.

Fig. 30, although small, is one of the most beautiful axes taken from the

mound. Like the others, it is corroded, and one side is covered with the imprint of cloth, while the cloth itself was removed and preserved. The axe is three and one-tenth inches in length, one and one-tenth inches in width at the blunt end and one and six-tenths inches at the cutting edge. Like the other two, this axe is of the plano-convex type. This specimen was found with a cremated burial.

With this burial were also two copper ear ornaments, two large copper plates and one human skull, which was no doubt a trophy. The position of this axe in reference to the burial and skull can be seen in Fig. 31.

Fig. 32 is another one of the small axes. By a glance at this cut one can readily see the inequalities of the surface, and in several places the copper is distinctly laminated, and at one corner of the blunt edge a piece of copper is separated from the main mass. The specimen is two and eight-tenths inches in length, one and two-tenths inches in width at the blunt end, and one and six-tenths inches wide at the cutting edge.



FIG. 30—Copper axe covered with a reticulated textile. (Length three and one-tenth inches.)

Fig. 33 is one of the most interesting of the axes found in this mound. It was taken from the fourth grave found in the mound at the extreme south end. It had been wrapped in bark, though but little of the bark can be seen adhering to the implement. It is slightly oxidized. It is two and seven-tenths inches wide at the blunt end and one and eight-tenths inches wide at the cutting edge. It is also of the plano-convex type, but also shows some hammering on the cutting edge from both sides, which is not noticeable in the other specimens.

The other copper implement found in this mound is the needle, and only one was discovered. The needle is three inches in length and slightly over one-twentieth of an inch in diameter, and is perfectly symmetrical throughout from the point to the end which is slightly curved and flattened. The eye is broken out.

The needle is a little short of the bone needles which were found in this mound, but resemble the bone needles in every respect.

POTTERY.

The use of pottery for the preparation of food was universal among the prehistoric peoples of Ohio, and the builders of Har-

ness Mound were no exception, for in every portion of the mound fragments of broken pottery, representing a high type of fictile art were found. These fragments had been gathered up with the soil as work progressed upon the mound and were carried to the mound and deposited as so much material necessary for its construction.



FIG. 31 — Burial showing copper axe, copper plate and a human skull placed with the cremated bones.

The unearthed potsherds were large enough to show that the shapes were those of simple pots with wide mouths, and the necks but slightly constricted, while the rims were sometimes developed in a wide collar and uniformly made as shown in Fig. 34, while in others the rims were small, plain and undecorated, still in others the rims were slightly enlarged and decorated with incised

lines and indentations. The symmetry and grace displayed by the discarded sherds show that the early ceramic workers displayed much skill and patience as well as experience in their art.



FIG. 32 -- Copper axe. (Length two and four-fifths inches.)



FIG. 33 -- Copper axe. (Length two and seven-tenths inches.)

No potsherds or perfect pots were found in any of the burials, but a perfect piece had been placed upon the clay covering of one of the uncremated dead about eighteen inches above the body,



FIG. 34 -- Rim of pottery.

and was accidentally broken by being struck with a digging tool by one of the workmen, and the vase shattered, but we hope to be able to restore it. The clay used in the manufacture of this

pottery was evidently secured from the clay pits near at hand, and resembled the clay used in the preparation of the graves. The tempering of this clay was mainly with angular sand derived from the pulverized rock.

A number of the unearthed sherds also show that small pieces of mica, sometimes a quarter of an inch in length, would be used in conjunction with sand,



FIG. 35 — Decorated pottery.



FIG. 36 -- Decorated pottery.

in other instances pieces of limestone and mussel shells that had been broken into very fine particles were used. The decoration of this pottery presents some very striking features. In some instances modeling tools covered with a cord were used in decorating the lower portions of the vessels and the upper portions were decorated with a stamp and stilet used in making the straight lines. In other instances a stamp was used over the body of the entire vessel, as shown in Fig. 35.



FIG. 37 -- Decorated pottery.

A specimen with markings over the body of the vase similar
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to this was taken from the Hopewell Mounds.¹⁸ Another specimen similar to Fig. 35, is shown in Fig. 36, only the lines are curved.

Figure 37 shows a potsherd decorated with a diamond shaped stamp, and the decoration evidently extended over the body of the vessel.

BONE OBJECTS.

The articles of bone which played an important part in the daily life of the builders of this mound may be grouped under two heads, utilitarian and ornamental. The first comprises bone implements, such as needles, awls, etc.

The second group represents the beads, carved bone pendants and ornaments made of human as well as animal jaws.

BONE IMPLEMENTS.

Bone implements were not abundant with the burials of this mound, although a few of the graves produced a number of very fine specimens of needles and awls in perfect condition, but the greater number had been calcined by the action of fire after the cremated bones and ashes, together with their implements and ornaments, had been placed in the grave, so that restoration of many of the bone implements would be impossible. Fig. 38 shows a representative collection of the largest bone implements found in the mound, the length of these respectively, varies from eight to ten inches. The implements were made from the metapodiale bones of the deer by splitting the bone lengthwise and sharpening the anterior end. Two kinds of this implement were found in the mound, those having sharp points and the body of the implement likewise cut in proportion. No. 1 of Fig. 38 is a good example of the first class which were perhaps used as bodkins.

The second kind of implement were those having blunt points, the body of the implement being heavy throughout its entire length. A good example of this implement can be seen in Fig. 38, No. 2. These implements were very likely used for domestic purposes, taking the place of our modern fork.

¹⁸ Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Plate CLXXII, by W. H. Holmes.



FIG. 38— Bone awls made from the metapodiale bones of the deer. (Length ten inches.)

Another variety of the bone implements found sparingly in the graves were the bone awls made from the tarso-metatarsus of the wild turkey. They vary in length from two to four inches, and the points are made very sharp. The anterior part of the bone is cut away almost to the center,



FIG. 39— Bone awls made from the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey. (Length four inches.)

FIG. 40. Bone needles. (Length four inches.)

and this cut is carried through to the posterior end of the bone, which is sharpened into a well tapered point. Fig. 39 shows a good example of these awls, which were invariable in form as found throughout the entire mound.

BONE NEEDLES.

This useful implement was likewise found sparingly in the burials, and when found usually appeared in lots from three to seven placed together. Fig. 40 is a good illustration of this finely wrought needle. The needles were usually from three to four inches in length, gradually tapering from the head to the well sharpened point. The head is usually flat, as shown in the illustration and pierced with a small hole near the end. The hole is bored from both sides of the needle, and many gave evidence of having been much used. The bone usually employed in making the needle was the metapodiale bone of the deer and elk. The making of the needles from this bone required much labor and even skill to produce the gradual taper and symmetry of the implement.

ORNAMENTS OF BONE.

Ornaments of bone were frequently found in the burials in perfect condition, though many had been destroyed by fire, so that their identity could not be determined. Those that could be identified consisted of gorgets, carved bone, bear teeth, shark's teeth and ornaments made from animal and human jaws. The most interesting of these ornaments were the human jaws. The lower jaw was usually selected, but occasionally the upper was detached, perforated and used for ornament.

In one of the graves (No. 46) the cremated remains were placed in the grave together with implements and ornaments. The implements consisted of two arrow points and the ornaments consisted of two copper ear pendants and a human inferior maxillary bone. This jaw when taken from the grave was considered perfect, but upon examination, it was found to be an adult jaw with three incisor teeth gone. The loss had been replaced by three incisor teeth of the deer. The deer teeth have very long roots, but these were cut and properly fitted into the socket of the human jaw to replace the lost human teeth and make the ornament appear perfect, as only jaws with a perfect set of teeth were used.

Fig. 41 shows a front view of the jaw. Different parts of the jaw show polishing and cutting. The symphysis is cut and

some work in polishing done. The sigmoid notch also shows by notches cut into the bone near the neck that the ornament was attached at this point. The coronoid process is also slightly polished, and parts of the body of the jaw show polishing and cutting. The rami of the jaw is colored green from the copper ear ornaments which were placed in the grave in contact with the jaw. Fig. 42 shows two jaws taken from an uncremated grave (No. 100). The burial is shown in Fig. 13. The jaws are those



FIG. 41—Human jaw in which deer teeth replace the human incisor teeth. (Two-thirds size.)

of adults, and the rami of both jaws are entirely broken away leaving only the body of the jaw with the teeth inserted. Two holes on each side of the symphysis perforate the jaw, and were no doubt used for attachment.

Another interesting ornament is shown in Fig. 43, which is made of the upper jaw or superior maxillary bones, and was made by cutting the bone from the face above the alveolar process and leaving the platate intact. The jaw is perfect with the exception of the last molar on each side, which has been cut away. The

attachment was made through the posterior palatine canal which had been enlarged by boring. Not only were human jaws utilized for ornament but those of the mountain lion, wild cat and bear were frequently met with. Fig. 44 shows a lower jaw of the mountain lion which was taken from one of the burials. The rami of this jaw has been cut away, leaving the body of the jaw with all of the teeth inserted.



FIG. 42 — Perforated human jaw. (Two-thirds size.)

Fig. 45 shows a lower jaw of the wild cat. The under portion of this jaw has been cut away and polished. It was taken from a cremated burial, (No. 107). Fig. 46 shows the lower jaw of the bear, which had been cut and polished, leaving only the canine and the premolars inserted in the jaw.

PENDANTS OF BONE AND TEETH.

One of the most interesting of the many ornaments from this mound is the effigy pendant made from bone which is shown in Fig. 47. No. 1. This pendant is similar to No. 2, which is made of stone, perhaps argilite. These specimens represent

the claw of an eagle. They are well-wrought and highly polished.



FIG. 43 — Upper jaw worn for an ornament. (Two-thirds size.)

They are both perforated at the base, the hole being bored from both sides. The perforated teeth of the shark, as shown in Fig.



FIG. 44—Lower jaw of the Mountain Lion worn for ornament. (One half size.)

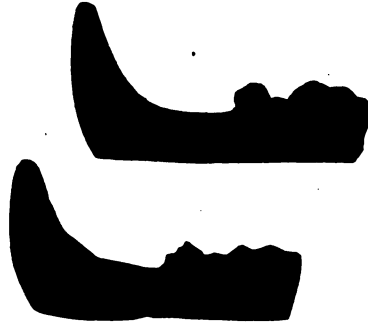


FIG. 46—Lower jaw of the Black Bear worn for ornament. (Two-thirds size.)

48, were frequently met with in the burials, although they are limited in number in each burial, seldom more than two, sometimes only one were found.

They were all perforated with one hole, which was drilled from both sides. All of the perforations are made in every way similar to those shown in the illustration.



FIG. 45—Lower jaw of the Wild Cat worn for ornament. (Two-thirds size.)

ORNAMENTS OF BEAR TEETH.

Canine teeth of the bear, Fig. 49, were a favorite ornament, and were found in many of the burials. They perhaps were not used as pendants, as most of them show three or four perforations, and many of the holes are counter sunk, and perhaps served to attach the tooth to a belt or wearing apparel. The perfect

canine teeth outside of the perforation showed but little work in



FIG. 47 — Effigy claws, No. 1 made of bone, No. 2 of argillite. (Two-thirds size.)



FIG. 48 — Perforated teeth of the Shark. (Three-quarter size.)



FIG. 49 — Perforated teeth of the Bear. (Three-fourth size.)

the way of polishing and dressing, although in one grave, Fig. 12, twenty (20) cut and polished halves of the canine teeth were found. These teeth are shown in Fig. 50. The two specimens to the left in the figure show a highly polished outside surface of the tooth, and the three specimens to the right show the inside of the tooth, exposing the pulp cavity. The specimens are perforated with two holes, one on each side of the center. For the most part these holes were drilled from the outer surface of the tooth, although a number show the enlargement of the holes from the opposite side. These ornaments were placed with the cre-

mated burial as shown in Fig. 12, and associated with them were copper ear ornaments, knives and a platform pipe, Fig. 62, made of steatite.



FIG. 50 — Cut and perforated teeth of the Bear. (Three-fourths size.)

Necklaces made of perforated canine teeth of the raccoon and opossum were abundant, and several hundred of these teeth



FIG. 51 — Teeth of the Opossum and Raccoon. (Three-fourths size.)

were secured, but many of them were in a charred state. A good illustration is shown in Fig. 51. Fig. 52 shows another



FIG. 52 — Claws of the Gray Wolf. (Two-thirds size.)

interesting necklace made from the toe nails of the gray wolf (*Canis occidentalis*). These ornaments were evidently highly prized as they occur quite frequently in the graves.

As previously stated, many of the ornaments found in the cremated graves were also calcined and their identity entirely



FIG. 53 — Restored ornament of bone. (Two-thirds size.)

lost, and in Fig. 53 one of these ornaments partly restored, is shown. It was made of the outside part of the horn of the elk, which had been carefully cut and perforated with holes as shown in the illustration.

Among the most interesting specimens found with a burial in this mound were the carved and polished bones shown in Fig. 54. The two bones are shown in the illustration as they appeared in the grave. The decoration upon them is in every way uniform, and was made by cutting away the bone by grinding and polishing, thus leaving the decorated portion in relief. At one end the beak of a bird is shown, the nostril and eye being quite plain, but the

decoration at the other end is not apparent. The opposite side of the bone is not decorated, but is highly polished. The bones used for this ornament are perhaps the leg bones of the bear,



FIG. 64 — Engraved bone. (Three-fourths size.)



FIG. 55 — Ornament cut from mica. (Three-fourths size.)

as is suggested from their size and general shape, but they have been so cut and polished that the bones at present show but little resemblance to the original form. At each end the bone is perforated with three holes bored from the polished side of the bone. The narrow cavity is greatly enlarged throughout the entire length, and at the larger end the bone is cut very thin, consequently making that portion of the ornament very fragile.

OBJECTS OF MICA.

Blocks of mica and various figures and objects cut from the detached thin sheets were found in many graves as well as every part of the mound. The mica pieces not found in the graves had evidently been lost from the clothing of the workers while they were engaged in building the mound, as the pieces were very thin and in many instances would represent only a portion of a design. In one of the cremated graves, No. 89, more than one hundred sheets of mica

in various designs were found. The largest design is shown in Fig. 55. The specimen is ten inches in length and three inches wide, and is cut from one sheet of mica in the form of a spear point. The diamond shaped base is very unusual, and is perhaps a fancy form for decoration. The point of this spear was lost in removing the specimen from the grave.

Fig. 56 shows a number of forms found in this grave, and they are many times duplicated, especially the scrolls and the



FIG. 56 — Designs in mica. (Three-fourths size.)

long narrow strips of mica. Circular pieces of mica, as shown in Fig. 57, were not found in abundance in the mound, although quite a number were taken from this particular grave. All of the mica is pierced with small holes, apparently for attachment. The cutting into these various forms was no doubt done with a flint knife, as a careful examination of the specimens will show. I do not think that they used a pattern in making these objects as several pieces of mica were found which show the object partly cut out, while none of the scrolls found in this grave were like

each other. . While the pieces exhibited the same design of decoration the size varied. The edges are jagged and rough, and many of them exhibit irregularities, and none of them are geometrically correct.



FIG. 57 — Circle of mica. (Two-thirds size.)

PIPES.

During the explorations of this mound four platform pipes were found in as many graves. As far as I am able to ascertain, pipes were not exhumed by any of the previous explorers of this mound except Squier and Davis who found a pipe in shaft A. A drawing of

this pipe is shown in Fig. 4. Consequently only five pipes were found in the burials of this large mound.

The first pipe found is shown in Fig. 58. It was taken from the cremated grave No. 20. Associated with the pipe were three



FIG. 58 — Large platform pipe from a burial. (Length five and one-fifth inches.)

copper ear ornaments and several hundred beads made of ocean shell. A fire of grass and twigs had been kindled over the grave, and as the pipe was deposited on top of the cremated remains it

suffered most and was broken into a dozen pieces, but all of the pieces were secured and the pipe is now fully restored, as shown in the photograph, Fig. 58. The pipe is made of limestone, platform in design, with a slightly curved base, bold and symmetrical in outline. The bowl rises from the center of the slightly curved side of the platform and slightly increases in diameter to the middle of the bowl, where it gradually decreases, forming a symmetrical concave depression around the entire bowl, which again increases in diameter at the top of the bowl, where it is the same diameter as the base of the bowl. That platform of the pipe is five and one-fifth inches in length, one and one-half inches in width, and three-fourths of an inch in thickness. The bowl measures one and one-tenth of an inch in height from the plat-



FIG. 59—Platform pipe of limestone. (Length four and one-tenth inches.)

form, and is one and one-half inches in diameter. The hollow of the bowl is six-tenths of an inch in diameter. A small hole is drilled from one end of the platform and connects with the hollow of the bowl. The most symmetrical and beautiful of the pipes found in this mound is shown in Fig. 59. This pipe is made of limestone with a curved base, which is slightly shown in the figure, as the pipe is so placed that the hollow in the bowl can be seen. The platform part of the pipe is four and one-tenth inches in length, one and one-tenth inches in width at the center, gradually tapering at each end to one and three-fourths of an inch in width. This platform is very thin, being four-tenths of an inch in thickness and highly polished throughout. The bowl, like Fig. 58, rises from the center of the platform and

is one and four-tenths inches in height by one and three-tenths in diameter. The crease is cut on each side of the bowl parallel to the platform at the point where the bowl joins the platform. Near the center of the bowl the diameter is greatest. Just above the center a crease encircles the bowl and the top is flaring, being wider than other parts of the bowl. The hollow in the bowl is three-fifths of an inch in diameter, which is the same



FIG. 60 — Small platform pipe. (Length three inches.)

from the top to the bottom of the bowl. A small hole is drilled from one end of the platform and connects with the hollow of the bowl.

Another interesting pipe is shown in Fig. 60. This

cut does not do justice to this little pipe, as the bowl does not show to any advantage in the cut, yet it is six-tenths of an inch in height and nine-tenths of an inch in diameter. The platform of this pipe is only slightly curved, being three inches in length and one inch in width at the broadest part, which is the center, and gradually tapering to each end. The bowl rises from the platform furthest from the end where the small hole is bored,

which connects with the hollow of the bowl. The pipe shows much use, and the hollow is seven-tenths of an inch in diameter,

and the walls of the bowl are very

thin, apparently from continued use.



FIG. 61 — Small platform pipe made of steatite. (Length three and one-half inches.)

Fig. 61 shows a beautiful steatite pipe taken from burial shown in Fig. 12. It is also a platform pipe, the platform being almost straight, and is three and one-half inches in length, eight-tenths of an inch in diameter and one-half inch in thickness. The pipe is highly polished throughout. The bowl rises from a slightly convex top nearest to the end where the small hole is

drilled into the platform and communicates with the hollow of the bowl. The bowl is oblong, being one inch in its longest diameter and two-fifths of an inch in its shortest diameter. The hollow in the bowl is made on a similar scale, being six-tenths for its longest diameter and one-half inch shortest diameter. The bowl is contracted near the base, and near the top of the bowl a small crease extends entirely around the bowl.

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

The largest of the stone implements found in the mound outside of the large digging implements mentioned in connection with the flat stones found on the sides of the mound were the stone celts, and these were seldom met with, only two being found during the entire explorations. Those two were indiscriminately placed in the mound. None were placed with the burials.

A good illustration of this implement is shown in Fig. 62. It is made from a compact granite of a dark green color and is symmetrically made, finely finished and polished. The celt measures four and four-fifths inches in length, two and one-fifth inches in width at the cutting edge, gradually tapering to a blunt point at the pole.

FLINT AND OBSIDIAN IMPLEMENTS.

Flint implements found in the burials consisted mostly of knives, as shown in Fig. 63. The material for these knives was evidently secured from the flint ridge district, and is the best grade of chalcedony found here, such as the variegated and banded jasper grades, which qualities are capable of being flaked into fine and sharp knives found so abundant in the graves. The knives were not large, the largest measured only three and one-fourth inches in length, but they were seldom less than one and one-half inches in length; the average length would exceed two inches, and the average width would be about three-fifths of an inch. The knives had the same general curve as shown in the figure. These were made from banded and variegated jasper, and the specimens show several facets on the convex face, while the concave side of the specimen, on account of the compact structure of the flint, is plain and very smooth, with sharp cut-

ting edges on both sides. The knives show no chipping, and all were flaked from cores.

Twenty of these knives were found in one burial, and it was a very common occurrence to find ten or twelve. A few of the cores mentioned above were also found in the burials, invariably in close proximity with the knives. The best example of a core is shown in Fig. 64, which is made of a variegated and banded jasper, and shows several facets from which knives have been flaked.



FIG. 62—Celt. (Length four and four-fifths inches.)

Arrow points were found sparingly in the graves. Fig. 65 shows the type of points found. All are stemmed and finely chipped. The points were also made of flint ridge material, but the fine jasper was not used in the making of arrow points, but a white variety shading into a light dark was used.

Obsidian arrows and spears are frequently met with upon the surface throughout the entire valley of the Scioto, but the greatest find of obsidian specimens in Ohio were those taken from the Hopewell Mounds by Professor Moorehead in 1892. The only specimen found in the Harness Mound is shown in Fig. 66. The specimen is broken, but it no doubt represents one of the large curved knives characteristic of the Hopewell culture.

The length of the specimen is three and one-fifth inches, and the width at the largest end is one and one-half inches. It is well-wrought, and the chipping was done by one experienced in the art.

STONE GORGETS.

Stone gorgets, as shown in Fig. 67, were not found in abundance, though evidently many had been destroyed by fire. All

shown in the figure have been more or less subjected to fire, and several have been broken, but we were fortunate in most cases to secure the pieces, and thus restore many of the gorgets. The largest piece perforated with one hole, as shown in the figure, was found in a grave associated with cut mica. This piece is four inches in length by one and three-fourths inches in width, and a little less than one-fourth of an inch in thickness. It is made of slate and highly polished.

The next gorget shown in the figure is of an oblong boat shape, made of slate and perforated with two holes, one on each side of the center. The perforation is made from one side. The general surface is plano-convex, and three and one-half inches



FIG. 63—Flint knives. (Average length two inches.)

in length and, one and one-fourth inches in width at its widest part.

The next gorget shown in the cut is beautifully made, also of the plano-convex type almost diamond shaped, perforated with one hole, which is at the center of the gorget, and pierced from the concave side. It is three and one-fourth inches in length and one inch in width at its widest part.

Throughout the mound and scattered promiscuously were found large and small pieces of galenite, and all show some work upon them in the way of polishing and grinding. The largest piece weighs seven pounds and six ounces, and is cut and polished into the form of a roughly shaped ball. A few of the isometric crystals were found in the graves, and were no doubt

prized for their shining, metallic lustre. Many of the large pieces of galenite are associated with limestone, indicating that the galenite came from the upper Mississippi region.



FIG. 64—Flint core.
(Two-thirds size.)



FIG. 66—Obsidian knife. (Two-thirds size.)

GRAPHITE.

In several of the burials quantities of graphite in the granular form were found. The graphite had been placed with the



FIG. 65—Flint arrow points. (Two-thirds size.)

burial in small bags made of woven fabric. The graphite probably comes from the North Carolina district.

OBJECTS MADE OF SHELL.

Objects of shell, for the most part, were made of ocean shells, though the shells of the fresh water mussels were used in making spoons with small handles, which were beautifully and symmetrically made. The pearls taken from the mussels were also used as ornaments. For some reason the ocean shells supplied their aboriginal wants and needs better than the shells found at their very door. The ocean shells were doubtless



FIG. 67 — Gorgets made of argilite. (Two-thirds size.)

brought to their settlements in the rough state, and they were then made into such objects as were needed.

Large containers, or drinking cups, were made from these shells as shown in Figs. 68 and 69. The shell shown in Fig. 68 is known as the *Fulgur Perversum*, and was made by cutting away a portion of the body whorl and removing the columella. The beak was carefully rounded and made into a wide spout to aid in emptying the vessel or to serve as a place to drink from

the vessel. This shell container is quite large, measuring eight and one-half inches in length by six inches in width at the widest part. The apex, sutures and periphery are cut and polished so that the vessel appears perfectly smooth both inside and out.



FIG. 68 — Drinking cup made of Ocean shell. (Length eight and one-half inches.)

These drinking vessels were always placed in the cremated burials upsidedown, the orifices resting upon the bottom of the prepared grave, indicating that nothing in the way of food or drink had been placed in the container when it was deposited

with the incinerated remains which were placed around and over the vessel. Three of the perfect containers were secured, and one which was badly broken by the action of fire which was used in the last ceremony before the grave was covered with



FIG. 69—Drinking cup made of Ocean shell. (Length ten inches.)

earth. The container as shown in Fig. 69 was made from *Fulgur Perversum*, and is prepared a little different from the one shown in Fig. 68. The beak was left almost intact. The aperture had been enlarged by cutting away the body whorl similar in every respect to the last one described. A portion of another shell was made into a drinking cup of a form known as the "horse conch"—*Fasciolaria gigentia*. This vessel was badly broken by fire, but the greater part of the apex remains.

PEARL BEADS.

Most abundant of all objects found in the mound were beads of shells and pearl. The pearl beads were pierced with holes and strung for attachment around the neck or wrist. A string having some twenty-one hundred beads was found with burial No. 100. A section of a case in which these beads are now kept is shown in Fig. 70. They are all small, some of them being perfectly round. While the majority are small several hundred of them were found of a size which would

vary in diameter from one-fourth to one-half of an inch. Some of the large pearls are shown in Fig. 71.

In several instances the large pearls had been flattened upon one side and set in copper, as shown in Fig. 26. Again, the pearls were often flattened, as shown in Fig. 72, and pierced with



FIG. 70 — Pearl beads. (Two-thirds size.)

holes for attachment. The pearls shown in Fig. 71 are all full size, and all exceed one-half inch in diameter.

IMITATION OF PEARL BEADS.

Associated with the pearl beads were beads of clay, modeled in exact imitation of the pearls with which they were found.

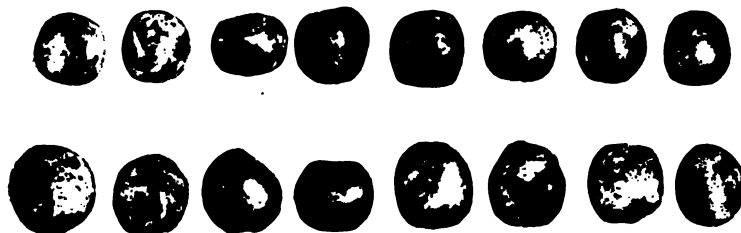


FIG 71 — Large pearls. (Full size.)

The clay beads were burned and afterwards covered with a flexible mica. No doubt the beads were made to imitate the true pearls.

Beads were made of small ocean shells, such as the *Oliva literata* and the *Nerita rumphia*, as shown in Fig. 73. More than

three thousand of these shells were found with one burial. A glance at the cut will show how these were made. The *Oliva* are slightly altered by cutting away the apex so as to permit of the passage of a string which was introduced through the natural aperture; the *Neritas* were ground away so as to show the columella, which would also permit of a string being passed around it, so in that way it could be readily strung.



FIG. 72 — Large pearls flattened on one side. (Two-thirds size.)

A great number of round beads made of the columella of the large shells are shown in Fig. 74. These beads vary in size from one-fourth to three-fourths of an inch in diameter, and so perfect are they that they resemble beads that have been made by machinery. The small hole is bored from both sides.

Another form of bead is shown in Fig. 75. This bead is an



FIG. 73 — Small Ocean shells. (Two-thirds size.)

oblong one, varying in length from one-half inch to one and one-half inches, and is also made of the columella and pierced with a hole for attachment.

TEXTILES.

One of the primitive industries of the builders of the *Harness Mound* was the weaving of fabrics, and we find the charred remains of the simplest to the highest art in primitive weaving.

In almost every burial where the final ceremony consisted of setting fire to the covering of straw and twigs, which were placed over the cremated remains, we find the charred remnants of cloth or coarse matting.

It is fully known that the textile art appeared early in primitive culture, and it is generally believed that the association of esthetic concepts with it came first and it became quite a factor in personal adornment.

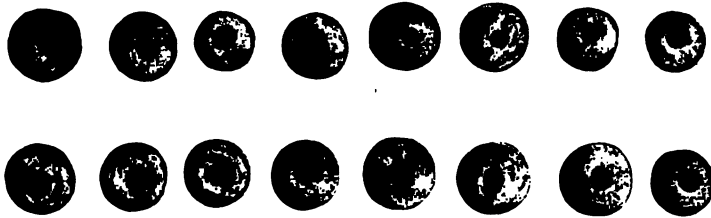


FIG. 74 — Round beads made of Ocean shells. (Two-thirds size.)

Thus we find in the graves of the Harness Mound woven fabrics embellished with copper ornaments and cut designs of mica, showing a high degree of advancement in personal adornment.

Fig. 76 is a good example of the coarse matting so frequently found in the burials. No. 1 is made of coarse straw closely twined, and No. 2 is made of bark and straw mixed and woven in the same way.



FIG. 75 — Beads made from Ocean shells. (One-half size.)

Several different textiles with ornaments of copper and mica attached were found, as shown in Fig. 77, but the coarse reticulated patterns were more abundant. The finer patterns of reticulate weaving were found wrapped around the copper pieces which were preserved by the salts of copper. The textile shown in Fig. 77 is made by twining, and is a very closely woven fabric. When the charred remains of the cloth were removed the

mass appeared to be about one-half an inch in thickness, and upon examination it was found to contain fourteen layers of cloth, covered by a piece of very thin iron made in the form of a circle.¹⁰

After finishing the explorations of this mound I received permission to examine a small mound in the field in front of Mr. Robert Harness' house. This mound is located upon the same



FIG. 76 — Coarse mattings.

terrace as the Harness group, and is less than half a mile distant to the south. The mound is a typical conical mound, being six feet and six inches in height at the time of our examination and only forty feet in diameter at the base. Mr. Harness informs me that the mound was fully two feet higher at the apex when the site of the mound was first ploughed over some twenty years ago.

¹⁰ According to Professor Putnam the iron from this mound was determined as meteoric iron. Reports of the Peabody Museum Vol. 3.

The mound covered twenty-eight burials. Twenty-seven of these burials were placed on the base line, or from a few inches to a foot above this line. Not one of the twenty-seven was cre-



FIG. 77—Fabric with copper balls attached.

mated, and all had been placed promiscuously at or near the base of the mound. No prepared graves were discernible, and in several instances the heads were placed lower than the feet, and in one instance the head and feet were lower than the middle of



FIG. 78 — Woven fabrics.

the body. The skeletons were badly decomposed, so much so that not a single perfect bone of any kind was removed from the burials. But few artifacts were interred with the burials, and these consisted of a few notched arrow heads, very well chipped, and many flint knives roughly prepared. Near one of the burials was found a finely polished celt, and with another a tubular pipe, which is shown in Fig. 79. The extra burial forming the twenty-eighth, which constitutes the contents of the mound, was cremated, and intrusive to this mound. The grave in which the cremated remains were placed was made some time after the mound had been completed, as the outline of the various layers of clay could readily be seen on the sides of the grave. No logs had been used as support around the side of the grave, which was otherwise similar to those placed above the base line in the Edwin Harness Mound, but the grave showed that a covering of



FIG. 79 — Tubular pipe. (Three-fourths size.)

brush and bark, which was set on fire, had been placed over the incinerated remains and the grave covered while it was burning. No artifacts were found with this burial.

RESUME.

A brief mention of the more salient points brought out by the examination of a portion of the mound that was abandoned after more than half a century of active efforts manifest in an attempt to examine the mound, as set forth in the preceding pages, will be, perhaps, of interest, and I will briefly give them.

The object of the mound was purely mortuary, and the site of the mound a charnel house until it was filled with graves, when the house was destroyed by fire and a mound erected as a monument to the dead.

All of the graves in the mound showed a careful preparation for the reception of the remains.

Of the one hundred and thirty-three, only five were uncremated, and a majority of those cremated showed that the last rite was performed before the grave was temporarily covered, by setting fire to the grass and twigs that covered the grave, and while burning was covered over with a layer of clay. This was done with each burial until the charnel house was filled.

The artifacts placed in the graves also show that the builders of the mound were possessors of a wonderful wealth of art products, which products had a well marked individuality, being superior in every respect to the artifacts found in the prehistoric village near Higby, five or six miles to the south. The Higby inhabitants were representatives of the Fort Ancient culture,¹⁷ though we find that the Harness Mound builders were equal in culture in every respect to the peoples occupying the Hopewell group.

The earthworks and mounds of the Harness group were purely aboriginal, and from the data secured from our explorations are representatives of the North West group described by Mr. W. H. Holmes,¹⁸ and which so far as the artifacts testify, are purely Pre-Columbian.

The great body of relics found in the mound were made of copper, shell and bone. Especially noticeable were the ear ornaments of copper which were in some instances covered with iron and silver, and which display remarkable workmanship. A careful examination of these finely wrought implements and ornaments plainly shows that the mechanical art was developed almost exclusively, while in other sections of the Scioto Valley, where the Hopewell Culture is found, the idiographic art was highly developed along with the non-imitative.

No perfect pieces of the ceramic art were exhumed, but the sherds plainly show that the fictile products are entitled to a high place in Ohio ceramic arts.

The great variety of weaving and the quantity of woven

¹⁷I have for my own convenience named the two great cultures whose remains are so abundant in Ohio, Fort Ancient Culture and Hopewell Culture, "Explorations of the Baum Village Site," Vol. 14, Ohio State Archæological and Historical Publications.

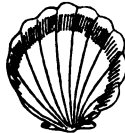
¹⁸ Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.



FIG. 80 — The Mound about finished.

material found in the graves, indicate that the art was assiduously practiced.

The examination of the Robert Harness Mound proved it to be a burial mound belonging to the Fort Ancient Culture, and the finding of a burial of the Hopewell Culture intrusive to the Robert Harness Mound proves without question that the people of the Fort Ancient Culture were the first to occupy the surrounding territory, and consequently the Hopewell Culture occupied this territory at a later period.



WELSH SETTLEMENTS IN OHIO.

WM. HARVEY JONES.

This article is not sufficiently broad in its scope to include the history of every settlement in Ohio wherein the Welsh people may have largely resided and must, therefore, be confined to those communities which were originally settled by Welsh people. Classified in this manner the leading Welsh settlements in Ohio are Paddy's Run, Butler County; Radnor, Delaware County; Welsh Hills, Licking County; of Gallia and Jackson Counties, and Gomer, Allen County. Other communities in Ohio were settled by the Welsh people, but these were probably the earliest in the history of the State, and derived their pioneer population from sources almost altogether outside of Ohio.

Clannishness is a marked characteristic of the Welsh people. It is to be observed in their many attempts at establishing colonies or settlements for their people, not necessarily to the exclusion of other races, but for the accommodation of those who spoke the Welsh language. The Welsh colonies under Penn near Philadelphia, in New England, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, New York and other places bear witness.

A second characteristic of the Welsh people which has considerable bearing upon their history as American citizens was their love of liberty, particularly religious liberty, freedom of conscience, the right to think. About the close of the Revolutionary War a very perceptible wave of religious dissension and reform spread throughout Europe, a movement which afterwards disclosed its most terrible aspect in the French Revolution. At that time the freethinkers of Wales came athwart the wishes of the government of Great Britain and were compelled to leave the country. America was the Land of Promise and, consequently, between 1790 and 1820 many Welsh people immigrated to America.¹

¹ "I endeavored to prove, before I left Britain, that all who dissented from the established religion in that country, were persecuted by the

In fact the leaders in the reform movement were compelled to flee for their lives and in some cases did not depart soon enough to escape imprisonment.²

This very religious fervor identified the race at an early date with the movements to convert the Indians and long before the Revolutionary War the Welsh missionary was pushing westward through the forest to preach to the Indian by his own campfire. In his efforts to save the Indian's soul, the good missionary was not unmindful of the beauty and fertility of his lands and hunting-grounds, and it was not long until the Welsh colonists were familiar with much of the western country. Perhaps the most distinguished Welsh missionary was David Jones,

Higher Powers, and that it was their duty, unless they could obtain equal liberty with the rest of their fellow citizens at home, to immigrate to that country where they might enjoy their natural birthright without fear of molestation. I am still of the same opinion: notwithstanding the difficulties you have to encounter in the way for the sake of liberty you should surmount them all; and embark for America where the persecuted Penn founded a city of refuge for the oppressed of all nations; here religion has to demonstrate its efficacy from the 'force of argument instead of the argument of force.'" Letter of Morgan J. Rhys, 1794.

The church of Rev. Thomas Griffiths in Pembrokeshire, Wales, emigrated with him in a body in 1801 and formed the "Welsh Tract Church" in Delaware.

In 1776 Rev. Richard Price, of London, a native of Glamorganshire, Wales, published a pamphlet entitled "Observations on Civil Liberty and the Justice and Policy of the War with America," which caused considerable comment among the friends of the Colonists and made him a recognized leader among them in England.

²Morgan J. Rhys, the founder of the Welsh colony at Beulah, Penn., mentioned hereafter, was compelled to escape at great hazard. In his "Reasons for Coming to America," he said: "We are not without seeing their persecuting spirit already. Many of our fellow countrymen say that hanging or burning is too good for us; that we should be tortured and torn in pieces by wild animals. But what for? For nothing in the world but for desiring their welfare, and for trying to open their eyes to see their civil and religious rights, but thus far they love darkness rather than light."

Rev. Thomas Evans, a Unitarian minister, was imprisoned in 1776, at Carmarthen, Wales, for two years for advocating civil and religious liberty.

known as "Chaplain Jones," of Great Valley, Pennsylvania, who journeyed through Ohio in 1772 and 1773.³

Prior to 1800 the Welsh settlement nearest to the Northwest Territory was that of Beulah, in what is now Cambria County, then a part of Somerset County, in the western part of Pennsylvania, about 80 miles east of Pittsburgh. This settlement, together with Ebensburg which grew up beside it, was a source of by far the greater part of immigration of the Welsh people to Ohio prior to 1825, and particularly of Paddy's Run and the Welsh Hills. At that place a distinguished Welsh preacher by the name of Morgan John Rhys had purchased 20,000 acres of land for the purpose of establishing a Welsh colony and had founded a village for his people as early as 1796.

When originally laid out Beulah gave promise of becoming a populous and prosperous settlement, and up until 1805 events justified the promise, but about that time important economic changes were wrought whereby the Welsh village was cut off from the direct route of travel from Philadelphia westward, and was left without resources and hope, began to decline, and finally was completely abandoned.⁴

³Chaplain Jones was born May 12, 1736, near Newark, Delaware. He was the son of Morgan and Eleanor Evans Jones, who came from Cardiganshire, South Wales. He was baptized May 6, 1758, into the Welsh Tract Church. He was educated at Hopewell Academy and was ordained December 12, 1766, at Freehold, New Jersey. In 1775 he became pastor of Great Valley, Pennsylvania, Baptist Church, and April 27, 1776, enlisted in the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, in which he served until January 1, 1783, when he was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania under General Wayne. In 1786 he was pastor at Southampton and in 1792 he returned to Great Valley. In 1794-96 he was chaplain of General Wayne's troops in the Indian wars which terminated in the treaty of Greenville in 1795. His name is signed to the treaty. In 1812-1814 he was again chaplain in the army and after the close of the war returned to his charge where he died February 5, 1820. His diary kept by him in his journeys through Ohio in 1772 and 1773 are published in *Cincinnati Miscellany*, Vols. 1 and 2.

⁴"In a valley on the headwaters of the south fork of Black Lick Creek, in the midst of the Alleghany Mountains, about three miles west of Ebensburg, Cambria County, Pennsylvania, a few heaps of stones,

To this settlement in the fall of 1795 and in the winter of 1796 came the families of the following Welshmen: Thomas Philipps, William Jenkins, Theophilus Rees, Rev. Rees Lloyd, William Griffith, James Nichols, Daniel Griffith, John Jones, David Thomas, Evans James, George Roberts, Thomas W. Jones, John Jenkins, Isaac Griffiths, John Thomas, Rev. Morgan J. Rees, John J. Evans, William Rees, Simon James, William Williams (South), Thomas Griffith, John Thomas, John Robert (Penbryn), John Roberts (shoemaker), David Rees, Robert Williams, George Turner, Thomas Griffith (farmer), James Evans, Griffith Rowland, David Edwards, Thomas Lewis and David Davies.⁵

This colony formed the nucleus of the Welsh settlements in Ohio. By far the greater portion of the Welsh settlers Northwest of the Ohio River prior to 1825, either came directly from this colony or employed it as a temporary stopping-place on their way from Wales.

Our Welsh pioneers did not long remain at Beulah, as indications pointed to a more fertile country further west. The Welsh settler was not satisfied with the hilly and somewhat unfertile regions about Beulah. Besides, about the year 1800 the flood of emigration westward was at its height. The spirit of emigration is contagious and as the Welshman saw the great number of eager, enthusiastic travelers pushing past his very door and heard the many stories of the bounteous lands beyond, he concluded to go forward also. By the year 1825 Beulah was practically abandoned by its original settlers.⁶

covered with moss, trees and ferns and here and there an excavation, nearly filled with debris and vegetation, mark the site of the extinct town of Beulah." J. F. Barnes *History of the City of Beulah*.

⁵ Egle's *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 470. Day's *Pennsylvania Historical Collections*, p. 181. "They were, in religion, Dissenters, or Welsh Independents, and were men of strong religious conviction." Egle's *Hist. of Pennsylvania*, p. 471.

⁶ Morgan J. Rhys, the founder of Beulah, was born December 8, 1760, in Glamorganshire, South Wales, and died in Somerset, Pennsylvania, December 7, 1804. He was well born and well educated. His parents were John and Elizabeth Rhys (English, Rees). He united with the Baptist Church at Hengoed while very young. He entered Bristol College in August, 1786, but remained there but one year. In 1787 he

PADDY'S RUN.⁷

Paddy's Run is located about twenty-two miles northwest of Cincinnati, on a small stream by that name. The present name of the village is Shandon. It is situated in a level valley bordered by hills of some considerable height, and is noted for its productive farms and well-to-do people and general home-like prosperity.⁸

The valley of Paddy's run varies in breadth from half a mile to one or two miles, and in length from four to six miles, terminating in the valley of the Great Miami. It is one of the most fertile localities in the Miami country. It is noted for its production of cereals and its stock raising.

was ordained pastor of Penygarn Baptist Church, Pontypool. In 1792 he went to France but remained only a short time. About 1793 he published several pamphlets and also a "Guide and Encouragement to Establish Sunday Schools, etc." In 1794 he fell under the ban of the English Government and fled to America. After landing at New York he journeyed through the Southern States and Northwest Territory seeking a suitable place for a Welsh colony. In 1796 he married the daughter of Colonel Benjamin Loxley. In 1798 he purchased the land where Beulah was located. He then took charge of his colony, became pastor of the church, Associate Judge, Recorder of Deeds and Register of Wills, etc. He was buried in the cemetery of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia.

Rev. John T. Griffiths, of Edwardsdale, Penn., a prominent divine and recognized as the most useful writer of Welsh history living in America today, has compiled and published the facts to be obtained concerning Morgan J. Rhys, including his letters, diary, and several sermons and speeches. From this publication all the foregoing facts concerning Morgan J. Rhys and Beulah, Penn., have been obtained.

⁷This article is based on the writings of B. W. Chidlaw, Hon. Ed H. Jones, of Hamilton, and Miss Hannah Morris, of Shandon, have furnished valuable additions.

⁸"The level valley, bordered by hills that gradually rise to quite a pretentious height, little streams like silver threads winding their way on toward large rivers, fine gravel roads, well tilled and highly productive farms, large and inviting looking homes, commodious barns, lawns and pastures of Kentucky blue grass and in summer and autumn fields of abundant harvests and orchards of all kinds of fruits,—all these go to make up a landscape worthy a place on the canvass of the painter." Rev. C. A. Gleason, *Hist. Paddy's Run Cong. Church.*

Its settlement dates from 1796, when a Welshman by the name of Ezekiel Hughes arrived at Cincinnati from Wales, and together with Edward Bebb and William Gwilym squatted on the east bank of the Miami river near the mouth of Blue Rock creek until the government should survey the west bank of the river and open the country for settlement.⁹

In 1801 the land on the west side of the Miami was placed on the market, and Ezekiel Hughes purchased sections 15 and 16 in what is now Whitewater township, Hamilton county, while Edward Bebb purchased a half section in Morgan township, Butler county.¹⁰

The settlers for the most part occupied the lands in the community in the following order: 1802, William Gwilym, Andrew Scott, John Vaughn, David Francis; 1803, James Nicholas, the Parkison family consisting of three brothers, Jacob Phyllis, John and Samuel Hardin, Bryson Blackburn, George Drybread, John Howard and Thomas Millholland; 1804 James Shields, John Halstead, Abel and Thomas Appleton; from 1804 to 1812, William Evans, William Jenkins, King and Alexander De-

⁹ Ezekiel Hughes was the first Welsh settler in Ohio. He was born in Llanbrynmair Montgomeryshire, North Wales, August 22, 1767. He sailed for Philadelphia in April, 1795. He remained there until the Spring of 1796 when he visited Washington, D. C. In the early summer of 1796, accompanied by Edward Bebb he started on foot for the Northwest Territory. They remained a few weeks at Beulah and then took passage on a flatboat down the Ohio, bound for Cincinnati. In 1803 Hughes visited Wales, married Margaret Bebb, and returned to the banks of the Miami in 1804. In 1805 his wife died. In 1808 he married Mary Ewing, a native of Pennsylvania. In 1806 he became Justice of the Peace. In 1819 he was instrumental in incorporating "The Berea Union Society." He was one of the charter members of the Paddy's Run Congregational Church, and a faithful attendant though residing 13 miles away. In 1828 a Presbyterian Church was organized at his house and he united with it. He died September 2, 1849.

¹⁰ Edward Bebb, who was the first actual settler at Paddy's Run, after locating his land, walked back to Ebensburg, Pennsylvania, took unto himself a wife, Margaret Owens, and returned to take possession of his new home. Their son, William Bebb, afterwards Governor of Ohio, was born December 8, 1802, and was the first white child born in Morgan Township, Butler County. William Bebb died June 18, 1840, and Mrs. Bebb. December 3, 1851.

Armond, Rev. Michael Battenberg, John Merring, Robert Mahaffy, Rev. Hezekiah Shaw, William D. Jones, Peter Youmans, Ephraim Carmack; 1817, Rev. Rees Lloyd and family.

In 1818 emigration directly from Wales was revived, and the following families came from that place: John C. Jones, Evan Morris, John Breese, Richard Jones, John and William Davis, George Williams, Evan Humphreys, Griffith Breese, Humphrey Evans, Francis Jones, John Evans, David Jones, John Swancott, David Davies, Evan Evans and Tubal Jones.

Between 1820 and 1830 the following families settled: Deacon Hugh Williams, Joseph Griffiths, Henry Davis, Thomas Watkin, David Roberts, Rowland Jones and John Jones.¹¹

The early settlers passed through experiences similar to those of other pioneers of their times. The opening of the public road from Cincinnati to the Miami furnished a market for their produce at Cincinnati, and the fact that that city was located along a great artery of traffic made the market a good one. The twenty-two miles to market had no terrors for the Welshman. As a result, the earliest settlers became landowners, their lands became more and more valuable with the increase of facilities and the descendants of the pioneers are for the most part well-to-do, if not wealthy.

It is to be observed that the first settlers came from the vicinity of Llanbrynmair, North Wales, which is said to have been one of the most moral and religious places in Wales. When they came to America they did not leave behind their Bibles or religious tenets, and with the ring of the ax they mingled the

¹¹ William and Morgan Gwilym who came from Cevmaman, South Wales, and reached this colony in 1802, resided for some time at Red Stone, Pennsylvania, where they assisted in the manufacture of the first iron made west of the Alleghanies. Rachel, the daughter of William Gwilym, and Ann Rowlands, born May 28, 1800, was the first white child born in Colerain Township, Hamilton County, Ohio. Morgan Gwilym brought the first two-horse wagon and iron castings into the neighborhood. William Gwilym died in 1838, aged 74 years. Morgan Gwilym died in 1845, aged 76 years.

James Shields, who arrived in 1804, was a native of Ireland, educated at Glasgow University. He was a member of the Ohio Legislature for nineteen years. In 1828 he was elected to Congress. He died in 1831.

sound of thanksgiving and praise. The cabin preceded but a short interval the house of worship; indeed, from the beginning it served as a habitation and a house of worship as well.

The most important item in the history of this community is the story of the Congregational church, which was organized September 3, 1803. Among the earliest settlers was one J. W. Brown, an itinerant preacher. He traveled from settlement to settlement in Hamilton county, and in 1802 preached the



PADDY'S RUN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

first sermon in Paddy's Run. The first meetings for the most part were held in the open. In July, 1803, a committee was appointed to draft a constitution and articles of faith. September 3, 1803, the committee reported at a meeting held at the home of John Vaughn. The first members were Benjamin McCarthy, Asa Kitchel, John Comstock, Andrew Scott, Margaret Bebb, Ezekiel Hughes, William and Ann Gwilym, David and Mary Francis.

In 1804 Rev. Brown was ordained. He filled the position of pastor until 1812. Since 1817 the pastors have been: 1817-1820, Rev. Rees Lloyd; 1820-1829, Rev. Thomas Thomas; 1828-1831, Rev. Thomas G. Roberts; 1831-1834, Rev. Evan Roberts; 1836-1843, Rev. B. W. Chidlaw; 1843—, Rev. Ellis Howell.

These were followed by Rev. Jos. H. Jones, Rev. James M. Pryse, Rev. D. W. Wilson, Rev. J. M. Thompson, Rev. George Candee and others. In ninety-five years the pastors numbered eighteen. Beginning with a membership of thirteen in 1803, at the end of the first quarter of a century, it numbered about ninety. By 1850 the membership was over four hundred.

From the organization of the church until 1825 the meetings were held at the cabin of the members, or in the wagon shop of David Jones or in the open air. In 1823 a church building was begun, but it was not ready for occupancy until 1825. In 1855 a new and more commodious church was erected and occupied.

As John W. Brown, the first minister, was English and not Welsh, and as several of the first members of the church were not Welsh, the services were carried on for the most part in the English language, yet services and communion were had alternately in English and Welsh for a considerable period. In 1820 Thomas Thomas and Rees Lloyd were joint pastors, the former preaching in English, the latter in Welsh. Preaching in both languages was continued for many years. The last Welsh pastor was Rev. Pryse, and the last Welsh sermon was preached in 1886 by Rev. Rhys Lloyd, of Oakland, Cal. The Welsh people clung to their language and traditions for many years and among the old folk they are often tenderly referred to.

Miss Hannah Morris, a descendant of the first family of that name, writes: "There is only a very little of the Welsh or the Welsh influence here now. I think there is but one person that can read Welsh, about a dozen that can talk it, and about as many who can understand it."

A Sunday-school was organized in 1819 and has always been an important factor in the religious life of the community.¹²

¹² "The members knew but little of Sunday-school work, and in order to obtain some knowledge of method, Thomas Lloyd and William

It is recorded that the first school in the township was conducted in a log schoolhouse erected in 1808. The teacher, Polly Willey, had twenty pupils and drew a salary of seventy-five cents a week and boarded around. She was succeeded by Mr. Jenkins in 1808, who taught not only from the textbooks, but also from a code of "morals and manners" of his own. In 1821 a boarding school was established for advanced scholars by Rev. Thomas Thomas. The following are some of the more prominent persons who received their early education at the Paddy's Run schools. Charles Selden, Rev. T. E. Thomas, William Dennison, Governor of Ohio in 1861; G. M. Shaw, of Indiana, and Hon. Daniel Shaw, of Louisiana; Murat Halstead, Dr. Albert Shaw, editor *Review of Reviews*; William Bebb, Governor of Ohio 1846-1848; Dr. Knowles Shaw, evangelist; Rev. Mark Williams, missionary.

Indeed, the most remarkable fact in connection with the history of this settlement is the great interest taken in the proper education and religious instruction and training of the young. This is true of all Welsh settlements, but it is truly remarkable in the case of Paddy's Run. Scores of men have gone out from this Welsh settlement to gain prominence in their chosen profession. It is estimated that the church alone has given to the world ten ministers, five foreign missionaries, five teachers in the American Missionary Work, two eminent journalists, one hundred and five teachers, a score of physicians and several attorneys-at-law.

WELSH HILLS.

The pioneers of this settlement were Theophilus Rees and Thomas Philipps, who have been mentioned elsewhere as members of the Welsh colony which settled Beulah, Cambria county, Pennsylvania, in 1795-6. Rees was probably among the earliest of his race to leave the parent settlement in Pennsylvania with a view to settling elsewhere. As early as 1800; he began to inquire

Bebb were appointed to visit Hamilton, the county seat, and then a town of seven hundred people, and learn how other schools were conducted.

* * Reaching Hamilton they learned to their surprise that there was not a school in any of the three of four churches." Gleason's *Hist. Paddy's Run Cong. Church*.

into the advantages of the country beyond the Ohio, and in August, 1801, commissioned his son, John Rees, "Chaplain" Jones, mentioned elsewhere, and Simon James, to explore a tract of land in what is now Granville Township, Licking county, Ohio.¹³

Upon their favorable report, on September 4, 1801, Theophilus Rees purchased approximately one thousand acres in the Southwest corner of the Northwest quarter of Granville township, Licking county, Ohio, and Thomas Philipps purchased eight hundred acres immediately north of the Rees purchase in the same quarter. In the same quarter at the same time, the following purchases were made: Elizabeth Conroy, 200 acres; Henry Jenkins, 100 acres; David Roberts, 400 acres; Walter Griffith, 100 acres.

About one year after the above purchases were made, Theophilus Rees and family, his two sons-in-law, David Lewis and David Thomas, with their families and Simon James started from Cambria county, Pennsylvania, to take possession of their lands. At Wheeling they were joined by James Johnson, an Indian scout, and his family.¹⁴

Before the party reached its destination, Lewis and Thomas, had stopped at Zanesville and Newark to work. Cabins were erected for Rees and Johnson, the former about one mile northeast of Granville, the latter about a mile further over the hills to the north.

¹³The facts leading up to the immigration of Rees and Philipps to America are as follows: In 1787, a pamphlet containing a bold criticism of the attitude of the British Government toward religious reform was published in Wales. Its authorship was attributed to John Philipps, son of Thomas Philipps, who was then a student in a college near the border line between England and Wales. To avoid arrest Philipps escaped to America, and repaired to Philadelphia. From there he appealed to his father to come to America. His father prevailed upon his friend and neighbor, Theophilus Rees, to come also. A colony of their neighbors was made up and they arrived in New York May 14, 1795.

¹⁴This incident is peculiar. It introduced into a Welsh settlement a strain of Virginia blood which refused to mix with the Welsh for generations. The second wife of James Johnson was Martha Bazil Lee, or Bazileel. Her first husband was Isaac Reily, an Irish minister of considerable note at Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War.

It was not until 1806 that Thomas Philipps, accompanied by his son, John, and family came to Ohio. They settled on their purchase a short distance north of the Rees settlement. In 1809 Samuel Joseph Philipps, another son of Thomas Philipps, came to the Hills, accompanied by his family, consisting of his wife and five children.¹⁵

The following list shows the date of the arrival of the principal settlers in the Welsh Hills: 1802, Theophilus Rees, James Johnson, Simon James; 1803, David Lewis, David Thomas; 1804,



THE VALLEY OF THE LOG POND.

Thomas Cramer, Peter Cramer; 1805, John Price, Benjamin Jones, Thomas Powell;¹⁶ 1806, Thomas and John Philipps, James

¹⁵ They traveled in the manner characteristic of the times. They had two horses and no wagon. One horse was used as a pack horse, while the wife rode the other with a child in each saddlebag and a babe in her arms. The father walked and led the way. The two boys aged seven and nine drove the cows. In this manner they made the journey of over three hundred miles.

¹⁶ Born in Radnorshire, South Wales, January 12, 1760, settled at Reulah, Pennsylvania, 1801, ordained to the ministry and supplied the

Evans; 1807, Jacob Riley;¹⁷ 1809, Samuel J. Phillips, David Jones; 1810, David Thomas, Samuel White, Sr., Daniel Griffith; 1811, Thomas Owens; 1815, Nicodemus Griffith; 1816, David Pittsford; 1821, Edward Price, Edward Glynn; 1822, Thomas Hughes, Evan Davis, John Davis, etc.

It has been said that the first thing a Frenchman does in a new country is to build a trading post; an Englishman builds a blockhouse, but a Welshman builds a church. It will be observed that a number of the Welsh families who settled in Welsh Hills were also the pioneers of Beulah and Ebensburg, Penna. The year following their settlement at Ebensburg they organized a church which became the parent church of the Welsh Hills Baptist Church. The Beulah Church was a Union Church for the accommodation of all worshippers regardless of their denomination. The prevailing spirit in the church, however, was their pastor and promoter of the colony, Morgan J. Rhys, who was a Baptist minister. Accordingly the tone of the church soon became Baptist and the church transplanted to Welsh Hills was Baptist. Nearly all the charter members of the Welsh Hills Baptist Church were members of the Beulah Church, and from the letters issued by the latter to members of the former, we find that not less than thirty transplanted their religious as well as their material possessions from Beulah to Welsh Hills.

church at Beulah and for a time at Welsh Hills. Had a remarkable memory and is said to have committed to memory great portions of the Scriptures. Was very eccentric and because of a grievance on the building of the Welsh Hills Church, declared he would never enter it again. He kept his word, but seated on a stump outside he listened to the sermons and joined in the services. He died July 6, 1848, and is buried in Granville.

¹⁷ Riley was the husband of Sallie Tilton, who was born in 1782 at old Fort Tilton, afterwards Tiltonville, in what is now Warren township, Jefferson county, Ohio. Her father, Joseph Tilton, was a member of the settlement at Fort Tilton in 1774. Joseph Tilton's wife was Susannah Jones said to have been a niece of Captain Paul Jones of Revolutionary fame. She is buried at Indian Mound Cemetery at Tiltonville, and her monument reads, "Departed this life October 15th, 1838, aged 88 years, 9 months and 20 days." Her granddaughter, Susannah Reily, daughter of Jacob Reily, married Samuel G. Philipps, the son of Samuel J. Philipps.

No sooner had the settlement reached any considerable number than the church was organized. This event took place September 4, 1808. The following were the constituent members: Theophilus Rees, David Thomas, Nathyn Allen, David Lobdell, Joshua Lobdell, Thomas Powell, Elizabeth Rees, Elizabeth Thomas, and Mary Thomas. The church worshipped at private houses until 1809, when a log church was erected. It was succeeded by various structures until the present church was built in 1840.



SHARON VALLEY.

The Welsh Hills Church has done a great deal toward keeping the people together in the faith of their fathers and has furnished a means by which the traditions of the race have to some extent been preserved. A very large per cent. of the population of the settlement have been church members and church goers, and the church has never failed of the active assistance of the best people of the community.

Regarding education as the handmaid of religion the pioneer Welshman soon took steps to establish a school as early if not

earlier than the organization of the church. John H. Philipps had been a school teacher in Pennsylvania and immediately upon his arrival in 1806 began to instruct the youth of the neighborhood at his cabin. He was the first teacher in the log school house erected in 1806. In 1825 "The Old Stone School House" was erected. This building is still standing, and is located about a mile and a half northeast of Granville.

"The Old Stone School House" is as dear to the hearts of the people of Welsh Hills as Liberty Hall is to the American



THE WELSH HILLS CHURCH.

people. The school conducted here was large for a country school, sometimes numbering as high as sixty in winter and forty in summer. The building was abandoned in 1858, when a modern school house was built in another part of the settlement.

Before leaving Wales nearly every adult who settled on Welsh Hills had learned a trade and few, if any, were farmers before settling on the Hills. As a result the Welsh pioneer was an awkward but ambitious farmer. His success is due not to his adaptability to farming, but to his economy and thrift. He

was a small farmer and few undertook to cultivate so much as 200 acres. He believed in reclaiming a small tract of ground and gradually extending his operations. Every grain was harvested and every garnered grain was saved. They were supporters of the temperance cause, and early in their denunciation of slavery.¹⁸

Welsh Hills school contributed twenty-nine soldiers for the Union Army. Six soldiers of the War of 1812 and five for the Mexican War went from the settlement.

The Welsh Hills settlement comprises about 5,000 acres of land for the most part in the northeast quarter of Granville



THE OLD STONE SCHOOL HOUSE.

Township, Licking County, Ohio, while a few hundred acres lie in McKean Township, in Newton Township, and still more in Newark Township. The land is very hilly, but not what could be called a rough country. The land is fertile for hilly land, and

¹⁸ A letter from the church to the Association in 1836 contains the following: "Resolved that this Association utterly abhors the vile system of slavery as practiced in the Southern States and recommends to all Christians to use every lawful and consistent means for the immediate and total abolition thereof."

is well adapted to stock raising, particularly sheep. Grain raised on the Welsh Hills is not so productive to the acre, but is of superior quality.

The population has preserved its character as a distinctively Welsh settlement until very recent years, but in later years it has been gradually losing its distinguishing traits. The Welsh language was used generally throughout the community during the first generations, and in the church until about 1830, and after that but little. It is seldom heard today.

The fact that the Welsh Hills was but a few miles from Granville and Denison University gave the Welsh boys an opportunity to satisfy their pronounced ambitions to secure an education. The great majority of the youth from the Hills have attended Denison University and a large number are graduates of that institution.

RADNOR.¹⁹

This Welsh settlement is situated in Radnor Township, Dela-

¹⁹ This article is based very largely upon "The History of Radnor," by B. W. Chidlaw.

Benjamin W. Chidlaw was born at the Village of Bala, in North Wales, July 14, 1811, and was the son of Benjamin and Mary (Williams) Chidlaw. In 1821 his parents immigrated to America and arrived at Delaware, Ohio, the same year, where his father died a few weeks after their arrival. His mother purchased a small farm a few miles north of Radnor, where B. W. spent his boyhood days. In 1827 he attended an academy kept by Bishop Chase at Worthington. In 1828 he attended Kenyon College at Gambier. In 1829 he studied Latin and Greek under Rev. Jacob Little at Granville, preparatory to entering Ohio University at Athens. In November of that year he enrolled at that school and spent two years there, completing his junior year. In 1833 he entered Miami University at Oxford, where he graduated in 1833. He preached for some time and then took charge of the missionary work of the American Sunday School Union in Ohio and Indiana at which work he was engaged for over forty years. He was chaplain during the Civil War. After the war he continued his labor with the American Sunday School Union and traveled throughout the country. He made several visits to Wales. He wrote "The History of the Welsh Settlement at Paddy's Run," "The History of the Welsh Settlement at Radnor." "The Story of My Life." and contributed very largely to current periodicals. He has made many valuable contributions to Welsh History in Ohio. He died on the 14th day of July, 1892, in Wales, at Dolgelly, a few miles from Bala, his birthplace.

ware County, Ohio, and lies just east of the Scioto River, near the northwest corner of Delaware County, about five miles north of the city of Delaware. The pioneer of this settlement was a young Welshman by the name of David Pugh, who purchased land warrants for 4,000 acres of land, being the southwest quarter of Township 6, Range 20, of the United States Survey, from Dr. Samuel Jones, of Philadelphia, in 1802.²⁰



RADNOR.

In 1802 Pugh rode from Philadelphia on horseback to visit his purchase. Upon his return to Philadelphia he arranged with Henry Perry, of Angelsea, South Wales, to make a settlement upon the tract. In the fall of 1803 Perry and his two sons, aged fifteen and thirteen, built a cabin on the land and occupied it during the following winter. In the early summer of 1804 Perry left

²⁰ David Pugh was from Radnorshire, South Wales, and landed at Baltimore in 1801. He is the ancestor of the numerous Pugh family of Columbus and vicinity.

the boys in possession of the cabin and returned to Baltimore after his wife and other children.

In 1804 David Pugh again visited the tract and divided his land into lots of one hundred acres each and sold them to the following: Richard Tibbett, John Watkins, John Jones (from Wales), and Hugh Kyle and David Marks, from Pennsylvania. In 1805 the following families arrived from Wales: Evan Jenkins, David Davids, Richard Hoskins and David Davies. John



RADNOR CEMETERY.

Muller also came from Pennsylvania. In 1807 came David Penry and John Philips, brothers-in-law of David Pugh, Elenor Lodwig and children, Thomas, John and Lititia. In 1808 came Benjamin Kepler, Elijah Adams, Thomas Warren and John Foos.

During the war of 1812, Radnor was a frontier settlement, and immigration was suspended. After the close of the war it was renewed again briskly and the following families arrived: Joseph Dunlap, Samuel Cooper, Robert and John McKinney, Obed Taylor, James and Matthew Fleming from Pennsylvania

and Maryland; Thomas Jones, Ellis Jones, David E. Jones, Edward Evans, John Owens, Roger Watkins, Watkin Watkins, William Watkins, John Humphreys, Humphrey Humphreys, Benjamin Herbert, Morgan D. Morgans, J. R. Jones, J. Jones, John Cadwallader, David Cadwallader, David Lloyd, John Davies, Mary Chidlaw, Robert and Stephen Thomas, from Wales. By the year 1821, nearly all the land in Radnor Township was taken up.

Elijah Adams was the first Justice of the Peace in Radnor and held the office for many years. Thomas Warren opened the first tavern in 1811, in a log building 20 x 32 feet and two stories high. The first child born in the settlement was David Penry, Jr., and the second Mary Jones (Warren) in the spring of 1807.



RADNOR BAPTIST CHURCH.

As in all Welsh settlements, the history of the settlements is the story of their religious and educational growth. The history of the family is one with that of the school and church. So it is in Radnor. Nothing in the story of this settlement attains the prominence of the story of the school-house and the church.

From the earliest schools were conducted and the youth instructed in the means available. In 1821 there were three log school-houses within the township, on the farms of John Philips, Ralph Dildine and Benjamin Kepler. In later years the number grew to fourteen, while the number of children enrolled became approximately three hundred.

The first church organized in the township was of Baptist denomination. It was constituted May 4, 1816, with the following members: John Philips, Hannah Philips, William David, Thomas Walling, David Penry, Mary Penry, James Gallant, Elenor Lodwig, Daniel Bell, Reuben Stephens and Elizabeth Stevens. For two years they had no pastor. The earlier pastors were: 1818-1824, Elder Drake; 1827-1829, Jesse Jones; 1830-

1836, Thomas Stephen; 1836-1842, Elias George. The first church edifice was of logs and stood near the graveyard. In 1833 a stone church was erected on the same site. In 1867 a brick church was erected and in 1903 the present beautiful brick church was built. This church has always been strong, and during its career has numbered close to 200, besides sending out several ministers and missionaries to other lands. At the present time it has a membership of about 150 and supports a vigorous Sunday School.

Probably as early as 1808 the Methodist Church was represented by an itinerant minister, who preached at the cabins of



RADNOR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Henry Perry and Elijah Adams. A society of the church was effected in 1812 at the cabin of Henry Perry. It became connected with the Delaware circuit of the Ohio Conference. In 1838 a frame church was erected and the church organization perfected. In 1858 a brick structure was erected. The present membership is about seventy-five.

In 1820 the Welsh Congregational Church was organized at the cabin of John Jones (Penlan), with the following charter members: William Penry, Mary Penry, John Jones, Mary Jones, Margaret Morgan, D. Morgans, John A. Jones and wife. The first pastor was Rev. James Davies. He was succeeded by James

Perregrin, 1825; Thomas Stevens, 1827; Rees Powell, 1838; Evan Evans, 1853; Rees Powell, 1858; James Davies, 1863; Thomas Jenkins, 1870; D. A. Evans, John B. Davis, J. V. Stephens, and Benjamin Harris, the present pastor. The church was remodeled and refurnished in 1904. The present membership is about 200 and includes the majority of the descendants of the old pioneer families.

The first Presbyterian Church organized in Radnor Township was established in 1819 on the farm of James Dunlap, some distance from the Village of Radnor, near the Scioto River. However, the Presbyterian Church was organized in the Village of Radnor in 1848 by the withdrawal of a number of persons from the Congregational Church. The church has not been very strong and at the present time numbers about seventy-five members. Rev. Henry Shedd was the first pastor and he was succeeded by M. Jones, John Thompson, H. McVey, D. Wilson, J. Crouse and others.

The Welsh Presbyterian Church was organized by recruits from those of the Calvinistic and Presbyterian faith, and in 1850 a house of worship was erected. The pastors were Welsh-speaking ministers and the language was long employed in the services, especially in the Sunday School. In 1877 a brick church was erected.

A review of the commercial history of Radnor settlement reveals nothing but the most substantial thrift, industry and prosperity. Radnor township is a beautiful farming district, unsurpassed for fertility, and is largely devoted to the cultivation of grain. There is evidence of thrift and prosperity on every hand. Radnor village is but a small collection of homes about the school and churches. It is located amid a little cluster of elevated knolls, hardly rising to the dignity of hills, and is surrounded by broad fields and beautiful farms. No more cozy and home-like place exists. The farmers in the community have grown wealthy upon the products of their fertile fields and almost all the inhabitants of the village either own farms in the surrounding country or have sold their farms and are living in comfort in the village from the proceeds of their sale.

The township has no poor. All seem to be happy and pros-

perous. The Welsh language has about disappeared, although the Congregational Sunday-school has a class for the old people which is conducted in the Welsh language.

Before leaving Radnor, mention should be made of the remarkably large number of soldiers who enlisted from this place in the Civil War. A list carefully compiled from the official Roster shows that they number no less than one hundred and sixty-one. When it is observed that with the present population, which is not less, and, no doubt, more than the township had in 1861, is not over 1,500 and the total number of electors is only between three hundred and four hundred, the fact appears still the more remarkable.

SETTLEMENT OF GALLIA AND JACKSON COUNTIES.*

About the first of April, 1818, six families left their home in Kilkinin, Cardiganshire, South Wales, bound for Paddy's Run, Butler county, Ohio. The heads of these families were John Jones (Tirbach), John Evans (Penlanlas), Evan Evans (Tynmawr), Lewis Davis (Rhiwlas), William Williams (Pantfallen), and Thomas Evans. After a perilous voyage of seven weeks across the great Atlantic, they arrived in Baltimore, Md., on the first day of July, 1818. Immediately after their arrival they arranged for two covered wagons drawn by four horses to convey them across the mountains as far as Pittsburg. When they reached Pittsburg they purchased a flat or push boat built for moving families, and embarked for Cincinnati. They undertook to manage the boats themselves, consequently their journey was beset with more than the usual dangers of such a voyage. They finally went ashore at Gallipolis to get provision and to enjoy the hospitality of the French settlers at that place, who, perhaps, on account of race affinity and sympathy, treated these British Celts very kindly. When they awoke in the morning they found that their boats had broken loose as a result of a storm that had arisen during the night. At this juncture the women rebelled and flatly refused to move on any further, and being attached to the Gallians, they were persuaded to abandon all hope

*By Rev. W. R. Evans, Gallia, Ohio.

of reaching Paddy's Run, and effect a settlement in a more convenient point. Without delay these undaunted Welshmen went out to where Rodney now stands, to get work on the State road then being built from Chillicothe to Gallipolis. While thus employed they were told of a fertile and healthy region a few miles further west, and were thus led to settle near the village of Centerville, now a part of Jackson county. The topography of the country resembled that of their native land, so each purchased land at \$1.25 per acre. Immediately they began to hew out homes for their families in the midst of wild forests. Being unaccustomed and unskilled in the use of the ax, they found the work extremely irksome. They first built rude houses of round logs to dwell in, then with brave hearts they whacked away to clear a "patch" for the spring crop. It is impossible for their descendants to-day to even imagine the hardships and privations these sturdy pioneers endured. In 1829 David Thomas arrived from Wales, and in 1831 Lewis Hughes and Edward Jones came to the settlement. Thus about 15 years passed before there was any material addition to this colony, save a chance visitor from some other Welsh settlement. About 1833 Rev. Edward Jones arrived and preached to these Welsh pioneers in their native tongue, which was much relished. He soon returned to Wales and wrote and published a pamphlet in which he described in glowing language the land and resources of Gallia and Jackson counties. As a consequence about the year 1835, and then on for ten years immigrants, principally from Cardiganshire, South Wales, came pouring into the neighborhood. They began to locate at different points in all directions of the compass, over an area perhaps twenty miles in diameter, until the whole of Jefferson and Madison townships were taken up, and extending to Racoon, Perry and Greenfield townships, in Gallia county, afterwards into Bloomfield, Lick and Coal townships, Jackson county. About this time, decade between 1840 and 1850, times were very hard. Because of the lack of knowledge of the use of the implements of husbandry, and because the soil was not very fertile, their crops were necessarily poor, and the market even poorer than the crops. Wages were extremely low — 16 cents per day — and farm produce scarcely worth hauling to market. Oats

were worth but 8 cents per bushel and corn 25 cents. About 1843 the father of the writer hauled shelled corn from near Centerville to Buckhorn furnace, a distance of 15 miles, and received for the same 25 cents per bushel in trade. How they managed to support their families is inexplicable to us now. Hogs brought at one time only one and a half cents per pound, after being driven about 20 miles to Gallipolis. But by undaunted persistency and frugality — every member of the family, from a 6-year-old child to the octogenarian — at work, they managed to drive the wolf away, and despite all obstacles, soon owned farms and stocks, and laid money away for the rainy day. And as the county is rich in limestone and iron ore, they began to invest their money in blast furnaces for the manufacture of pig iron, Jefferson and Cambrian furnaces being exclusively owned by Welshmen. The owners of Jefferson never allowed the furnace to be operated on the Sabbath day, and it was and is the most prosperous furnace in Southern Ohio. Its principal stockholders became the wealthiest citizens of Jackson county. The Welsh community in general was thrifty and well-to-do. Rarely do we find one of these immigrants and their immediate descendants in prison or the poor house. These early pioneers also appreciated the value of education, strived to obtain it, and urged their children to seek it. Evan Evans, one of the first settlers, had four sons, all of whom taught school in the winter season for quite a number of years. At one time — about forty years ago — twenty-one of the young men of Horeb Church were school teachers. At an early day the school houses were few and far between, and children had to wend their way often two or three miles, through thick forests, over rugged steeps and dashing streams, to these halls of learning. The school houses were of a rude, primitive style, built of round logs about 16x18 feet, with stick and mud chimney built outside, and a fireplace for burning logs six or seven feet long. The door had wooden latch and hinges, and sometimes it was made of clapboards. At the end was a row of window glass, or, oftener, oiled paper, to admit the light. It contained a puncheon floor, made of sapplings hewed upon the upper side. The benches were made of slabs or split logs, and, generally, too high for the feet of the little urchins to

reach the floor, and nothing to lean the back against. The writer has a distinct recollection of these barbarous seats. Here in these small, dusty, prison-like rooms the school master (they were not called teachers then) stood, and with rod in hand, savage looks, and gruff voice, crammed the three R's into our hollow craniums.

Historians are generally agreed that one of the peculiar national characteristics of the Welsh as a people is religiosity. Even the ancient Druids possessed strong religious instincts, and were fond of poetry and music. These were the marked characteristics of the early Welsh settlers of Gallia and Jackson counties. The major portion of them came from near Aberystwyth, and had witnessed wonderful religious awakenings in their native land. They were mostly members of the Presbyterian, or, as it was called, Calvinistic Methodist church. Upon their arrival in this country they immediately erected a house of worship. If no minister could be procured they conducted prayer meetings and Sabbath schools in the chapel. In nearly every family there was an altar, and the parents as a rule spared no time nor pains in training their children in the way they should go, and in instilling into their minds the doctrinal tenets of the Presbyterian creed. They did this chiefly by the use of two catechisms, viz., the "Mother Gift" (for juveniles) and the Instructor (*Hyfforddwr*). The last, written by the eminent Christian scholar and founder of the British Bible Society — the Rev. Thomas Charles, D. D., Bala, Wales. The first chapel that was built in the settlement was Moriah in the year 1836. It is situated about midway between Oak Hill and Centerville, and about the center of the Welsh settlement. The church is in a flourishing condition to-day, and the Welsh language almost exclusively used. As the emigrants were pouring in from Wales, and spreading in all directions, new church buildings went up on all sides. The dates of the organization of these churches are as follows: Horeb 1838, Centerville 1840, Zoar 1841, Bethel 1841, Sardis 1843, Bethania 1846, Oak Hill 1850, Peniel 1874, Jackson 1880. Dates of organization and dissolution of extinct churches: Tabor 1848-1866, Bethesda 1856-1880, Salem 1862-1879, Coalton 1881-1906.

Several Congregational churches also were organized at an

early date of which we have no record. We think Oak Hill was the first, about 1840, Tyn Rhos 1841, then Nebo, Carmel, Saloam, Centerville, and recently Mount Pleasant. The Baptists erected four chapels — Oak Hill, Centerville, Bethlehem and Ebenezer.

In the year 1836 Rev. Robert Williams arrived in the settlement and located near Moriah. He was a man of rare talent and strong personality. For fifty years he labored with assiduity and exercised the function of a prophet, priest and king to the cluster of the Calvinistic churches of the settlement. He was a counsellor and guide, and his word was almost regarded as law. He doubtless exerted more influence than anyone else toward the intellectual, moral and spiritual elevation of his countrymen in the community in which he resided. The two other preachers that deserve special notice, on account of their abilities and long, faithful services, were Revs. J. W. Evans, Oak Hill, and E. S. Jones, Centerville. Each served the churches of the settlement for about half of a century. Other able and faithful ministers served the churches for shorter periods of time than those above mentioned.

As to Congregational preachers, priority belongs to Rev. John A. Davis, on account of ability, influence and long service. Rev. Evan Davis, Tyn Rhos, stands next on the roll.

We think that we can confidently affirm without fear of contradiction that no other settlement of Welsh or any other nationality have contributed so largely to the ministry, according to population, as the Welsh settlement of Gallia and Jackson. Here is the list: Daniel Evans, Richard Davis, J. W. Evans, J. T. Williams, E. S. Jones, David Harris, D. D., John Rogers, R. H. Evans, J. P. Morgan, John M. Jones, W. Reese, D. J. Jenkins, David Thomas, M. A., John Lloyd, D. Jewitt Davis, M. A., W. R. Evans, Isaac Edwards, B. F. Thomas, Rowland Jones, D. Luther Edwards, S. Handel Jones, R. H. Evans, Jr., Alban Alban, Thos. D. Hughes, M. A., D. D., W. T. Lewis, D. D., John Davis, M. A., D. Ellis Evans, John L. Jones, Thomas Thomas, Evan Lloyd, Daniel Lloyd, Daniel Jones, Richard Davis, Thomas Davis, M. A., Edward I. Jones, Dan I. Jones, John L. Davis, M. A. Columbus, O., Evan Rees, M. A., W. O. Jones, M. A., W. Isaac, Dr. Griffiths and others perhaps. Allow us here to give the names of a few

of the physicians reared in the settlement: Dr. Jenkins, Dr. Jenkens of Lima, Dr. Griffiths, Dr. E. J. Jones, Dr. Gomer Jones, Dr. Moses Jones, Dr. Dan Jones (Dec.), Dr. Lewis, Cincinnati; Dr. Morgan, Coalton; Dr. Morgan, Jackson; Dr. Williams Jackson, Dr. Davis, Venedocia; Dr. Alban, Columbus; Dr. Austin Edards, Dr. Evans (Dec.), Dr. E. Hughes (Dec.), Dr. J. W. Jones (Dec.).

The most prominent among the educators are Prof. S. Morgan, W. T. Morgan, David Evans, instructor in Athens university, and Prof. J. H. Phillips, superintendent of schools, Birmingham, Ala. He, no doubt, is one of the leading educators of the South. In the list of lawyers we may name David Alban (Dec.), John L. Jones (Dec.), R. H. Jones, Judge D. Davis, Cincinnati; Lot Davis, Ironton; Daniel Phillips (Dec.), Evan Davis, Gallipolis; John A. Thomas, Judge Benner Jones, John A. Jones, Circuit Judge; Judge Everett Evans, Virginia, and Daniel Williams, editor of the Standard Journal and our consul to Cardiff, Wales.

The Welsh also have figured quite prominent in the political arena. The following is the list of Representatives: Capt. Evans, Dr. Williams, T. Lloyd Hughes, Robert Jones, Samuel Llewellyn, Lot Davis and Evans. Hon. Stephen Morgan was elected to Congress for three consecutive terms. Gallia county sent J. H. Evans to the State Senate. In both counties the Welsh have had their full share of county offices. The Welsh also by their vim, enterprising spirit and executive abilities, have been potent factors in the material development of Jackson county. In managing iron furnaces, coal mines and brick plants they have achieved great success. Quite a number that are now dead left quite a fortune, viz., Thomas Jones (agent), J. C. Jones and John Davis, and among the wealthiest men of the county to-day are David Davis and J. J. Thomas of Oak Hill, and Moses Morgan, Ed. Jones, Eben Jones and Ezekiel Jones of Jackson, and T. J. Morgan of Wellston. Thus we see that the few hundred Welshmen who came to the poor, hilly counties of Gallia and Jackson, needy and penniless, and strangers to the language, customs and institutions of the country, have accomplished great work, and have contributed marvelously to the material, intellectual, moral and civic development of the above named counties.

Thousands of the descendants of these brave pioneers have scattered abroad into ever state in the Union, among them many teachers, doctors and lawyers and a score of preachers, and their influence is beyond human calculation.

GOMER.²¹

The first settlers of Gomer were the families of Thomas Watkins, James Nicholas and David Roberts, fourteen in all, who traveled in the fall of the year 1833 in wagons a distance of one hundred and forty miles from Paddy's Run, Butler County, Ohio, and settled near where the village of Gomer now stands. At that time there was no road but the trails of the Indian running zig-zag through the woods. Delphos was not in existence and there were but a few small houses in Lima. A few American families had settled at Gomer previously, but these were the pioneers of the Welsh settlement. It was eighty miles to the nearest market, Sandusky. It took six days to go and return. A load of corn could be traded for a barrel of salt and a few groceries. In the year 1834 and the following year, came John Watkins, Evan Jones, John R. Jones and their families, and Joseph Griffiths, Thomas G. Jones, John D. Jones, David Evans, Rowland Jones, David Morgans, John Evans and John Stephens and their families soon followed. David Roberts and family left for Iowa soon after settling at Gomer.²²

²¹ This article is taken very largely from the manuscript "History of the Welsh Church and Settlement," by Josiah Jones, (Bryn-mair) supplemented by his son, Thomas H. Jones, (Ordnant) of Lima.

²² Thomas Watkins, who is entitled to be called the Father of the Gomer settlement, was born at Dalan Llanerfyl, North Wales, March 5, 1804, and immigrated to America in 1826. He located at Ebensburg, Pennsylvania for a short time and then went to Paddy's Run where he married Jane Evans in 1831. In 1833 he removed to Allen County. He purchased 160 acres of land at one dollar and a quarter per acre and very good land it was. At the time of his death he and his children owned 1,100 acres of land in the Gomer settlement. Although a liberal supporter of the church from the first, he did not become a member until 1868. He died December 6, 1891, at the age of eighty-seven.

Jane Evans Watkins, the wife of Thomas Watkins, was born at Paddy's Run in 1812. She became a member of the Congregational

In the year 1835 the first public religious services in the Welsh language were held in the neighborhood before an audience of seven. In this meeting it was resolved to meet and hold prayer meetings on Sunday mornings at Thomas Watkins' log house and Sunday School Sunday afternoons at Rowland Jones' log house. Meetings were held regularly in this manner for four years. Beginning in the year 1839, John W. Thomas, of Lima, formerly of Llanidloes, North Wales, would occasionally preach at Gomer.

The first log church was built in the year 1839. Joseph Griffiths, his wife, his son Thomas, his two daughters — Mrs. Thomas G. Jones and Mrs. John Watkins — and Mrs. Thomas Watkins and Mrs. John Stephens were among the earliest members.

In the year 1839, services were held by the two brothers, Revs. John and Rees Powell, and also Rev. Morris M. Jones, of Radnor. In the year 1841 a log church was built in Gomer upon land given by James Nicholas, and the old pioneers worked faithfully to complete the log church which, for the times, was considered a well furnished building. Membership was increased by arrivals from Cincinnati, Pittsburg and Wales, so that at this time there were 15 members in the church and about 30 in the Sunday School.

In the year 1844 Rev. D. W. Jones was installed as minister of the church. His ministry was successful and the membership increased in 1845 to 51. In the year 1848, William Jones and his family came from Tawelfan, North Wales, and Richard Breese and his family from North Wales, and in the following year Robert Griffiths came to the neighborhood. Before this time the Sunday School classes studied the English Bible, but after these families came the children studied the Word of God in the Welsh language.

About the middle of the year 1850, Rev. D. W. Jones gave up charge of the church and it was without a pastor for two

Church at that place April 14, 1834, and was married the same year. She was one of the fourteen constituent members of the Congregational Church at Gomer. She was the mother of thirteen children and died August 15, 1884.

years. In October, 1850, Josiah Jones (Brynmair), father of Thomas Henry Jones (the present Treasurer of Allen County), and Llewellyn and Martha Jones, of Gomer, came into the neighborhood from North Wales. Mr. Jones was a man of many talents and a good Welsh scholar, of considerable literary ability and an able poet. Many of his poems and hymns are found in the Welsh hymn books and are sung in the Welsh churches throughout the land. He was secretary of the church for many years and his careful records of the church have preserved its full history. He was the author of a complete "History of the Welsh Church and Settlement" (written in the Welsh language) from the first settlers down to the time of his death in the year 1887, and it is from this history that the facts and dates contained in this sketch have been taken.

During the years 1850 and 1851 the church increased rapidly so that at the end of the latter year there were 150 members. In the year 1852 Rev. James Davies, of Cincinnati, was called, and he began his ministry in June, 1852. During his ministry, which continued for eight years, a new brick church was built and 50 new members were added. In this year (1852) a Sunday School was started in Leatherwood, about three and a half miles west of Gomer, a branch of the Gomer church.

In the year 1860, Rev. James Davies surrendered the church and in 1861 a call was extended to Rev. John Parry, of Big Rock, Illinois. In this year a new frame church was built at Leatherwood. Mr. Parry was very successful in his two years' ministry and the church was increased in numbers by the addition of 67 members. After the death of Rev. John Parry in 1862 the church had supplies for about two years and in 1865 gave a call to Rev. John M. Thomas, of Paddy's Run, Ohio. Two new Sunday Schools were organized during the first year of his ministry — one in the eastern part of the settlement and one north of Gomer — and ninety members were added to the church. The church had 300 members in 1868.

Other ministers of the church were: Rev. John Jones, of Shrewsbury, England; Rev. David Jones, D. D.; Rev. Mawddwy Jones, from North Wales; Rev. William Meirion Davies, of Caermarthen, South Wales; Rev. R. Lloyd Roberts, D. D.

The present minister is Rev. William Surdival, who is an excellent preacher and a fine scholar. The services Sunday mornings are in the Welsh language; for the sake of the young people of the church the services on Sunday evenings are in English. The younger generations seem to cling faithfully to the teachings of their parents and are very devoted to the church. From all appearances, when the old Welsh pioneers are gone to their rest, the services of the church will be all in English.

"In one way it is a sorrowful thought that the pure Welsh language, has to die in this country. It is a fine, original, poetic language, as old as Gomer of the Old Testament; every word has its own meaning and there is no need of hunting lexicons for words as one has to do with the English language and I am glad that the colleges and universities of Wales are studying the old, pure, sweet language. Far be the day when the old Welsh language will be forgotten!"²³

Other permanent members of the Welsh Congregational Church and of recognized standing in the community were Cadwalder Jones, William J. Jones, Richard W. Jones, Richard Price, Edward Peate, Sr., Joseph Watkins, Edward Jones, Richard J. Morgans, John P. Morgans, Evan Williams, Zachariah Evans, Daniel Evans, Evan J. Davis, William J. Williams, Humphrey Tudor, John Bebb, Rowland Whittington, Thomas R. Jones, John E. Jones, Evan W. Jones, Israel Jones.

In 1901, the Methodist church called "Hedding" was moved to Gomer and remodeled. Preaching is held at this church every other Sunday. In 1902, the Presbyterians bought a lot and built a neat modern frame church at a cost of about \$5,000. Rev. John Roberts (Welsh), an energetic man, is their pastor.

The village is well supplied with places of worship and the residences are all comparatively new and well finished in modern style. The people are nearly all members of the church, the majority still clinging to the first church established in the neighborhood. Here as in all Welsh communities they have grand church singing and the community supplies the neighboring cities with their leading singers and musicians.

The Welsh people are located in all parts of Allen County,

²³ Joseph Jones (Brynmail.)

and wherever found they are good citizens and prosperous, whatever be their business or calling. They own their own land, their farms ranging from fifty to one hundred and sixty acres. They are more fortunate than some of their fellow-countrymen, for their seed fell among fertile soil and the lands which they occupied in pioneer days have proved to be the most fertile and valuable in the neighboring country. Gomer and its neighboring settlement, Venedocia, are probably the wealthiest and most prosperous Welsh settlements in Ohio. Gomer is a beautiful little village and is considered one of the neatest and cleanest in the State. It has three churches, two stores, a fine modern school building, township house, a blacksmith shop and many fine homes. Many retired farmers have erected beautiful and substantial homes in the village in order to be near the church.

A number of prominent men have gone from the settlement, including the following: Hon. R. Edward Jones, Mayor of Shrewsbury, England; Rev. Thos. A. Humphreys, B. A., Scranton, Pa.; Rev. B. A. Williams, Cleveland, Ohio; Judge Ed. H. Jones, Hamilton, O.; Hon. J. C. Jones, Ottawa, O.

This settlement has furnished a Representative to the General Assembly, Hon. R. E. Jones, M. D., who is also one of the leading physicians of the county, and has served as President of the large Pioneer Association from its first organization; also the following county officers, all of whom served or are serving two terms: A County Auditor, John W. Thomas; two Commissioners, Joseph Griffiths and W. W. Williams; County Surveyor, D. D. Nicholas; County Clerk, Thos. J. Edwards; County Treasurer, Thos. H. Jones, who was also member and President of the Board of Education, Lima, O., for several years.

This sketch would not be complete without some mention of the noted singers of this settlement who have helped to make their village famous for its song. We name the following: Ebenezer Davies and his two sons, Dr. John Davies and E. F. Davies; Wm. L. Jones and his musical family; Robert Peate and his musical family; Miss Bessie Tudor, Miss Anna Bussert, Miss Leah Arthur, John F. Jones, Evan A. Evans, John G. Roberts, Miss Annie Roberts, Edith Jones, Wm. R. Jones, Thos. W. Jones, and a host of others.

In addition to the foregoing, Welsh settlements were made at Newburg, Cuyahoga County, Youngstown, Niles, Shawnee, Marietta and Venedocia, Van Wert County. The settlement at the latter place, was made shortly after that at Gomer and is next in importance to the settlement at Gomer. It has become prominent because of the refinement and musical attainments of its population and has preserved from the first the Welsh language and its traditions. In addition to the settlements mentioned, the Welsh people have contributed very largely to the population of different cities, such as Columbus, Cincinnati, Toledo and Cleveland. Several of the Welsh settlements, so called, have bordered upon and have merged into different villages. For illustration, the settlement of Welsh Hills has become identified with the Welsh population in Granville, where the Welsh people still maintain churches in which the Welsh language is used exclusively.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.



THE BATTLES OF THE MAUMEE.

N. B. C. LOVE, D. D.

I.

MOUND BUILDERS.

Maumee! Thou art lovely and bright,
As if blood had ne'er tinged thy waves,
And pre-historic, tawny braves
Had wrought no scene of hellish night.



N. B. C. LOVE, D. D.

Why not a golden sunset smile,
When thy banks are clothed in green,
And beauty adorns all the scene,
When bathed in mellow light, the while?

Thou art gray in the early morn,
And restful thy summer eve—
A mirror which cannot deceive,
And has not since Time was born.

In ages gone thy bosom bore,
Mighty men, who with spear and shield,
And ax, which muscles strong could wield
Against the foe in battles sore.

They worshiped: how? what and whom?
We know not, the sun, or starry sky,
Or their dead, where deep shadows lie,
Close by many a loved one's tomb!

'Tis said, to expiate their sin,
And to appease their gods, unseen,
They practiced rites, cruel and obscene,
And worshiped idols, with horrid din.

They for ages held thy rich soil,
Vast woodlands fit places for dreams,
By many thickly shaded streams—
And homes of plenty without toil.

They were nature's own, with souls on fire,
Who by their homes and altars stood,
Mighty in muscle, of dreadful ire,
Worthy patriots, royal in blood.

Homes, where wives lovingly wrought,
With dear ones at the rustic meal,
And youths were old legends taught,
While hearth-fire made each comfort feel.

They wooed and won in youthful days,
They prayed and wept o'er their dead,
And chanted, as now, doleful lays,
Feeling deep Superstition's dread.

Were they our brothers, migrating far
Away from Babel's sandy plains,
Or Israel's sons captured in war
Of whom no historic page remains?

Or were they from old China, vast,
Or of Hindoo or Tartar race,
Who by cyclonic storms were cast
On Alaska's ice-bound space?

These aborigines thy valley filled,
Their works abound from days of old,
Made by this people, strong and bold,
Whose destiny the heavens willed.

Why this race extinct? when the end
Of all its multitudinous host
And greatness, pride and boast;
Did Justice some pestilence send?

Or did a warrior, savage race,
By cruel strategic strength and skill,
All this people with hatred kill,
And try their greatness to efface?

None were left to tell the story,
None, monumental piles to rear,
None, as captives, to serve with fear,
None to boast of deeds of glory.

II.

INDIAN OCCUPANCY AND WARS.

Maumee's vine-clad and verdant hills,
 Flowery plains and wooded lands,
 Were now owned by conquering bands,
 Dwelling by the murmuring rills.

And many were the battles fought
 By these native and war-like clans,
 Blood failed to satisfy their demands,
 And joy by savage tortures sought.

* * *

True friends were they, but ghostly foes
 When hired by men from lands afar —
 *Christians (?) fond of gain and war —
 Dealing secret and deadly blows.

* * *

FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

For the Maumee a contest long
 Prevailed, between French and Briton —
 While records in blood were written —
 A war for gain, not right nor wrong.

* * *

THE CONTEST OF 1776 WITH BRITON.

The Briton won, the Latin fled,
 The former true to king and crown,
 Expanded with power and renown,
 And became the Backwoodsman's dread.

He bought the aid of warriors red,
 To war against his kith and kin,
 Committing the century's sin —
 Fostering savage hate, inbred.

HAMILTON'S EXPEDITION AGAINST VINCENNES.

His fleet appeared with its protest —
 Freemen stood nor feared to contend,
 And their strength and means to lend
 To Freedom, throughout the Northwest.

* Spanish, French and Indians.

The Briton soon crossed the bay,
And up the Maumee's current strong,
And up, and up, the Rapids long,
Across the portage and away.

Where a band for liberty stood,
Unconscious of invading foe —
Nor dreamed of Briton's secret blow,
And were captured without loss of blood.

Thus Vincennes the Briton held,
Their aid to savage warfare lent,
Wily foes on death's mission sent,
Whom the brave backwoodsmen repelled.

Hamilton, leader of this host,
Seemed to feel his work was complete,
And all were safe in this retreat,
And what was won, could not be lost.

* * *

The news of the fall of Vincennes,
Stirred the blood of Virginia's son;
George Rogers Clark, the gallant one,
Sought to make the foe make amends.

Cold and winter winds, and forests drear,
Frozen streams and snow-drift shroud,
Caused no Backwoodsman to fear,
Or be the less of freedom proud.

The drenching rains and howling blasts,
The swollen floods and dangers thick,
Many weary and other sick,
Were forbidding and a heavy task.

When from forests and Ohio River,
Winter lifted his frosty hand,
They were ready to deliver
The Northwest from old Briton's hand.

Down the Ohio they floated fast,
The current strong with spring-time rain —
Up the Wabash — crowned at last —
The victors at Vincennes remain.

*III.

For more than two decades of years,
 Many were the conflicts known.
 The sturdy pioneers, with fears
 Inured, to daring deeds had grown.

The redmen and the white alike,
 Were skilled in forest wars and strife,
 And sought by craft and guile to strike
 A blow and end a human life.

Around the camp-fires of the red,
 Warriors told of bloody deeds,
 And as they the flames with fuel fed,
 So fed on thoughts that murder breeds.

In the log cabins the winter fires
 Glowed, and gave out their warmth and light,
 And sitting around, soldier sires
 Fought over battles with delight.

The mutterings of war were heard,
 In the wigwam and cabin home,
 All were eager, yet full of dread—
 The inevitable having come.

The voice for war, for contest sore—
 Warriors rampant with passions strong—
 Seething sounds which to hell belong,
 Echoed along Maumee's wooded shore.

The tribes elate with battles won,
 Had no ear for the voice of peace,
 They purposed that the work begun,
 Their combined efforts should increase.

BATTLE OF "FALLEN TIMBER."

Along the Rapids the red men came,
 Equipped, from every village clan,
 And Little Turtle known to fame,
 To bravely lead, and wisely plan.

* * *

* For two decades of years there were wars with British and Indians. 1776-94.

Anthony Wayne, victor before —
Friend of peace by kindness had tried,
Until he could do nothing more,
While the chieftains his power defied.

Soldiers hopeful and well drilled,
Quickly down Maumee's banks passed,
And bravely doing what'er he willed,
They put to rout the foe at last.

The red men stoutly fought, then fled,
Nor withstood Wayne's brave rushing host —
Hundreds soon lay wounded or dead —
Their all they staked, the battle lost.

* * *

Lost the chieftain and warrior old,
Men of might, natives of the soil —
Men deserving lay dead and cold —
Horrid the sounds of war's turmoil.

The night came on, the full moon shone,
Bright stars twinkled in the blue,
The wounded moaned, the dead lay prone,
The victors did more than they knew.

After the battle, in the homes of the red,
Were widows with wailing drear
Over loved ones, missing or dead —
Their wildwood life had lost its cheer.

In the moon's pale rays
An Indian mother prays:
O! night wind, hear my cry
My all is gone to-night,
Gone the joy and delight —
O why my brave one die?
Who will bring in the food
From prairie and the wood?
The white men do not care
But drive us everywhere —
O Great Spirit, hear my cry —
My face I lift to thee,
O Help! my helper be!

* * *

The ardent warriors who braved
 The dangers of the bloody fight,
 Lay where the rushing waters laved,
 Or found shelter in speedy flight.

The tribes of the aborigines
 Were broken by war's crushing wheel,
 And were prostrate upon their knees,
 And their defeat were made to feel.

* * *

After this carnival of woe,
 None were moved to lead the clans
 To meet again the redmen's foe,
 With gallant hearts and bloody hands.

Not Little Turtle,* who had won
 And scattered the invading whites,
 Not Tecumseh; his race was run,
 Valiantly fighting for his rights.

Not the tall Crane, the wise Tar-he,
 Nor the Delaware, Pee-kee-bund,
 Not Grand Glaize King, Teta-boksh-kee,
 Nor Buffalo, Kish-ho-pekund.

Not the White Loon, Wa-pa-man-gwa,
 Not Sha-wa-no-way, Tha-pa-ma,
 Nor the brave, Sha-me-kun-me-sa,
 Nor Little Fox, The-Acoo-la-tha.

IV.

WAYNE'S TREATY, 1795.

The Sachems and head men of war,
 Heard the Great Spirit's warning voice
 To end the strife, both near and far,
 That all, red and white, might rejoice.

The same Great Spirit spake to Wayne,
 Who, brave in war, was yet urbane,
 Helpful as the summer rain,
 And toward fallen foes humane.

* These are among the signers of Wayne's Treaty at Greenville, 1795.

He invited the tribes to send
Their men of renown to Greenville,
That to a treaty they might lend
Their might, influence and good will.

Fort Greenville with palisades strong,
Was manned with soldiers tried and brave,
Who in danger had suffered long,
Nor wished the hatchet in the grave.

The old forest looked strange and weird,
As thousands native to the soil,
Before, buoyant and brave, now feared
Wayne and his army to embroil.

Braves of a dozen tribes each night
Sat in order around each fire,
And discussed, which, peace or fight,
Hold our lands or westward retire?

Their prophets and statesmen had learned
That Backwoodsmen who had won,
To them Fate had his favor turned,
And that their efforts were all done.

They heard strange sounds in forests deep,
As they lay in their restless sleep,
Ghosts of warriors old, talking low,
"No longer in the warpath go."

They were the ghosts of friends and foes,
Who had brought to each other woes,
But now had cancelled all the past,
And had peace, that shall ever last.

* * *

Upon the ample camping ground
These noble red men sat around
Their smouldering fires, while the stars of night
Twinkled brighter with pure delight.

* * *

Fort Greenville stood strong in defense,
Sure in the protection given
All within, willing to recompense
The red men, in warfare riven.

In it were guns that had stood
In the front, in many a fight,
And vet'rans guarding day and night,
The fortress unstained with blood.

Here virgin soil as from the hand
Of God; here former foes, now friends . . .
Meet, and enjoy what friendship sends,
And passed the wampum as its band.

Beyond the fort, but in its range,
A council-house with ample space
Stood, assembled a council strange,
Sachems, wise and brave, in their place.

Within this rustic house, circling round
A fire which burned both day and night,
Sat these braves, by word of honor bound
To seek the truth, and do the right.

Wayne kindled the great council fire,
And kept the embers all aglow,
So that each brave chieftain should know
That the Great Spirit could inspire.

And with them were the victors strong,
Who in battle gave blows that told,
But gave what to brave hearts belong,
To the vanquished, kindness untold.

Some chieftains claimed the land their own,
Which their fathers held in ages past,
That the harvest they had sown,
Should for them forever last.

While around, the white wampum belt
Was passed, silence reigned o'er all —
It was like a funeral pall —
Each for his people's welfare felt.

Wayne addressed these Aborigines,
Saying, his desire was for peace,
That cruel war should forever cease,
And this would the Great Spirit please.

The Battles of the Maumee.

237

Washington, he said, was their friend,
And the Americans the same,
That all should bear this sacred name,
And to help others, efforts lend.

His kindly hand they should see,
Filled with blessing and fraught
With good, for which all had fought,
And all should safe and happy be.

Fairly had the treaties been kept
By the whites, through all the lands,
Paying fairly the Indian clans,
Who had their golden harvest rept.

"For peace" was Blue Jacket and Tarhe
Newcorn, "Keep the hatchet out of sight,"
Massas, "Give us the morning light,
Forever let us brothers be."

Thus the strong sons of bravest sires,
Whom Harmar and St. Clair had met,
Meeting Wayne, their sun soon set;
Now are humbled at council fires.

No more such a strange scene shall meet
The eyes of soldiers, scouts and spies,
And braves; no brighter sun arise,
Warriors brave, to cheer and greet.

The Treaty of Peace received the signs
Of the chiefs of many battles sore,
Pledging to war with whites no more,
And keep to treaty bounds and lines.

All who signed were always friends,
And true to every promise given,
And ever proved that honor binds
Those unholy war had riven.

Gen. Wayne bade each chieftain good by,
Saying, "These lands to us were ceded
By the English, but we have heeded
Your claims and from you we'll buy,

"And fully pay and none defraud,
 You, our brothers, shall have your share
 Of annuities, and land anywhere,
 And none permitted to maraud.

"With this soft white linen* I cleanse
 The blood from all your bodies, strong,
 And your graves shall be kept among
 Us, and we ever live as friends."

Tarhet† again gave all to see
 The pipe of peace; a hatchet took
 "To keep in a secluded nook
 Until buried beneath the sea."

* * *

The Sachems and the braves had gone,
 Their great work for peace was done.
 The summer wood heard their soft tread
 As through shaded ways they were led.

Led by paths through the flowery grove,
 Where often they were wont to rove —
 When seeking the wild beast's retreat —
 With watchful eye and silent feet.

Led by the Maumee and her streams,
 The land of beauty, like fairy dreams,
 To their wigwams, and villages fair —
 Finding their loved ones sheltered there.

* * *

V.

Dark forebodings of coming war,
 And to the third of men ruin dire,
 Pestilence, disaster and fire;
 †*Above all a burning star.

‡The earth quaking, the hills fall down,
 Sulphurous steam, and oozy slime
 Burst forth from some lower clime,
 And multitudes in waters drown.

* Wayne took a large white handkerchief and passing slowly around touched the head of each.

† Tarhe with hatchet and pipe of peace followed Wayne.

‡* Great comet hung in the sky for weeks.

‡ Earthquake in Mississippi valley — felt all over the Northwest and South. Destruction of life and property.

Consternation and general gloom
O'erspread valleys of the lakes,
‡Reaching afar, to southern brakes,
°With fears of coming judgment doom.

Again by the Maumee the campfires gleamed
In ravines, hiding their flickering light,
From Indian prowlers of the dreary night,
Who only of bloody deads planned and dreamed.

The bold backwoodsmen, equipped, northward came,
Up the streams, across portage-swamps and down
To the *Miami*, of old and great renown,
Their country's rights and honor to reclaim.

¶Northward to the River of eventide,
Where their leader, without a soldier's pride,
§Gained to himself ignominious fame,
And a name forever covered with shame.

The cry "To arms," rang from every mouth;
From Lakes of the North to Gulf of the South;
From states in the East where often before
The broad fields had been drenched with gore.

* * *

Of the heroes of a hundred years ago,
None, to-day, stands higher than Harrison,
As organizer, commander, gifted one,
Whose plans Proctor failed to overthrow.

He quickly found a familiar forest
Of noble trees, standing high, and far out
A promontory, where had hid his scout,
Who scanned eastward, northward and the west.

The soldier woodmen's axes of shining steel
A thousand strong, rhythmic music made
Along the ice-bound forest's dreary glade,
Prophetic of the blows their foes should feel.

‡ Premonition of the war of 1812. Theater burned in Baltimore, 75 burned.

° General religious fanaticism and excitement. This year general uprising of Indians.

¶ Detroit River.

§ Gen. Hull. Gen. Hull's surrender.

The frozen earth yielded to pick and spade,
 Deep trenches dug, and embankments strong,
 And high traverse through the fort along,
 And bastions, and bomb proof deeply laid.

Brave, patriotic defenders of our land,
 Within Ft. Meigs made a firm and valiant stand.
 Not Proctor's demands nor Tecumseh's bands,
 With midnight whoop and bloody hands
 Could intimidate. No patriots ever fought
 More bravely, and more fully the welfare sought
 Of Freedom from a tyrant's kingly sway,
 And that they might be the nation's strength and stay;
 They came from the homes of the Central West,
 Where they had been with wholesome lessons blest,
 By parents used to toil and anxious care,
 Provident, helpful, living on plainest fare.
 Into the warp and woof of their being was laid,
 The strength of generations which had made
 Their lives famous in defense of liberty,
 Both at home, and in lands beyond the sea.

Proctor's men had fought where thousands fell,
 Briton cause and laws with them fared well;
 As soldiers excelling in the battle's throes,
 Solid, fearless before whate'er might oppose.

To Ft. Meigs succor came, and sad defeat —
 A part who fought victors first, then retreat
 And capture by red allied savage foes
 Whom Proctor approved, when Tecumseh arose
 And to the cruel commander gave rebuke,
 Because he his unarmed pris'ners forsook.

* * *

The savage tribes gloomily hied away,
 And Proctor too, no longer dared to stay.
 While very soon at the battle of the Thames
 Harrison and his men won honored names.

* * *

The old world soldiers slain, their graves unknown,
 How shall their nation their fate bemoan?
 And a shaft erect and deeds of valor tell,
 And who strew fragrant flowers when they fell?

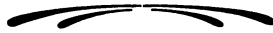
* * *

And the Aborigines whose modes of strife,
Barbarous forms of taking human life,
E'en to them the unprejudiced must give,
In this fair land, the fullest right to live.
Why not, this was their home and hunting ground,
Where their droves of roaming cattle were found,
And gentle deer in herds, and lonely bear,
And useful beasts and birds ev'rywhere.
They in childhood walked in paths where feet
Ages past had run, friends or foes to meet;
Fain would we gather the ashes of the men
Who, though savage, yet were kind when
Compared to many, though white, yet were cruel,
Whose hate to their deeds of blood added fuel.
We know there were good men in all the tribes,
Whom naught could change, not even costly bribes.

* * *

In this age when we boast of love and peace,
And pray that all wars may ever cease,
Living on the soil enriched by the blood
Of the valiant soldiers who have stood
Arrayed in the panoply of war, and strong,
Fighting, each for the right, not the wrong—
Should not we, who look to-day upon this scene,
Rejoice that a monumental pile* shall screen
Their memory from the dust, once for all,
And in coming years their valor recall?

* The monument to be erected at Ft. Meigs by legislative appropriation, 1906.



**TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO
STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, MARCH 22, 1907.**

The Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was held in the Library and Museum Room of the Society, Page Hall, Ohio State University, at 2:00 P. M., March 22, 1907. The following members were present:

Judge J. H. Anderson, Columbus; Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Mr. A. J. Baughman, Mansfield; General R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; Hon. M. B. Bushnell, Mansfield; Mr. A. B. Coover, Columbus; Hon. Albert Douglas, Chillicothe; Dr. D. H. Gard, Columbus; Hon. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati; Mr. Fred. J. Heer, Columbus; Rev. I. F. King, Columbus; Rev. N. B. C. Love, Perrysburg; Prof. J. D. H. McKinley, Columbus; Prof. C. L. Martzoff, Athens; Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus; Hon. Jos. H. Outhwaite, Columbus; Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus; Mr. J. S. Roof, Ashville; Hon. D. J. Ryan, Columbus; Dr. William Shepard, Shepard; Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus; Prof. G. F. Wright, Oberlin.

Messages of regret because of their inability to attend the meeting were received from: Prof. Martin R. Andrews, Marietta; General T. M. Anderson, Vancouver, Wash.; Prof. J. H. Beal, Scio; Mr. R. E. Hills, Delaware; Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield; Judge R. R. Sloane, Sandusky; Hon. Lewis T. Schaus, Newark; Mr. Z. T. Smith, Upper Sandusky; Dr. H. A. Thompson, Dayton.

The meeting was called to order by the President, General Brinkerhoff, who, on taking the chair, made some brief remarks, complimenting the activity and prosperity of the Society during the past year. He regretted that more Life Members had not been added to the membership and exhorted the Trustees to exert themselves in securing new members. He also spoke earnestly of the

need of the Society for greater accommodations and expressed the hope that the bill now pending in the legislature for a building might result in a reality. The President then invited Mr. George F. Bareis, First Vice President, to the chair and requested him to preside during the remainder of the meeting.

Secretary Randall was called upon for the minutes of the previous meeting, held June 9, 1906. In order to save time he referred to the minutes of that meeting as published in Volume 15, pages 355 to 376, inclusive. He stated that the minutes of that annual meeting were taken *verbatim* and were incorporated in his bound volume of the proceedings of the Society, but they were entirely too lengthy for reading at this meeting. The members of the Society were familiar with the condensation of those minutes as printed in the fifteenth annual publication of the Society. The reading of the minutes in original detail was dispensed with, and the minutes as printed in Volume 15 were adopted as the correct minutes of the meeting. The Secretary stated that the last year of the Society did not present as much business as is usual, owing to the fact that at the last Annual Meeting the Constitution was changed so as to bring about the Annual Meeting in March, rather than in June. The meetings of the Executive Committee had been fewer in number as the committee was summoned only when business of sufficient importance required its consideration.

At this point in the proceedings Governor Harris, accompanied by Hon. Albert Douglas, entered the room and a recess was taken to enable the members present to meet and greet the distinguished gentlemen. Upon the meeting being again called to order by Mr. Bareis, Governor Harris was called upon for remarks, and spoke in substance as follows:

"GENTLEMEN:—I have accepted your invitation to be present really for the purpose of getting better acquainted with you and not for the purpose of making any remarks. I brought a gentleman with me who will do the talking, or will do it so much better than I that I feel I should not take his time. I supposed the governors had been in the habit of meeting with you gentlemen, and under that impression I felt it a duty to come up this afternoon. Nobody is more interested from a distance,

I can assure you, than I have always been in the object of your Society. I appreciate the great work that you are doing and I am thankful that we have gentlemen in Ohio of ability who are willing to devote their time and their energies and their resources along the line of your work. It certainly speaks well, for you who are willing to devote your time in this way, especially when all you get out of it is the satisfaction of knowing that you are doing something for the state of Ohio. Now I have only a few moments to stay, in fact, I ran away from my office to come here; I have persons waiting to see me at the Executive Office on public business. I have not had time to prepare a speech. For that reason, gentlemen, I wish to thank you for this opportunity of meeting you, and ask you to excuse me from making any extended remarks. Again, I thank you."

The Vice President expressed the pleasure of the members present over the good wishes extended by the Governor, saying "We are glad he is our friend and do not doubt that when we need his assistance, he will extend us the same so far as he reasonably can. We seem to stand well with the members of the legislature, and now with the friendly sympathy of the Governor, we ought to have no fears for the future."

The Vice President extended an invitation to the Hon. Albert Douglas, Congressman-elect from the Eleventh Ohio district, to address the meeting. Mr. Douglas said:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Society:— It would be hard for me to express the pleasure I enjoy in being with you this afternoon. I object to being called a guest of this Society, for I am a Life Member and have taken great interest in its work for the past many years. I have not had the opportunity to say it to you before, but I do not believe there are many people in this state who take much deeper interest in the history of this great state than I do. Perhaps I may be pardoned if I seem to be somewhat personal when I say that the third of next September will be the one hundredth anniversary of the coming of my grandfather as a settler in this state. He and his brother secured a bit of land in what we now know as the Firelands, which land was presented to the two brothers by their father, who lived in New London, Conn., and who received it from the state of Connecticut

for his services in the Revolutionary Army. My ancestors were therefore closely identified with the growth and development of our splendid commonwealth. When your Secretary urgently invited me to be present to-day and be prepared to say something to the meeting, I replied that I had not prepared any special speech for the occasion, but that I might say something on the subject close to my heart, and that is the erection by this Society or by the state through this Society of a statue to the memory of our first territorial governor, who was so influential in the organization of our state, namely, General Arthur St. Clair; his memory has never been fittingly commemorated in Ohio. You will recall that at the Centennial Celebration, held in Chillicothe, in 1903, I had the honor of introducing a resolution committing the Society to that project. It met the approval of Governor Nash, and was unanimously endorsed at one of the great meetings on that occasion." Mr. Douglas then paid an eloquent tribute to the life and services of Arthur St. Clair. Space will not permit our inserting the address here, but elsewhere in this Quarterly, or the July Quarterly, will be found his address in full. Mr. Douglas's remarks met with hearty applause from his hearers.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meetings of the Executive Committee were held: June 30th, 1906, in the Directors' Room of the Ohio State Savings & Loan Association, Outlook Building. At this meeting the compensation of the salaried officers of the Society was determined. Hon. J. H. Beal, Scio, was elected Trustee in place of Mr. W. H. Hunter, who died June 20, 1906.

Mr. Randall here made some remarks relative to the death of Trustee Hunter, alluding to the great loss the Society had sustained in his decease, and stating that an extended notice of his death and his services to the Society appeared in the *Editorialana* for the July Quarterly, 1906, page 384.

September 30, 1906, in the Directors' Room of the Ohio State Savings & Loan Association. Standing sub-committees for the ensuing year were appointed as follows:

Big Bottom Park — Messrs. Martzloff, Prince and Bareis.

Finance — Messrs. Wood, Ryan and Bareis.

Fort Ancient — Messrs. Prince, Harper and Martzloff.

Jamestown Exposition — Messrs. Mills, Wright and Prince.

Museum and Library — Messrs. King, Wright and Mills.

Publications — Messrs. Ryan, Randall and Wood.

Serpent Mound — Messrs. Wright, Brinkerhoff and Randall.

The contract heretofore existing between the Society and Mr. Warren Cowen, as Custodian for Fort Ancient, was renewed for two years, beginning with August 1, 1906, and ending August 1, 1908, the conditions of the contract being the same as those previously obtaining between the parties.

January 8th, 1907, held in rooms of the Society at Page Hall, Ohio State University, purely routine business transacted.

February 28th, 1907, held in rooms of the Society at Page Hall, Ohio State University, determination of the date of the annual meeting of the Society — namely March 22, 1907. Appointment of a committee to audit the books of the Treasurer.

PUBLICATIONS.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Society has issued the Quarterlies for July, 1906, and October, 1906, which two Quarterlies completed Volume 15 of our annual books. A large edition of that publication was bound in book form, to be used as requirements demanded. The Quarterly for January, 1907, was devoted exclusively to the proceedings of the Croghan Celebration, held at Fremont, August 2d, 1906. It makes a most valuable contribution to the literature of our Society and the historic lore of our state. An extra edition of this Quarterly was issued in separate book form for the Fremont authorities, who originated and managed the celebration. The people of Fremont were greatly pleased with the co-operation given them in their celebration by our Society.

The re-printing of the volume containing the proceedings of the Ohio Centennial at Chillicothe, as provided for in the appropriation bill of the legislature for 1906, has been completed. The edition consists of about nine thousand copies. From this edition fifty copies each were sent to each member of the present legislature and numerous copies have been supplied to various state officials and newspaper correspondents entitled to them, in accordance with the provisions of the bill. The cost of this edition was \$4,000, appropriated for that specific purpose by the legislature.

The appropriation bill for 1907 provided \$9,600 for the re-printing of the annual publications — 1 to 15 inclusive — each member of the General Assembly to receive ten complete sets boxed and delivered at the expense of the Society. Those books are now being re-printed and will be prepared for shipment according to the provisions of the bill, in some sixty days.

The publications of our Society increase each year in relative value and it is doubtful if any state historical society is doing as much toward the dissemination of historical knowledge as is our Society. The Quar-

terlies are sent to some 350 of the leading newspapers of the state, which feature of our work is greatly appreciated, the newspapers giving us generous and complimentary notices and often re-printing entire articles, all of which goes to bring us to the notice of the reading public, increase interest in the work of our Society and multiply our intends and influence.

JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

It will be recalled that on May 22, 1906, Governor Pattison, appointed the Ohio Commission for the Jamestown Exposition, which commission consisted of Messrs. C. Clive Hanby, Wauseon; Ernest Root, Medina; John P. Given, Circleville; George W. Knight, Columbus, and B. W. Campbell, Cincinnati. The legislature appropriated the sum of \$75,000 for the Ohio exhibit at the said exposition. The Ohio Commission, accorded \$2,500 of this sum to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society for an archæological exhibit at Jamestown. What the Society is doing for the fulfillment of this expenditure Professor Mills, Curator, will duly state in his report.

BUILDING PROJECT.

Since the last Annual Meeting there has of course been no change in the actual status of the question of a building for our Society. The subject, however, has been much agitated and discussed by the other departments of state interested directly or indirectly therein. When the new commission for the codifying of the state laws was appointed and organized for business, it was found that there was no room for them in the State Capitol building or the annex known as the Judiciary Building. Governor Harris was much surprised to learn of the overcrowded condition of nearly every department. This state of affairs aroused the Governor's interest in some sort of a project, either for a new building or an addition to one of the buildings now on the Capitol Square. The Secretary of this Society had several interviews with the Governor upon the subject. The Governor expressed himself as being thoroughly convinced that something must be done by the state to relieve the congestion and incidentally expressed much interest in the situation as to the State Library and the State Archæological and Historical Society. The situation is being somewhat more aggravated by the fact that the University authorities are beginning to express the necessity of their having portions of the space now occupied by our Society for purposes of the University. It seems almost certain that the next session of the legislature will take some action in this matter; just what that will be in view of the factors which enter into the problem, it is now hard to tell. The Secretary had an interview with Mr. McGrew, President of the State Library Commission, and the latter stated that the Library Commission were bound to have extended quarters for the library and

were more than ever desirous of co-operating with our Society in some sort of a united effort.

At the annual convention of the Ohio State Library Association, held at Portsmouth, October 24-26, 1906, at which were present a large representation of the librarians from various cities of the state, the following resolution was introduced, and adopted without opposition:

"The Ohio State Library has outgrown the rooms assigned to it in the State Capitol and its present crowded condition demands the relief that can be afforded only by more commodious and accessible quarters. Provision for this urgent need is made in Senate Bill No. 195, which authorizes the erection of a building for the use of the State Library and the State Archæological and Historical Society. We heartily favor this bill, or any other that will accomplish its purpose, and earnestly request its adoption at the coming session of the General Assembly."

The building project has been the subject of consideration at the various meetings of the Executive Committee of the Society, but owing to the complicated situation, the Trustees have felt that it would hardly be wise to make any great effort in any specific direction until the relation of the wants of the Society to the other departments having like needs, could be learned. Certain it is that the Governor is very much interested in the welfare of our Society and may be counted upon as being friendly to our success in some building project. Probably the matter had better be left without definite action until the next meeting of the legislature, when the situation can be diagnosed.

ITINERARY OF THE SECRETARY.

The Secretary, on special invitation by the authorities in charge of the occasions in question, represented the Society as follows:

August 2d, 1906, attended Croghan Celebration at Fremont, Ohio, being one of the speakers.

August 3d, 1906, delivered the address at the unveiling of the Greenville Treaty Tablet, at Greenville, Ohio.

August 8-18, 1906, visited the battle-ground of Tippecanoe, Lafayette, Indiana, and spent several days in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis., examining the original manuscripts pertaining to Ohio history, with special reference to data concerning Ohio Indians.

September 10th, 1906, delivered the address at Maumee City, on the occasion of the anniversary of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, observed by the Maumee Valley Historical Association. Subject: "Character of the American Soldier."

October 12, 1906, the Secretary proceeded to Cincinnati and from that city on the following day, Saturday the 13th, he escorted to Serpent Mound a party consisting of Senator E. A. Hafner, Senator Isaac E.

Huffman, Senator John W. Harper, Mr. Hafner, Mr. F. W. Hinkle and Mr. J. M. Ochiltree, Dean of the Cincinnati Y. M. C. A. law school. Senator Hafner is chairman of the finance committee of the senate and Senator Huffman is secretary. The party proceeded to the mound by way of Peebles, where a careful examination of the Serpent Mound park and the care given the same by the custodian was made. The day proved one delightful in weather and the party were much pleased with the condition of the mound and the care being given it by the Society. It was suggested a tower should be built near the tail of the Serpent as an observation platform from which the entire mound could be seen and studied.

October 18th, 1906, delivered an address before the State Convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution, held at Marietta. Subject: "Contest for Race Supremacy in the Northwest Territory."

February 6th, 1907, spoke at the banquet of the Michigan Sons of the American Revolution, held at Cadillac Hotel, Detroit. Subject: "The Fleur de Lis in the Northwest Territory."

Invitations to represent the Society at banquets held in New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and elsewhere were declined because conflicting duties prevented an acceptance.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the Annual Meeting of the Society, held June 30th, 1906, the Executive Committee has elected to Life Membership, the following persons:

- Mr. Z. T. Smith, Upper Sandusky.
- Mr. W. S. Hayden, Cleveland.
- Prof. Martin R. Andrews, Marietta.
- Hon. Judson Harmon, Cincinnati.
- Hon. Josiah Morrow, Lebanon.
- William H. Jones, Columbus.
- Mr. T. B. Bowers, Columbus.
- Mr. Frederick W. Hinkle, Cincinnati.

APPOINTMENT OF TRUSTEES.

September 17, 1906, Governor Harris re-appointed as Trustees of the Society for three years, Colonel John W. Harper of Cincinnati and Rev. N. B. C. Love of Perrysburg, whose terms expired in February, 1906. They will serve until February, 1909.

February 28, 1907, Governor Harris appointed the Hon. Myron T. Herrick Trustee for three years in place of Hon. M. S. Greenough, whose term expired February, 1907, and who declined reappointment because of removal of residence to New England. The Governor reappointed Prof. Martin R. Andrews, Marietta, to succeed himself. The terms of Messrs. Herrick and Andrews will continue until February, 1910.

REPORT OF CURATOR.

I hereby submit my Report upon the Museum and Library for the year ending February 1st, 1907.

As stated in my last report all the available space for exhibition purposes in the Archæological Museum had been occupied by new cases and as much of our collections as possible was placed on exhibition at that time, consequently I have not been able to place on exhibition during the past year a single new collection because we have no space left for that purpose. In spite of this difficulty many specimens and some collections have been donated or loaned to the Museum.

During the year we have received from Mr. T. B. Bowers a fine collection of archæological specimens representing the central and eastern portions of Ohio. The collection is made up of a number of typical specimens of stone axes, celts, arrows and spear points and a number of very valuable pieces, among the most interesting of which is a spear point found in the Black Hill region. Across the body of this spear there appears to be a crevice containing a nugget of gold. In the collection are a number of unfinished objects of slate which greatly add to our collection of unfinished specimens, for it has been our purpose to collect not only various types of specimens in the state but to secure specimens exhibiting the various stages in their manufacture.

Mr. Wilbur Stout of South Webster, Ohio, has sent us two consignments during the year. Three or four years ago he donated a small collection to the Museum and since that time has not failed to send from one to three consignments annually. Mr. Stout is ever on the alert collecting specimens in the vicinity of South Webster, Scioto County.

During the year Mr. Almer Hegler of Washington C. H. has sent two consignments to be added to his collection presented last year. The collection made by Mr. Hegler comes from Fayette County. Mr. Hegler is a very industrious and successful collector.

Mr. C. P. Thompson of Columbus has also added to his collection in the Museum by donating a large number of specimens secured in the eastern part of Franklin County and the southern part of Delaware County.

Mr. H. C. Miller of Jackson, Ohio, has presented a fine collection of pottery taken from the rockshelters of Jackson County, which are so numerous in that section of the state. Mr. Miller collected these specimens by personally exploring several of these rockshelters.

During the year the field explorations were conducted in the western part of Ross County in the Paint Creek Valley at the Scip group of mounds. The work was very successful and I have for your inspection a collection of photographs taken of the mound before work was begun and at almost every stage in the examination of the mound. The season was so rainy it was almost impossible to work upon the mound and the

question of securing labor to carry on the explorations became most perplexing. As the end of the season approached we were able to secure more men, but as it was then so late and the rains continued, we felt that it was not advantageous to carry the work further and we ceased with the expectation of returning at the first opportunity for the completion of the work.

The Seip Mound is one of great interest and represents three separate and distinct charnel houses, two of which we examined and from the photographs you will see the outline of the house and can readily discern the manner in which the house was filled with the dead. The burials are similar in every respect to those of the Harness Mound and the artifacts taken from the graves are also similar though many new features have been found in these artifacts. For instance, one of the large copper plates showed that it was composed of three distinct pieces of copper, first the main sheet of copper and then a plate of thin copper placed on each side. This construction was quite plain as the edges of the plates were turned over the sides and hammered down.

Other interesting specimens discovered, not before found in any of our explorations, were large perforated teeth of the alligator. These were not found in abundance, only four specimens so far have come from the mound. While the graves were made in every respect similar to those of the Harness Mound, many of them were very large. The largest is 12 ft. 2 in. in length by 4 ft. 4 in. in width and contained two burials, one on each end of the platform. The portion of the mound left unexamined is very high, being fully eight feet in height and we expect to find it very rich in remains.

The Library shows 2,935 bound volumes recorded in the accession book. This does not include any of the exchange publications and we now have on hand the accumulation of almost a year and a half of these publications to be sent to the bindery.

At the present time it is easier for us to store these unbound volumes than to take care of them when bound. We need more room for the Library and Museum.

My report upon the Harness Mound is completed and is now in the hands of the printer and will be published in the April Quarterly which you will receive in due time. The entire winter has been taken up in preparing models for the Jamestown Exposition. Some of these models are left unpacked for your inspection. The greater part of the exhibit is now packed and ready to ship to the exposition at Jamestown.

I wish to thank the officers and members of the executive committee who have aided me in many ways to make my work pleasant and agreeable.

* * *

As Chairman of the Jamestown Exposition Committee I beg leave to report progress in the proposed display at Jamestown.

The space allowed for the Archæological Exhibit is a little more

than 1500 square feet in the new fire proof building which is now under construction.

It is the purpose of this Committee to place on exhibition the best possible collection that can be made from our resources at hand with a little help from a few collectors who have been kind enough to loan us specimens to be exhibited in connection with our own collection.

We propose to exhibit the results of our explorations in the field and to that end we have prepared a number of cases showing the results of these explorations. In all some ten or twelve cases are used for this purpose. Some four or five cases are used for displaying type specimens in Ohio.

We have also prepared a model of Fort Ancient and one of Serpent Mound Park. These models have not been shipped and are here for your inspection. We also prepared a model of Harness Mound showing the manner of explorations and the arrangement of the graves together with models showing the various forms of graves found in this mound.

We expect to ship the collection next week and my latest information from the Secretary of the Ohio Commission is that we are expected to be on the Exhibition Grounds by the first of April.

Very respectfully submitted,

W. C. MILLS.

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER FOR YEAR ENDING
FEBRUARY 1, 1907.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand February 1, 1906.....	\$688 35
Life membership dues.....	140 00
Active membership dues.....	81 00
Books sold	65 97
Subscriptions	8 50
Interest	221 65
Jamestown Exposition Commission.....	500 00
From State Treasurer —	
For current expenses.....	3,117 55
For publications	2,378 19
For field work, Ft. Ancient. etc.....	2,006 40
	<hr/>
Total	\$9,207 61

EXPENDITURES.

Field work	\$655 95
Care Ft. Ancient and improvements.....	521 40
Care Serpent Mound and improvements.....	319 14

Big Bottom Park.....	\$127 70
Expense of Trustees and Committees.....	383 60
Express and drayage.....	127 05
Job printing	14 25
Postage	95 94
Museum and Library.....	679 94
Publications	1,742 18
Salaries, three officers.....	2,200 00
Jamestown Exposition	34 50
News-clipping bureau	23 50
Premium on Treasurer's bond.....	15 00
Sundry expenses	9 34
Transferred to Permanent Fund.....	431 00
Balance on hand February 1, 1907.....	1,827 12
	<hr/>
Total	\$9,207 61

The Permanent Fund now amounts to \$4,890.00.

Respectfully submitted,

E. F. Wood, *Treasurer.*

Following the Treasurer's report the Chairmen of the various special committees made brief reports concerning the departments of the Society's work over which they had charge. For lack of space, we do not give their reports in full. The Committees and their Chairmen were as follows:

Big Bottom Park, Prof. C. L. Martzloff, Chairman; Fort Ancient, Prof. B. F. Prince, Chairman; Serpent Mound, Prof. G. Fred. Wright, Chairman; Museum and Library, Rev. I. F. King, Chairman; Jamestown Exposition, Prof. W. C. Mills, Chairman — the latter report was embodied in the report of the Curator. The report for the Finance Committee was embodied in the report of the Treasurer, and that of the Publication Committee was incorporated in the Secretary's report.

Professor Wright in making the report for the Museum and Library Committee paid high tribute to Professor W. C. Mills, saying: "The Society and the state is to be congratulated in continuing to have Professor W. C. Mills as Librarian and Curator. He is faithful and competent, and he is well informed and enthusiastic in his department."

Under the head of miscellaneous business, Mr. Albert Doug-

las introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That this Society earnestly appeals to the General Assembly in favor of the passage, at its next session, of Senate Bill No. 195. We submit that the work being accomplished by this Society and the fine collection of books and archæological specimens, now on hand, more than justify the erection of a permanent home for the Society as contemplated by the above bill.

Professor Martzloff urged at some length the propriety and advantage to the Society of offering prizes to the children of the public schools for essays on subjects in Ohio history to be designated by a committee of this Society. This policy had been pursued by the Sons of the Revolution of Ohio, with much success. Such a scheme would increase the interest not only of the pupils but also the teachers throughout Ohio in the history of our state and permit our Society to exert a direct influence upon the education of our pupils. This plan met with hearty endorsement by the members, and it was referred to the Executive Committee for their consideration and action.

The proposal for an excursion under the auspices of the Society to Serpent Mound, sometime during the coming season, was also referred to the Executive Committee for its action.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of Trustees. Those whose terms expired at this meeting were as follows : General R. Brinkerhoff, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Rev. H. A. Thompson, Hon. J. H. Beal and Hon. M. D. Follett. Upon proper motion and second, the meeting authorized the chair to appoint a committee of three on Nomination of Candidates for the position of Trustee. The committee appointed were Messrs. E. F. Wood, C. L. Martzloff and N. B. C. Love. Said committee retired for consultation and later reported to the meeting the following names as successors to the Trustees retiring, General R. Brinkerhoff, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Rev. H. A. Thompson, Hon. J. H. Beal and Mr. A. J. Baughman. Without discussion, the Secretary (Randall) was authorized by vote to cast the ballot of the meeting for the

above named gentlemen as Trustees. The Secretary cast the ballot as instructed, and the five men designated, were declared elected as Trustees of the Society to serve for the ensuing three years, ending at the Annual Meeting in 1910.

Mr. Wood, in making the report of the Nominating Committee, stated that the committee further desired to recommend that General R. Brinkerhoff be elected by the Society President Emeritus for life. Such action he thought would be justified because of the long and valuable services of General Brinkerhoff to the Society. The original Ohio Archæological Society was organized in 1875 at the home of General Brinkerhoff, who was one of the three original organizers. Further, General Brinkerhoff has been a member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society since its organization in 1885, and had been its honored and active President since 1893. After many expressions of approval and of tribute to General Brinkerhoff, the vote was unanimous that he be elected as proposed, namely, President Emeritus for life. General Brinkerhoff, with much feeling, briefly acknowledged the honor so unusually accorded him.

The meeting of the Society then adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF TRUSTEES.

Immediately following the Annual Meeting of the Society came the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees. This board as constituted in accordance with the action just taken by the Society in its Annual Meeting, is as follows:

TERMS EXPIRE 1908.

- Hon. J. H. Anderson.....Columbus.
- Hon. R. E. Hills.....Delaware.
- Col. James Kilbourne.....Columbus.
- Prof. C. L. Martzoff.....Athens.
- Prof. G. F. Wright.....Oberlin.

TERMS EXPIRE 1909.

- Mr. G. F. Bareis.....Canal Winchester.
- Gen. J. Warren Keifer.....Springfield.
- Rev. I. F. King.....Columbus.
- Hon. R. R. Sloane.....Sandusky.
- Mr. E. F. Wood.....Columbus.

TERMS EXPIRE 1910.

Mr. A. J. Baughman.....	Mansfield.
Hon. J. H. Beal.....	Scio.
General R. Brinkerhoff.....	Mansfield.
Hon. D. J. Ryan.....	Columbus.
Rev. H. A. Thompson.....	Dayton.

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

TERMS EXPIRE AS INDICATED.

Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield.....	1908
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus.....	1908
Rev. N. B. C. Love, Perrysburg.....	1909
Hon. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati.....	1909
Hon. Myron T. Herrick, Cleveland.....	1910
Prof. Martin R. Andrews, Marietta.....	1910

Of the above Trustees, the following were present: J. H. Anderson, Geo. F. Bareis, A. J. Baughman, R. Brinkerhoff, J. W. Harper, I. F. King, N. B. C. Love, C. L. Martzloff, E. O. Randall, D. J. Ryan, E. F. Wood, G. F. Wright.

Secretary Randall called the meeting to order. Mr. Bareis was requested to act as presiding officer. The meeting then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year, and the officers elected unanimously, were:

General R. Brinkerhoff, President;
 Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Second Vice President;
 Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Second Vice President;
 Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary and Editor;
 Mr. E. F. Wood, Treasurer;
 Prof. W. C. Mills, Curator and Librarian;

To act as members of the Executive Committee, in addition to the above officers, who are members of that committee ex-officio, there were chosen: Messrs. Harper, King, Martzloff, Prince and Ryan. The Executive Committee, therefore, now stands as follows: Messrs. Bareis, Brinkerhoff, Harper, King, Martzloff, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Wright.

Upon motion and vote it was decided to refer the determination of the compensation of the salaried officers of the Society to the Executive Committee. The meeting of the Board of Trustees then adjourned.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XVI. No. 2.

E. O. Randall

APRIL, 1907.

NEW TRUSTEES.

On February 28, 1907, Governor Harris appointed Hon. Myron T. Herrick Trustee of the Society to serve for three years. This appointment will certainly meet the hearty approval of the members of the Society as few governors have taken the active interest in the progress and welfare of our Society that Governor Herrick did during his incumbency. The readers of the QUARTERLY will doubtless be interested in a brief sketch of Mr. Herrick, as his career is an illustrious example of a struggling Buckeye boy and a most successful Ohio man. He was born at Huntington, Lorain county, Ohio, October 9, 1854, his parents being Timothy R. and Mary L. Herrick. His father came from a Massachusetts family of colonial origin. His grandfather, Timothy Herrick, was one of the early pioneers of Lorain county and an American soldier



GOV. HERRICK.

in the second war with England, as his great-grandfather was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. Governor Herrick therefore descends from doubly patriotic stock. Myron was educated in the district school at Huntington, the union schools of Wellington, and later was a student in Oberlin College and the Ohio Wesleyan University. He was practically self-educated, sustaining himself in collegiate studies by engaging in various occupations, such as assisting on the neighboring farms and acting as book agent. In 1899 Ohio Wesleyan University, in recognition of his former connection with that institution, conferred upon him the emeritus degree. At the age of thirty-one Mr. Herrick took up his residence in Cleveland, where he entered the law offices of J. F. & G. E. Herrick, being admitted to bar in the year 1878. He was successful in his chosen profession, which however, in a few years became secondary to his business and financial enterprises. He became especially proficient in the banking field, served as chairman of the Executive Council of the American Bankers' Association and became largely identified in various manufacturing, industrial and building projects in Cleveland. He reorganized the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railway Co., placing the property upon a paying basis. His first vote was cast for President Rutherford B. Hayes in the Fall of 1876, at which time Mr. Herrick became interested in politics. He was a member of the Cleveland City Council in

1885, and accepted re-election at the close of his first term. He was delegate to the National Republican Conventions of 1888, 1892, 1896 and 1904, and was elector-at-large from Ohio upon the presidential ticket in 1900. He served as a member of the Republican National Committee and also upon its advisory board. President McKinley offered him the United States Treasurership and later the United States ambassadorship to Rome, but both of these offices were declined. He was also offered the ambassadorship at Rome by President Roosevelt, which he declined. In 1893, he was a member of the electoral college of Ohio, cast his vote as such member for the election of Benjamin Harrison, who at that time was defeated by Grover Cleveland. Mr. Herrick was preliminary chairman of the convention which named William McKinley its candidate for governor of Ohio. He was a member of Governor McKinley's military staff. In 1886 he was elected secretary and treasurer of the Society for Savings in Cleveland, one of the largest institutions of its character in this country, and in 1884, upon the death of the president, Samuel H. Mather, he succeeded to the presidency of that society. His management of the vast affairs of that institution was phenomenally able and creditable. In the Fall of 1903, he was unanimously made the choice of the Republican State Convention for the office of governor and in the ensuing election was triumphantly elected. His career as governor of our state is recent history. As Mr. Herrick is still a young man, undoubtedly other higher official honors await him should he choose to again enter political life. As previously intimated, the governor took unusual interest in the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, being the guest of honor of the Society upon its excursion to Fort Ancient, June 3, 1905.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society, held March 22, 1907, as duly recorded in the proceedings of that meeting elsewhere in this



A. J. BAUGHMAN.

QUARTERLY, Mr. Abraham J. Baughman was elected Trustee to serve for the ensuing three years. Mr. Baughman for many years past has been deeply interested in the work of this Society, having contributed much material of great value to the columns of its publications. On January 1, 1903, he was elected to Life Membership. Mr. Baughman was chosen by the Executive Committee as one of the delegates to represent the Society at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Chicago, December 28, 29 and 30, 1904. Mr. Baughman, both by heredity, inclination and training, belongs to the historical class of literary workers; Ohio history has especially been the field of his labors for the best part of his life. He is the only son of Jacob and Elizabeth (Cunningham) Baughman, was born in Richland county, Ohio, in 1838.

His grandfathers — Abraham Baughman and Capt. James Cunningham — were among the earliest settlers of Richland county. Mr. Baughman taught school and read law in his earlier life, and upon the breaking out of the Civil War he responded to President Lincoln's first call for troops, joined the 16th Ohio Infantry and served under Gen. George B. McClellan, in the West Virginia campaign of 1861. Upon the expiration of that term of service, he enlisted for three years in the 32d Ohio Infantry, and served in the 17th Corps, Army of the Tennessee. He was discharged for physical disability before the expiration of his term of enlistment.

The greater part of Mr. Baughman's life has been spent in the newspaper business. He was associated with Gen. R. Brinkerhoff on the Ohio Liberal newspaper in the early seventies. He has edited and published papers of his own in Mansfield, Canal Fulton, Medina and New Philadelphia. He has served on the staff of the Marion Star and the Steubenville Gazette and edited the Ohio Democrat at New Philadelphia, in 1895-6.

Mr. Baughman was a clerk in the United States Senate during the 49th Congress and while in Washington acted as correspondent for New York and Chicago newspapers. After his return to Ohio, he devoted his time to literary and historical work, his specialty being feature articles, historical, reminiscent and literary in character. For years he has been a voluminous writer and has always found a fair market for his products. He is a member of McLaughlin Post G. A. R. He is a member of the Mansfield Lyceum, and has been its secretary for a number of years. Through his efforts the Richland County Historical Society was organized in 1898, and he became its secretary. He is the secretary of the Mansfield Association of First-Call Troops.

Mr. Baughman is a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church, having been a member of the Mansfield parish for over forty years. He is a trustee of the American Institute of Civics, and also of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial building at Mansfield. Upon the creation of the Mansfield Centennial Commission he was appointed its secretary. He is now engaged in writing its literature and has charge of its bureau of publicity. At the unveiling of the Johnny Appleseed monument, November, 8, 1900, at Mansfield, Mr. Baughman delivered the address of the occasion which was copied in whole or in part by the leading newspapers and magazines of the country. In 1900, he wrote a Centennial history of Richland county, a volume consisting of over 800 pages. It was published by the Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago. In 1902, Mr. Baughman re-published "Philip Seymour, or Pioneer Life in Richland County," to which he added an historical appendix.

DISCOURSES OF REV. RHEES.

Through the courtesy of Mr. George A. Katzenberger, president of the Greenville (Ohio) Historical Society, we have received duplicate copies of two discourses by Rev. Morgan John Rhys, delivered at Greenville on July 4 and 5 respectively in the year 1795, before the officers and army of Major General Anthony Wayne.

Rev. Morgan John Rhys, or, as it is also printed, *Rhees*, was born in Graddfa, Llanfabon, Glamorganshire, South Wales, December 8th, 1760. When he delivered the addresses in Greenville, he was less than thirty-five years of age. The pamphlet containing his address and calling him "The Welsh-Baptist hero of civil and religious liberty of the eighteenth century," was compiled by John T. Griffith, a Baptist pastor, in Pennsylvania. The pamphlet contains excerpts from his diary, and the part of particular interest to us is the following:

"After having spent about two months in Georgia and South Carolina, he came to Kentucky and then crossed the Ohio River to East Greenville, where he addressed the United States Army and about six or seven hundred Indians, on July 4th and 5th, 1795 (see Oration and Altar of Peace). He left East Greenville about July 10th on his return tour and came via Kentucky and Virginia back to the northern states. He gives a graphic description of his journey on his mare Primrose, as he called her, and preached at many places along this route."

AN ORATION.

Delivered at Greenville, Headquarters of the Western Army, Northwest of the Ohio July 4th, 1795, by the Rev. Morgan J. Rhees.

Illustrious Americans! Noble Patriots! You commemorate a glorious day—the Birthday of Freedom in the New World! Yes, Columbia, thou art free. The twentieth year of thy independence commences this day. Thou hast taken the lead in regenerating the world. Look back, look forward; think of the past, anticipate the future and behold with astonishment the transaction of the present time! The globe revolves on the axis of Liberty; the new world has put the old in motion; the light of truth, running rapid like lightning, flashes convictions in the heart of every civilized nation. Yes the splendor of American remonstrance has fallen so heavy on the head of the tyrant that other nations, encouraged by her example, will extirpate all despots from the earth.

O, France, although I do not justify thy excesses, I venerate thy magnanimity. If the sun of thy liberty has been eclipsed by a blood-thirsty, Marat and a saturnine Robespierre, if their accomplices, the sons of faction, will darken thy horizon, the energy of the nation, the un-

paralleled success of thy armies, like a mighty rushing wind, will scatter the clouds and drive them from thy hemisphere. The sun of liberty will return with healing in its wings! Yes, its genial rays will restore the swooping spirit of the distressed, and give new energy to the champions of freedom. Invincible Frenchmen, go on! Having laid your hands to the plough, look not back until the soil of Europe is made a proper fallow to receive the seeds of emancipation.

The popish beast has nearly numbered his days; the vasa! king, emperors and princes who have deluged the earth with blood, under their malign influence, shall soon take their exit with him to the same pit of destruction. Nor shall those potentates who have thrown off his yoke to ape his authority escape the punishment due for their crimes. They have, under the mask of mammonism riveted the chains of slavery two-fold faster than Charlemagne had it in their power. However, when the sons of liberty will make a strong pull, a long pull and a pull all together, the brass bars, the iron gates, the gold and silver chains of despotism must be broken. Combined Sons of Freedom! go on until every bastille on earth, with the infernal dungeons of the ocean, are destroyed like the Parisian prison.

Batavians and Belgians! rally to the standard of your deliverers, assist them to carry their conquests to the citadel of Rome that the tree of liberty may be planted once more on the banks of the Tiber. If the Court of Byzantium should be inimical to your progress, tell the monster Mahomet that the flag of freedom shall soon fly on the ramparts of Constantinople.

Neither the Ottoman Porte nor the infamous Catharine can long withstand the energy of freemen. Let them meet the haughty tyrant of the north in the fertile fields of Poland, and the vassals of that unhappy country shall be restored to liberty and equality. The Greeks and the Romans will then know that the fire of freedom is not extinguished.

Whilst I behold it kindling in every quarter of the globe, where shall I turn my eyes first? O, My Country! My Country! My heart bleeds, my eyes become a fountain of waters when I think of thy fate. Ichabod may be written upon all thy borders, for the glory is departed! How is thy bright gold become dim? How are the sons of Liberty, the pearls of the nation cast into prisons and banished o'er the seas? O, my countrymen! my countrymen!* how long will you be duped by a dogmatic administration which seems determined to destroy not only their own nation, but to mark their footsteps with devastation and blood wherever they go.

Infatuated Britons! I feel for your insanity, although four thousand miles from your coasts. Twenty years have elapsed since your American brethren have given you a practical example to resist despot-

† Welsh people.

ism. Have they not emphatically told you that no government has a right to taxation without a free and equal representation?

Ancient Britons! † awake out of your sleep! Open your eyes! Why are your tyrants great? Because you kneel down and cringe to them. Rise up—you are their equals! If you cannot rise, creep to the ocean and the friendly waves will waft you over the Atlantic to the hospitable shores of America. If you cannot attain liberty in your own native country, “where liberty dwells, call that your country.” Embark then for the Western World, which wants nothing but millions of good citizens, to make up the glory of all the earth. Quit the little despotic island which gave you birth, and leave the tyrants and slaves of your country to live and die together.

Citizens of the United States: Be not frightened in beholding so many emigrants flowing to your country. If all the inhabitants of the world were to pay you a visit, you can compliment each of them with half an acre of land. But, sirs, look forward and behold with thoughts of joy this vast continent from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, forming one grand Republic of Brethren.

At present it is impossible to calculate on the rapidity of revolutions. What formerly took a century to accomplish is brought to pass in a day. If the snow ball as it rolls multiplies its magnitude, the torrent being checked for a season, runs with greater rapidity. So the cause of truth and liberty being opposed by despots, will gain greater energy, and will eventually, like a mighty deluge, sweep every refuge of his from the earth. The little stone which Nebuchadnezzar saw, smote the image on its feet, ground it to powder, became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. So be it speedily. May the perfect law of liberty sway its sceptre of love from the rising to the setting sun, from the centre of the globe to the extremities of the poles.

Citizens of the United States: Whilst you commemorate a glorious resolution, call to your mind first principles of action—never forget them nor those who assisted you to put your principles in practice. May the curse of Meroz (Judges V) never fall upon America for not joining the heralds of freedom, whilst combatting the tyrants of Europe. Citizens of America: Guard with jealousy the temple of liberty. Protect her altars from being polluted with the offerings of force, of fraud.

Citizens and Soldiers of America—Sons of Liberty: It is you I address. Banish from your land the remains of slavery. Be consistent with your congressional declaration of rights and you will be happy. Remember there never was nor will be a period when justice should not be done. Do what is just and leave the event with God. Justice is the pillar that upholds the whole fabric of human society and mercy is the genial ray which cheers and warms the habitations of man. The per-

* Great Britain.

fection of our social character consists in properly tempering the two with one another. In holding that middle course which admits of our being just without being rigid and allows us to be generous without being unjust. May all the citizens of America be found in the performance of such social virtues as will secure them peace and happiness in this world and in the world to come, life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

THE ALTAR OF PEACE—A SERMON.

Being the Substance of a Discourse Delivered in the Council House, at Greenville, July 5th, 1795, Before the Officers of the American Army and Major General Wayne, Commander-in-Chief and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to Treat with the Indian Tribes North-West of the Ohio, by Morgan John Rhys. Philadelphia.

"Then Gideon built an altar thereunto the Lord and called it Jehovah Sallum; i. e., the Lord give Peace." Judges VI, 24.

A noble example for all generals and commanders of armies! Gideon, when going out to war, erected an altar to the God of Peace. His object was not devastation and plunder, but to defend the lives, liberty and property of his brethren. When these objects were obtained, the sword was sheathed and he returned to his occupation, crowned with honor. Gideon, as a worshipper of God, is worthy of imitation by all men, if there be a first cause, a disposer of events, a distributor of rewards and punishments—he is certainly an object of adoration. Some have supposed man to be a religious animal, that it is religion and not reason which distinguishes him from the beast; but without the exercise of reason, I am at a loss to know how we are to prove the existence of the Almighty. It is true in most countries, savage as well as civilized, we meet with the temple and the priest, the altar and the offering, the mythology of the heathen, the mosques of Mahomet, the superstitions of popery, the circumscribed ceremonies of the Jews—all have a tendency to prove that there is such a thing as real religion. Let us search for it, not by rejecting wholly everything that bears the appearance of religion, but by acting the part of the bee, exact the honey from every flower.

Although the western world be a wilderness, we meet here with abundance of flowers which would adorn the most beautiful garden in Europe. Shall we reject those valuable productions of the earth because they grow in an uncultivated soil? Surely not. Shall we then reject the noble precepts of Christ, and despise His institutions, because they have been obscured by the weeds of popery and Mahometanism God forbid! Rather let us cut down the groves of Baal and despise his worship. Let us reject every hypothesis that will not bear the test of examination; let us believe nothing but what is supported by evidence, and may be proved by reason that religion is certainly rational, which

represents the Supreme Being in the most amiable manner, rewards virtue, punishes vice, publishes peace to the penitent, unites man to man and all good men to God. Such is the Christian religion in its primitive simplicity. Although its advocates are engaged in the most important war, a war with ignorance and vice, yet, after the example of Gideon, they continually pray for peace. The Commander-in-Chief has ordered them to publish peace in every house they enter — peace to the Indians, to Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. Their commission is to preach the Gospel to every creature, to proclaim glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men. However if we wish to enjoy a permanent peace in the world, the private circle of the conscience, the Bible declares we must cease to do evil and learn to do good. The rule is short, and the commandments are easy. All the precepts of Jehovah center in one syllable — Love. The laws and the prophets, like the rays of the sun collected to a focus, here shine and burn. The man who loves God as the supreme good, and his neighbor as himself, surmounts every obstruction with ease, because he is borne above earth in the wings of love; the philanthropist is every person's neighbor, the White, the Black, and the Red are alike to him; he recognizes in each a brother, a child of the same common parent, an heir of immortality, and a fellow traveler to eternity. He knows how to make allowances for the prejudices of nations and individuals; instead of declaiming and tyrannizing, he endeavors to lead (with the cords of love and the bands of men) all his fellowmen to think, and judge for themselves, what is right. Having done this, the foundation is laid for a glorious fabric! the man who dares to think seriously for himself brings a complete sacrifice to the altar of peace; his ear receives instructions, the memory receives information, the judgment discerns between truth and error, his eye or principle is fixed on the glory of God and the public good, and his feet or affections persevere in the path which leads to immortal blessedness.

Brethren, we have fallen short in any duty, especially that of gratitude, let us move on with a firm and steady step in the great work of reformation, and as we are surrounded by temptations, let us combat the powers of darkness and the enemy will flee before us; with the weapons of eternal truth let us fight the foe, and our rallying point shall be the Altar of Peace. Permit me to descend to particulars, and apply the subject to the pending treaty, the Lord give Peace. But, sirs! in order to establish a durable peace some sacrifices must be made on both sides. The love of conquest and enlargement of territory should be sacrificed — every nation or tribe having an indefeasible right of soil, as well as a right to govern themselves in what manner they think proper, for which reason the United States purchased the right of soil from the Indians. Self interest and avarice, being the root of evil, ought to be sacrificed as a burnt offering, for the good of mankind. The desire of revenge should be immediately offered on the altar of forgiveness, although thy

brother transgress against thee seventy times seven in a day. Dissimulation and intrigue, with every species of deceptive speculation and fraudulent practice, ought to be sacrificed on the altars of strict honor and inflexible justice. In short, as the *Altar of Peace* is our text, the sermon on our future conduct should be, "Do Justice and Love Mercy." Tell the Indians they must "go and do likewise"; inform them that righteousness is the parent of peace, foreign and domestic; that without it there can be no tranquility in the nation, the neighborhood, or in the bosom of the individual. Endeavor, therefore, by all possible means to instill a just knowledge of this principle into their minds, for it must precede universal peace. Why did the prophet say, "They shall not hurt nor destroy"? Because, first, "the knowledge of God shall cover the earth as the water covers the sea."

If we were to form any idea of the signs of the times, the day of universal knowledge, peace and happiness cannot be at any great distance. It will advance upon us like the rising sun, whose light irresistibly spreads far and wide. But do not imagine that we are to be idle spectators. God carries on his work by means, and employs rational instruments, and as we are at present in an Indian country, we should devise and adopt the most likely measures to civilize the savage tribes. We have an opportunity of knowing something of their disposition. If peace can be amicably concluded, much may be done, but we are not to forget the natural grades from a savage state to that of civilization. I am clearly of the opinion that rational preachers ought to be employed to remove their ancient superstition, give them just notions of the Great Spirit, and teach them rules of moral rectitude. I am aware that something more is wanted. Unless husbandry and the mechanical arts be introduced with those missionaries, they will never be able to prevail on them to quit their ancient customs and manners. Government should therefore interfere and assist. That good may be done by individuals none can deny—the Moravian Indians are a convincing proof of it. Still, their laudable efforts will be ineffectual to bring over the great body of the people without further aid, and a general intercourse between them and virtuous men.

'Tis to be lamented that the frontiers of America have been peopled in many places by men of bad morals. I do not mean by this to throw a disagreeable reflection upon all the frontier inhabitants for I know there are many virtuous characters among them, but certain it is that there is a great number of white, as well as red savages. It will therefore be necessary to have such communications with the different tribes as to convince them of the good will of the Americans in general. If at the conclusion of this treaty some interchange of persons could take place between the United States and the different tribes, so that some Americans might have their residence in the Indian towns, and the Indians in like manner, reside in some of the principal towns on the fron-

tiers, it might be the means of terminating all future differences without war; of cultivating harmony and friendship among the tribes; of bringing offenders on both sides to justice, and causing treaties to be respected throughout the different nations. If such a system could be introduced cultivation and instruction would naturally follow and the Americans and Indians would become one people, and have but one interest at heart — the good of the whole. That such a thing should take place is certainly desirable. Let us, therefore, in the first place, follow the example of Gideon by erecting an altar, and offer the necessary sacrifices to obtain peace permanent; let every probable means be made use of to enlighten the poor heathens that they may quit their childish and cruel customs, and add to their love of liberty and hospitality, piety, industry, mechanical and literary acquirements; let us join them in prayer that the "Great Spirit" may enlighten their eyes and purify their hearts, give them a clear sky and smooth water, guard them against the bad birds, and remove the briars from their paths; protect them from the dogs of war, which are ever exciting them to acts of barbarous cruelty, that they may never attend to their barking, but continue to keep the bloody hatchet in the ground and smoke the calumet of peace until its odors perfume the air.

Sweet Peace! source of joy, parent of plenty, promoter of commerce and manufacturers, nurse of arts and agriculture, angelic Peace! Could I but set forth thy amiable qualities, who would but love thee? O, daughter of heaven, first offspring of the God of Love, hasten to make thy residence with us on earth!

MONUMENT TO ANTHONY WAYNE.

It is possible that a monument to General Anthony Wayne may be erected in Roche de Boeuf, the famous rock in the Maumee river near Grand Rapids. At a recent meeting of the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association held in Toledo, J. L. Pray said that the association hoped some time to secure Roche de Boeuf to the state and erect on it a statue of "Mad" Anthony Wayne. On the afternoon before the battle of Fallen Timber, after Wayne's army had arrived at that point from Fort Defiance, Wayne and his officers are said to have waded the shallow rapids to Roche de Boeuf and took their dinner on the rock.

Wayne's greatest deeds were done in this vicinity and, there being no monument to his valor nearer than Fort Wayne, it is proposed to erect a statue of the great warrior on the famous rock.

For many years the idea has been entertained by people in Defiance and vicinity to have a monument built to General Wayne on the site of Fort Defiance, and ex-Congressman Campbell tried to get Congress to make an appropriation for this, but without effect. Although Roche de Boeuf has many historical associations in connection with Wayne, Fort

Defiance has better claims for such a monument as is proposed. The beauty of the site, here situated in the heart of the city should give Defiance the precedence.

The Maumee Valley Pioneer Association wishes to save Roche de Boeuf from being used as a pier for a bridge to be built across the river at that point by the Cincinnati Northern Traction Co.

Secretary J. L. Pray said the association would probably first attempt to persuade the electric company to change its survey so the proposed bridge at Roche de Boeuf will cross the river a few hundred feet above the famous rock, which would, in his opinion, give the road a better and less expensive crossing and at the same time preserve the rock and the surrounding scenery to the eyes of the traveler using the line.—*Defiance Crescent News, March 28, 1907.*

STATE HISTORIANS.

The Legislature of Maine has just created the office of State Historian. The appointee is to receive no salary, but actual expenses, not to exceed \$500 a year will be paid. It is probable, therefore, that some qualified person is ready to accept the position for the honor conferred. The selection is to be made by the Governor by nomination from the State Historical Society. The act is also intended to promote the writing and publication of local history. It provides that in the town histories, prominence shall be given to matters of local geography, "which may be suitable for use in the grammar and high school grades of the public schools" in such towns. The manuscript of town histories must be approved by the State Historian, and when published by the town "the State Treasurer shall pay the town so publishing a sum not exceeding \$150, but the state shall not pay to any town to exceed one-half of the amount paid by said town for printing and binding said histories." The act evidently contemplates considerable voluntary service to make it effective.

New York, which of course has a history that is much longer, and of far greater interest and importance than that of Maine, has had a State Historian, as one of the permanent officers of the state government since 1895. In that year a law was passed providing for the appointment by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, of such an official, whose duty is to collect and edit for publication all official records, memoranda and data relative to the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, also the later wars, including that of the Rebellion. The Historian is also required to collect and edit, all official records, memoranda and statistics, affecting the relations of this commonwealth with foreign powers, other states of the Union, and with the United States. The office, ever since its creation, has been efficiently filled by Mr. Hugh Hastings of New York City.—*Buffalo Commercial, April 19, 1907.*

PRESERVATION OF HARRISON'S TOMB.

A sentimental motive prompted Colonel Russell B. Harrison, son of the late ex-President of the United States, to come to Cincinnati yesterday. He had a case in the United States Court, but his important reason for the visit was to have a conference with his distant relative, Colonel Lewis W. Irwin, in regard to inducing the United States Government to take over the burying ground at North Bend, where the tombs of his distinguished grandfather, General and President William Henry Harrison are located.

Colonel Harrison and Mr. Irwin talked for more than two hours and agreed upon a plan of action. A resolution will be prepared for introduction at the next session of Congress, by either Representative Goebel or Longworth, providing that the United States shall take possession of the cemetery at the hamlet of North Bend, make such repairs as are necessary and keep the Stars and Stripes always floating above the tomb of the "Hero of Tippecanoe." Every one of the hundreds of heirs to the little burying ground, which contains about five acres, has agreed to give a quitclaim deed to their individual interests, and there will be no expense to the Government whatever, except the slight cost of taking care of the property.

Many years ago the Trustees of Miami Township prohibited further burials in the Harrison private cemetery. Shortly before this was done one of the most shocking incidents in local history took place. Ghouls stole the body of John Scott Harrison, father of President Benjamin Harrison, from the grave and it was later discovered by General Harrison in the pickling vat of the Ohio Medical College. A great sensation was caused by the discovery. The remains of the old man were reinterred in the same grave, and a guard was kept over them for several weeks.

This was in the latter part of May 1878, and Colonel L. W. Irwin, who is taking such deep interest in the movement to have Uncle Sam assume charge of the cemetery, was Prosecuting Attorney of Hamilton County at that time. Members of the Harrison family have never forgotten the desecration of the grave of their beloved dead, and believing that a grateful country is willing to honor one of her most distinguished soldiers and statesmen they proffer the graveyard, with the only condition that it be kept free from vandalism and that the flag of the country always float over the tomb of President William Henry Harrison.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 3, 1907.

THE WESTERN INDIANS IN THE REVOLUTION.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

[This paper was awarded the annual prize offered to Ohioans by the Ohio Sons of the Revolution for an historical essay, February, 1905. The assigned subject that year was the Western Indians in the Revolution. The writer aimed only at a clear and concise treatment of the Indian War in the West, of which so far as he is aware there is no brief, recent account. The discussion of Gov. Hamilton's responsibility differs from other accounts.]

The history of American expansion begins properly with the treaty of 1783. In that convention the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was ceded to the United States. That cession was made possible by American conquest and occupation there during the revolutionary war. It is with this struggle in the west in its relations to the Indians that we propose to deal. We shall discuss briefly the character of the war, the situations of the three parties to the war, as they concerned the Indian's choice of side, and shall then give a short narrative of the events of the contest.

As early as 1773 the Boones, the Kentons and Zanes were advancing across the Alleghanies and down the Ohio by river and footpath to make their homes in the hunting grounds of the red man. The Indian realized that his woodland was endangered; he dimly foresaw the ultimate consequences of this migration and in a blind way he resisted. He came, he burned, he scalped, and stole away to repeat the work another time. In deeds of this sort the war began. The revolutionary war in the west was the struggle against the advance of the white man. From 1773 to 1783 the deepest motive that impelled the Indian to his awful acts was to drive back the settler. It was revenge for savage outrages and defence against them that led to nearly all the important offensive moves made by the Americans. Lord Dunmore's war was but the first phase, and from the view point of

on the contrary the Great King will protect you and preserve you in the possession of them."²

This was indeed to be the position of the Great King and of his government. They wished to preserve the western country for Indian hunters and for their own traders. They were to wage war through their Indian allies as well against the advance of settlement as against the American enemy.³

During '75 and '76, Dunmore's agent,⁴ and unauthorized emissaries of the British party were stating the English case and winning friends among the Indians.⁵ The English authorities were much more hesitant about soliciting the assistance of the red man. It is a fact apparently unnoticed in the histories that they could not at once decide on a policy. In the spring of 1776 the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawnees and other nations assembled in a Great Council at Niagara, but the English government at Quebec sent them word that it was not yet ready to speak and the assembly adjourned.⁶ Events in New England, however, where the red man had already been drawn into the conflict, probably determined British policy. Hamilton at Detroit was instructed to "place proper persons at the head of the savages to conduct their parties and restrain them from committing violence on the well affected and inoffensive inhabitants."⁷ He was further instructed to report to Carleton at Quebec all his dealings with the Indians, that one general and uniform policy with respect to them might be pursued.⁸ It was to be the weakness of the Americans that they had no such policy.

Whatever the orders from headquarters were, a study of the English campaign will show that it was in great degree managed

² Olden Time, I, 524.

³ Roosevelt II, 5.

⁴ Connolly's timely arrest in Nov. '75, stopped his work.

⁵ De Schweinitz, 441.

⁶ Olden Time, II, 112-113. This fact is related by Kiashuta in a speech at Ft. Pitt. Butterfield however, says that Hamilton at Detroit was engaging Indian assistance as early as '75. This fits in with his later self reliance in starting out Indians.

⁷ Haldimand Papers. 346-7. Lord George Germaine, Whitehall, 26 Mar. '77.

⁸ Haldimand Papers, 345.

from Detroit by Governor Hamilton. Germaine, Carleton and Haldimand could modify plans, and the latter especially made his influence felt, but Detroit was the natural center of British operations in the west, and Hamilton must be held largely responsible for the actual methods adopted in the use of the savages. Charles Walker⁹ has presented interesting statistics which show vividly the great inducements offered to the red men by the governor at Detroit. The large shipments called for of trinkets, blankets, scalping knives and guns, and the enormous consumption of rum reveal the powerful influences which the governor brought to bear. According to credible witnesses there were usually gathered around Detroit about one thousand savages, who constantly demanded gifts and drank down great quantities of liquor.

British policy went further than subsidizing of the Indians. The powers at Québec had been shrewd enough to gain the alliance of the Iroquois¹⁰ and to use Iroquois influence in enlisting other tribes. No one influence could be more effective with the western tribes. If this were not enough, the governor at Detroit resorted to the extreme measure of threatening war against neutral Indians.¹¹

The English policy was uniform, consistent, vigorous. American settlement must be driven back, the Indians must be employed to do it. The American policy, on the other hand, although it may have been praiseworthy, had the appearance of weakness. The Americans were experienced in war with the Indians. They knew that scalping and murder of prisoners were its necessary concomitants. They were able to appreciate fully what Indian attacks upon the borders would mean. It is not surprising then that popular opinion wavered as to the proper policy. The settlers along the Monongahela and Ohio hated the Indian because he was an Indian, and yet more because they feared the terror by night and the sudden arrow by day. Even the most friendly Indians — those who had been converted by

⁹ The Revolution in the Northwest.

¹⁰ Except two tribes to be mentioned later.

¹¹ As against the Delawares in 1778.

the Moravian missionaries — gave shelter to the dreaded Wyandots on their bloody incursions.¹² The settlers realized nevertheless that policy demanded peace with the savages. They were in a country where the wildmen outnumbered them several times and possessed all the advantages of attack.

The official attitude found first expression in the stopping of Connolly's work by his arrest. "The arrest of Connolly," says Winsor,¹³ "deferred for two years (till '77) the active participation of the Kentucky settlers in the war." The thousands of Indians who might have been roused up in '75, were not enlisted in the British cause until a time when the frontiersmen could oppose them on even terms. In the same year¹⁴ Congress created three Indian departments and placed in charge of the western one at Ft. Pitt, Richard Butler¹⁵ who was to detach the Indians from the British cause. In an address to the Six Nations Congress clearly defined its policy. "This is a family quarrel between us and old England. You Indians are not concerned. We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops."¹⁶

To support this policy, commissioners were sent to treat with the Ohio tribes, and at two Great Councils held at Ft. Pitt in July and October, 1776, pledges of neutrality were exacted from the Iroquois, Delawares, Mohicans, and Shawnees present. The Ottawas, Wyandots, Chippewas and Mingoes (Muncies) held aloof.¹⁷

Meantime opinion was changing in regard to what should be the American attitude towards the Indians. In April, '76, Washington wrote to Congress that since the Indians would soon be engaged either for or against, he would suggest that they be engaged for the Colonies.¹⁸ On the 25th of May, Congress re-

¹² See Poole, in Winsor's Narrative and Critical Hist. VI. 735.

¹³ Westward Movement. 87.

¹⁴ 1775.

¹⁵ Soon succeeded by Morgan.

¹⁶ Olden Time, II, 116.

¹⁷ Washington-Crawford Correspondence. 60.

¹⁸ Sparks' Writings of Washington, III. 364.

solved that it was highly expedient to engage the Indians for the American service.¹⁹

There are but few evidences that this resolution was ever carried out in the west. In not more than two or three instances, so far as we have discovered, was Indian assistance solicited or made use of.²⁰ In at least two cases the services of the savages when offered were refused. The resolutions found their justification then as a political move — at least so far as the west was concerned — in the fact that they enabled the Americans to present to the Indians as well as to the English a bolder and more consistent front.

It is sometimes said that the American Revolution had the character of a civil war. This cannot be said of its western phase. It is a singular fact that the conduct of the hostile savages, more than any other one cause, brought about a strong and harmonious position upon the part of the borderers. The red man had been faithfully told by his masters at Detroit to distinguish between Tory and Rebel, but he was too busy collecting scalps to notice fine shades of distinction, and he was responsible for the wiping out of that distinction. When the loyalists along the border found the savages engaged against them, they joined their neighbors in repelling invasion.²¹ It was a natural consequence that by '77 the whole border was strongly pro-American.

The situations which presented themselves to the English and to the Americans at the opening of the war, are subordinate, for the purposes of this paper, to that in which the red man found himself. It is the weakness of our evidence as to the Indian point of view that it has reached us altogether through white sources. Yet so manifest is the Indian situation that one could almost determine it by a line of *a priori* reasoning. It is easy to see that the tribes of the forest had everything to fear

¹⁹ Secret Journal of Congress, I, 44. Winsor makes a strange slip (p. 127) when he says, "Congress did not formally sanction the use of Indians till March, 1778."

²⁰ See The Olden Time, II, 374-5. The Olden Time, II, 309-11. Penn. Archives, VIII, 640.

²¹ See Haldimand Papers, 489.

from the advance of permanent settlement. Said Kiashuta boldly at Ft. Pitt, "We will not suffer either the English or Americans to march an army through our country."²² The Half-King²³ went farther in the Great Council called by the English at Detroit and declared that the Long Knives²⁴ had for years interfered with the Indians' hunting and now at last it was the Indians' turn to threaten revenge."²⁵ The Americans were surveying out their lands,²⁶ they were cheating them in trading operations, they were breaking their promises as soon as they were made.²⁷ The Indians declared that they were tired of complaining.

The truth was the American commercial operations with the Indians had been managed in a very impolitic way. Further, the Americans were poor. They could not supply the savages bountifully with rum and pretty presents, a fact which the Indians were not slow in discovering. There was nothing to gain, there was everything to lose, they reasoned, from alliance with the Americans.

As for the English, the situation with respect to them was the reverse. The English wished to preserve to the Indians their hunting ground and to keep it a perpetual field for trading operations. They were moreover well supplied, as we have already seen, with all the munitions of persuasion. Hamilton's demands from Quebec for more rum and more gifts for the Indians seemed extravagant and drew down reproaches, but probably the situation called for just such extravagance.

The Indians knew that the English could and would subsidize them. They knew too that they had nothing to fear from a people whose homes were across the sea. There were other elements that no doubt entered into the final determination of their attitude. We have already referred to the weight of the

²² Olden Time, II, 112.

²³ Of the Wyandots.

²⁴ The Indian name for the Americans.

²⁵ Force's Amer. Arch. I. Series, II, 517.

²⁶ Hildreth. 109.

²⁷ Olden Time, II, 96, 103.

Iroquois influences.²⁸ The Pottawattamies²⁹ and Ottawas living near to Detroit also cast in their lot with the English.³⁰ Detroit and Quebec were pivotal points in Indian geography. By gaining the support of the powerful tribes near these places the English were assured many other tribes. *Esprit de corps* counts among Indians as elsewhere, and there can be no doubt that many of the savages otherwise inclined to neutrality were swept into the current of war.³¹

One counter influence of great importance should be noticed. The Moravian missionaries through the first three years of the war proved themselves powerful forces for Indian neutrality. Zeisberger and Heckewelder, among the Delawares, and Kirkland among the Tuscaroras and Oneidas stayed the current that was rushing Britishward. Until 1778 the tribes nearest Ft. Pitt remained neutral and when they finally went over to the British, the Americans were strong enough to hold their own.

It is rather misleading to treat the Indian situation as a whole, as we have done, because Indian policy was by no means so fixed and determinate a quantity, as it may seem when put down on paper. It was arrived at very slowly and in very different ways by various tribes. The Wyandots³² had been accustomed to prey upon the white settlements long before the war broke out, the Pluggystown Indians began operations early in '75, the Shawnese³³ held long and divided councils before they at length resolved to support the authorities at Detroit. The Hurons determined to remain neutral but found themselves driven

²⁸ Two tribes of the Iroquois must be excepted, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras.

²⁹ One of the shrewdest moves in the war was DePeyster's suggestion in August, '78, that the young Indian Aimiabie and his companion Pottawattamies should be persuaded to remain at Montreal. In this way it was hoped to maintain the good behavior of the whole tribe.

³⁰ Hildreth, 97.

³¹ See Loskiel, 107.

³² See Rondthaler's Heckewelder, De Schweinitz's Zeisberger, and Zeisberger's Diary for detailed accounts.

³³ W. L. Stone in his *Life of Brant*, I, 349, says that some of the Shawnese had been engaged in predatory warfare since '73. Stone's work is one of the most reliable upon this whole subject.

to war by other tribes.³⁴ The Chippewas were too lazy, declared DePeyster, English Commandant at Mackinac, to support either side,³⁵ and they continued neutral as long as possible. It is useless to enumerate further details. Different motives swayed different tribes,³⁶ but the outcome was that the great majority of red men took up the English cause.

Having now presented the situations of the three parties with respect to the Indians at the opening of the war, we shall go on to narrate the progress of the war, limiting ourselves to the more important movements of the savage war bands and of their antagonists.³⁷ When the year 1777 opened the Americans held besides Ft. Pitt, two fortified positions in the west, Ft. Henry at Wheeling and Ft. Randolph at Point Pleasant.³⁸ In neither of these protected stockades was a large force of troops placed, but they were so arranged that in case of alarm the outlying settlers could rush to them and constitute an adequate defense. The English had two strong points garrisoned, Detroit, with about 500 troops³⁹ and more Indian supporters under Hamilton, and Mackinac with a smaller force under DePeyster.

On the 26th of March, '77, Lord Germaine had authorized Hamilton to "make a diversion and excite alarm upon the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania by parties of Indians conducted by proper leaders."⁴⁰ The governor at Detroit was quick to obey instructions, indeed to go beyond them. He sent out to the Indian tribes a hatchet wrapped in red and white beads, a formal authorization to go upon the warpath. That Hamilton exceeded his orders in a way to deserve responsibility for Indian cruelties is a fact not noticed in the accounts of the war. Roose-

³⁴ Loskiel, 117. Loskiel is not always accurate but his statement here seems to rest on good evidence.

³⁵ Zeisberger's Diary, I, 41.

³⁶ For a good account of Indian sentiment in the fall of 1776, see Wm. Wilson's account in Hildreth.

³⁷ The writer has been impressed with the opportunity that still exists to untangle the relations of the many Indian raids, but the limits of this paper forbid such a research.

³⁸ At the entrance of the Big Kanawha.

³⁹ C. T. Walker, who bases his figures on Judge May's report.

⁴⁰ Haldimand Papers. 346.

velt would excuse him as one who merely carried out the orders of his superiors. Butterfield has shown that while Hamilton did not in advance offer reward for scalps, he rewarded amply⁴¹ those who returned with the bloody trophies. It seems to the writer that the question of Hamilton's responsibility rests rather upon the evidence that he was authorized to send out Indian parties under English leaders and that he forthwith proceeded to give the Indians a general leave for promiscuous expeditions. Lord Germaine's plan involved the maximum of care in the employment of savage warriors, Hamilton's methods the minimum. That he had been instructed to take no step without positive orders from headquarters but increases his responsibility for the awful cruelties inflicted upon the border settlements.

It was not long before the effects of the governor's message became apparent. The Wyandots and Mingoës had both accepted the hatchet with alacrity. From April to July the white settlements in Kentucky were compelled to fight for their existence. The savages suddenly assaulted Harrodsburg, then made two sharp attacks on Boonesborough and laid siege to Logan's Station. The movements had much the same character. They were made without warning, the outlying settlers were slain and the fort assaulted with a rush. Boonesborough was defended by twenty-two men and Logan Station by fifteen. At the latter the Indians made an attempt at a siege, but they always wanted the organization and persistence necessary to make an investment successful, and went away as suddenly as they had come. They had well carried out Lord Germaine's aim — to alarm the frontiers.

Throughout the summer the Indians continued to make raids here and there in small bands, and in October they united for a severe attack upon Ft. Henry. From two to four hundred savages engaged in a desperate attempt to take this stockade but found it impregnable and retired into the Ohio forests for the winter.

While the English had succeeded through their wild allies

⁴¹ That Hamilton showed pleasure also at the sight of scalps was attested by John Leith in his *Biography*, 29. See also Zeisberger's account in *De Schweinitz*.

in making life in the border settlements insecure, the Americans had been singularly successful in doing the wrong thing. Three blunders upon their side signalized the year. General Hand had early in the season planned an expedition against the Pluggystown Indians' who had been responsible for many of the former incursions upon the border. But he wished to pursue a friendly policy towards the Delawares and Shawnese and feared to displease them by such an offensive move. The Indians interpreted such hesitation as weakness and grew thereupon constantly bolder in their invasions.

The second mistake was made in July when large numbers of the Indians were gathering at Ft. Pitt for a treaty with the Long Knives. A body of Senecas was fired upon by a party of Americans, the savages were enraged and peace prospects at an end. This may have been an accidental blunder but it was the natural outcome of the want of organization and of obedience to a central authority, which was manifested by the American warriors in the west.

The third and most egregious blunder was the murder of Cornstalk, chief of the Shawnese. Cornstalk had been consistently a friend to the Americans, but had found the majority in his own tribe against him. He had come to Point Pleasant to report that he could no longer restrain his tribe and had been retained as a hostage. An untoward incident at the fort offered the occasion for killing him. Congress sought to forestall the consequences of this treachery for the perpetrators but it was too late. The Shawnese already passively hostile, now resolved on revenge and became the most active of marauders on the frontier.

There were but two encouraging facts for the backwoodsmen when the year closed, the Kentucky forts had been held, and new settlers were pouring over the mountains. The tide of immigration was setting in and the Indians could not scalp fast enough to offset it.

The year 1778 opened with a vigorous but unsuccessful attack of 200 Shawnese upon Point Pleasant, to avenge the murder of their chief.⁴² It was early followed by General Hand's incon-

⁴²Stuart, 61.

sequential "squaw campaign." The remaining events of the year are of much greater interest and may be divided into three distinct heads, the Kentucky contest, McIntosh's expedition and the Illinois campaign. Operations in Kentucky commenced in January with the capture of Boone and thirty of his companions. Boone spent several months among the Indians and was adopted into the chief Black Fish's family. He was taken to Detroit and learned that Hamilton was planning a large expedition against Boonesborough. In June he succeeded in escaping to Boonesborough where he warned the settlers and made the fort ready for a siege.⁴³ When the Indian force of 400 headed by English and French officers and carrying English and French banners arrived, they found a garrison ready to receive them, and after a few days' investment vanished into the woods. Kentucky had been saved to the Americans largely by her great pioneer.

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⁴³ For best account see Thwaites' Boone.

⁴⁴ 2,700 from east of the mountains and 300 from the west.

⁴⁵ Mitchener. 129.

of the woods to the number of eight hundred and fifty,⁴⁶ and invested the garrison for six weeks when it was relieved by reinforcements. The moral effect of McIntosh's expedition had been less than nothing. It had exasperated the Indians and at the same time ended with what had all the appearance of a retreat. The practical gain was that the two advanced forts proved a great protection to the Pennsylvania frontier.

The third movement to be discussed was upon the Mississippi. This was Clark's invasion of Illinois. We shall not travel over Clark's route with him, nor follow him in his sudden and successful swoop upon Kaskaskia, nor trace his conquest of the surrounding country.⁴⁷ These events are well known and further have little direct bearing upon the Indian in the revolution. What concerns us more about Clark's conquering career is, what were his aims, and what were his means? He defined his own aim clearly. He was, he said, "elevated with the thoughts of the great service we should do our country in some measure putting an end to Indian warfare on the frontier." This is intensely interesting because it makes it appear that Clark failed to see the entire significance of his undertaking and achievement. He sought to protect the frontier and won the west for the United States. It was his hope by gaining Kaskaskia to attach the French to the American interests, and through their influence to win over the numerous savage tribes between the Mississippi and the Lake.⁴⁸ It is hardly possible to take Clark at his word and suppose that protection for the frontier was his only motive in seeking to win the Illinois tribes. Roosevelt mentions another feature of the expedition which should not be overlooked. The presence of families shows that it had the peculiar character of being undertaken half for conquest, half for settlement.

The means used to make the conquest of permanent and wide spreading consequence are clearer than the ends in view. Clark won the French completely; through them he gained Vincennes; through them he gained also the favorable consideration

⁴⁶ According to Doddridge, p. 285, who is not absolutely reliable.

⁴⁷ Butterfield and William H. English have written the authoritative accounts of Clark's expeditions.

⁴⁸ Butler's Kentucky, 50.

of the Indian tribes. His attitude towards the red man was shrewdly assumed. He put on the haughty air and in nearly every case let the Indian make the first move for peace. French influence and Clark's bold way won. Chief after chief came to Kaskaskia and made his peace. Tobacco's Son, the "Grand Door" of the Wabash, promised to "bloody the land no more for the English." Blackbird, a chief of the Ottawas, came at Clark's invitation. "Some mystery," he declared, "hung over the war," which he wished removed. He was convinced that "the English must be afraid because they gave the Indians so many goods to fight for them."⁴⁹ Delightful logic! The red man had been thinking in his own way about the war. In such conversations Clark won individual chiefs. It was in a Great Council held at Cahokia that with utmost diplomacy he forced the first move upon the savages of the Illinois country and granted with apparent reluctance their demands for peace.

The news from Illinois was gall and wormwood to Hamilton at Detroit. The English authorities resolved upon two counter moves. DePeyster from Mackinac sent a belt to the Illinois Indians urging them to drive out the enemies of His Majesty, the Great King.⁵⁰ A month later he despatched Captain Langlade to rouse the Indians around Lake Michigan and assemble them at St. Josephs to join Hamilton.⁵¹ Meanwhile Hamilton with 175 regulars, some Canadians and 350 Indians,⁵² started down the Maumee, crossed over the Wabash and struck for Vincennes. Helm, whom Clark had left in charge at Vincennes, was deserted by his supporters and compelled to surrender.

So closed the year 1778. We must pause for the moment to notice certain other features of the year. On the American side the escape of the suspected McKee, Elliott, and Girty from Ft. Pitt meant great evil to the settlers. The three plotters, on their way to Detroit stopped among the Indian tribes to tell them that the Americans in the east had been utterly defeated and that now the Americans in the west were resolved to kill every Indian

⁴⁹ Butler, 75.

⁵⁰ Haldimand Papers, 370.

⁵¹ Walker, 21.

⁵² Winsor, 131. Brice (*Hist. Ft. Wayne*) gives different figures.

of every sort. At this word, Indians who had hitherto been peaceable put on the war paint. Few incidents are more thrilling than Heckewelder's⁵³ arrival in the nick of time at Cooshocking to tell the Delawares that they had been deceived. But the missionaries could not follow the three renegades and undo their mischief. The three had done their work thoroughly and during the rest of the war were to be a thorn in the side of the settlements.

Upon the British side the Great Council in June at Detroit was significant. Here were assembled Ottawas, Chippewas, Hurons, Wyandots, Pottawattamies, Delawares, Shawnese, Miamis, Mingoes, Mohawks and others to the number of 1,642.⁵⁴ Such a gathering meant that the great body of western Indians was now definitely arrayed upon the side of the English. It marked the culmination of English influence among the savage tribes. What was accomplished by the meeting is not altogether clear. A few war songs were sung, a few threats made against those who remained neutral and an inspiration given to further warfare.⁵⁵ It seems likely that the Ohio Indians were promised as a new inducement the lands of which they should on their own account dispossess the settlers.⁵⁶ It is probable, too, that the impetus was given to the expedition against Boonesborough. And it is just possible that the Council had some connection with a plan Hamilton had communicated to Haldimand for an attack upon Ft. Pitt. On the 6th of August the latter wrote from Quebec that he deemed the plan not feasible. It would be difficult, he declared, to maintain the fort if taken, and no essential point would be gained by its capture.

When the year '79 opened Hamilton had sent home his Indians and was holding Vincennes with a small English garrison. He planned in the spring to proceed against Kaskaskia, to start the Shawnese against Ft. Laurens and to rouse up the Cherokees and Creeks against the Kentucky settlements. Then after taking Kaskaskia he proposed to sweep the Kentucky country and win

⁵³ Rondthaler's Heckewelder, 71.

⁵⁴ Haldimand Papers, 442. Butterfield, *The Girtys*, 63.

⁵⁵ Haldimand Papers, 442-52.

⁵⁶ Probable conclusion based upon a comparison of certain dates.

the entire west to the British.⁵⁷ It was a well conceived plan and ought to have succeeded. Clark would have had but a small force with which to resist. Probably Clark realized his own danger and was so prompted to take the offensive. With less than a hundred men he marched the two hundred and forty miles through woods and flooded plains to Vincennes and captured the "hair-buyer" Hamilton and his garrison. This blow gave the Americans a hold upon Illinois, which was to prove permanent. It dispirited the hostile Indians, it alarmed the British at Detroit and it gave a new impetus to immigration into and settlement in the west. Hundreds of families began to pour over the Alleghanies.⁵⁸

Meanwhile the Kentucky men had not been idle. All through the spring the settlements had been alarmed by Indian incursions. A meeting was held at Harrodsburg and an expedition under Captain John Bowman crossed the Ohio and proceeded against the Shawnese town of Chillicothe. The Indians were able to defend their seat and the Kentuckians retreated dispirited. But the movement had really been of much importance. The news of it had dispersed in a panic the two hundred red men under Captain Bird who were starting out from Detroit for a raid. So it was all through the Ohio country. The Chanes, the Delawares, who were now fighting for the British, and the Sandusky Indians were thoroughly frightened and indisposed to further activity.⁵⁹

Along the Pennsylvania border the year might be called a draw. Sullivan's plundering campaign in upper New York alarmed and embittered the Indians throughout the north. Brodhead⁶⁰ in imitation of Sullivan ravaged the country to the north of Ft. Pitt. In the Ohio country Ft. Laurens was besieged for a month by a large body of red men, but was relieved. A few months later the fort was given up and the American lines drawn in. Throughout the year Brodhead at Pittsburg and Clark in

⁵⁷ Roosevelt, II. 66.

⁵⁸ It has been estimated that the immigration was from five to ten thousand a year.

⁵⁹ Haldimand Papers, 417.

⁶⁰ Who succeeded McIntosh in April, '79.

the west were planning an attack on Detroit. Brodhead lacked the initiative and daring for such a stroke, and Clark never received the needful troops.

On the whole it may be said that the American situation was improving. From Ft. Pitt to the Mississippi the Indians were becoming more favorable to the cause of the Long Knives. They had now all learned that the Great French Father was fighting on the side of the Americans and this meant a great deal to them. The Wyandots, the Macquichees and part of the Delawares sent representatives to Brodhead asking peace.

On the other hand the British were having more trouble with their Indian allies. The Pottawattamies had deserted them,⁶¹ the Chippewas were demanding more rum and less fighting. The daily consumption of liquor was becoming enormous and rendering the maintenance of the Indian allies a great burden to the government. The Ohio Indians were complaining because they had not been protected against the expeditions of Bowman and Brodhead. The English, they declared, were not keeping their promises. Throughout the Indian country the murmurs of dissatisfaction could not be quieted.

With the new year DePeyster, who had now taken Hamilton's place at Detroit, began sending out small parties against the border, and by May had despatched in different directions 2,000 warriors.⁶² The campaign was waged in four directions. Sinclair was sent with a large body of red men to take the Spanish seat, St. Louis. Captain Langlade with a band of savage warriors proceeded to the Chicago portage on his way to attack Kaskaskia. Both expeditions were thwarted by American preparations. In the meantime Colonel Bird was to "amuse" the Americans by attacking Clark at the Falls of the Ohio,⁶³ and a delegation of Hurons were sent to make a demonstration towards Ft. Pitt.⁶⁴ The latter came to nothing so that only Bird's expedition need be noticed. It seems to have originated in the urgent requests of the Mingoes, Shawnese and the Delawares to destroy

⁶¹ Haldimand Papers, 396.

⁶² Roosevelt, II. 102.

⁶³ Now Louisville.

⁶⁴ DePeyster's Miscellanies, XXV.

some forts of which they complained.⁶⁵ It was further intended besides amusing the settlers to make a reprisal for Bowman's expedition of the previous year and to interrupt settlement.⁶⁶ The army started out to strike at Clark on the Falls of the Ohio, but when this proved not feasible,⁶⁷ advanced six hundred to a thousand strong up the Licking and captured Ruddle's and Martin's Stations. The Indians for once wished to follow up the success and were eager to take Bryant's Station and Lexington, but Bird, whether for lack of provisions or because he could no longer control his red men, headed the warriors back to Detroit. The history of the war is largely a story of reprisals, and so it was in this case. Clark hurriedly gathered a party of 970 men at the mouth of the Licking⁶⁸ and marched against Chillicothe. When he found the Indians gone and the village in flames, he proceeded quickly to Piqua,⁶⁹ where in a desultory battle he defeated the Indians and took the town. His purpose was thoroughly to frighten the Ohio tribes and with this effected he retired to Kentucky.

The rest of the year was comparatively quiet on both sides. There was little change in the general situation. That Clark was still holding on to the Illinois country was perhaps the most significant fact because it meant that the Americans were in final possession and gave American diplomats the leverage in the negotiations as to the west in 1782-3. Some changes in allegiance by the Indian tribes should be noticed. The Sacs and Foxes in the country between the Lakes and the Great River had espoused the American cause while almost all the Delawares had gone over to the English. The story of Delaware hesitation would be a long one⁷⁰ but we must note a few points in passing. We have already seen how in '78, Girty and Elliott had alarmed the tribe and how Heckewelder's timely appearance staved off their warlike intentions. The British governor at Detroit kept up a con-

⁶⁵ DePeyster's *Miscellanies*, XXIII. Haldimand Papers. 580.

⁶⁶ Thwaite's *Boone*, 176.

⁶⁷ Clark was too strongly entrenched.

⁶⁸ Opposite Cincinnati.

⁶⁹ Near the present Springfield.

⁷⁰ A capital chance exists for some one to write a good history of the Delaware tribe.

stant correspondence with them and more than once threatened war upon them if they remained neutral.⁷¹ White-eyes and Pipe were the two chiefs representative of the American and English positions and when White-eyes died the English faction became the stronger. Further the American commissioners of Congress blundered by secretly offering the Delawares the hatchet against the English. Pipe's party prevailed and the tribe in the main took up the war (in 1780) against the Americans.⁷² This it was that made operations from Ft. Pitt so precarious and that was at least in part responsible for keeping Brodhead on the defensive through the year '80. It was unfortunate for the authorities at Ft. Pitt that they could not support and make use of the minority body in the Delawares who offered their services.⁷³ In this instance as in so many others the long purse of the English was their best weapon.⁷⁴

Before the year '81 opened Governor Jefferson of Virginia had drawn up instructions to Clark charging him to take Detroit and secure control of Lake Erie, and had promised him an army of 2,000 men. But events along the coast and want of harmony in the west interfered with the great plans. Clark moved down the Ohio with but 400 of the promised 2,000 men and reluctantly gave up the expedition against Detroit. Meantime Brodhead had resolved to punish the recreant Delawares⁷⁵ and had advanced in April from Ft. Pitt with 300 men.⁷⁶ He took Cooshocking and plundered it and then returned with the spoil to Ft. Pitt.⁷⁷ Any further movement from the base of supplies

⁷¹ De Schweinitz, 467.

⁷² De Schweinitz, 467. Loskiel, 134. DePeyster's *Miscellanies*, CXXIII. Note.

⁷³ *Olden Times*, II, 374.

⁷⁴ DePeyster's *Miscellanies*. App. IX., DePeyster to the Delawares, June 7th, 1781. "You must not make so great a merit of a real act of necessity. I am sensible, could the Americans have supplied your wants . . . you would to this day have listened to them."

⁷⁵ See Brodhead's Correspondence for March, 1781, in *Olden Time*. II.

⁷⁶ Butterfield. *The Girtys*. 127.

⁷⁷ About thirty prisoners were taken. De Hass, 179, says they were all killed.

sequential "squaw campaign." The remaining events of the year are of much greater interest and may be divided into three distinct heads, the Kentucky contest, McIntosh's expedition and the Illinois campaign. Operations in Kentucky commenced in January with the capture of Boone and thirty of his companions. Boone spent several months among the Indians and was adopted into the chief Black Fish's family. He was taken to Detroit and learned that Hamilton was planning a large expedition against Boonesborough. In June he succeeded in escaping to Boonesborough where he warned the settlers and made the fort ready for a siege.⁴³ When the Indian force of 400 headed by English and French officers and carrying English and French banners arrived, they found a garrison ready to receive them, and after a few days' investment vanished into the woods. Kentucky had been saved to the Americans largely by her great pioneer.

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⁴⁵ Mitchener. 129.

Wyandots who accepted the office with eagerness. With British leaders and under the British flag they removed the peaceful natives of Cooshocking from their villages to Sandusky and took the chief men on to Detroit.⁸¹

Want of provisions soon induced the English to allow 150 of the exiled Moravians to return to the banks of the Tuscarawas. It was an impolitic step for the Moravians. They were between two fires. Bands of hostile Indians had started against the settlements early and had committed several outrages on the Pennsylvania border.⁸² The Christian Indians were blamed with complicity. A party of Americans under Williamson fell upon them at Gnadenhütten and killed them unresisting.⁸³ This atrocious deed stirred all the neighboring tribes to revenge. Their chance was not far off. On the 28th of May, 480 men under General Crawford set out from Mingo Bottoms for Sandusky but were ignominiously defeated and sent scurrying back. Crawford himself was captured and suffered death tortures too terrible to describe.

English rangers had been called out to assist in the defeat of Crawford's party, and at the request of the red men⁸⁴ were now detained to accompany an expedition against the borders. It is interesting to observe that the Indians were now moving less at haphazard than formerly. They had decided that desultory attacks were of little value and had determined to unite in larger bodies for excursions against the Americans.⁸⁵ Hence it happened that 1,100 members of various tribes under the leadership of McKee followed Caldwell's rangers in an invasion of Kentucky. This number constantly diminished until, when the force attacked Bryant's Station, few more than 200 savages remained to fight. The fort was successfully defended and the In-

⁸¹ See DeSchweinitz, 489. John Holmes, 174-5. Loskiel, 150. DePeyster's Misc. CXXIII Note.

⁸² American Pioneer, II, 428. DeHaas, 183.

⁸³ 90 were slain. For two very different presentations of this affair see W. D. Howells in Atlantic Mo., and Butterfield in The Girtys. Roosevelt has treated the subject very fairly.

⁸⁴ Butterfield's Washington-Irvine's Correspondence, 368-70.

⁸⁵ DePeyster's Misc. XXXI., Flint, 87.

dians retired in a leisurely way towards the Ohio. They were pursued by 180 settlers who had hurried together and were overtaken at Blue Licks. Here the Kentuckians suffered a most disastrous defeat. Seventy of their number were left on the field.⁸⁶ It was to avenge this defeat and to discourage the inspired savages that Clark brought together at the mouth of the Licking over 1,000 men who marched northward and plundered the Indian towns along the Miami. This straitened the Indians for supplies and effectually dampened their high spirits.

In the meantime Captain Bradt with 40 English rangers and over 200 savage allies had attacked Ft. Henry. For the third time the fort stood firm and the assailants retired into the Ohio forests. This was the last important military event of the war. Already the Detroit commander had sent out orders for defensive operations only and peace was soon to be signed.

The history of the western Indians in the Revolution cannot be told in a brief narrative of campaigns. It is a story of far tramps through the woods, of plunges across the cold streams, of long days in swamps and nights under the bitter sky. It is a story of scalps and scalping knives, of screaming women and lost children, of the slow fire and the death agony. But it is as well a tale of adventure and daring, a chronicle of high romance fit to be told by another Froissart. History would claim it for her own, but it belongs more nearly to realms of story and song. The historian may tell its facts but the poet only can ever tell its truth.

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⁸⁶ Flint, 94.

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THE RESCUE CASE OF 1857.

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The years between 1830 and 1860 brought great strain to the people of the United States. The long border line between the slave and free states, stretching from the Atlantic on the east to a great distance beyond the Mississippi River, was crossed by many bondsmen seeking liberty for themselves and for their families. Lines of communication between points, where were located friends of the runaway slaves, were established in all directions in the free states, and when once the slave had reached a station on the underground railroad he was secretly conducted from station to station until he found some place of fancied security. Those most timid and fearful of being carried back by their pursuing masters did not stop in their flight until they had crossed into Canada where they were free from any danger of recapture.

To remain in the free states was always hazardous for the absconding slave. In every community there were persons who, either because of their desire to uphold the existing laws of the Federal Government, or because attracted by the large reward offered for the recapture of runaways, would give information of such fugitives to the United States marshals. By those who aided the negro on his flight such persons were contemptuously called "negro-catchers." In consequence of the existence of the two contending elements much bad feeling prevailed and hard names were given by each party to the other.

The compromise of 1850 was intended to check the number of fugitives escaping to liberty by making it possible for United States marshals to follow and apprehend them through assistance obtained by calling upon all citizens to aid in the capture of the

runaway slave. All those who refused to obey such summons or resisted the seizure and return of such fugitives were liable to arrest and, if found guilty before the proper court, to suffer fine or imprisonment, or both. These harsh conditions of the law only intensified the friends of the slave, and made them more active in helping, secreting, and conducting those who were in search of their freedom. As a result of the Fugitive Slave Law more slaves, it is said, were helped to freedom between 1850 and 1860 than had escaped in all the previous sixty years of our government's history.

One of the celebrated fugitive cases occurred in 1857 in Champaign, Clark, and Green Counties, Ohio, and is known as The Rescue Case. Addison White, a fugitive slave from Kentucky, was in the employ of Mr. Udney H. Hyde near Mechanicsburg, Champaign County. He had escaped from his master during the latter part of the year 1856. He was a man of great physical strength and could have disposed of any number of marshals in single combat. He was over six feet in height and weighed over two hundred pounds, was muscular and had the spirit to defend himself under all circumstances.

Mr. Hyde, by whom Addison was employed, was a well known conductor and station manager of the underground railroad. During his residence in the village of Mechanicsburg he had, up to May, 1857, helped five hundred and thirteen slaves in their race for freedom, directing, feeding, and transporting them in their dangerous journey. Of course suspicion well founded attached to his conduct, not only by the community where he lived, but also by the officers of the government. In the spring of 1857, Mr. Hyde moved from the village of Mechanicsburg to a farm about two and a half miles away.

The location of Addison became known through letters which passed between him and his wife, who was a free woman, still remaining in Kentucky. The letters from Addison to his wife, whom he wished to come north, were mailed at Springfield and those from his wife were sent to the same place. It was charged by the newspapers that the Post Master at Springfield, Mr. Wm. K. Boggs, discovered these communications passing through his office and gave information of the location of Addi-

son to the United States Marshal at Cincinnati. Charles Taylor of Mechanicsburg, who became one of the chief actors in the case, was charged with having written the letters sent by Addison to his wife. These letters being intercepted also gave a clue to the location of Addison. About two weeks before the attempted seizure of this runaway a man by the name of Edward Lindsay came to the home of Mr. Hyde and sought work, which was given him. He had little to say but was observant of the conditions and persons around the home of Mr. Hyde. He disappeared on the morning of the first visit of the marshals and was never heard of again. This gave rise to the belief that he was a spy sent by those interested in the recovery of Addison that there might be no failure in the attempt to seize him and carry him back to his master.

On May the 21st, 1857, B. P. Churchill and John C. Elliott, Deputy United States Marshals, accompanied by Capt. John Poffenbarger, Deputy United States Marshal for Champaign County, with five Kentuckians, appeared about sunrise at the home of Mr. Udney H. Hyde for the arrest of Addison. Their appearance was first discovered by the fugitive, who saw them entering the gate to the door yard. He at once took in the situation and determined not to surrender his freedom without a struggle. While building a new house on his farm Mr. Hyde was living in a double log house which had a loft above the rooms below. To this loft there was opening just large enough to admit one person at a time. Here Addison took refuge armed with a large revolver which he knew well how to use. It was said that for weeks prior to this time he took frequent exercise in the use of fire arms that he might become efficient in their manipulation should it become necessary. Without ceremony the marshals, who had caught a glimpse of Addison, entered the house and seeing the loose boards which made the floor of the loft, moving, one of them fired a shot gun through a crack to terrify the occupant above. Marshal Elliott then mounted the ladder with a double barrel shot gun in his hand. As soon as his head appeared above the floor, the fugitive fired at him but the ball striking the gunbarrel of the marshal glanced and thus saved his life, though the ball made a mark on his cheek and took a nip of his ear.

By this time Mr. Hyde, who was lying in bed with a broken ankle, was fully aroused, and gave directions as to what should be done. One of his sons had been seized and was held by the marshals. A daughter about fourteen years of age, now Mrs. Amanda Shepherd of Mechanicsburg, Ohio, was directed to go to the house of Russell Hyde, another son who lived some hundreds of yards distant, and ask him to send word to the friends of the Hydes in the village of Mechanicsburg. As the young girl was passing out of the gate, the marshals divining her mission, called to her to come back, one threatening to put shackles on her and another to shoot her if she did not do so. She did not obey the summons and a race now took place between her and one of the marshals. Being swift of foot and feeling responsible for the delivery of the message, she outran her pursuer, reached her brother's house, roused him from his morning slumbers, and stated her mission. He went to a neighbor's barn and without his permission took one of his horses and rode with all haste to Mechanicsburg and roused the people there. Most of them in those days were in sympathy with the anti-slavery sentiment of the times. Soon a dangerous crowd was hurrying along the pike which passed by the home of Mr. Hyde, carrying all kinds of weapons from guns and pistols to pitchforks and clubs. They soon filled the yard where the officers stood wondering what next to do. After a short parly with them one of the assembled crowd, who acted as leader in the matter, pulled out his watch and gave the officers five minutes to leave the premises. After a hurried conversation among themselves they concluded to withdraw, and getting into their carriages they hastily drove away without securing the fugitive for whom they had made the journey.

The friends of Addison now put him in a place of safety. He was moved from point to point and guarded with the utmost secrecy. Mr. Hyde was fully aware that the affair was by no means over and that charges would be brought against him for harboring a runaway slave. Though suffering great pain from his broken ankle he put himself in hiding for the next six or eight months, at times in Ohio, and again in Indiana. He ventured back once or twice but informers giving notice of his pres-

ence, at once the marshals were on his track. The authorities were anxious to get their hands on such a noted violator of the laws of the United States.

Six days after the attempted arrest of Addison White, May the 27th, Marshals Churchill and Elliott with a posse of men re-appeared early in the morning in Mechanicsburg for the arrest of Mr. Hyde, not knowing that he had taken flight. As the officers passed through the village their presence was noted and their purpose divined. They were followed by Charles and Edward Taylor and Hiram Gutridge. These three, with Russell Hyde, who was at the home of his father in charge of the latter's interests during his absence, became engaged in controversy with the marshals with the result that the four were arrested on the ground of obstructing United States officers in the discharge of their duties, and also with aiding or harboring Addison, a fugitive chattel. They were taken without warrant, a fact that played a prominent part in the subsequent events. They were allowed time to change their clothing and prepare somewhat for their journey. At Mechanicsburg the prisoners were given to understand by the citizens that if they did not care to proceed further they should say so and they would be promptly released, but they preferred to obey the officers who said that they intended to take them to Urbana for a preliminary examination, which statement was accepted by the friends of the prisoners. But after proceeding some distance toward that town, the officers turned south followed by Messrs. Buffington, Rutan, Colwell, and others. When the marshals noticed them following they assailed them with pistols and swore that their lives would be forfeit if they proceeded further in their pursuit. Mr. Colwell then hastily returned to Urbana to secure a warrant for the arrest of the marshals on the ground that they interfered with him in his rights on the public highway.

But legal obstruction to the action of the United States Marshals now took another turn, as the records of the Probate Court of Champaign County now show, by the following document:

Mr. F. W. Greenough made an application for a writ of Habeas Corpus as follows:

"To S. V. Baldwin, Probate Judge of Champaign County, Ohio.

Edward Taylor, Charles Taylor, Hiram Gutridge, and Russell Hyde respectfully present that they are detained and deprived of their liberty by one Churchill without any legal authority. They therefore pray that a writ of Habeas Corpus may be issued to the said Churchill commanding him to forthwith have the bodies of the said Charles Taylor, Edward Taylor, Hiram Gutridge, and Russell Hyde together with the cause of the detention before your honor, and that they be released from the said imprisonment.

F. W. GREENOUGH.

Sworn to by said F. W. Greenough this 27th day of May A. D. 1857 before me,

SAMUEL V. BALDWIN,
Probate Judge Champaign County, Ohio."

This was followed by the issue of this writ :

"THE STATE OF OHIO }
CHAMPAIGN COUNTY } ss.

To the sheriffs of our several counties greeting:

We command you that the bodies of Charles Taylor, Hiram Gutridge, Edward Taylor, and Russell Hyde of said county by one Churchill imprisoned and restrained of their liberty without any legal authority as is said, you take and have before me Samuel V. Baldwin, Judge of Probate Court of said county, forthwith to do and receive what I shall then and there consider, concerning them in their behalf. And summon the said Churchill then and there to appear before me to show the cause of the taking and detaining the said Charles Taylor, Edward Taylor and Russell Hyde and Hiram Gutridge, and have you there then this writ with your doings thereon.

Witness my hand and the seal of said Court at Urbana this 27th of May A. D. 1857.

[Seal]

SAMUEL V. BALDWIN,
Judge of Champaign Probate Court."

The reason for a change of course on the part of the United States Marshals was the danger of entering a town of the size of Urbana and whose people generally were hostile to the institution of slavery and against the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. After the marshals turned south with their prisoners they concluded that it would be safer to shackle them than in case of attack they could not escape out of their hands. The prisoners were therefore bound and closely watched in their hasty journey

through the country. Churchill was looking for trouble and resistance somewhere, and in view of the use of methods open to courts he is reported to have said "that no process of any court could stop him, but only fighters superior to himself."

Armed with the writ of Habeas Corpus from the Probate Court, Sheriff Clark of Champaign County, accompanied by the town marshal of Urbana and others, started in pursuit of the fleeing party. By this time the entire population of Urbana and vicinity and of Mechanicsburg were aroused. Every horse and vehicle that could be secured were put into use to overtake the officers of the United States. It was the purpose of the officers to pass through the eastern part of Clark County to South Charleston and there take a train to Cincinnati on what was then known as the Little Miami Railroad.

The writ before mentioned had been sent to Sheriff John E. Layton of Clark county and placed in his hands by State Senator Brand and Pierce Morris of Urbana. As soon as the writ was received Sheriff Layton started for South Charleston, accompanied by Deputy Sheriff William Compton and the gentlemen from Urbana. Others from Springfield soon heard the news and joined in the race to catch the marshals and liberate the four prisoners. Sheriff Layton with Deputy Compton met Churchill and his party at South Charleston, and seizing the bridles of their horses stopped their further progress. He now attempted to serve the writ in his hands, which Churchill was in no humor to hear or obey. The sheriff was resisted and knocked down by a stroke made with a Colt revolver and then so badly beaten that he suffered all his after life from the rough treatment he then received. Shots also were fired, Deputy Marshal Elliott acknowledging in court afterwards that he had fired three times at Compton because the latter had snapped a revolver at him.

By this time the pursuers from Urbana, among whom were Ichabod Corwin, a noted lawyer, and later a prominent judge, and many others of prominence, arrived. In the face of such a gathering and excited throng Churchill and his party thought it wise to depart, although their horses were jaded and all the men with him were almost worn out by the long and exciting journey already made.

The pursuers were not in condition to follow at once. Horses that had been driven at a rapid pace from Urbana, Mechanicsburg and Springfield were not fit for further urgent duty. It was about half past nine in the evening when everything was ready for an advance. Every kind of conveyance was sought and used by the citizens from South Charleston and elsewhere in the pursuit. Fresh horses had been secured from the surrounding country which gave an advantage to the crowd of rescuers over the fleeing marshals.

In the meantime another feature was added to the case. For the assault on Sheriff Layton a warrant was issued by J. A. Houston, Justice of the Peace, for the arrest of Churchill and his party. This warrant was placed in the hands of E. G. Coffin, Constable. The officers thus armed with writ and warrant and accompanied by a large crowd, the night race began.

Sheriff McIntire of Green County, in whose hands the writ of Habeas Corpus had now been placed, joined in the pursuit. All night long they pressed forward, passing through Green County and entering Clinton County. Here about sunrise at the little village of Lumberton the marshals with their prisoners were overtaken. When the pursued saw that they were about to be seized they broke and ran in every direction, even bursting through doors that were yet unlocked by the peaceful owners who had not yet risen for the duties of the day. Some of the abducting party escaped but ten of them with the four prisoners fell into the hands of the local officers.

All returned to South Charleston where the United States Marshals were arraigned before Justice Houston's Court on the charge of assault and battery. They were found guilty as charged, bound over to the Court of Common Pleas of Clark County, were committed into the custody of E. G. Coffin, Constable, brought to Springfield on the evening of the 28th, and in default of bail passed the night in the county jail.

On the morning of the 29th the prisoners were brought before James L. Torbert, Probate Judge of Clark County, and admitted to bail in the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars each. The following persons became their sureties: Dr. Cornelius Smith, David Shaffer, William Reid, William Anderson, John F.

Chorpenning, William Berger, and John Dillahunt. One of these bondsmen is still living, Mr. John F. Chorpenning. The names of the men admitted to bail as they appear on the docket of the Probate Judge were as follows: B. P. Churchill, John C. Elliott, Evan B. Carty, Jared M. Trader, Thomas Meara, Samuel B. Garvey, James Darrell, Thodore D. Bentley, William H. Keifer, John Puffenbarger.

As soon as they were released B. P. Churchill and John C. Elliott were again arrested on warrant issued by James S. Christie, Justice of the Peace. The warrant was issued on the 28th, and the following entry was made on said Justice's criminal docket:

"Springfield Township, Clark County, O., May the 28th, 1857.

"This day before me, J. S. Christie, a Justice of the Peace in and for said County of Clark, personally came William H. Compton and made solemn oath that on the 27th day of May, A. D. 1857, at said Clark County, Benjamin P. Churchill and John C. Elliott did assault one John E. Layton with intent to commit a murder upon the person of the said John E. Layton as affiant verily believes. Took his affidavit thereof. Thereupon issued a warrant for the bodies of the said Benjamin P. Churchill and John C. Elliott and delivered the same to Emanuel Crossland, Constable. May 29th, 1857, warrant returned with the bodies of the within named Benjamin P. Churchill and John C. Elliott, endorsed: I have the bodies of the within named B. P. Churchill and John C. Elliott before the Justice, E. Crossland, Const. Being satisfied that important witnesses for the state are absent, and their testimony cannot be procured until tomorrow at 9 o'clock A. M., to which time the case was adjourned, and the defendants allowed to remain in the custody of E. Crossland and others at Dr. Aken's Hotel in said town and county during said adjournment. Subpoenas issued for witnesses for the state namely: Leonard Sprague, G. W. Jones, Milton Houston, Gideon Landaker, T. Z. Nichols, L. T. Haight, Eunis Brown, E. G. Coffin, Thomas Jones, Michael Way, Hester Landaker, Dr. T. Height.

The defendants by their attorney, J. M. Hunt, now come and

move the court to quash the proceedings and discharge the defendants in this case, which motion is continued for hearing till tomorrow at 9 o'clock A. M."

"May the 30th, 1857, 9 o'clock the time to which the trial was adjourned the parties appeared. J. S. Hauke, attorney for the state, and J. M. Hunt, attorney for the defendants; when said defendants by their attorney pleaded guilty and waived further trial, attorney for the state consenting. Thereupon the said defendants were ordered by me to enter into a recognizance in the sum of fifteen hundred dollars each for their appearance at the Court of Common Pleas at its next term to be holden in Clark County, which they neglected to do. Thereupon I issued a mittimus for their commitment and delivered them over to E. Crossland, Constable."

The constable reports to the court that he committed these persons into the custody of the jailer as directed.

On the complaint of the same William H. Compton made under solemn oath, the other eight persons before mentioned were also arrested on the 29th, charged with aiding and abetting Churchill and Elliott in their assault upon John E. Layton. All these persons were also brought before Justice Christie and for the same reason their cases were deferred for trial to the following morning. They passed the intervening night at the hotel of Dr. Akens in charge of Constable Crossland and his assistants.

On complaint of William H. Compton a second warrant was issued for the arrest of Benjamin P. Churchill and John C. Elliott charging them with maliciously shooting at said Compton with intent to wound him. When brought before the Court of Justice Christie, through their attorney, J. M. Hunt, they pleaded guilty and waived further trial. Their bond for their appearance at the next term of Common Pleas Court was fixed at one thousand dollars each, in default of which they were ordered to be transferred to the county jail.

These notable prisoners were not compelled to languish many hours in prison. While the events just narrated were transpiring in Springfield the friends of Churchill and his company were active in efforts to secure the transference of the prisoners and their cases to the Federal Court at Cincinnati. Judge Humphrey

H. Leavitt, who presided over the United States District Court for Southern Ohio, ordered that they be released from the custody of Clark County and be brought before him. He commanded Sheriff John E. Layton so to do. The prisoners were taken to Cincinnati by the first train.

This at once brought forward the old question as to which party had precedence in the matter, the State of Ohio or the United States. Those who believed that no right existed for a United States Judge to release prisoners held under a state law rested their opinion on an act of Congress of 1789, which declared as follows:

"Either of the Judges of the Supreme Court as well as Judges of the District Court shall have power to grant writs of Habeas Corpus for the purpose of inquiry into the cause of commitment. Provided that writs of Habeas Corpus shall in no case extend to prisoners in jail, unless they are in custody under or by color of the authority of the United States, or are necessary to be brought into court to testify." (Dunlap's Digest, 52.) This act made it clear that a person sent to prison under the warrant of a state could not be released by a court of the United States.

But another act passed in 1833 on account of nullification in South Carolina where officers of the United States were likely to be thrown into prison and whose speedy liberation would be greatly desirable, read as follows:

"Either of the Justices of the Supreme Court, or a Judge of any District Court of the United States in addition to the authority already conferred by law, shall have power to grant writs of Habeas Corpus in all cases of a prisoner or prisoners in jail or confinement, where he or they shall be committed or confined, on or by authority of law, for any act done or omitted to be done in pursuance of law of the United States, or any order, process, or decree of any Judge or Court thereof. . . Anything in any act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding." (Dunlap's Digest, 381.)

When the marshals were brought into Judge Leavitt's Court Attorney General Walcott appeared for the State of Ohio, and United States District Attorney John O'Neal and Senator George E. Pugh appeared for Churchill and his party. In his argument

Attorney Walcott said that the act of 1833 was a part of the Force Bill passed for a specific purpose; that it was passed to relieve Federal officers who might be seized and punished by state authority for executing the revenue laws of the United States, and that its power, therefore, did not extend to all cases of imprisonment for acts done even in violation of Federal laws.

He especially denied that the law of 1833 gave power to the courts of the General Government to release prisoners held under the authority of the States. He declared that a warrant issued by a magistrate under the broad seal of State Sovereignty was of equal validity within its scope to any process within the province of Chief Justice Taney in his jurisdiction.

After hearing the case Judge Leavitt reserved his decision until July the 16th. He held that at the time of the arrest the marshal and his assistants were in the rightful and proper discharge of their duties and so were not amenable to the laws of the State of Ohio. They could not therefore be arrested and detained for trial in the state courts. They were therefore released.

This decision was followed by numerous arrests made by the United States of those charged with aiding and abetting the Sheriff of Clark County. Of those taken from Clark County to answer at Cincinnati were: John S. Hauke, Prosecuting Attorney; John E. Layton, Sheriff; James S. Christie, Justice of the Peace; James Fleming, Deputy Sheriff; John C. Miller, Lawyer; W. H. Compton, Deputy Sheriff; Constables Temple and Crossland and George Brown of Springfield, and Dr. M. L. Houston and E. G. Coffin, Constable of South Charleston. From Champaign County State Senator J. C. Brand, Sheriff Clark, David Rutan. Not all were arrested at one time, but as opportunity and information warranted the act. The general charge against them was resisting the United States officers in the discharge of their duties. The proceedings showed that the chief cause of action against Dr. Houston was that he had given aid to Sheriff Layton. All were held to bail for the sum of fifteen hundred dollars each. Their bondsmen were James F. Whiteman, A. D. Rodgers, A. D. Coombs, Rodney Mason, and David Compton. The trial for those bound over to the United States Court was set for the following October.

It will be remembered that on the morning of arrest at Lumberton there were writs for two classes of persons, the four men from Mechanicsburg for whom the sheriffs had a writ of Habeas Corpus, and the Deputy United States Marshals for whom the constables held warrants. While the latter were taken to South Charleston before Justice Houston, the former were conducted to Urbana to be presented before Probate Judge Baldwin. His docket shows that on May the 29th, 1857, Sheriff Clark "appeared before me the said S. V. Baldwin Judge as aforesaid, in open court, having with him the bodies of the said Edward Taylor, Charles Taylor, Russell Hyde, and Hiram Gutridge, together with said writ which is endorsed by said Sheriff thus, to-wit: 'I have now in custody before the court the bodies of said Charles Taylor, Edward Taylor, Russell Hyde, and Hiram Gutridge, according to the command of the within writ. And I summoned the said Churchill by whom said persons were detained forthwith to appear &c as therein commanded. J. Clark, Jr., Sheriff,' and thereupon the said Churchill being three times thus solemnly called, came not and wholly failed to appear and to show cause of the taking and detaining of the said Charles Taylor, Edward Taylor, Russell Hyde, and Hiram Gutridge as by said writ required, and there appearing no legal authority by which the said Churchill is entitled to have and maintain the custody of the said Charles Taylor, Edward Taylor, Russell Hyde, and Hiram Gutridge, therefore it is ordered that the said Charles Taylor, Edward Taylor, Russell Hyde, and Hiram Gutridge be and they are discharged and set at liberty and that they go hence without a day &c."

The writ of Judge Baldwin also bears the endorsement of Daniel Lewis of Green County who says that he has the bodies of the four persons commanded to be taken and has placed them in custody of Sheriff Clark of Champaign County who will present them before Probate Judge Baldwin.

In July following the four persons, Edward Taylor, Charles Taylor, Russell Hyde, and Hiram Gutridge were arrested on warrant of the United States Court and taken to Cincinnati and brought before Commissioner Newhall for examination. Gutridge and Hyde were dismissed and the Taylors gave bail for

their appearance at the October term of the United States Court. Mr. White of Fleming, Kentucky, to whom the slave Addison belonged was present and testified that the latter had escaped in 1856 and was traced to Beaufort, to Springfield, and to Mechanicsburg, and that intercepted letters gave Addison's place of hiding.

About the same time Sheriff Clark and State Senator J. C. Brand were examined in Cincinnati before Commissioner Newhall as to their connection with the case. Stanley Matthews was attorney for the United States; Judge Caldwell and Rodney Mason for the defendant. Matthews became very bitter in his speech toward those who would interfere with United States officers in the pursuit of their duties.

Judge John A. Corwin, an attorney of Urbana, was drawn into the defense of the Urbana prisoners before the conclusion of their trial. He was one of the most eloquent and able lawyers before the courts of Ohio. Of his effort on this occasion the Cincinnati Commercial said, "Judge John A. Corwin for the defense made by far the ablest argument yet heard on either side. It was an effort seldom excelled if ever equaled in Ohio courts for pertinency, aptness, logical force and consistency, legal erudition, bitter denunciation, withering sarcasm, biting mockery, and powerful eloquence. It was in fact a model argument, finished with all the main graces of oratory which convinced the understanding and delighted the imagination of a court crowded with eager listeners. He proceeded to argue the great principles of State Sovereignty, showed the distinction between the rights, powers, duties, and obligations of the State and Federal Governments, backed by such authorities as Judge Tucker, Webster, Calhoun, James Buchanan and others, that the first allegiance of a citizen of a state is to his own sovereignty." He declared the conflict in this case was not between the two sovereignties but between the deputy marshals and the State of Ohio.

In view of the many cases of litigation and the worry and expense attending the same, efforts were made to secure a compromise. It was proposed that if one thousand dollars were secured and paid Mr. White for the loss of his slave Addison all the cases both civil and criminal would be withdrawn. By most

of those concerned in the suits this proposition was spurned. The men from Clark County, especially, were against it. They were determined to fight their cases to the bitter end. Mr. Udney H. Hyde, who was long in hiding, and his special friends, agreed to raise the money needed for this purpose.

The following is the Deed of Manumission now on record in the office of the Probate Court of Champaign County:

DEED OF MANUMISSION.

Filed Nov. 1857.

"Know all men that I Daniel G. White of Fleming County, Ky., in consideration of the sum of nine hundred and fifty dollars on hand paid to me by John A. Corwin of Champaign County, Ohio, in behalf of Addison White, a negro man, aged about thirty five years who is my slave under the laws of Kentucky, and who has left my service, do hereby free, acquit, release, and manumit the said Addison White, my slave as aforesaid, and give and assign him to freedom to go and to do as he pleases during his life, without constraint or obligation of any nature by and to me at any time or place or under any circumstances whatever. And I hereby covenant and agree with the said John A. Corwin and the said Addison White that the right of the said Addison White to visit, or reside in the State of Kentucky or elsewhere, shall be free and unrestrained, except by the laws of Kentucky or the laws of the place where he may be and sojourn, and without any claim of mine or any other person upon his liberty or upon his personal services. In witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my name and seal this 12th day of November A. D. 1857 at the City of Covington in the State of Kentucky.

Attest:

ALEXANDER COWAN.
W. W. JOHNSON.

DANIEL G. WHITE.
[Seal.]

Various personal suits grew out of the rescue case most of them brought before the courts in Cincinnati. Mr. George H. Frey was editor of the Springfield Republic. In an editorial he commented with great severity on the actions of Deputy Marshal Churchill. While Mr. Frey was in Cincinnati, summoned there as a witness in the United States Court, he was arrested on a charge of libel made by Mr. Churchill and brought before the Superior Court of that city. The amount of damage claimed was five thousand dollars. Judge Storer of that court dismissed the case on the ground that a witness summoned from another county

could not be sued where he did not reside. Mr. Frey also wrote and published some severe reflections on the supposed conduct of Postmaster W. G. Boggs, asserting that the information as to the location of Addison White came from him. For this Mr. Boggs entered suit against Mr. Frey in the sum of six thousand dollars; Mr. Frey entered a counter-suit for five thousand dollars.

Esquires Christie and Houston while in Cincinnati were notified that suits were brought against them in the Common Pleas Court of Hamilton County for alleged false imprisonment of the United States Marshals. None of these suits in either Clark or Hamilton County ever came to trial. They were allowed to languish in court, and when time had soothed the feelings of the aggrieved the suits were either withdrawn or allowed to lapse by inattention.

Constable Coffin, who became a very active conductor and manager of affairs in the underground railroad, not only suffered arrest in connection with the Rescue Case, but soon after he was found closely associated with another in which he had an altercation with the officers of the government. For this he was called into court, but the case was deferred from time to time until the outbreak of the War of 1861 stopped further proceedings in the matter.*

That the counties in which these events herein narrated were greatly stirred is a matter of memory to many men yet living; some of them were actors and others witnesses of the things that took place and of the depth of feeling that everywhere existed. The spirit of the times can be seen in the actions of a meeting held while the memory of the strenuous days were still fresh in the minds of the people. The citizens of South Charleston held a public gathering on July 2d, 1857, in which a number of resolutions were passed declaring that they would not resist the execution of any legal warrant whether state or national, but object to the high-handed measures of drunken United States officers. They endorse the action of the Sheriff of Clark County and those

* Constable Coffin's stand in this case gave him local consideration which was shown in the fact that he became Sheriff for four terms in Clark County, three times Mayor of Springfield, and Warden of the State Penitentiary for eight years.

citizens who at the command of the Sheriff aided him in arresting the United States Marshals, and further "we will make our town too hot to hold any spy or informer, resident or foreign, who may be found prowling in our midst endeavoring to involve our citizens in legal difficulties."

This expresses the feeling that was almost universal in the greater part of Ohio, and foreshadowed the dark days when the nation would be forced to settle by a terrible war the question that vexed the public mind and conscience. Many lawyers of note were drawn into the various suits growing out of the Rescue Case; among them were James L. Goode, who was afterwards a Judge of the Common Pleas Court; Rodney Mason, afterwards a Colonel in the army; John A. Corwin and Ichabod, his brother, who also became a Judge; C. L. Vallandigham, a Congressman; Stanley Matthews, later a Judge and United States Senator; Judge Caldwell; John O'Neal and George E. Pugh, at the time a Senator of the United States.

After his liberation from slavery Addison White made his home at Mechanicsburg, where he died some years ago. His free wife in Kentucky refused to come north, and Addison did not desire to go south. He served in the Civil War for two years from which he was honorably discharged. Those who knew him well say that he never really appreciated what others had done for him when he was in need of protection and help.

The Oberlin Case and the Rescue Case are perhaps the two most noted occurrences in connection with the operation of the underground railroad in Ohio. They will always remain historic marks of the intensity of feeling engendered by the institution of slavery dear to one section of our land and obnoxious to the other. In these two cases men suffered in their bodies, in their private means, and in their personal liberties. The rigorous enforcement of the law pertaining to fugitives aroused the bitterest feelings of hate and prejudice on the one hand, and a constant feeling of suspicion, insecurity, and of hostility on the other. It is a curious and interesting fact that in the defense of state action before the various courts where these cases were tried, the doctrine of states-rights was vehemently urged as against the laws and authority of the United States. The North even had not yet learned the les-

son that the supremacy of the General Government was first and that of the States second. But these days are past. The Civil War corrected the error; a wiser view now prevails. The runaway slave no more disturbs the peace of neighborhoods, and men from North and South mingle together without that bitterness and antagonism of spirit that existed prior to eighteen hundred and sixty-one.



THE FIRST STEAMBOAT ON THE OHIO.

NELSON W. EVANS.

How many of the intelligent reading people of the state know when the first steamboat plowed the waters of the Ohio? Where was it built, its dimensions and cut, the name of the owner and of the boat, and the particulars of its first voyage? To Nicholas J. Roosevelt* belongs the honor of first building a steamboat, and with it navigating the Ohio. But before telling the story, it would be well to observe the condition of navigation on the Ohio before steamboats were introduced. The crafts used first by the white men, and until the time of the steamboat, were keel boats, barges and flat boats. There was a class of rivermen at that day, as now, whose sole business was to navigate the Ohio. Keel boats and barges were made to ascend as well as descend the river. The flat-boat was made only to float down stream, and was broken up at the end of the voyage. The keel boat was long and slender, sharp fore and aft, with a narrow gangway within the gunwale, for the boatmen as they poled or worked up stream, when not aided by eddies that made their oars available. When the keel boat was covered by a low house, lengthwise, between the gangways, it was called a barge. Flat boats were called broad-horns. Keel boats, flat boats and barges all had prodigious steering oars, and had great side oars fixed on pivots. Mr. Roosevelt consulted with Chancellor Livingston, of New York, and Mr. Fulton, the celebrated inventor, and in fact, all three had been studying the subject for years on independent lines. In pursuance of the determination of these three gentlemen, Mr. Roosevelt, then forty-two years of age, went to Pittsburg in May, 1809, with his wife, nee Miss LaTrobe, of Baltimore, to whom he had been recently married, and built a flat boat, on which he and his wife proposed to float to New Orleans. This boat had a bed room, dining room, pantry and large room in front for the crew, with a fire place where the

* Brother to the grandfather of President Theodore Roosevelt.

cooking was done. The top of the boat was flat with an awning and seats. Beside Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt, there was a maid for her, a pilot, three hands and a cook. The flat boat floated by day and laid to at night. The skiff of the flat was in constant use in daylight, observing the currents, eddies, etc. The only places of any importance between Pittsburg and New Orleans, were Cincinnati, Louisville and Natchez, and they were then insignificant little towns. Mr. Roosevelt had letters of introduction to all the principal persons along the route, and to all he explained his purpose in the trip, and his intention to build a steamboat at Pittsburg and come down the river with it. He was listened to respectfully, but no one believed in him. Neither did he receive the slightest encouragement from anyone. The pilots and the boatmen were the most skeptical of all. He told them of the successful navigation with steam on the Hudson three years before, but that had no effect. They replied that it could not be done on the Ohio and Mississippi, but they could not shake Mr. Roosevelt's confidence, nor he their unbelief. He told them when he would be along with his steamboat, and engaged his supplies then and there. He sounded the depths of the rivers as he went along, measured the currents, and obtained all the information as to them that he could. He also made estimates as to the future development of the country. When he found coal banks along the Ohio, he purchased and opened them, and ordered coal mined and laid aside till his steamboat, not yet built, should come along. He reached New Orleans on December 1, 1809, and went around to New York in a sailing vessel. The yellow fever developed aboard, and Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt got off the ship at Old Point Comfort, and went thence to New York by stage, reaching there January 15, 1810. He made his report to Messrs. Fulton and Livingston, and they determined to aid him in the enterprise. This is the same Chancellor Livingston who administered the oath of office to George Washington, when first inaugurated as president of the United States, on April 30, 1789, and who was the firm friend of Napoleon Bonaparte, while an envoy from his own country to France. Chancellor Livingston furnished the greater part of the funds for the enterprise. In the spring of 1810, Mr. Roose-

vult repaired to Pittsburg, then an insignificant place to build the first steamboat. The keel was laid where now stands the depot of the Pittsburg and Connelsville railroad. The size and plan of the steamboat had been determined on in New York. It was to be 116 feet long and 20 feet wide. The engine was to have a 34-inch cylinder. The difficulty was to get suitable timber for the boat. The men required to get it out knew nothing of what was required of them. The sawing was done in the old-fashioned saw-pits. The shipbuilders had to be brought from New York. Great difficulties intervened at every point of the work, but at last the boat was built and launched. She cost \$30,000 and was named the "New Orleans" for her destination. As the boat was about being finished, it became known that Mrs. Roosevelt intended to accompany her husband on the voyage. All her friends in Pittsburg tried to dissuade her. They regarded it as madness, but she was firm in her determination to go. There were two cabins in the boat, one aft for ladies, and one forward for gentlemen. In the ladies' cabin were four berths. Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt were the only passengers, no one else would take passage. There was a captain, an engineer named Baker, Andrew Jack the pilot, six hands, two female servants, a man waiter, a cook, and a big Newfoundland dog, called Tiger. The people of Pittsburg turned out enmasse to witness the commencement of the voyage. The shores everywhere after leaving Pittsburg were covered with the virgin forest down to the water's edge. Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt sat up most of the first night of the voyage watching the progress of the boat. The second day after leaving Pittsburg, the New Orleans rounded to in front of Cincinnati and dropped her anchor. The whole town was on the river front. Many of Mr. Roosevelt's former acquaintances came out to him in small boats to congratulate him on his success, but they all assured him he could never go up stream with his boat. The New Orleans only stopped at Cincinnati long enough to take in a supply of wood, and left for Louisville. It was at midnight, with a flood of moonlight, on October 1, 1811, when the New Orleans approached Louisville. The noise of the escaping steam and the revolution of the wheels, heard for the first time, aroused the

entire population, and crowds rushed to the river front to learn the cause of the awful noise, never heard before. Many people thought the comet of 1811, had fallen in the Ohio, and was making the noise, but when the New Orleans came in sight, all doubts were dispelled. The next morning Mr. Roosevelt's friends came aboard, and told him the same things as were said to him at Cincinnati. They assured him his was the first and last steamboat that would be seen above the falls of the Ohio. A few days after, the citizens gave him a public dinner ashore, at which he was congratulated on his success in bringing a steamboat down the river, but he was assured that she would never ascend. Mr. Roosevelt had no predictions to make then, but invited the company to a return banquet on board the New Orleans, on a day he named. The time of the banquet aboard the New Orleans arrived and the company met in the forward cabin, where they were seated at the tables. When the festivities were at their height, the boat began to shake, there were unheard of rumblings and groaning on the lower deck, and the boat was evidently in motion. The whole company was horror-stricken. They had but one idea, and that was that the boat had broken her moorings, and was drifting to the falls to their destruction. All rushed out, when they found that the boat was steaming up the Ohio, and leaving Louisville behind. After going up a few miles the boat returned to her anchorage at Louisville. The boat was intended to ply between Natchez and New Orleans and was built for that purpose, but the water was not of sufficient depth to go over the falls. While waiting for this, the boat made a trip to Cincinnati and returned. This satisfied the croakers in Cincinnati and in Louisville that the boat could go up stream. While waiting at Louisville to cross the falls, Mrs. Roosevelt became a mother. It was the last week in November before the New Orleans could essay the falls. The boat took the Indiana side. She put on all steam she was capable of. Two falls pilots took their stand at the bow of the boat. Mrs. Roosevelt stood at the stern with the great Newfoundland dog at her side. Everybody was anxious, but the passage was safely made, and the boat continued her journey down the river. But there was a great contrast between the voyage from Pitts-

burg to Louisville, which was all pleasure, and that from Louisville to New Orleans, which was all tedious and lonesome, and full of anxieties and perils. There was day after day a leaden sky, a dim sunlight during the day and starless nights. The comet of 1811 had disappeared but the earthquakes of that year had just begun. The first shock was noticed just after the boat had passed the falls. The effect on the nerves was as though she had been in motion and had suddenly grounded. The boat shook and trembled, and those aboard were attacked with nausea, like sea-sickness. It was some time before the real facts were appreciated. There were successive shocks during the night. As they approached the mouth of the Ohio they met a rise which had backed up from the Mississippi. They passed through bands of Indians who were about in canoes. One night the boat got on fire in the forward cabin, from wood piled near the stove, but happily it was extinguished without great damage. Above the mouth of the Ohio the boat was supplied with coal that had been mined and brought to the bank expressly. After reaching the Mississippi, the boat tied up each afternoon while the crew went ashore and cut and brought in wood for the next day's consumption. At New Madrid, some of the people whose homes had been swallowed up in the earthquakes, begged to be taken aboard, while others, frightened by the steamboat, took to the woods and hid. The voyage on the Mississippi, when they were out in the river was oppressive by its silence. The shores on either side were a wilderness. The occurrence of the earthquakes over-awed all; even the dog Tiger was conscious of these shocks, and would howl and mourn, and come to Mrs. Roosevelt for sympathy. The flatboatmen that they met and passed were similarly affected, they had no jovial greetings. The earthquakes had caved in so much of the banks, and made such changes in the river, that their pilot was lost. Tall trees which he knew, had been swept into the river. Well known islands had disappeared, and new ones made themselves known. Cut-offs had been made where before there was forest. There was no place to stop, and no way to learn the changes and the pilot had to keep on. When first the boat came into the Mississippi she would tie up at night to the shore, but the shore caved so often from

the earthquakes that the plan was abandoned, and the boat was anchored at the foot of an island, where one could be found. One evening, the boat was tied at the foot of an island. There was an earthquake that night, and in the morning it was discovered that the island had disappeared. Often they would see great trees along the shore sink and fall into the turbid waters, so much so that they were compelled to keep away from shores, for fear that the trees would fall upon them, but this ceased when they passed out of the earthquake region. The terror of the river, of the comet and of the earthquake did not prevent the Captain of the boat from making love to Mrs. Roosevelt's maid, and they were betrothed at Natchez and married when they arrived at New Orleans. Robert Fulton one of the projectors of the enterprise died in 1815 at the age of fifty. Chancellor Livingston died in 1813, at the advanced age of —, while Nicholas J. Roosevelt survived to 1854, and his wife to 1871. Roosevelt never doubted the success of steamboat navigation in the Western waters and lived to see his greatest expectations fulfilled.

Portsmouth, Ohio.



BUILDING A COMMERCIAL SYSTEM.

FRANK P. GOODWIN.

It is the purpose of this paper to trace the commercial development of the Miami Country¹, from the date of settlement to the beginning of the steamboat era in 1817. It is presented as a representative study of commercial growth under economic conditions that were colonial in character. The history of the locality has been used to illustrate principles of early commercial development common to the Ohio Valley. Within that region were five leading communities each of which was economically a colonial unit during the early stages of its development. They were the Pittsburg District, the Blue Grass Region, the Marietta District, the Scioto Valley, and the Miami Country. Of the five, the Miami Country most nearly presented all phases of the subject in its development. With the possible exception of the Pittsburg District, each had its economic basis in agriculture, each developed as a separate colonial unit, and in each a chief town grew up that was the commercial center of the region. In addition to these characteristics, the chief town of the Miami Country, because of its more favorable location and natural advantages, became later the metropolis of the entire valley. It would seem, therefore, that the Miami Country would furnish the best view-point for the study of commercial development in the Ohio Valley.

When the period of retarded development in the Miami Country had come to an end in 1795 and settlers commenced to occupy the land, there soon began the production of a surplus of agricultural products for which they were anxious to find a market. This surplus was the basis of the early commerce of the

¹The Miami Country includes the valleys of the Great Miami and Little Miami Rivers. It has an area of about 5000 square miles, and embraces a large portion of southwestern Ohio and a small bit of Indiana.

Miami Country; and the improvement in means of transportation and the building of a commercial system to meet the situation were two most important questions that the pioneer farmers and merchants had to meet.

Before taking up the commercial development that followed as a result of the rapid settlement after 1795, some notice of the beginnings of commerce during the Indian Wars should claim our attention. In the extension of the frontier there have always been a number of the well-to-do among the settlers who were prepared to buy some of the conveniences of life even at frontier prices. To accommodate such as these, traders followed closely the advance line of settlement as the frontier was pushed westward; therefore soon after the founding of Columbia and Losantiville, there were merchants in the Miami Country who were prepared to furnish to the army and to the settlers whiskey and tobacco and some of the more necessary articles of eastern and foreign production.

Although such commercial operations must have been limited because of the small number of immigrants who were prepared to indulge in the luxury of store goods, there were several merchants advertising groceries and dry goods for sale in Cincinnati before the time of Wayne's victory. One enterprising tradesman even considered that this frontier community had so far advanced in the scale of civilization as to be a market for imported wines.² Another advertised that he would receive corn, beef, pork, butter, cheese, potatoes, furs and skins at his store in Columbia in exchange for merchandise, groceries, etc.³

Beyond the sale of a few commodities to the settlers under the protection of the guns at Fort Washington, there was no opportunity for an extension of commercial operations in the Miami Country before the treaty of Greenville. The interior was still a wilderness without inhabitants, either to furnish products for exports or to demand imports. This initial trade was probably much stimulated by the rush of population to the Miami Country following the treaty of Greenville, as most of the immi-

² Centinel of Northwest Territory, Nov. 29, 1793, Jan. 4, Feb. 22, 1794.

³ Centinel of Northwest Territory, Nov. 30, 1793.

grants to that region landed at Cincinnati, and perhaps not a few of them bought some necessaries before breaking into the wilderness. It was also increased by the fact that Cincinnati became the grand depot for stores that came down the Ohio bound for the forts that were located near the Indian treaty line.⁴

These pioneer merchants were usually young men with abundant energy and small capital. Such a one would purchase a stock of goods in Philadelphia or Baltimore and transport it in wagons over rough roads to Pittsburg at a cost of from \$6.00 to \$10.00 per hundredweight. There he would buy a flat-boat or a keel-boat, load his goods in it, and float them down the river. He was usually unacquainted with the stream and if the water was low he would be frequently in danger from sand bars, snags and other obstructions. If fortunate he would reach Cincinnati within fifteen or twenty days. Perhaps he would stop there, or maybe hire a team and haul his goods to one of the inland settlements then building.⁵

Having established himself, he would advertise that he had just arrived (usually from Philadelphia) with a large assortment of dry goods and groceries which he would sell on very low terms for cash only.⁶ He usually found, however, that frontier conditions were unfavorable to the maintenance of cash sales; yet the general impression prevailed that these early merchants made enormous profits and generally were able to increase their stock as rapidly as the expanding business of the country demanded. But this early trade of supplying eastern goods to settlers admitted of little expansion, for any considerable commercial development must depend upon the production of a surplus of agricultural products. As the Miami Country was rich in agricultural possibilities, the energetic pioneer farmers did not keep trade waiting long for those products that were to furnish the basis of the early commerce of the upper Mississippi Valley.

After the demands of the home were met, those farmers who were near Cincinnati or some other center into which the

⁴ Baily: *Journal of a Tour*, p. 228.

⁵ McBride: *Pioneer Biography of Butler County*, I. p. 314.

⁶ *Centinel Northwest Territory*, May 23, 1795.

settlers were moving, found a limited market among the newcomers. A little later the surplus corn, wheat, pork, whiskey, etc., began to demand a larger market, and no place in the Mississippi Valley could furnish such a market as the entire region was agricultural in character. The long and expensive haul prevented sending this surplus over the mountains to the East, and so the only outlet was by flat-boat down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, there to be reshipped to the Eastern seaboard or to a foreign market.

Kentucky had already developed a trade of this character, and by the close of the Revolution her traders and farmers were loading flat-boats with produce and shipping it to New Orleans. The attitude of Spanish officials toward this trade was unsettled and wavering. Special privileges were granted to those who knew how to get them, while others found themselves at a disadvantage. High tariff rates for the privilege of deposit and reshipment were the rule, and it was not uncommon for whole cargoes to be confiscated.

Of all the Kentucky traders James Wilkinson was probably the most unscrupulous and the most successful. His successes in 1787 and 1788 gave the Kentucky trade a decided impetus, and thereafter the westerners were ready for almost any political alliance that would insure them the free navigation of the Mississippi. So strong had this feeling become when Genet came to America as French minister in 1793 that George Rogers Clark offered his services to lead an army under the banner of France down the Mississippi to help drive out the Spanish. Clark's action may have been prompted by personal and even disloyal motives because the Federal government had not properly rewarded him for past services, but the movement hardly could have gained the headway that it did had not the free navigation of the Mississippi been the paramount question to the Westerners. Clark's plan came to naught, but it probably influenced our government to take more vigorous action and thus hastened the Spanish treaty of October 27, 1795, which gave Americans the free navigation of the Mississippi and allowed them to use New Orleans as a place of deposit and reshipment.

The adjustment of this difficulty with Spain was of much

importance to the older settlements south of the Ohio, and it came at an opportune moment for the Miami Country. Two months before that event, the Treaty of Greenville had closed the period of retarded development for that region, and settlers rushed in who were soon producing a surplus that swelled the volume of trade which drifted toward New Orleans.

The Miami Country, however, had problems for her own people to solve concerning the marketing of her produce, that were geographically nearer, though not more important than the interference of Spanish officials. In the first place, there were no roads over which produce might be transported; and in the second, there was no commercial system for the handling of exports. The influence of these two difficulties was to reduce the price of the products of the Miami Country, in common with the rest of the Ohio Valley, to so low a figure as in many instances to prohibit their being sent to market.

Lack of good roads was no doubt the most serious difficulty for those regions more remote from navigable streams. As centers of population grew, trails were made which later were developed into wagon routes, but it was many years before any of these were passable for loaded wagons except in the most favorable seasons. The forest must be cleared, improvements on the farms must be made, and population must be increased before highway construction could proceed on any considerable scale. Before 1809 roads had been located connecting the principal towns of this region, and four principal routes extended from Cincinnati out through southwestern Ohio and one through Kentucky to Lexington. One of these roads led up the Ohio to Columbia and from there through Williamsburg, Newmarket and Bainbridge to Chillicothe; another led down the river to Cleves. Two roads led to the north; one to Lebanon and the other through Hamilton and Franklin to Dayton. Dayton was also connected with Springfield, Urbana and Piqua. The road to Hamilton followed the old military trail used by St. Clair and Wayne. From Hamilton a road led northwest to Eaton and another led eastward through Lebanon to Chillicothe. Those highways connecting points in the Miami Country with Chillicothe were of particular importance, as they connected some

miles east of that point with the main road to the East. This was originally the trace located by Ebenezer Zane in 1795, extending from Wheeling to Maysville via Zanesville, Lancaster and Chillicothe.⁷

Mr. Archer B. Hulbert in speaking of Zane's Trace, has pointed out that early in the history of western settlements there was felt the need of a homeward track. The old Wilderness Road by which the early Kentuckians came in answered that purpose for the settlers from Virginia and the Carolinas. When the men from Pennsylvania and New Jersey moved into Kentucky and the Miami Country, they found easy access into the country down the Ohio, but navigation up stream did not offer an expeditious means of transportation back to the seaboard. During the Indian wars it was far safer, however, and land travel north of the Ohio was not resorted to, although at that time travel was sufficient between Cincinnati and Pittsburg to induce Jacob Myers to put on a line of packet boats that made the trip every two weeks between those points. He assured prospective passengers that no danger need be apprehended from the Indians, as every person on board would be well under cover and made proof against rifle or musket balls. Each boat was armed with six pieces each carrying a pound ball, also a number of good muskets and an ample supply of ammunition.⁸

No sooner were the Indian wars over than persons who went East on business or pleasure began to resort to land travel, and on September 26, 1795, about a month after the Treaty of Greenville was concluded, Israel Ludlow advertised that a party would set out about the middle of the next month for Pittsburg. They were to travel by way of Chillicothe on the Little Miami and Darby's Town on the Scioto and would cross the Muskingum at the mouth of White Woman's Creek or Fort Lawrence. The public was assured that from the best information a road level and pleasant could be had, which would greatly facilitate intercourse by land with the Atlantic States.⁹

As immigrants came in, it is altogether probable that there

⁷ Melish; *Travels in the United States*, II., p. 209.

⁸ *Centinel of the Northwest Territory*, Nov. 23, 1793.

⁹ *Centinel of the Northwest Territory*, Nov. 23, 1793.

was a rapid increase in the number of such parties traveling to the East; and to facilitate travel between the western settlements and the East, Congress, May 17, 1797, authorized Ebenezer Zane to lay out a road between Wheeling and Maysville. Hulbert remarks that this little road was unique among American highways in that it was demanded not by wars but by civilization, not for exploration and settlement but by settlements that were already made and in need of communion and commerce. That it was of considerable importance in the early development of the Miami Country can hardly be questioned.¹⁰

Although numerous roads had been laid out in southwestern Ohio before the War of 1812, no effort had been made to improve them, and they were impassable for a loaded wagon the greater part of the year. This condition must have retarded the agricultural development of the country, and during the war it so seriously interfered with the movements of the northwestern army as to bring about a proposal for a series of military roads. When the rage for turnpikes spread over the East during the latter part of the first decade of the nineteenth century, the West was too new and too sparsely settled to be interested in it; but when the great rush of population into Ohio began after the war and an increasing agricultural product had to be marketed, there had been an agitation for better roads, and several turnpike companies were chartered to build roads connecting Cincinnati with towns in the interior of the State.¹¹ In the advertisements of new town sites, it was not uncommon to see presented as one of the advantages of the location that the new town was on a proposed turnpike road. Dr. Drake remarked that the policy of constructing from Cincinnati toward the sources of the Miamis a great road which should at all times be equally passable, had been for some time in agitation. He further said, "The benefits which an execution of this plan would confer, cannot be fully estimated, except by those who have traveled through the Miami Country in the winter season and have studied the connections in business between that district and Cincinnati. The salt, the iron, the castings, the glass, the cotton and foreign merchandise

¹⁰ Hulbert; *Historic Highways*, II., p. 165.

¹¹ *Cincinnati Directory for 1819*, p. 76. Liberty Hall, Feb. 5, 1816.

of eight countries would be transported on this road." But those who hoped for immediate improvement in road construction in the West were doomed to disappointment as it was not until early in the thirties that turnpike construction was seriously undertaken in Ohio.

Although the enabling act permitting the formation of the State of Ohio made a partial provision for the building of a road between Ohio and the Atlantic headwaters, there seems to be no evidence that the Miami Country took any particular interest in such a highway until after the War of 1812. During the earlier period the West was too much interested in battling with the wilderness, in clearing and planting and building cabins, and had too little with which to buy imports, to be deeply interested in transmontane road improvement. The same conditions that prevented the building of local roads prevented an interest in road building of a more national character; but with the rapid filling up of the Miami Country after the War of 1812, that section was impressed with the need of highway improvement both local and national; and although looking forward to an immediate establishment of steamboat navigation to New Orleans, the interest of that section in an improved road to the East grew rapidly.¹² Said a contributor to Liberty Hall: "We . . . want no national or state aid in respect to canals; but we do want good roads to connect us more closely and bring us nearer to our Atlantic brethren, so they shall have a more direct intercourse with us and learn to estimate correctly the fertility, the wealth, and rapidly growing power of the Western country. . . . Give us good roads over the mountains . . . and we shall grow up to what is wanted of us. . . . We shall then settle our country faster, and convert the Eastern federalists into democrats even faster than we do now, for the bad roads prevent many from coming to us. . . ." ¹³

This lack of good roads combined with the long journey to New Orleans made the cost of transporting goods to market so high as practically to prevent shipment from a large part of

¹² Drake: *National and Statistical View of Cincinnati in 1815*, p. 148, 149.

¹³ Liberty Hall, July 24, 1815.

the interior, thus precluding the development of a surplus that would otherwise have swelled the volume of trade. It has been estimated that in the early part of the century the average cost of transportation by land was ten dollars per ton per hundred miles, and that grain and flour could not stand the cost of transportation more than 150 miles at such a rate.¹⁴ Taking into consideration the cost of river transportation and the cost of marketing, it is doubtful if such articles in the Miami Country could have been hauled profitably more than fifty miles to the place of export.

Fortunately, we have preserved for us in a few instances, a record of what was actually charged for transportation. It appears that in 1795 goods for the army were being shipped from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton by water in private boats and that the rate was \$1.10 per barrel for flour, \$1.30 per barrel for whiskey, and 50 cents per hundredweight for corn.¹⁵ In 1799 the cost of transportation from Cincinnati to Dayton was \$2.50 per hundredweight.¹⁶ In 1805 a four-horse stage coach furnished weekly service between Cincinnati and Yellow Springs, in which passengers were charged \$5.00 per single trip. Way passengers paid at the rate of six cents per mile. The line passed through Hamilton, Franklin and Dayton, and two days were required to make the trip.¹⁷

In consideration of the great difficulty of transportation, it was not uncommon for corn and oats to sell as low as 10 and 12 cents per bushel, beef at \$1.50 per hundredweight, and pork at \$1.00 to \$2.00 per hundredweight.¹⁸ In 1806 one farmer, Mr. Digby, well situated with an improved farm about forty miles northeast of Cincinnati, stated that the price of produce was so low and the price of labor so high that very little profit attended the most laborious exercise of industry. Indian corn carried so mean a value that he never offered to sell it, and

¹⁴ McMaster; *History of the People of the U. S.*, III., p. 464.

¹⁵ *Centinel Northwest of the Territory*, April 4, 1795.

¹⁶ Curwen; *History of Dayton*, p. 17.

¹⁷ *Western Spy*, Aug. 21, 1805.

¹⁸ Burnet's Notes, pp. 396-400.

wheat made into flour sold for \$3.00 per barrel. Our farmer could not wait for roads to be built, and in consequence he was about to abandon a system so little advantageous and take to grazing cattle, breeding hogs, and rearing horses for distant markets where money was to be obtained. In fact, he had already attempted one such venture, having sent his son with a cargo of 200 live hogs to New Orleans. In the spring he proposed taking a drove of cattle and horses over the mountains to Philadelphia and Baltimore.¹⁹

What Mr. Digby did or proposed to do, other farmers were doing. The prairies of the upper Miami Country and the Scioto Valley furnished pasture for droves of cattle that were driven over the mountains to Philadelphia or Baltimore, and the mast of the woods furnished free food for hogs that were in some instances driven northward to Detroit. It was not uncommon for cattle to be driven from the west side of the mountains, down into the Potomac Valley, there to be fattened for eastern markets, just as the cattle from the Rocky Mountain region in more recent years have been shipped to the plains of Kansas and Nebraska to be prepared for the packing houses of Kansas City and Chicago. In 1815 it was estimated that the prairies of Champaign and Greene Counties furnished \$100,000 worth of cattle annually.²⁰ Other sections of the West were marketing their live stock in the same way. In 1808 a traveler passed a drove of 130 cows and oxen which were being driven from the neighborhood of Lexington, Kentucky, to Baltimore.²¹ In 1817 Morris Birkbeck met a drove of very fat oxen on their way from the banks of the Miami to Philadelphia;²² and as late as 1819

¹⁹ Ash; *Travels in the United States*, II., pp. 226, 226.

Ash's contemporaries speak most disparagingly of his veracity, and Thompson's *Bibliography of Ohio* calls him a literary imposter who was the first to discover that a book abusing the people of the United States would be profitable. Many of his statements in regard to economic conditions are so in accord with those of more authoritative writers, however, that we feel safe in accepting them.

²⁰ Drake; *Natural and Statistical View of Cincinnati in 1815*, p. 55.

²¹ Cuming's *Tour*, in *Thwaite's Early Western Travels*, IV., p. 228.

²² Birkbeck; *Notes on a Journal*, p. 63.

Jeremiah Butterfield of Butler County drove a large number of hogs through the woods to Detroit to market.²³

It was impracticable to feed all the surplus product of the farm to live stock and send it to market on its own legs, and so our farmers, in common with other frontier communities of the time, solved the problem of reducing bulk and weight for purposes of shipment by turning their grain into whiskey and their fruit into brandy. During this early period a large number of the well-to-do farmers each had his own small still and thus turned his surplus fruit and sometimes grain into a marketable product.²⁴ Larger distilleries began to be erected about the time that water-power grist mills came into use and whiskey became an important article of export.

The region bordering immediately on the Ohio and on the Great Miami Rivers fared better. We shall reserve the story of Ohio River transportation for another part of this paper but the navigation of the Great Miami deserves mention in this connection. The first flat boat that navigated the Great Miami was built by David Loury at Dayton in 1800 and sent to New Orleans loaded with grain, pelts and 500 venison hams.²⁵ From that time till the completion of the canal between Cincinnati and Dayton in 1829, flat boats continued to navigate the Great Miami River. That stream was navigable during the greater part of the year, but boats were usually built and launched with the spring floods and loaded with flour, bacon, whiskey and other staple products, bound for New Orleans. It was not uncommon for one of the more prosperous farmers on the Ohio or Great Miami to load a flat-boat with his own produce.²⁶ These boats frequently carried as much as 300 or 400 barrels and were five to six days in passing from Dayton to the Ohio River. In April, 1818, 1700 barrels of flour were shipped from Dayton to New Orleans.²⁷

²³ McBride; *Pioneer Biography*, II., p. 169.

²⁴ Beers; *History of Montgomery County*, p. 310.

²⁵ Beers; *History of Montgomery County*, p. 555.

²⁶ McBride; *Pioneer Biography*, II., p. 169.

²⁷ Dana; *Geographical Sketches of the Western Country*, p. 21.
Cutler; *Description of Ohio*, p. 47. Curwen; *History of Dayton*, p. 19.

That the navigation of the Great Miami was not all that could be desired appears from the narrative of Thomas Morrison. He left Dayton with a boat load of produce, November 17, 1822, and on the evening of the second day his boat struck a rock and upset near Franklin; but he was fortunate in saving the cargo. The boat was repaired, but he did not feel safe in continuing down the river with the full cargo. Two wagon loads were hauled to Cincinnati at a cost of \$1.00 per hundredweight, put on another flat-boat and floated to the mouth of the Great Miami, while the balance was floated to the Ohio. The boat from Cincinnati was then lashed to the one from Dayton and they proceeded down the Ohio. In 1825 Mr. Morrison made another trip to the South with a cargo of flour; but this time he hauled his flour from Dayton to Cincinnati, floated his boat empty down the Great Miami to its mouth, ran her up to Cincinnati, and loaded there.²⁸

It has been shown that during the earlier period of development in the Miami Country disintegrating trade conditions existed to a considerable extent. The movement of live stock over the mountains or to Detroit and the transportation of produce down the Great Miami cannot be regarded otherwise. But Cincinnati was from the beginning the *entrepot* and natural metropolis of the entire Miami Country. As the city grew and roads were improved these disintegrating tendencies were gradually overcome, and by 1829 the completion of the Miami Canal definitely gave Cincinnati control of the entire trade of the Miami Country.

Of little less importance than the lack of roads was the want of an organized commercial system. It has already been noted that a few well-to-do farmers met this difficulty occasionally by taking their own cargoes to New Orleans, but the greater number did not produce in sufficient quantity to dispense with the services of the middle man in finding a market. Probably the earliest exporters of the products of the Miami Country were the pioneer merchants before mentioned who followed in the wake of the settlers. It would appear that Cincinnati did very little exporting before 1800, when her merchants seemed to have

²⁸ Unpublished MSS. of Thos. Morrison.

become active in the purchase of the products of the Miami Country. From that time advertisements similar to the following appeared in increasing number: "Wanted: A quantity of good merchantable pork." "Wanted: A quantity of corn-fed pork."²⁹ "Good flour will be taken by the barrel, whiskey and corn at market prices." "The subscriber will pay cash for 100,000 weight of good corn-fed pork." "Wanted: 5,000 bushels of wheat, at 50 cents per bushel."³⁰ Advertisements for contracts for future delivery of wheat and pork were frequent. Trade was principally by barter. Store goods were exchanged for country produce.³¹ This growing commercial spirit was also evidenced by frequent quotations of Cincinnati and New Orleans prices in the local papers.

The whole thing was new, the uncertainty and dangers of the Mississippi trade were many and merchants and farmers were looking for a more satisfactory way of handling the increasing surplus of agricultural products. There was a want of competent information concerning the extent and demand of the New Orleans market, of means of exportation by sea, and the best destination of produce to be exported. Sometimes there were unusual profits, but frequently there were heavy losses. It was estimated that the Pittsburg district alone lost \$60,000 in the Mississippi trade in 1801. Many embarked in the trade who were unacquainted with the navigation of the river. They were strangers to the climate and the inhabitants, and were at a disadvantage because they were unfamiliar with the language, customs and government. The changing attitude of Spanish officials was another uncertain factor. When such adventurers arrived at New Orleans they were obliged to sell for what was offered them. On account of expense and risk of probable sickness, they could not remain long to hold their produce for an advance in prices, nor could they export on their own account.³²

Under such conditions the feeling grew that a union of interests was important for the promotion of the Mississippi trade.

²⁹ Liberty Hall, Nov. 10, 1807.

³⁰ Liberty Hall, Aug. 6, 1808.

³¹ Ash; *Travels in the United States*, II., p. 176.

³² *The Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1802.

The Kentuckians, with Wilkinson as their leader, had found co-operation profitable as early as 1788. That was due, however, largely to the initiative of one man who had secured a dishonest advantage by bribing Spanish officials. Other places in the Ohio Valley were now determined to try to protect and foster the Mississippi trade by means of co-operative exporting companies, composed of merchants and farmers who were interested. The idea seems to have originated in Pittsburg.

On August 31, 1802, John Wilkins, Jr., through the Pittsburg Gazette, issued an address to the farmers, millers, traders and manufacturers of the western country, setting forth the difficulties of the Mississippi trade and proposing the organization of an exporting company in order to more effectually meet them.³³ The Pittsburg district soon acted upon the suggestion, and in October a meeting of delegates from the various sections of the upper Ohio country met at Pittsburg and organized such an association known as the Ohio Company. Ebenezer Zane, who laid out the first road through Ohio, was chairman of the meeting.³⁴

Near the close of the winter the idea was taken up in Cincinnati, and Jesse Hunt, an experienced merchant and pioneer, suggested the formation of an exporting company to handle the entire exports of the Miami Country. The organization was to be known as the Miami Exporting Company and was to be composed of merchants and farmers of the territory contiguous to Cincinnati. The new company was chartered to do an exporting and an importing business, and it also was privileged to engage in business as a banking institution. The capital stock was not to exceed 1,000 shares of \$100 each. Members were to pay \$5.00 cash on each share, and the balance might be paid in produce at prices agreed upon. A board of eleven directors was elected by the members, and the directors elected a president whose term of office was for one year. The president and directors received no pay for their services. The business of the company was entirely under their control and it was their business to build or purchase boats, employ superintendents and

³³ Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette, Oct. 20, 1802.

³⁴ Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette, Nov. 10, 1802.

boatmen, transport to New Orleans, produce entrusted to them, sell it and make returns to the owners. It was supposed that the company would also attend to the importing business of its members. That there was an effort to interest the entire Miami Country in the enterprise, is shown by the fact that every important center of population in that region was represented on the committee appointed to receive subscriptions. In 1807 it ceased to engage in the exporting business but continued to do business as a banking institution until 1822, when it was carried down by the financial crisis that began in 1835. It is needless to say that the exporting business continued to grow without the assistance of a co-operative company and that commercial firms continued to rise that met the demands of the rapidly increasing trade of the Miami Country.

While the formation of the Miami Export Company was doubtless suggested by the organization of the Pittsburg company, its organization may have been hastened by the closure of the Mississippi by the Spanish intendant at New Orleans early in November, 1802. At any rate, the Miami Country in common with the rest of the eastern portion of the Mississippi valley was angry and alarmed about it. On January 19, 1803, the *Western Spy* published an extract from a New Orleans' letter dated November 12, saying that the orders of the intendant were rigidly enforced and that Americans had nothing to hope from his clemency. That the Miamese were deeply interested in the situation is shown by the fact that from that time until the following July, when the *Western Spy* published in large type the news of the purchase of Louisiana, nearly every edition of a Cincinnati newspaper contained some communication on the subject. An editorial spoke of the furious injury which those states bordering on the Ohio and Mississippi must sustain by such unwarrantable conduct.⁸⁶ A gentleman writing from Natchez said, "The reptile Spaniards act in a most hostile manner towards our citizens and commerce. . . . I trust 700,-

⁸⁶ Burnet's Notes on the Northwest Territory, p. 397.

Western Spy, Feb. 23, 1803.

Ford; Cincinnati, p. 356.

⁸⁷ *Western Spy*, Jan. 26, 1803.

000 persons will not wait for Mr. Jefferson to go through all the forms, ceremonies and etiquette of the courts of Spain and Bonaparte, before they determine whether it will be best to drive the miscreants from these waters or not."³⁷

Along with these impassioned appeals to violence were published the more pacific communications of Jefferson and others to the Westerners advising them to remain quiet and await the result of negotiations then pending. They were probably more willing to do so when it was learned that the right of deposit and re-shipment was still open to those who would pay six per cent. of the value of the goods for the right of deposit and an additional nine and a half per cent. for the right of re-shipment.³⁸ The whole thing was irritating, but trade was not entirely stopped; as exporters continued to advertise for "corn-fed pork," "good flour," "good whiskey," "country linen," "sugar," and "good merchantable wheat."³⁹

The opening of the Mississippi by the purchase of Louisiana and the admission of Ohio to the Union doubtless greatly accelerated immigration to the West and did much to increase the volume of exports; and by 1805 it was estimated that 30,000 people a year were settling in Ohio.⁴⁰ We have no statistics of exports from Cincinnati before 1815, but the following figures concerning the traffic on the Ohio River may give some idea of the New Orleans trade from above the falls. From November 24, 1810, to January 24, 1811, 197 flat boats and 14 keel boats descended the falls of the Ohio, carrying 18,611 barrels flour, 520 barrels pork, 2,373 barrels whiskey, 3,759 barrels apples, 1,085 barrels cider, 721 barrels royal cider, 43 barrels wine, 323 barrels peach brandy, 46 barrels cherry bounce, 17 barrels vinegar, 143 barrels porter, 62 barrels beans, 67 barrels onions, 200 pounds ginseng, 200 gross bottled porter, 260 gallons Seneca oil, 7,526 pounds butter, 180 pounds tallow, 6,475 pounds lard, 6,300 pounds beef, 4,435 pounds cheese 681,000 pounds pork, 4,609 pounds bacon, 59 pounds soap, 300 pounds feathers,

³⁷ *Western Spy*, March 2, 1803.

³⁸ *Western Spy*, Jan. 26, 1803.

³⁹ *Western Spy*, Jan. 12, 19; Feb. 23; March 9; July 6, 1803.

⁴⁰ *Espy*; Memorandum of a Tour, p. 22.

400 pounds hemp, 1,484 pounds thread, 154,000 pounds rope yarn, 20,784 pounds bale rope, 27,700 yards bagging, 4,619 yards tow cloth, 479 coils tarred rope, 500 bushels oats, 1,700 bushels corn, 216 bushels potatoes, 817 venison ham, 14,390 tame fowls, 155 horses, 286 slaves 18,000 feet cherry plank, 279,309 feet pine plank.⁴¹ It is probable that almost the entire manufactured product as herein enumerated came from the Lexington District. That region may have furnished the greater part of the agricultural product, but the rapidly growing Miami Country doubtless furnished a large proportion of the balance.

The development of the Miami Country and this growing export business soon brought about a corresponding import business, and very frequently both branches of commerce were carried on by the same firm. By 1805 there were twenty-four merchants and grocers doing business in Cincinnati, and in 1809 upwards of thirty merchants were selling from \$200,000 to \$250,000 worth of imported goods.⁴² The prosperity of the region and its advance in civilization is evidenced by the fact that its citizens were demanding some of the luxuries of life. As early as 1805, the merchants of this frontier metropolis were selling fine coatings and cassimeres, white and colored satins, silk stockings, silk and leather gloves, Irish linens, Morocco and kid shoes, umbrellas and parasols, and fine wines.⁴³

The wholesale business of Cincinnati began not later than 1806. Dealers were then offering special inducements to country merchants, in order to divert their trade from Eastern markets to Cincinnati. A credit of three and six months was offered, at an advance of 12½ per cent. on the Philadelphia price, plus six cents per pound for carriage, by the dozen or package.⁴⁴ Others were offering to take at New Orleans' market prices three-fourths of the amount of the purchase price in produce delivered at that point, and the balance cash.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Melish: *Travels in the U. S.*, II., p. 153.

⁴² *Cincinnati Directory*, 1819, p. 29. Melish, *Travels in the U. S.*, II., p. 124.

⁴³ *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*, Nov. 5, 1805.

⁴⁴ *Liberty Hall*, Aug. 4, 1806.

⁴⁵ *Liberty Hall*, Aug. 11, 1806.

The difficulties encountered by these early merchants can little be appreciated by the merchants of to-day. In order to sell their goods they were compelled to attend not only to the ordinary duties of a merchant and to incur ordinary responsibilities and risks, but also they were compelled to be the produce merchants of the country as well. They must take the farmers' produce and send or convey it to New Orleans, the only market for the West. It was necessary for the Western merchant to buy pork and pack it, to buy wheat and have it ground into flour, to have barrels made to hold the flour, and then to build flat-bottomed boats and with considerable expense and great risk, float it down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans. Having arrived at New Orleans and disposed of the cargo, the dangers were not over, as there was the long journey home. In returning there was a choice of routes. The merchant could either return home by land, a distance of 1,100 miles over the Natchez trace, 500 miles of which were through the Indian country, or go by sea to Philadelphia or Baltimore and thence home by land. The latter route was frequently chosen when the merchant wished to lay in a new stock of goods.

One merchant of the Miami Country made fourteen such trips. On the first trip he had charge of five flat-boats loaded with produce. Thirteen trips were made on flat-boats and one on a barge. Eight times he traveled home by land and was usually about thirty days in making the journey from New Orleans to Cincinnati. In the earlier period there were neither ferries nor bridges over any water course from near Port Gibson in the present state of Mississippi to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee.

A large part of the imports continued to come from Philadelphia or Baltimore until, and even after, the introduction of the steamboat. Once or twice in the year the merchant would go to Philadelphia or Baltimore to buy goods. If, after selling his produce at New Orleans, he did not go by sea from that place, he would start from his home and travel on horseback, a distance of 600 miles, or go by keel-boat to Pittsburg and thence over land to one of the coast cities. When the goods were purchased he must engage wagons to haul them over a bad road to Pitts-

burg at a cost of from \$6.00 to \$10.00 per hundredweight; and after a journey of from twenty to twenty-five days over the mountains, he must buy flat-boats or keel-boats and employ hands to take his goods to Cincinnati. The round trip from Cincinnati to Pittsburg usually consumed about three months.⁴⁶ This growing business soon brought about the construction of large warehouses near the river and storage and commission firms began to appear.⁴⁷

This increasing demand for imported goods first led to attempts to avoid the high freight rates across the mountains by an improvement in the transportation of goods from New Orleans, and later it led to an improved highway to the West. This growing commerce called for something better than the broad Kentucky boat or New Orleans' boat. Those boats did very well for transportation with the current, but they could not be used in bringing goods up stream. For this purpose two classes of boats were used, the keel-boat and the barge. The keel-boat was a long, narrow boat built on lines that adapted it to navigation against the swift current of the western rivers. The barge was built like the keel-boat but longer and broader. It was from 75 to 100 feet long and from 15 to 20 feet wide, with a capacity of from 60 to 100 tons. The crew consisted of from thirty to sixty men with oars. Cordeling was resorted to where possible, and setting poles came into play in shallow water. A barge generally carried two masts, but occasionally it had but one square sail. The introduction of sails was probably the greatest improvement in western navigation before the introduction of the steamboat. A small quarter deck covered a little cabin for the captain and afforded a stand for the steersman, while a small forecabin protected the sleeping berths of the crew. These boats made from ten to fifteen miles per day against the current and usually completed two trips to New Orleans each year.⁴⁸ A traveler has left us an interesting account of the meet-

⁴⁶ McBride. *Pioneer History of Butler County, I.*, pp. 316-319.

⁴⁷ *American Pioneer, I.*, p. 98.

⁴⁸ *American Pioneer, I.*, pp. 98, 99. *Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, I.*, pp. 125, 128.

ing of one of these boats at Limestone in 1817. It was loaded with West Indian goods from New Orleans and had been nearly three months on the way, the men having to pole up most of the distance. The safe arrival being considered a fortunate circumstance, the owners and crew were manifesting their joy by firing salutes from a small cannon and offering libations of their favorite whiskey till a late hour.⁴⁹

The development of the barge and the introduction of sails became effective about 1800 and greatly decreased the labor of transporting freight from New Orleans to Cincinnati. These improvements were important to the West, as the freight rate was thereby reduced from \$8 and \$9 per ton to \$5 and \$6 per ton, which was below the average charge for carrying freight across the mountains. In 1807 two Cincinnati firms, Baum & Perry, and Riddle, Bechtel & Co., put on lines of barges between Cincinnati and New Orleans, which continued in commission till 1817. From that time, 1807, most of the groceries and heavy freight came to Cincinnati from New Orleans instead of from the Atlantic seaboard.⁵⁰ Nor was that all. There began a movement of products of the Mississippi Valley up the Ohio, such as lead from Kaskaskia, cotton from Tennessee, furs from the Upper Mississippi, and sugar from Louisiana.⁵¹ Thus was begun that commercial communication between the northern and southern parts of the Mississippi Valley that was to reach such proportions after the coming of the steamboat.

There is little evidence showing the influence of the War of 1812 on the commercial life of the Miami Country, but it is probable that the demands of the northwestern army fully compensated for any loss of the export trade. Wheat was worth 62½ cents per bushel in October, 1812, and rose to \$1.00 per bushel by the middle of the following December.⁵² John H. Piatt, the principal western army contractor, had frequent ad-

⁴⁹ Palmer; *Journal of Travels in the U. S.*, p. 66.

⁵⁰ Burnet's Notes, p. 400.

⁵¹ Cuming's Tour, in Thwaite's *Early Western Travels*, IV., p. 147 Melish; *Travels in the U. S.*, II., p. 127.

⁵² *Western Spy*, October 24 and December 9, 1812.

vertisements in the Cincinnati papers for pack horses, beef, cattle, hogs, flour and whiskey.⁵³

After the War of 1812 the growing commerce of the West is indicated by what appears to have been a great extension of the flat-boat business. Under the head of Ship News, Cincinnati papers published the arrival and departure of barges. The following are some of the typical notices of the time:

"Arrived on the 6th inst. the barge Cincinnati from New Orleans. Cargo, sugar, cotton and molasses."⁵⁴

"Arrived June 1, the barge, Nonesuch, Captain M. Baum, from New Orleans. Cargo, cotton and sugar. Also, two large keel-boats, cargo same."⁵⁵

"Arrived on Wednesday last, the barge Fox, Capt. Palmer, from New Orleans to Messrs. Marsh & Palmer: cargo, sugar cotton and coffee."⁵⁶

On the first anniversary of St. Jackson's Day, Liberty Hall published the following:

"Sailed for New Orleans:

Barge Nonesuch, 100 tons flour and pork.

Barge Cincinnati, 115 tons flour and pork.

Barge Fox, 40 tons flour and pork.

10 to 12 flat boats, [each] carrying 300 to 400 barrels, have sailed from Cincinnati within two months, loaded with pork, flour, lard and other produce."⁵⁷

Some idea of the extent of the flat-boat traffic may be obtained when we learn that in 1816 the steamboat Despatch passed 2,000 flat-boats in a voyage of 25 days from Natchez to Louisville. No count was kept of any boats that passed in the night. Timothy Flint is authority for the statement that it was not uncommon to see as many as 100 boats rendezvoused at New Madrid on a single evening. By 1817 it was estimated that 500 persons every summer passed down the Ohio from Cincinnati

⁵³ Western Spy, September 12, November 15, 1812; February 20, 1813.

⁵⁴ Liberty Hall, July 10, 1815.

⁵⁵ Liberty Hall, June 5, 1815.

⁵⁶ Liberty Hall, April 8, 1815.

⁵⁷ Liberty Hall, January 8, 1816.

to New Orleans as traders and boatmen and returned on foot.⁵⁸ Frequently several boats would join together and travel to New Orleans as a fleet. James Flint records that in 1819 he left Cincinnati in a boat belonging to such a fleet.⁵⁹ Nor did the coming of the steamboat put a stop to the flat-boat trade. While the new method of transportation soon monopolized the up-river traffic, a large part of the produce of the country continued to be floated to New Orleans in flat-boats for many years after the beginning of the steamboat era.

In 1817 this extensive flat-boat trade was carrying down the river for export from Cincinnati the surplus produce of about 100,000 people situated in what was then probably the richest and most productive agricultural section of the West. Flour, pork and whiskey were the chief articles of export. Dr. Drake assures us that in 1815 the city exported annually several thousand barrels of flour to New Orleans. Richard Fosdick had given the Miami Country its first lessons in pork packing, and droves of swine were beginning to move toward Cincinnati for slaughter and shipment down the river.⁶⁰ Nor did the commercial basis continue to be entirely agricultural. Local manufacturers were beginning to contribute their share to the commercial development. Within the twenty-two years since the treaty of Greenville, Cincinnati had increased from a village of 500 inhabitants to a city with a population of about 7,000, and a large proportion of the inhabitants were engaged in manufacturing. The principal business of these artisans was to supply the local demand, but there had begun a limited export of manufactured goods to regions farther west and south. Chief among these were beer, porter, cheese, soap, candles, spun yarn, lumber and cabinet furniture.⁶¹

With the beginning of the steamboat era in 1817, this study ends. During the period under consideration, the development

⁵⁸ Birkbeck; *Notes on a Journey*, p. 102.

⁵⁹ James Flint; *Letters in Thwaite's Early Western Travels*, IX., p. 156.

⁶¹ Ford; *Cincinnati*, p. 328.

⁶¹ Drake; *A Natural and Statistical View of Cincinnati in 1815*, p. 148.

of Cincinnati was that of the chief town of a rich and rapidly growing agricultural region under frontier conditions and primitive means of transportation. Throughout the entire period she was easily the chief town of that section, but she could be no more. The coming of the steamboat brought about the opportunity to do business with the rest of the Mississippi Valley, and Cincinnati soon held the proud distinction of being the metropolis of the upper portion of that extensive region. In conclusion, let us sum up what were the resources and opportunities at the command of Cincinnati for the beginning of a new era.

She occupied a favorable site on a broad circular plain surrounded by hills with lateral valleys situated so as to furnish outlets both north and south, and about midway between Pittsburg and the mouth of the Ohio. She was the metropolis of the richest agricultural region of the Northwest, a region, parts of which already had a population of nearly forty-five inhabitants to the square mile.⁹² This population was growing rapidly and would demand an increasing quantity of manufactures and imported goods for which it would be ready to exchange a large surplus of farm products. It was a population that was beginning to improve the highways and build substantial brick and frame houses and discard the log cabins of an earlier day. A newer West was growing rapidly on the lower Ohio and on the upper Mississippi, and its inhabitants would find Cincinnati a convenient market in which to make their purchases; but already they were our competitors for the sale of farm products. On the lower Mississippi was a rich agricultural region into which they were soon to begin a great rush of population; and it was in this region that Cincinnati was soon to find her best market for her surplus flour, pork, and whiskey, and also for her manufactures. New Orleans was a convenient port from which to export the surplus which the South did not take; and to New Orleans our merchants went for a large part of their foreign goods. Raw material for manufacturing purposes was convenient and transportation was cheap. In addition to these advantages, Cincinnati was an

⁹² McMaster; *History of the People of the United States*, IV., p. 523.

established community in the possession of a small amount of capital, her commercial life was well organized, and artisans of various trades composed a large proportion of her population. Her growth had been phenomenal throughout the flat-boat period, and with such an array of conditions favorable to commercial life, it is not strange that she was able to surpass all competitors during the steamboat era.

Cincinnati, Ohio.



ANNE SARGENT BAILEY.

MRS. JAMES R. HOPLEY.

The quality of bravery is capable of varied definitions. The brave endurance of outward conditions, not subject to improvement, or of pain, not subject to amelioration; the brave advance into the decrepitude of years without loss of vital interests or



ANNE SARGENT BAILEY.

active optimism; the bravery of those pronounced incurable and who know themselves likely to die violent, painful or loathsome deaths; the fortitude of others, who await terrible physical ordeals or calmly face living problems worse than death,—these are all familiar examples. Hourly we are made aware of the sublimity of souls close about us and learn that

it is in pain the strong chain is forged, whereby we are united, alike, to God and to our fellows. Below, the links are called sympathy, helpfulness, altruism, and, drawing us upward, become aspiration, alikeness, and divine coexistence.

But in contradistinction, bravery is seen in another and different set of manifestations, unpremeditated, active, of one's own volition, choice and seeking. This is shown by the mere bystander who throws himself before a train, or into the sea, to save a child, a woman, a youth whom he has never before seen; again, in the thousand instances of soldierly daring; the storming of Missionary Ridge, in the example of Von Winkleried, of Hobson and his companions, of Custer or the ancient Aztec warriors.

To analyze the promptings of the spirit within us, which makes us endure, or which makes us dare, is the province of the psychologist and it is a province, the laws of which are not likely to be reduced to a science. When these two forms, elective

courage, and enduring bravery are found to exist side by side and so to continue through years and innumerable tests, the character thus endowed is called heroic. The tremendous value of such lives is hard to estimate. They seem to take the world by the ears and set it forward, sometimes a decade, sometimes a cycle. They precipitate events and clear the path of obstacles when the events loom before us. The timid, the garrulous, the army of objectors, big and little, are swept from the path as the hurrican sweeps the huts of the natives in tropic islands. Such a force was Luther discovering that man is saved by faith.

Faith is the saving power here as well as hereafter. Without it, no great work may be done and faith in himself has made many a man a militant figure.



ANNE BAILEY'S CABIN.

Up from the valleys of their humiliation, forth from the fields of their heroism, down from the mountains of suffering, the heroic dead glorify the horizon of our imagination and I would see a figure blazoned there more clearly with that of Jean d' Arc or Boadica; Isabella or Daronardla; Theodosia or Martin Luther; it is that of Anne Bailey! With faith in God and faith in the god-like in themselves, how they all pushed the world forward!

Voice, pen, sword, brigade or squadron, the commander-in-chief must be faith. Such men and women inspire fear, a wholesome fear, as well as the desire of emulation and they inspire a love and an admiration it is good to feel. Such a character manifested itself in the person of Anne Sargent Bailey

who was born in Liverpool, England, in 1700, and was named for Queen Anne, whose coronation, she, with her parents, witnessed in 1705.

When the hazardous undertakings of this woman are reviewed; when, with these, are found the usual domestic qualities, unsullied virtue, the inheritance of a good name, correct moral standards and the fact that these conditions were present for more than a century, it is strange that the name and fame of this old heroine are not widely known.

Perhaps, upon a cherished shelf, in the room of the child you were, there reposed a blue volume called "Women of Worth." In the education of some of us, it followed immediately after dolls. It was probably not the biggest selling book of the year. It bore a London imprint and was not a bargain counter book, nor, as Dorothy Wordsworth wrote to Coleridge, "bought from a haberdasher, but a beautiful book, one to caress,—peculiar, distinctive, individual; written by an author with a tender whim, all right out of his heart." In it one reads of "The Illustrious Matron, The Teacher of the Wilds, The Noble Dame, The True Wife, The Worthy Daughter, The Worker of Charity, The Devoted Patriot, The Estimable Governess, The Sculptor's Assistant, The Friend of Columbus, The Pastor's Helpmate and The Christian Heroine." Now the reader I knew best, thrilled and chilled and glowed and wept over these great souls, yet none of them seem to rise to a more heroic plane than this woman of our own wilderness.

Seized, while on her way from school, and carried off with the cherished books under her arm, she was brought to America, and, at nineteen, sold in Virginia to defray her kidnappers expenses.

Gen. Lewis Newsom, an early resident of Gallipolis where Mrs. Bailey's last days were lived, seems to doubt the authenticity of this, and says her station was simply that of one sold out to service on account of poverty and indicates that she emigrated of her own free will. This mistake is due to the fact, perhaps, that Gen. Newsom had no acquaintance with Anne Sargent Bailey till she was nearing the close of her life. He does not seem to have known that she was finally located by her

parents, after a long search, and demonstrated her love for America by choosing this, rather than England, for her home, so that the Sargents returned without her.

Mr. William P. Buell writing in 1885, makes no mention of her under the name employed by Gen. Newsom. She became the wife of John Trotter of Virginia, then of course, an English colony belonging to Great Britain. They had one son, who was named William, to whom she was deeply attached, as was Sarah to Isaac, for he was born in her old age.

At the bloody battle of Pt. Pleasant, her husband, with his Colonel, was killed by the Indians, and from that hour she became devoted ardently to the interest of her country, and the avenging of her husband's death.

"Vengeance is mine, I will repay", saith the Lord. But how many men owe their defeat and how many causes owe much of their success to the tremendous force, the invincible will to repay in some adequate measure of pain or frustrated ambitions, the evil done to those dear to us. Christian ethics, this clearly is not, but God, by whom we are enjoined to honor our parents, can hardly look with pleasure on the child who presses the hand of his father's unjust enemy or fawns upon the creature who has broken the heart of some one near and dear, upon the wheel of disloyal friendship.

As for some of us, such creatures, either have no part, do not exist in our world of genuine and eternal things, or they exist for us to loathe, to disdain and to humiliate. Shakepeare's imagination never conceived a situation more revolting to the normal mind than the espousal of Hamlet's mother to her husband's murderer.

Not so with this woman of our wilderness. The murderers of the husband of her youth, were to be hunted, harried, exterminated if possible. And avenging his death she furthered the cause of freedom, made way for liberty, life, and good order, in the new world. For this became her passion and her services to the settlers as scout, soldier, provisioner of forts and as teacher of their children, were hooks of steel, by which, her devotion having been tried, they bound her to themselves and themselves to her.

Anne Sargent was of good family and her people in England, people of comfortable fortune. She was intensely fond of books and on coming to Ohio in 1818, taught a school near Gallipolis, though she was then past the century mark in years. She enforced her discipline, and, as many of her pupils have since testified to the soundness of her learning and the advantages secured through her instruction, it can not be gainsaid, that for mental and physical vigor, she is one of the most remarkable women of any age. Her eventful career has been linked with that of the soldier, whom, after many years of widowhood she married John Bailey, of Virginia. Mrs. Bailey, was not tall, was very sturdy in figure and of necessity adopted the dress of the pioneer soldier of the border. Her face was bronzed by exposure and marked with the conflicts of her soul and the sorrows which had robbed her of even the little ease a pioneer settler's wife might enjoy. She hunted and fought like any soldier of her time and enjoyed hazardous journeys in conveyance of information to commandants of scattered forts in the Kanawha valley.

Her husband had been assigned to duty with the garrison at Fort Clendennin, the site of the present city of Charlestown, West Virginia. From there she was to accomplish the most hazardous of her many journeys, and there she was to render the most signal, the most heroic service of her career, the most heroic possibly, of that of any woman in any time. Mrs. Bailey had become an expert with the rifle and her prowess as messenger, scout and spy were so celebrated that she had been called the Semiramis of America. Her aim was absolutely unerring, and, as she rode upon her splendid black horse, Liverpool, — the gift of the soldiers of the fort, and named for her English birthplace — she was an object alike of fear, veneration and love. She had not the soft, timid ways of a protected life, and would have offended us doubtless, by her striking characteristics and untrammelled ways of speech and conduct. But the virtues of the pioneer, the fire of patriotism, the love of all that is true and brave shone from her bold eyes and glorified her in the field of her operations.

The latter lay in that stretch of valley at Pt. Pleasant to the

long distant settlements of the James and Potomac in Virginia. Sir Galahad upon his white charger adventuring forth in search of the Holy Grail does not lay stronger hold upon the imagination than does this lone woman upon her black horse riding in sunshine and darkness, in frozen bleakness or dewy spring dawns, through rugged canyons and beautiful valleys, over lofty mountains and densely wooded hills in the holy cause of freedom. Such is the instinctive prejudice of sex however, such the marvelous glamor of time, that this woman unsung and almost unknown, holds with difficulty, our interest for the moment only, in comparison with Tennyson's well sung, remote man-hero further weighted with youth, beauty and magnificently set forth in the paintings by Abby. A grateful people may yet show its appreciation, and the memory of Anne Bailey may be perpetuated in some other enduring form, if not in literature or song. Among hundreds of instances of her daring these are selected as illustrative of what has been said. Upon one of these long journeys from Pt. Pleasant to Charlestown, a band of Indians discovered her and raising the war whoop, came in hot pursuit. In order to escape, she dismounted and crept into a great hollow sycamore log. The Indians coming up, sat down to rest, upon the log in which she was concealed; soon others secured her horse and finally led him away. After their departure, she left her hiding place and taking up the trail, followed it till late at night when she came upon the party fast asleep. With incredible daring, she crept forward, untied her horse, mounted him and escaped, reaching the fort in safety. The tale that the Indian lays gentle hands only on the squaw, or that she was unharmed because they believed her demented, does not appeal with any convincing power to the intelligence of the reader to-day. No one insane could invariably proceed with the calm intrepid and always successful plans this great woman carried out nor could she have failed to be the victim of the Indians' vengeance in wigwam or before the council fires had she fallen into his hands. It was necessary when encamped, to walk back some distance on the trail to escape the vigilance of the savages, so that she was compelled always to let her horse go free, thus nightly cutting herself off from means of escape should she be surprised


and surrounded. The exploit which is not paralleled anywhere in our history and which exhibits the high and sustained character of Mrs. Bailey's heroism, occurred when the garrison under Captain Clendennin was notified by a runner sent from Captain Arbuckle at Pt. Pleasant, that a great attack upon him was being planned by the Indians. They had a large force and would be upon the fort within a few days. Settlers were immediately summoned and with their women and children came into the fort. At this juncture Clendennin found that the supply of ammunition was not only low but was nearly exhausted. About one hundred and fifty miles lay between Charlestown and Lewisburg where the ammunition might be had, (Pt. Pleasant). The country was the hunting ground of the savages and not a settler's house dotted the entire distance. Volunteers were called for. Who will be the man to immortalize his name by undertaking the journey? Only one can be spared. He must go forth alone. Not one of the brave men who listen, though each is a man of daring and fortitude, is willing to face the hideous perils and almost certain death by torture, wild beasts or starvation. In this crisis a woman steps forward. She is short, unprepossessing in her stout boots and skirt, short, flowing locks and man's coat. She speaks briefly, "I will go." This woman would, alone, climb the mountains, swim the rivers, meet the perils hideous to the minds of men, tenfold more hideous to the mind and person of a woman. Her trail would be followed for hours by wolves waiting to attack her horse; when encamped, and night had set in, she would be compelled to make fires to keep at bay the creatures of the wild. To protect herself, should she dare to slumber, she must construct a bed by driving into the ground forked posts, adjust upon them rails and slats, cut boughs and lay herself thereon, to escape the deadly rattle snake and copper head. To rest her aching body, she must sleep amidst the buzzing of innumerable troublesome insects, the howling of wolves, and the screaming of panthers. At the very earliest break of dawn she must replace her load upon the back of the faithful horse, if he lived through the journey and go forth to meet the still greater perils of day. Her resolve was instantaneous, but made with entire knowledge of what was to be encountered.

The commandant yielded and accepted the heroic service. History has preserved sufficient records of the journey to enable us to trace it on the map. Doing so, we marvel at the sublime daring of this woman, the terrific force of hatred, the majestic power of loyalty and love. Mrs. Bailey made the 300 mile journey. The fort could not have been saved except for the timely arrival of the ammunition which she brought, thus achieving a feat unparalleled even among the many instances of heroism in the history of that period.

Near the close of her eventful life she came to her son's home at Gallipolis. Having so loved the wild and free life of the frontier, even this son could not tempt her to live under his roof, but her independent mind craved her own roof-tree. In her own log house therefore, she held court. Rough and strong, the fiber of both mind and body never lost its resiliency. The people fairly idolized her. She was loaded with gifts of every sort and treated with the greatest respect and kindness. She was never ill. She only ceased to breathe. Having heard a great voice saying, "Come up higher," her soul answered swiftly and silently. She was said to have been 125 years old.

Her services to her country, to the cause of freedom, and the inspiration of her brave deeds should be ample reason for the raising of some fitting memorial to her name. Instead of this, only the delvers in old records, only the curious seeker after the unusual, finds her name, and the place of her burial is on a lonely hill, near the site of her son's home, "in the solitude of the woods, unmarked by a headstone."

Bucyrus, Ohio.



TOURS INTO KENTUCKY AND THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

Three Journals by the Rev. James Smith of Powhatan County, Va.,
1783-1795-1797.

SKETCH OF REV. JAMES SMITH

BY JOSIAH MORROW, LEBANON, OHIO.

The writer of the following journals was born in Powhatan county, Virginia, September 17, 1757, and died near Columbia, in the Northwest Territory, July 28, 1800. He resided in his native county nearly all his life, his removal to the north side of the Ohio having been made less than two years before his death.

His paternal ancestors, it is believed, came from England. The first of them of whom we have any account was his grandfather, George Smith, of whom there is a tradition that, when a youth, he moved from the eastern coast lands of the colony of Virginia to the valley of the James river, taking with him only his buffalo robe, gun and tomahawk. He was a hunter, but he became a man of wealth and left to his son, Thomas, a large landed estate, situated in Powhatan and Chesterfield counties, a mile or two from the James river, and about twenty miles above Richmond.

Thomas Smith was also a wealthy man and was able to leave to each of his six children a good farm and a number of slaves. He was three times married and by each marriage had one son and one daughter. His third wife was Mrs. Margaret Guerrant, of Huguenot descent; her maiden name was Trabue, and she was the mother of James. Strangely as it seems to us, the two elder sons were each christened George, and each had for his middle name the maiden name of his mother. The eldest was George Rapin (or Rapeen); the second, George Stovall. The eldest, however, was familiarly known at home as Mill-pond George, from the mill-pond near his birth place. In his first

journey into Kentucky, James Smith was accompanied by his half-brother, George R. and they visited their half-brother, George S. who had removed to Jessamine county, Ky., about 1780. In his journals James designates each half-brother simply as 'Bro. George.' George R., as well as James, kept a journal of his travels in the western country, but it was unfortunately destroyed in the burning of the home of his son, Gen. George R. Smith, founder of Sedalia, Mo.

The family of Thomas Smith were deeply religious and the three sons all became preachers. The father had belonged to the Church of England, but when the Baptists first preached in the neighborhood of their home, the two elder sons were converted to that faith and became Baptist exhorters and preachers. Later, when James was about ten years old, Methodism was first promulgated in Virginia and the Smith family (except the two Baptist sons) were among the first fruits of the Wesleyan reformation in Virginia. The father passed out of the established church and became one of the people called Methodists, and the conference of 1780 was held at his house.

James Smith became a preacher of "The Republican Methodist Church," organized in 1792 by James O'Kelly, after his unsuccessful attempt to limit the power of the bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Republican Methodists numbered several thousand in Virginia and North Carolina, but they were absorbed into other movements, especially into that called "Christians." James Smith seems never to have been a preacher in the M. E. Church, but it is believed by his descendants that in his later years he contemplated uniting with the larger body of Methodists and that this was not done on account of his early death. His journal shows that in his last years he was intimately associated and maintained the most friendly relations with the pioneer preachers of the M. E. Church on both sides of the Ohio. Unlike most of the early Methodist preachers who were poor, he was a man of means, and had the care of a large plantation and of negro servants, but he continued until the last to preach the gospel whenever the opportunity was presented, whether in a church, by the wayside in his journeys, or at the cabin of the settler.

The reader of the journals of this Christian man will notice that he had no scruples against traveling on Sunday. Usually he pursued his journey on Sunday as on other days. He would preach on Sunday when he had the opportunity and continue his journey after the sermon. On Sunday morning he embarked on the Kanawha and the same day left the boat with a guide and visited the great curiosity of the burning springs, where he flashed gunpowder to ignite the escaping gas. His views on the proper observance of Sunday were probably imbibed in early life when his parents were members of the Episcopal church.

Though he inherited slaves and was himself a slave holder his soul was deeply stirred by the injustice and cruelties which he deemed inseparable from the institution of slavery. He pronounced slavery "the present disgrace and the future scourge of America." In all the writings of American abolitionists of the period preceding the civil war there is to be found no expression of deeper detestation of negro slavery than in the journal of this Virginia slave holder. His abhorrence of the institution is fully expressed in his reflections on crossing the Ohio at the new town of Cincinnati and landing in a territory forever dedicated to freedom, written on Sunday, November 15, 1795, six years before the birth of Garrison and forty years before Birney began to print *The Philanthropist* at Cincinnati. He freed his slaves before leaving Virginia. His half-brother who was his companion on two of his tours also espoused the anti-slavery cause in Kentucky and freed the greater portion of his slaves, numbering about forty, before his death in 1820.

After his second tour north of the Ohio he determined to remove to that country and he purchased of a neighbor a tract in the Virginia Military District lying on the east side of the Little Miami and at the mouth of Caesar's creek in what is now Warren county. The tract was surveyed to contain 1,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres but was found to contain 2,000. He then bade a final adieu to the home of his ancestors and started with his family for the land of freedom. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Philip Gatch, and his family. Gatch, who was also a Methodist preacher and a strong opponent of slavery, became a member

of the first constitutional convention of Ohio and an associate judge of Clermont county. He, as well as Smith, emancipated his slaves before leaving Virginia. Two of Smith's former slaves accompanied him to Ohio, one of whom, "Uncle Ned," became the owner of a farm of 200 acres in Warren county on which he lived to a good old age.

The emigrants started for the west about September 26, 1798 and the journey was by the Kanawha route. To reach the Kanawha wagons were used, the women and younger children riding in what was called the "stage wagon." When the top of a mountain was reached a large sapling was cut and attached to the wagon, and dragging behind, it operated as a break in the descent. Ned, the freed negro, was the driver of one of the wagons.

The Kanawha was reached near Gauley mountain and the emigrants embarked in flat boats. On reaching the Ohio at Point Pleasant four of the men left the boats and taking the horses came down the Ohio by land. The boats were delayed by low water and did not reach Columbia until November 7, the journey from Powhatan county occupying six weeks.

The land on the Little Miami Mr. Smith had purchased was an uncleared wilderness and he took up his temporary abode on a farm not far from Columbia. He did not live to see his family established on the land he had purchased for a home. He died of a fever in the summer of 1800 before he had reached the age of 43. He was about six feet in height and of slender build. No portrait of him is in existence.

In 1779 before he was quite twenty-two James Smith married Miss Elizabeth Porter, who was then but little past sixteen. To them were born nine children, who, named in the order of their birth, were: Sarah (Mrs. Ichabod B. Halsey), Thomas, John W., Elizabeth (Mrs. Burwell Goode), Magdalene (Mrs. Robert Sale), Martha (Mrs. William O'Neill), Judith (Mrs. Hiram Browne), Cynthia (died unmarried), and George J. The last named was the only child born on the north side of the Ohio. He became a distinguished lawyer at Lebanon, was speaker of the Ohio Senate and for seventeen years judge of the court of common pleas.

The widow and children of James Smith resided on the land at the mouth of Caesar's creek and several of the children and their descendants have had their homes in Warren county. Among the grandsons, of James Smith were Hon. John Quincy Smith, of Clinton county; Judge James M. Smith of Lebanon; Judge James S. Halsey and Judge James S. Goode, of Springfield; J. Kelley O'Neill, of Lebanon, and Ignatius Brown, of Indianapolis.

James Smith kept journals on his western tours in which he wrote down from day to day incidents of travel, descriptions of the country and of curiosities, and at times his reflections. The three original manuscripts have been kept together and carefully preserved by his descendants and they furnish evidence that the traveler was not only a close observer but a good penman. Two or three copies of the journals have been taken, one of which was carefully made in the law office of his grandsons, J. M. and J. E. Smith at Lebanon in 1877, when only a few words of the originals had become illegible. The first publication of the journals is now made from this copy. While collecting materials for "The Winning of the West," Theodore Roosevelt found a manuscript copy of the journals in Col. Durrett's famous historical library of Louisville, "the most complete in the world on all subjects connected with Kentucky history," and in footnotes to his valuable historical work, Mr. Roosevelt makes several references to these manuscripts and also mentions them in his preface.

I.

JOURNEY FROM POWHATAN COUNTY, VIRGINIA, TO KENTUCKY —
1783.

[The year in which this journey was made is not known with certainty. The traveler, while carefully recording the day of the week and of the month each day of his journey, neglected to put down the year in any place. The copy of the journal in the possession of the Smith family at Lebanon, which was made under the direction of the late Judge James M. Smith, has "About 1785" written in an upper corner of the first page. On the last page of the original manuscript of this journal there is written in the handwriting of the traveler, "J. Smith, April 1786, Powhatan, Virginia": this is believed to give the time when the

traveler wrote out a fair copy of his journal from the original notes. As the journey had been commenced on Wednesday, October 1st and concluded, December 21st, it was assumed that it was probably made the preceding year, that is, 1785. While having a transcript made for the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society I found that the days of the week set opposite the days of the month are not those of 1785, but are those of the years 1783, 1788 and 1794. As the tour seems almost certainly to have been made previous to 1786, I have given 1783 as the year of the journey, and this date has the approval of Mr. John E. Smith, of Lebanon. James Smith in 1783 was twenty-six years old.]—
J. M.

Having long had the desire to see that famed western country, to wit Kentucky, and conscious to myself that I should never rest well satisfied till I did see it, occasioned me to fix a determination if God should spare me to travel to that far distant territory, fully to satisfy my restless curiosity and also to enable me the more effectually to determine concerning my future proceedings.— The time having at length arrived when we had appointed to start (Bro. George and myself) I accordingly fixed and left home about 3 o'clock in the afternoon on Wednesday the 1st day of October. I came to Bro. George's that night in order to start from there in the morning.

Thursday 2nd. Bro. George and myself set out about 11 o'clock; we rode on slowly and reached Bro. Peter Guerrant's about 10 at night.

Fri. 3rd. We started about 12 from Bro. Peter Guerrant's and arrived at Bro. R Moseley's about sunset.

Sat. 4th. We lay by, and Bro. George having an appointment, preached accordingly to a small tho well behaved congregation. After meeting we fixed such of our things as were out of order that nothing might prevent our early starting in the morning.

Sun. 5th. We started from Robert Moseley's and came to Mainyard's church; here also Bro. George had appointed to preach, which he did, but the auditory (tho small) behaved extremely bad so that the preaching seemed to have but little effect.— After preaching we rode on for 8 miles to Wm. Bradley's in the upper end of Buckingham, who insisted on Bro. George's preaching again in the evening which he complied with. I was surprized to see so many people collect with so short notice, the greater part of whom seemed to possess the inestimable treasure of God's love, tho as to the riches of this world their part appeared to be very small.

Mon. 6th. We set out about 8 o'clock; here we were overtaken by John Moss so that we were now (including Manuel) four in number. We reached Mr. Stovall's about 12 where we got some refreshment both for ourselves and horses and afterwards rode on to Stephen Sorrow's.

THE PEAKS AT NEW LONDON.

Tues. 7th. We started from Stephen Sorrow's pretty early and about 10 o'clock passed thro New London. This town's situation is high, from hence a most beautiful view of those remarkable mountains called the Peaks presents itself to the curious beholder; from hence also the cloud-capped summits of the lofty ridge extending itself in a continued chain from south to north renders the curiosity still more agreeable and delightful. We pushed on and took up camp in the woods near the head of them. About 10 o'clock at night it began to rain and continued raining all night attended with dreadful hard wind which occasioned us a very disagreeable night's lodging.

Wed. 8th. The wind ceased a little in the morning and we set forward. But before we had rode far the dreadfulest storm came on that I ever rode thro in my life; the amazing quantity of trees that were continually falling around us rendered our riding extremely dangerous. We were at length constrained to call at a house where we tarried till the wind ceased when we then again set forward, but we had not gone far before the wind arose again which was the occasion of our having a very unpleasant ride. But at length we safely arrived at a house on Glade creek where we stayed the night.

THE BIG LICK — A BOILING SPRING.

Thurs. 9th. The wind having ceased, the weather became clear and calm when we again started from our lodgings and soon after passed the Big Lick (so called). Tho its present situation appears to have more resemblance of a pond than a Lick being fed by the brackish waters causing it to be a continual pond both summer and winter which I suppose was the cause of so great a resort of cattle in former times. For, if a person may be allowed to judge from the appearance of this place, he must allow that many thousand ton of earth have been carried from hence by wild creatures before the settlement of the country, it being considerable lower than the common surface of the earth and the water in many parts of a considerable depth. Its extent I suppose is above a quarter of a mile in length and half that distance in width. It is fabled of this place that it had the property of infecting those that are much about it with the ague, for which cause strangers are not desirous of making any tarry (or as little as possible) about the place.

We rode on about 15 miles forward and another curiosity presented itself to our view. In the low grounds near the head of the Roanoak river we came to a large creek to appearance (tho nothing but a spring branch) in riding up which about 300 yards we came to the head, which is no other than a perfect boiling spring arising out of a flat part of the earth, and as clear as crystal (it being of the limestone

kind) which I fully believe affords water more than sufficient for a large merchant mill. We rode on about 3 miles farther and took up camp in the woods near the head of Roanoak.

Fri. 10th. We started early and soon came to the spring head of Roanoak river. We then ascended the Allegenia mountain and after passing this huge chain of inaccessible mountains bid adieu to all the eastern waters. We rode on thro a barren and broken country and arrived at New River in the afternoon. This river is about 300 yards over, as we were informed, and is exceeding furious and rapid; there is at this crossing both a ferry and ford, but the water being fuller than usual rendered it very deep fording, however we being unacquainted with the depth of the water put in to ford it, but the water being both very deep and strong we were apprehensive we had not hit the ford and so turned about and went in at another place, but to no better purpose for the water was nearly up to the saddle skirts the greater part of the way. But we pushed forward and happily reached the western shore thinking ourselves well off with only wet legs and feet. We rode about 3 miles forward and took up at Coles Tavern.

Sat. 11th. We rode about 35 miles and took up in the evening at Thompson's Tavern.

Sun. 12th. We rode thro the upper end of both Montgomery and Washington counties and in traveling down Holstein passed thro some tolerable good land. We took up in the evening at a Mr. Fendley's, who used us extremely well.

DANGER FROM INDIANS.

Mon. 13th. Mr. Fendley having just returned from Kentucky, gave us the following information. That some Indian traders at the Chickeymogeey nation had sent express to Col. Martin, superintendent of Indian affairs, residing at the long islands on Holstein informing him that a body of Indians in number about 150 had started from the nation, and it was conjectured that their destination was either for the Kentucky road or the Cumberland settlement. That the like information had been despatched to Col. Ben Logan at Kentucky. In consequence of which Col. Logan had ordered a body of 150 men to guard the road as far as Cumberland mountain. Mr. Fendley informed us further that a considerable number of horses had been stolen on the Kentucky road and that one company just before the one he came with had lost ——— and several other companies had lost horses likewise.

On receiving the above information we judged it advisable to collect as large a company as we could and accordingly appointed the Thursday following to rendezvous at the Block-house; by which time we judged a considerable body would be collected together. We then started from Mr. Findley's and took up at Tho. Caldwell's about a mile beyond Washington Court-House.

Tues. 14th. We started late, traveling slow and took up the night with Messrs. Fowler and Bray where they had lay encamped about 3 weeks waiting for the rest of their company.

Wed. 15th. We lay by all day in order to rest our horses and provide ourselves with necessaries to carry us thro the wilderness and accordingly got about 30 lb. of flour, 1-2 bushel corn-meal, 3 bushels of oats, and having provided ourselves thus determined to start early in the morning for the Block-house.

Thurs. 16th. We started pretty early and arrived at the Block-house about 1 or 2 o'clock, but we found ourselves altogether disappointed as to finding company for not a man was there traveling to Kentucky, neither could we hear of any that were before. However we pushed forward and in the evening overtook Mr. S. Taylor with whom we encamped about 4 miles above Mockerson Gap.

CLEAR WATERS OF THE CLINCH — POWELL'S MOUNTAIN.

Fri. 17th. Thro neglect having omitted stretching our tent and having made our fire in an open place, when we arose in the morning our bed covering was as wet with the dew as if a small shower of rain had fallen on it. My head seemed much clogged up but as yet I felt no other bad effect. We fixed off towards Clinch and rode up the same about 2 miles. The water of this river is the clearest that I ever saw; in riding along up the river we could with perfect plainness see fish which I suppose were several feet under water, and the bottom, which I suppose was 8 or 10 feet deep, was plain to be seen. We traveled on in an exceeding bad road and about 1 o'clock we made a stop to let our horses feed. I then turned out a hunting and ascended a very high mountain which fatigued me very much. On my return I was immediately taken unwell with a fever which increased all the afternoon. Nevertheless I pursued my journey and about the middle of the afternoon crossed Powell's mountain which is the worst both for length and steepness that we have hitherto passed. After passing this 6 or 7 miles we were again obstructed in our passage by another lesser mountain. Tho exceeding steep and rocky we without much difficulty ascended. But the descent being much steeper than the ascent and likewise much rockier, night having overtaken us and it being very dark, we were in the utmost danger of being dashed to pieces. But at length [made] a very dangerous and disagreeable passage in safety. We arrived at the foot of the mountain where we encamped. We had not been long lay down before it began to rain and continued raining the greater part of the night.

Sat. 18th. was a close, foggy, drizzly morning; however we started and in a little time arrived at the Valley Station; we there made a halt hoping the weather would break; here we also refreshed ourselves and horses, but seeing no likelihood of the weather breaking we again set

forward in order to overtake the company before. We had not been long set out before it set in raining very hard which continued the greater part of the day. Nevertheless we pushed on and overtook the company about an hour by sun at night. But riding thro the rain threw me again into a fever with which I was very sick all night.

SICK IN THE WILDERNESS.

Sun. 19th. was still cloudy and raw, and I was also still very unwell after one of the most disagreeable night's lodging that I ever had in my life, for the ground being wet, all our bedding wet, the wind all night blowing exceeding hard and either rain or snow frequently beating in upon us was the cause of my being seized with a shivering ague, which continued till the middle of the day. I then laid down on the ground and covered myself thick with clothes (the company having stopped to feed their horses). But a severe fever coming on caused me to throw off the clothes, but the fever still rising soon rendered it difficult for me either to go or stand upon my feet. The time was now come when I was to see trouble, for being taken so violent I had little expectation of ever surviving it, even were I at home where I might lie at ease upon my bed with proper attendance. But here I was in a wild uninhabited part of the world having nearly 150 miles to travel without any proper nourishment, under an absolute necessity of traveling and without so much as an acquaintance except my brother and 2 or 3 others (whom I but barely knew by sight) from whom I could reasonably expect anything of consequence in my situation. Under these circumstances I was at an entire loss what to do, whether it would be best either to go back or forward: my brother's advice was that I should return to the valley with Manuel and stay there till an alteration either for the better or worse, which notwithstanding the distressing thought of being in a distant country from home among a people of bad character and entirely destitute of friend or acquaintance, I agreed to and was preparing to return when I was persuaded by several of the company to try to go forward, they promising me their friendly assistance on the way. On these conditions I again determined to go forward as far as I could; one of the company having sent me his beast which went very well, we again set forward with a determination if possible to reach Parker's Spring it being 12 miles; but of all the rides that I ever had this was the worst. I seemed to be in a kind of insensibility and blindness. By which means the way seemed to be exceeding long and tedious, but at length we arrived at the place appointed and took up camp.

CUMBERLAND GAP.

Mon. 20th. Soon after we left our encampment we came in sight of Cumberland Gap and about an hour after passed thro the same. This is a very noted place on account of the great number of people-

who have here unfortunately fallen a prey to savage cruelty or barbarity. The mountain in the gap is neither very steep nor high, but the almost inaccessible cliffs on either side the road render it a place peculiar for doing mischief. However we passed it without molestation, or seeing any sign of Indians, except one mockerson track. We had not passed the gap far before I was again taken with an exceeding hard ague, which on its going off was succeeded by as hard a fever, nevertheless I was obliged to travel, and with extreme weakness and fatigue reached the appointed encampment about 66 miles beyond Cumberland Ford.

Tues. 21st. We rode thro a barren and exceeding badly watered country; about 10 o'clock my ague again came on and it was with great difficulty that I sat upon my beast. But I still was able to keep on with the company tho many times thinking I should not be able to proceed. This day we pushed hard, traveled late and took up camp near Raccoon Spring.

Wed. 22nd. The weather having changed from fine, fair and warm to cloudy, rainy and raw, rendered it disagreeable traveling and my ague at the usual time of day coming on weakened me very fast, but I still made out to travel. We took up in the evening at Rock Castle.

Thurs. 23rd. We fixed off, traveled hard and in the evening after a fatiguing journey accompanied with distress and disappointment we arrived at Englishe's Station, the first in the Kentucky settlement.

Fri. 24th. After getting breakfast at Englishe's we started for Bro. George's but before we arrived there I was seized with my ague again. We then called at Capt. Kincaid's where we tarried till toward the evening. We then set forward again and arrived at Bro. George's about sunset or a little after. We had the satisfaction of finding him and all his family in health and enjoying the happiness of being in a safe part of the country and having plenty of what is necessary for the support of nature.

From this time till Friday the 21st. of November I was confined almost entirely to the house and chiefly to the bed, having an ague every day and seldom if ever clear of a fever. I during this time took two vomits one of tartar, the other of Indian phisick, neither of which worked me properly. I also took a large quantity of other drugs and medicines none of which had the effect of removing my ague. I was confident it was a foul stomach that was the cause of all my disorders and did not expect to be perfectly well till I could get it cleansed. In consequence of which I desired Bro. George to get me a large dose of tartar; he accordingly got me 5 grains which I immediately took and which worked me tolerable well. This phisick I think by the blessing of God was the means of carrying off the ague and in a great measure of dispeling my fevers. Nevertheless as I had been sick so long I had gotten so weak that I was still scarcely able to stir out of the house.

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Sat. 22nd. November. I continued at my brother's all day and don't know that I felt anything of the ague but still continued feverish.

Sun. 23rd. Bro. George, having a meeting 3 or 4 miles from my brother's I concluded to go with him which I accordingly did and think I felt better than I had done since I was taken sick.

Mon. 24th. I continued at my brother's all the day and still seemed to mend.

Tues. 25th. I rode with Sister Frances to one of the neighbors and returned again in the afternoon considerably recruited, tho still exceeding weak.

DISAPPOINTED IN KENTUCKY LANDS.

Wed. 26th. Bro. George and myself set off for Mr. Curd's about 16 miles from my brothers and although I expected the ride would fatigue me very much, when we arrived there in the evening I found myself nearly as well as when I set off. In this ride I had the only opportunity of seeing the country that I have had since I arrived in it. The richest land as to the soil is nearly as I expected to find tho not altogether so rich. My expectation was to find richer land than I ever saw, but was disappointed in my judgment. Again, I expected to find a level country but in this I was also mistaken, the country I think being rather hillier than in Powhatan, besides a vast number of sinkholes many of which contained an acre of ground and the sides being so steep as to render it untillable. I also found myself wrong in regard to the quality of land in general, there being much more poor land than I expected to have found, and but a small proportion of what is called the first rate. Bro. George walked over to Mr. Ben Bradshaw's, but I being too weak to walk tarried at Mr. Curd's who is the best fixed with necessaries of any person I have seen in Kentucky.

Thurs. 27th. We returned to Bro. Stokes' as the day was cloudy and raw and at times rained a little, but we sustained no damage.

Fri. 28th. was close, cloudy and snowy, besides a good deal which had fallen in the night, which prevented my turning out.

Sat. 29th. was a fine, fair and warm day which soon melted off the snow. We then fixed up and started for the Manakin town, but the coldness of the season, the length and dangerousness of the way and particularly the exceeding weak state of health that I was in for executing such a journey, with the hardships to which I must unavoidably be exposed, rendered the thoughts of it somewhat disagreeable. But the great desire and fervent longings that I had to once more see my native country enabled me to surmount all difficulties, and we accordingly set off and took up at Capt. Owsley's about 8 miles from Bro. George's. Here we got our horses all shoed besides providing ourselves with some necessaries, determining to start the next day for the Crab Orchard.

Sun. 30th. We were somewhat surprised when we arose in the morning to find it snowing very fast, the evening before having been very warm, fair and pleasant. It continued snowing till about 12 or 1 o'clock by which time it was an ankle deep or more, which prevented our going to the Crab Orchard. It ceased snowing about 1 o'clock but continued cloudy and raw all the remainder of the day.

Mon. Dec. 1st. After having fixed up our luggage and taken breakfast we started from Capt. Owsley's, but being detained longer than we expected made it near 12 o'clock before we arrived at the Crab Orchard. When we arrived we were informed the company had been gone from there about an hour. We were then obliged to push hard to overtake them, but being much plagued with our packs, and being also obliged to call at English's prevented our overtaking them till they encamped. I was enabled this day to ride thro the snow and frequently obliged to get down to alter our pack without feeling any perceivable damage; we traveled about 22 miles and took with the rest of the company on Scagg's creek.

HORSES STRAYED.

Tues. 2nd. We left our encampment just as it was well light and traveled pretty fast. About 12 o'clock it clouded up and began to rain and continued to rain all day; we traveled till near dark and then took up on Raccoon creek. But riding thro the rain with the fatigue of traveling about 30 miles threw me into a smart fever. Bro. George also having took a great cold was likewise very unwell. As soon as we arrived at the encamping ground we immediately turned our horses loose into the cane, thinking before we lay down to confine them, but we were both so unwell that we were scarcely able to move from camp so that they remained loose all night. After a very wet night and bad lodging we were blessed with the light of

Wed. 3rd. but to our no small disappointment our horses were not to be found. Bro. George made what search he could till towards 8 or 9 o'clock without success and then offered a reward of 10 dollars to any person that would bring them. But in vain, for after searching till sometime in the afternoon we were under the disagreeable necessity of returning to Kentucky. This was truly a wretched shift but nevertheless it was the best we could make and notwithstanding our case was bad yet we had great reason to be thankful that it was no worse. For first, we had one horse left, which I had luckily tied up over night; secondly a company of our old acquaintance coming by mere accident to our camp about 10 at night, who (happy for us) were detained in the morning as well as we; and when we were driven to the necessity of returning assisted us on our way back; and thirdly when we arrived at Kentucky we had the good fortune to find our horses, who had got there about 2 hours before us, so that we came off much better than we could reasonably have expected.

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Thurs. 4th. The weather was still cloudy, cold and raw, but we pursued our journey. But I think I suffered the most cold that I almost ever did in one day in my life; for I was so weak that I was unable to walk which was the only expedient we could have recourse to to warm ourselves when cold. Having made it rather late in starting from our encampment (which was on Rock Castle) we did not arrive at Kentucky till about 9 o'clock at night.

ARRIVE AT THE KENTUCKY RIVER.

Fri. 5th. was cold and blustering which brought on a heavy shower of snow which was soon over and then it cleared away. Bro. George and myself having taken a walk down to the river to wash ourselves saw the greatest curiosity I ever saw in Kentucky. Which is as follows: On the river bank lie several large rocks the gritt of which as well as I recollect is much like grindstone gritt; within these rocks there are innumerable appearances of some kind of shells which are turned into solid stone, the greater part of which a good deal resemble buck's horns. What was the cause of this strange phenomenon of nature I am at a loss to determine, nevertheless I must think that these stones were once covered with water, and that these appearances were once perfect shells. Otherwise I can form no idea how they should come there. But of this enough. — Having parted with our provisions both for ourselves and horses we were obliged to provide more, having determined to start with the company that were coming from Crab Orchard. We accordingly got enough to carry us thro the wilderness and with it once more started for home. But the company having got the start of us thro our being unavoidably detained in providing our provisions, we were again obliged to travel by ourselves, till late in the night, when we at last overtook them at their encampment near the mouth of Scragg's creek.

Sat. 6th. We started pretty early, travelled slowly and encamped in the evening on Fraser's creek. We were in number about 35 men and there being a good deal of danger of Indians, caused us to be much on our guard. Wherefore it was thought proper to place out 4 centinels one on each quarter of the encampment, which after a list was obtained for the purpose were accordingly ordered to their several posts.

INDIAN BARBARITY.

Sun. 7th. We fixed up and started from our encampment as soon as it was well light. Soon after our setting out we were struck with horror at the sight of the fresh grave of the unfortunate Fielding, who had fallen a prey to the savage barbarity of a merciless, cruel and bloodthirsty enemy; who after it was his fatal misfortune to have his thigh bone shattered to pieces was inhumanly butchered and bruised and at length scalped to complete the horror of that mournful scene.

Soon after we had passed this monument of cruelty, our front were alarmed at the fresh signs of horses that had come up to the road on a high hill, which was doubtless a party of savages, who had come hither to learn if there had any company just passed. Nevertheless we pursued our journey without any interruption. We travelled on till night when we came to the place where poor Fielding and his companions received their mortal wounds; the company who survived the shocking massacre had built for their preservation a kind of fort, into which they repaired but unhappily their cautious proceedings came too late for their unfortunate friends. We proceeded a few miles farther and took up camp.

DANGERS IN CUMBERLAND GAP.

Mon. 8th. Having determined if possible this day to get into Powell's valley we started about 2 hours before day. When the daylight came on the front were again alarmed by a mockerson track, which appeared not to have been gone an hour. On seeing this repeated sign of Indians, a council was held wherein it was decreed that the gun men should divide, some in front and some in the rear in case the rear should be attacked. In this position we marched until we passed Cumberland river. When we arrived at the foot of Cumberland mountain we were again halted and the whole of the guns (being about 12 or 15 in number excepting pistols) were put in front; thus we marched uninterrupted thro the gap. But 2 men, one of whom had a foundered and the other a tired horse, being quite out of sight of the rest of the company behind, when they had a little passed the top of the mountain one of them chancing to cast his eye some distance to the left hand was suddenly startled by the sight of 6 Indians running with their guns in their hands as tho they meant to head the body of the company by taking advantage of a crooked part of the road. They immediately set up a continued cry for assistance, which being heard and answered by those before, made the very mountain seem to be alive with people. But when the company collected again on the top of the mountain no Indian was to be seen. A council was then again held, when Col. Martin gave it as his opinion that we should certainly be attacked some time in the night by those Indians. Whereupon the guns were again divided, some in the front and some in the rear. We then marched on in close and good order in a single Indian file; we marched thus about 5 miles and then stopped, fed our horses and determined to travel the greater part of the night. As soon as our horses were done eating we set forward again it being at this time about 2 hours in the night; after traveling about 6 miles farther we came to the encampment of a company bound for Kentucky with whom we encamped all night.

Tues. 9th. Hoping we were now out of danger, several of the company talked of not starting till towards 8 or 9 o'clock, but my brother

and me with a few others pushed on with an intention to get to the Valley Station. We travelled on till towards the middle of the day, when all except my brother and me stopped to let their horses eat cane. We pushed along, thinking to go somewhat farther and wait for them while our horses should feed, but seeing no convenient place we kept on, when as our pack horses were going along before and coming to the brow of an hill suddenly started back and came meeting us; my brother immediately dismounted and bore off to the left hand and I bore off to the right. We could make no discoveries of anything, but this so alarmed us that we were not at ease all the day after; we saw also several mockerson tracks along the road which still tended to increase our fears. But safely and undisturbed we arrived at the Valley Station about 10 o'clock at night.

Wed. 10th. Being now got quite beyond danger we did not start so soon as usual so that all our company came up again and we all set off together about 11 o'clock from the Valley Station and took up camp at night on Clinch river.

Thurs. 11th. We started pretty early and arrived at the Blockhouse about 1 o'clock, so that we have been but 6 days since we started from Englishe's. We fed our horses at the Blockhouse and then rode on to Campbell's.

Fri. 12th. We fixed and started about an hour before day, but the morning being wet and raining we went about 6 miles and took up again till it ceased raining and then pushed on to about 3 or 4 miles this side of Washington Courthouse.

Sat. 13th. We started about break of day, travelled pretty hard and encamped in the woods near the head of Holstein.

Sun. 14th. We started early and took up camp in the woods, opposite the Peak mountains.

Mon. 15th. We set out some time before day; about 9 o'clock crossed N. River and about 5 in the afternoon crossed the stupendous Allegenia ridge and took up camp in the woods near the Big Spring.

Tues. 16th. We started an hour or 2 before day, travelled fast and took up at night about 40 miles from our encampment.

Wed. 17th. The morning being wet and raining we did not start until after breakfast. However we reached Mr. J. Chastain's a little after sunset.

Thurs. 18th. was a very bad snowy day, nevertheless we rode from Mr. Chastain's to Mr. Stovall's it being near 40 miles.

Fri. 19th. We started from Mr. Stovall's after breakfast and arrived at R. Moseley's about daylight down.

Sat. 20th. Started from R. Moseley's and took up at Neil Thompson's in Cumberland.

Sun. 21st. About daylight down arrived safe at home; having been mercifully preserved and kept thro innumerable hardships, dangers and

difficulties, for which may the Power that kept me have unremitted praise.

II.

JOURNEY THROUGH KENTUCKY AND INTO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

1795.

A variety of consideration have for some time led me to think, that the peace and tranquility of my native country, stood on a very precarious footing. The pride and profaneness that is everywhere discoverable among all ranks of people, the great decay of true and vital religion among all orders of professors, the disordered state of public affairs, the fatal tendency of that policy which tolerates slavery and oppression in a free republican government, and above all a full conviction of the truth of that remarkable saying "The measure ye mete shall be measured to you again," are considerations that have made me to cry out with the prophet, "O that I had in the wilderness a lodging place, that I might rest in the day of trouble, when the Lord cometh up to invade the people with his troops." I therefore determined if God spare my life, to visit the western country, if haply I might find a place answerable to my wishes. I therefore left home on Sunday the 4th day of October, 1795, proceeded to Peter Sublett's and preached my farewell discourse from 2 Corinthians 13-11, to a number of attentive hearers, ready to depart on the morrow on my intended journey.

Mon. 5th. After taking leave of my near and dear connections, myself and Thomas Porter set out about 9 o'clock, but having occasion to call at several places it was sunset when we reached Thompson's tavern. Here we stopped, fed our horses and again set forward; daylight now forsook us; the lowering clouds portended a storm and the winds already roared at a distance. The lightning blazed around us and the thunder rolled over our heads. The rain came on with impetuosity and the rushing wind passed by with its frightful roar. In consequence of the uncommon darkness of the night we got bewildered and took a wrong road. We knew nothing of our mistake till we heard the sound of the water, tumbling over a mill dam on Appamatox river. We very fortunately however got back into the right road and wet and weary enough reached Wm. Maxey's about 11 o'clock in the night.

Tues. 6th. We left Bro. Maxey's about 12 o'clock and reached Philip Gatch's about 3.

Wed. 7th. Thomas Porter, Philip Rowzie, Samuel Mansfield and myself started from Bro. Gatch's about 10 and traveled through a barren and broken country. A few solitary farms with a small cornfield and cabin filled with tobacco, were the objects that presented themselves to our view. On the head of the Appamatox river the scene was agreeably changed. Instead of fields overrun with weeds, we find large and

beautiful farms, well cultivated and beautiful fields of wheat. We took up in the evening at Hunter's tavern.

Thurs. 8th. We set out early, traveled slowly, took a wrong road, passed Campbell Court House about 12 o'clock and reached Mr. Chastian's about 9 at night.

ON THE TOP OF APPLE ORCHARD MOUNTAIN.

Fri. 9th. In order to give our horses a little rest we concluded to continue this day at Mr. Chastian's. A son of Mr. Chastian offered to conduct us to the top of a mountain called the Apple Orchard. This proposal we gladly accepted. We set off from Mr. Chastian's about 8 o'clock and rode to the foot of the mountain, where we arrived about 10. We now left our horses and began to climb the mountain. At about 12 we reached a kind of level, being now as our pilots informed us, about half way to the top. Here one of our company got discouraged and returned. The rest of us pursued our intention of gaining the top, which we were informed was yet four miles distant. But not discouraged at the distance or difficulties we met with, we honestly exerted ourselves and reached the most beautiful summit of this lofty mountain about 2 o'clock. There is about two acres of level ground on the top without a tree, bush or shrub, so that we had a full and extensive view of the world beneath us. Here language is too weak to convey a proper idea of the beauty of the scene. We find ourselves on the top of one of the highest mountains in Virginia, if not in North America. When we get near the top the trees are low and shrubby, having much the appearance of an old apple orchard, whose limbs have been over-loaded with fruit. Indeed I suppose these trees are frequently more loaded with ice, than the best of orchards are with apples; but, as was observed before, the summit is quite naked of trees and opens an unbounded prospect to the enraptured beholder. You cast your eyes eastwardly, a beautiful level country, adorned with farms and plantations presents itself to view, but if you look southwardly, westwardly or northerly, "Hills peep o'er hills and mountains on mountains rise." Some of these appear close at hand and seem to invite you across the deep winding valleys to take a view of their rocky summits: while others at an immense distance raise their high heads above the floating clouds. Interspersed among the valleys a number of beautiful meadows discover themselves to view. After indulging ourselves with this enchanting prospect about an hour, we set off down, in doing which we passed by one of the head springs of Otter river. We got back to Mr. Chastian's a little after sunset.

Sat. 10th. We left Mr. Chastian's about 11 o'clock after experiencing the most unbounded generosity and respect. We traveled slowly and reached Buford's tavern in the evening, where we had appointed to meet some other company.

Sun 11th. We were this morning joined by Wm. and James Bryant,

Mrs. Bryant and Mrs. Blakey. Started from Buford's about 8 and passed the Blue Ridge about 10 o'clock. In consequence of information we received respecting the badness of the wilderness road, we here turned our course and made for the Kanhaway. We passed Fincastle about 3 in the afternoon, which is the county town of Botetourt. It is a neat little town, very agreeably situated in a fertile country, and in full view of the Blue Ridge, Peaks of Otter and certain high mountains in the west. Here we find a surprising change in the agricultural system to that used on the eastern side of the mountain. Here are no fields of tobacco cultivated by droves of unhappy slaves. But instead thereof the most beautiful meadows with their purling streams watering their green and delightful borders. Here are barns stored with plenty, and hay in abundance in the meadows and nature seems to smile on the industrious and frugal husbandman. We took up in the evening at A. Caldwell's in a huge cluster of mountains.

THE SWEET SPRINGS — OTHER MINERAL SPRINGS.

Mon. 12th. We have done little else to-day but climb and descend mountains. Immediately after leaving our lodging, we began to ascend what is called the Craigs creek mountain and about 8 o'clock we reached its summit. Here we found ourselves so high that we could see the clouds hovering in the valleys beneath us and mountains innumerable entirely surrounding us. Precisely at 12 o'clock we began to climb the Potts-creek mountain. Two hours and ten minutes of laborious travel brought us to the top. About an hour and half more we spent in going down it. It is amazing steep and rocky, especially in going down. But we are not yet done with this rugged day. We now began to ascend the "Sweet-spring mountain," reached its summit about 5, and arrived at the foot about sunset, which brought us to the Sweet Springs where we took up. This has been a most tiresome and fatiguing day's travel though we had gotten only 21 miles. The scenes that presented themselves to our view were high mountains, fearful precipices, enormous rocks, deep winding valleys, high water falls; and a dreary, lonely and desert country, surrounded us on every side. It was a most agreeable sensation therefore which we experienced when we reached the Sweet Springs, where we met with good accommodations.

Tues. 13th. As soon as it was well light I took a walk to the fountain, which claims the pre-eminence of all the waters of Virginia. It rises out of a beautiful valley at the foot of the Sweet Spring mountain, and is from 30 to 40 feet in diameter. Near one edge of it is a box about 12 inches square and 2 feet high, with a spout, venting a stream of water about the size of a man's arm; from this spout the water is taken which the people drink. About the center of the spring is a house containing two apartments with a bath in each. These baths are 8 to 10 feet square and the water in each is 3 or 4 feet deep, into which

they descend by steps. The water being about bloodwarm renders bathing a most agreeable as well as a most profitable exercise. These waters are found to contain a very considerable quantity of air in consequence of which, thousands of bubbles perpetually rise. The taste of the water is not easily described. It appears strongly impregnated with vitriol, while a small touch of sulphur is also easily discoverable. This spring is said by Jefferson to be one of the headwaters of the James river. I think it sends forth much the greatest quantity of water of any fountain I ever saw, part of which conveyed by canal, works a saw-mill at about 100 yards distance from the spring and a grist mill a little farther down.

The Red Springs about a mile down the same stream next presented themselves to view. This fountain with a bold stream, that dyes the earth and stones of a red, or rusty cast, rushes out of a steep bank and quickly mingles its waters with those of the Sweet Springs, to which (if we may be allowed to judge from the taste) it seems nearly related.

To a contemplative and philosophic mind, this country opens a wide and extensive field, while it affords at the same time a most striking display of the wisdom, power and goodness of the great Universal Architect. In one place we hear of springs the "waters of which are hot enough to boil an egg," while others in a few feet of the same place produce water as cool as common water. Again we hear of others, though quite cold will take fire by the flame of a candle or the flash of gunpowder and burn for days together. Others issue forth strongly impregnated with sulphur, while not a few send forth in their brackish streams immense quantities of common salt. These different properties are supposed to be produced by different minerals through which these waters pass. But how weak and perhaps erroneous are the ideas we form of these things. What strange cause can produce such a surprising heat in the hot springs, or the inflammable matter in the burning springs? All I can say is, to acknowledge with one of old, that "these things are too wonderful for me."

After satisfying our curiosity in viewing these several springs, we ascended the Allegheny mountain, the summit of which we gained about 12 o'clock. Here we took leave of the waters of the James river and with it all others that run eastwardly. We descended a branch of the Green Briar river, called Howard's creek. Here we saw what are called the Sulphur Springs, an appellation which they have received from there having been a strong smell and taste of sulphur. At these several springs baths are erected and houses built for the accommodation of the sick, which flock to them from all parts of the United States and even from Europe; and if we are not wrongly informed some very remarkable cures have been effected by the virtue of the waters. The country down Howard's creek is poor and broken. Here were more acorns than I ever saw in any one place before. But we saw a great number of pigeons flocking thither which I suppose soon devoured them. We went down

the creek to its mouth, just below which we crossed Green Briar river and reached Lewisburg about dark.

Wed. 14th. We spent some time in town viewing its rarities and curiosities. It consists of about 20 families, who are tradesmen, mechanics, etc. The situation of the place is far from agreeable, being built on very broken ground, without any river to wash its borders or view of high mountains at a great distance to give it a prospect. The district court is sometimes held at this place. We pursued our journey through some very fertile lands and arrived in the evening at Gillyland's in the edge of the wilderness. Here we overtook our old friend Hatcher and Sublett with their families with whom we encamped.

Thurs. 15th. Immediately after our setting out, a dark cloud showed its broad front over the top of a neighboring mountain. The rushing wind, attended with heavy rain, roared among the trees, and bellowed in the mountains. We sheltered ourselves under some large trees till the fury of the storm was over. We then put forward, but the wind continued very boisterous the rest of the day and we were in much danger from the falling trees. But the Lord preserved us. Our journey to-day has lain through a dreary, lonely, uninhabited country and very badly watered. We lodged or encamped in the woods near the foot of Gauley mountain. Here we thought it prudent to keep sentry for fear of Indians.

THE TOP OF GAULEY MOUNTAIN — A CROWDED BOAT.

Fri. 16th. We left our encampment about an hour before day. At sunrise we reached the top of Gauley mountain, which is pretty high, steep, rocky and slippery. But the greatest difficulty is in descending it; great caution and skill are necessary in order to carry down a wagon safe. At the foot of the mountain we met a young man from the Boatyard, who informed us that his brother, who procured a boat, was desirous of taking in some single horsemen to complete his load. On receiving this agreeable intelligence, we dispatched two young men express to the Boatyard to stop the boat till we should arrive. We crossed the rocky ford of Gauley river about 10 o'clock, rode down it about a mile, with the mountain projecting over our heads on the one hand and the river on the other tumbling over the rocks. In a small flat on the river I saw a number of the most beautiful walnut trees I ever saw, one of which I measured with a thread, about 21 feet in circumference, with a body about 40 feet long without a single limb. We arrived at the Boatyard about half an hour by sun but met with very indifferent accommodations.

Sat. 17th. We procured for our voyage 5½ bushels of sweet potatoes and about 12 pounds of very indifferent meat; it was however the best, yea, all that we could get for our company, which consists of 24 persons. With this scanty stock of provisions we embarked on board our boat

about 3 o'clock. But the wind being against us, we got only four miles, where we took up for the night.

Sun. 18th. The whole of our company, 24 in number and 14 horses embarked on board our boat which is 28 feet long only. We were consequently heavy loaded and amazingly pestered for want of room. The winds were yet contrary and pretty high withal, which made us sail very slow. Finding we could easily get ahead of the boat, myself and a few others, after procuring a pilot, set out by land with an intention to find out and take a view of those wonders of nature.

THE BURNING SPRINGS.

Having reached a very rich and fertile piece of woods on the bank of the Kanhaway, our pilot informed us we were near the springs. We then set out in search of them. We had been but a few minutes engaged in this search, before an uncommon rumbling noise called my attention to a particular spot. I made to the place and to my very great amazement found a round puddle of muddy water of about 6 feet in diameter boiling and rumbling after a strange and surprizing manner. The Spring (as it is called) altho in this strange agitation, had no vent or stream issuing from it, yet boiled with more violence than any spring or pot I ever saw. We flashed a little gunpowder over it and it instantly took fire and flamed like burning spirits. The smell of the fire was like that of burning pitcoal and the flame, I observed, did not produce any smoke. We had therefore a very good opportunity of warming ourselves, the weather being pretty cold. About 50 yards from the above is another spring of the same kind; this we found burning. The water was entirely extinguished and the fire seemed to proceed out of the ground. Our pilot informed us that this was the largest spring of the two and supposed it had been burning for several days at least. It is observable that the water in these springs is remarkable cold, but after being set on fire the water get warm and at length disappears. The fire is easily extinguished by smothering it. After we had sufficiently viewed this surprizing phenomenon we pursued our course to the mouth of Elk, where we again embarked and proceeded down the river thro the Elk shoals, and then took up for the night.

POINT PLEASANT.

Mon. 19th. We proceeded down the river, sailed all night, slept none and arrived about break of day at Point Pleasant.

Tues. 20th. When it got sufficiently light we took a view of the place, the beautiful situation of which is remarked by travelers. The Monongalia and Allegania rivers form a junction at Fort Pitt and from thence downward is called the Ohio. The course of this river is from northeast to southwest generally; but coming near the point it turns northward and receives the Kanhaway. New river and Green Briar unite

their currents about 200 miles from the Ohio and from their union downward it is called the Kanawa. It shapes its general course nearly west, till coming near the point it turns northward, and rolls its beautiful and gentle current, into the still more beautiful Ohio. In this beautiful point, the land lies high, is amazing rich, and uncommonly level. The place seems to be formed by nature for a town, and probably were we acquainted with the history of America as well as we are with that of some other countries, we might mention when the time was that a town really stood on this very point. But alas, nothing now remains of its ancient works but a few monuments of the dead. A new town is now laid off; the streets are straight and the lots enclosed, but the buildings are (as yet) but very indifferent. But its delightful situation, its conveniency for trade thro the two noble rivers, which wash its borders, its being surrounded by a rich and fertile country, are objects which point out its future consequence and splendor. A little back of the town, and between the two rivers, rises a mountain which not only commands an extensive view of the distant country, the rivers and the point, but will probably also at a future day be the strength and safety of the town. Here was a bloody battle fought between the Indians and whites in 1774.

GALLIPOLIS, THE FRENCH TOWN — AN ENTERTAINING FRENCHMAN.

About 9 o'clock we left this delightful situation and proceeded down the Ohio. About an hour's sail brought us alongside of the French town Gallipolis. Here we also landed in order to procure some bread for hitherto we had been unable to furnish any for our voyage. The town contains, as we informed, about 100 families, who appear to live in a very social, agreeable and friendly manner, being a frugal and industrious people.

While we were here a civil and well bred Frenchman obligingly entertained us with a number of curiosities. He first kindled a fire of a small clear flame, which, by means of a foot bellows, he increased or diminished at his pleasure. He then took a piece of glass about the shape and size of a pipe-stem (of which he had a great number of pieces); he held this glass in the flame till it began to melt, then applied it to his mouth and blew it up like a bladder; this he gave a fillip with his finger and it burst with an explosion like the report of a pistol. Another glass he blew up in the same manner and thro a tube as fine as a hair filled it with water, running upward in a strange manner and filling the globe at the top. Other pieces he wired as fine as a hair; indeed it appeared as if he had taught this brittle substance so far to obey him, that it took any form he pleased. He shewed us a number of thermometers, barometers, spirit proofs etc., all of his own make. The virtue of the spirit proof I tried on different kinds of spirits, and found it to answer the purpose for which it was intended by showing the real strength of the liquor. He terminated these shows by exhibiting a chem-

ical composition which had the peculiar quality of setting wood on fire. The polite and agreeable manner in which he entertained us for about half an hour was not the smallest gratification to me; for while it marked the general character of his nation, it placed his own in a very conspicuous point of view.

We left Gallipolis about 2 o'clock, pursued our course down the river and were near the mouth of Sandy river by sunrise the next morning, 55 miles from the French town. Sandy river is the boundary line between Virginia and Kentucky.

Wed. 21st. The weather since we embarked has been fair and pleasant, which makes greatly in our favor. Our horses however get very restless and their legs swell considerably but we comfort ourselves with a hope that we shall reach Limestone tomorrow.

Thurs. 22nd. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon we reached the settlement at Kennaday's bottom, and being tired of our situation determined here to land. We therefore disembarked and pursued our journey down the Ohio by land about 7 miles and took up in the evening at a Mr. Lawson's. We were in hopes to have got some refreshment here, but to our great mortification could get neither bread, meat, milk or butter. We however got some Irish potatoes and parched corn and with this we made our first meal in Kentucky. We then composed ourselves to rest and enjoyed a refreshing night's sleep on the hard floor.

Fri. 23rd. We left the Ohio, and turned our faces toward Lexington; called and ate a hearty breakfast at A. Vears; crossed the north fork of Licking about 12, and came into a country thickly inhabited and vastly rich. We took up in the evening at Row's on Johnston's Fork.

THE BLUE LICKS.

Sat. 24th. Soon after our setting out we passed over a ground rendered memorable by reason of a battle fought here in 1782, in which Col. Todd, commander of the Kentuckians and about 60 of his brave companions in arms, fell victims to a superior savage force. After passing this aceldama or field of blood, we soon reached the Blue Licks, the country around which remains a monument of barrenness. The amazing resort of buffalo to the Licks in former times is supposed to be the cause of this barrenness. As you approach the Licks, at the distance of 4 or 5 miles from it, you begin to perceive the change. The earth seems to be worn away, the roots of the trees lie naked and bare, the rocks forsaken of the earth, that once covered them lie naked on the neighboring hills, and roads of an amazing size, in all directions, unite at the Licks, as their common center. Here immense herds of buffalo used formerly to meet and with their fighting, scraping etc., have worn away the ground to what it is at present. The Salt Spring at this place rises in a flat ground near the river Licking, and affords a great deal of water. The water is brackish with a touch of sulphur, and has a

bluish appearance, which is the reason of its being called the Blue Licks. Here they make considerable quantities of salt. It is found that the saltiest water is procured by sinking wells a few feet deep and getting the water from thence. In sinking a well of this kind here some little time past, the bones and teeth of an animal of enormous size were found. Some of these bones and teeth I saw and handled. A tusk was the most remarkable. It was something in shape of a boar's tusk, was 4 or 5 feet long, and when first found weighed about 50 pounds. We left the Lick and pursued our journey to Lexington following one of the old buffalo roads, which I suppose was generally 200 feet wide. After we got from the Licks 5 or 6 miles the lands became good and surprisingly fertile. We reached Col. Rogers' at Bryant Old Station where we lodged.

LEXINGTON AND VICINITY — THE KENTUCKY RIVER.

Sun. 25th. We entered and passed thro Lexington, the boast and pride of the Kentuckians. It is an agreeable town, pleasantly situated, in a thriving condition, and a place of considerable trade. In the afternoon I arrived at my brother's and had the satisfaction of finding him and his family in health.

Mon. 26th. Was called to attend the funeral of a Mrs. Moddis, who is said to have feared God from her youth. She died yesterday about 1 o'clock leaving a husband and children to bewail her loss. My brother requested me to preach, which I did to a considerable number of people, who were collected on the occasion.

Fri. 30th. I went to Mr. John Watkins' in Woodford county, attended by my brother and sister Frances. I was greatly pleased with Mr. Watkins' settlement. The situation is beautiful, land fertile, water good, and air healthy. These blessings with a contented mind, are an inestimable treasure. But alas, where is the man that enjoys all these favors at once and the same time?

Sat. 31st. We walked to Mr. Henry Watkins' and saw there several old friends and acquaintances and returned in the evening to Mr. John Watkins'.

Sun. Nov. 1st. I went with Mr. Watkins to a meeting house and heard Mr. John Dupuy preach a good discourse. After he concluded he requested me to preach; I did so from Rev. 3 etc. The people heard with seriousness and the deepest attention, while I pointed out the danger of apostasy, and the blessed effects of perseverance. After preaching I called and took dinner with Stephen Trabeu; Mr. Dupuy and a number of other old friends and acquaintances making up our company. I then proceeded to Edward Trabeu's and spent the evening.

Mon. 2nd. Here for the first time I see the Kentucky river, and the inaccessible cliffs that appear on both sides of it. The bed of the river which I suppose cannot be less than 300 feet below the tops of these enormous banks appears like a gutter cut to a vast depth by the

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water during a long course of time; from the tops of these banks (or as they are more usually called, cliffs) the sand goes off level and after getting a little from the river are amazingly rich. I left Mr. Trabau's after breakfast, dined at Mr. Adams' and then proceeded to Mr. John Moss', whose kindness to me while traveling to this country once before still fills my heart with gratitude.

Tues. 3rd. I went to Lexington, where were a vast number of people collected to see a poor felon executed. Here I met with my brother and accompanied him home.

Wed. 4th. I set out on a journey to the south side of Kentucky, forded the river, passed thro part of Mercer and Lincoln counties, and reached John Bryant's in the evening.

Thurs. 5th. Mr. Bryant rode with me to Capt. Owsley's in Madison county. But instead of that cheerfulness that once characterized this family, I found that grief had erected her standard here. This was owing to the horrid and criminal conduct of a Mr. Gouge (a son-in-law of Capt. Owsley's), who a few days before had killed a man and for which atrocious act he is now confined in Frankfort jail, and will probably suffer the punishment, which his crime deserves. The man murdered had discharged an innocent slave, which Gouge intended to flog. This was a crime too great for Gouge's boisterous temper to put up with. He therefore discharged a rifle at the man, the contents of which passing thro his knee, caused his death 15 days later.

Fri. 6th. I visited Wm. Bryant where I wrote several letters to my family and friends expecting to have a ready conveyance by Mr. Douglass, who intends to go to Richmond. But how great was my disappointment when I called at Mr. Douglass' and found that he had started the day before. It would have been a great gratification to me to have contrived a letter to them but must await another conveyance.

Sat. 7th. I returned to Capt. Owsley's and preached in the evening to a small but attentive congregation from Rev. 22:17.

Sun. 8th. I had appointed to preach at the meeting house on Sugar creek, but was prevented by the rain. In the evening I returned to Mr. John Bryant's.

DROUTH IN KENTUCKY.

Mon. 9th. The summer and fall hitherto having been uncommonly dry in this country, has created an alarming scarcity of water. Stock of all kinds have suffered very much. Horses to my knowledge have not drank a single drop of water for many days together, and cattle could only loll out their tongues where they once drank the refreshing stream. The far greater part of the springs were stopped running and not a few entirely dry. Even the bottoms of the mill ponds were as dry as an hearth, and numbers of people had their water to fetch several miles. A day or two past the whole face of the country was as dry as tinder, and considerable rivers had ceased to flow in their channels. But this

morning the scene is agreeably changed. The springs, creeks, and rivers flow in their usual channels and the thirsty cattle flock thither and quench their thirst. The mills, once more driven by the force of the water, prepare grain for the use of man. Surely the people of this country as well as the Virginians ought to trace the footsteps of an offended Deity. While the heavens has been brass over this country, floods, storms and tempests have laid waste whole fields on the eastern side of the mountains. If the rivers here have been dry, in Virginia they have swelled to an uncommon height, while the mills in both countries have been rendered useless, some for the want of water and others by having too much. Thus it is that "God speaketh once, yea, twice yet man perceiveth it not."

Tues. 10th. I travelled today in a strange country among a strange people, who earnestly importuned me to come and preach among them before I left the country. It appeared that the Universalists, joining with the Deists, had given Christianity a deadly stab hereabouts. But "the Lord hath his way in the wilderness and all things obey his might." I trust he will yet bring good out of this evil, and that the glory of scriptural religion, tho obscure for the present, will shine forth hereafter with redoubled luster.

THE CLIFFS OF KENTUCKY.

Wed. 11th. After taking breakfast with Mr. Bryant I set out for my brother's. About 12 o'clock I came to the Kentucky river and found it considerably raised. While the boat was coming across to fetch me, I improved the time, in taking a particular view of the stones, that everywhere lay about my feet. Limestone in this country is everywhere common, but here are also sand stones in abundance. As good flint as I ever saw was here to be seen in considerable plenty and marble itself was not wanting to make up the rich variety. But what is very strange, all these different kinds of stone were to be seen at the same time in one solid piece of a few pounds weight.

The above is a description of the pavement you stand upon; but raising your eyes, a scene of a very different kind strikes your astonished mind. On each side of the river you have a prospect of the cliffs, a scene, tho wild and romantic, yet awful and majestic. The rock cannot be less than 200 feet in height and in many places almost perpendicular and sometimes projecting over. Here are large pieces to be seen, which appear just ready to break loose and tumble from their high beds into the river below and it sometimes actually happens that they break loose from above and come tumbling to the bottom in a fearful and horrible manner. From the bed of the river to the highest part of the cliff, the rock seems to have an appearance like that of a river bank where a number of marks appear, pointing out to the beholder how high the water has been in a fresh. Their appearance sug-

gests an idea and confirms the history of a universal flood, the powerful effects of which operating upon the limestone rock (which being of a dissoluble nature) have made there various marks at the various heights of the water while returning to the abyss. This is only one among a great number of arguments that prove the doctrine of the deluge. While traveling thro this country I have observed that the rocks in a number of places contain a perfect impression of sea shells, scolloped and carved in a most extraordinary manner. At an Indian grave, near Mr. Bryant's, I saw a number of these appearances of different kinds and shapes and a stone which had the appearance of the backbone of a fish, the joints of which appeared quite plain and distinct. From all this it would appear that this country, tho 7 or 800 miles from the sea, has been deluged with water, and if so, how reasonable it is to suppose that it was at the time of the universal flood.

The cliffs of Kentucky produce little else but cedar, which shooting their roots among the rocks, grow in great abundance. They are generally from 6 inches to 2 feet thro, some however are much larger I am told, and well adapted to building. After getting clear of the cliffs, the soil gets richer as we go from the river till it exceeds description.

OBSERVATIONS ON KENTUCKY.

Thurs. 12th. I have now travelled thro a considerable part of the state of Kentucky. The fertility of the lands generally, vastly exceed anything I ever saw before. But O alas! There as in Virginia, the slavery of the human race is unfortunately tolerated. Contrary to reason and justice, contrary to our bill of rights, contrary to the principles of the American Revolution and contrary to the dictates of conscience, legislative, executive and judiciary departments connive at so flagrant a violation of right, while the great body of people, persist in a practice that must prove their overthrow. Here the cries of the oppressed are heard, while the mark of the whip strikes the feeling heart with the keenest sensibility. The groans of the captive, heave the troubled breast and the trickling tear moistens the sable cheek, while innocent blood pollutes the ground and cries to heaven for vengeance. There are a number of slaveholders however, tho deaf to the exhortation of the prophet (Is. 58:6) yet speak and act towards their slaves with kindness in some degree. Yea some go so far as to allow them considerable liberties, but this is not generally the case. What pity it is, that the inhabitants of this country had not considered their true interest when framing their constitution and shut out this horrid practice from them. When I reflect on the fertility of Kentucky, it really grieves me to think, that ever the blood of a slave should stain so rich a soil.

JOURNEY TO THE OHIO.

Fri. 13th. After commending my body and spirit to God I fixed and started for the northwest side of the Ohio. I arrived at Lexington about 12, met there with my companion Thos. Porter; were detained there till 3, then set out and arrived at Col. Collins' in the evening, with whom we lodged.

Sat. 14th. We left our lodgings about 9 o'clock, after experiencing every mark of generosity and politeness from Col. Collins. About 11 we passed thro Georgetown, the county seat of Scott. The town is pleasantly situated in a very fertile country, half a mile from Elkhorn and is composed of two principal streets, crossing each other at right angles, which throws the town into the form of a cross. About 3 in the afternoon, we came upon the waters of Eagle creek; here we got into an uninhabited country, the lands on Eagle creek being poor and very broken. At sunset we ascended what is called the Dry Ridge, on which the road goes 27 miles without crossing a drop of water. This ridge divides the waters that fall into the Licking from those which fall into Eagle creek. The night was dark and the horizon overcast with clouds and threatening rain. We endeavored to pursue a solitary track thro an immense wood, but for want of sufficient light we sometimes wandered out of the way. After traveling about 12 miles thro this dark wilderness we fortunately reached a house, which we were glad to see. No beds being to be had here, we spread our blankets on the floor and slept as comfortable as if we had been on beds of down.

Sun. 15th. The lowering clouds which threatened us last evening now discharge their watery contents on the earth. But we rose early and pursued our journey thro the descending storm. We now overtook a number of officers who had been to Lexington and were now on their way to rejoin the army. In company with these we pursued our journey. About 12 we baited at Read's, rested about 1 hour here and again set forward, and thro heavy rain and sloppy roads arrived on the bank of the Ohio about sunset.

REFLECTIONS ON CROSSING THE OHIO INTO A LAND OF FREEDOM —
CINCINNATI.

We are now in full view of the beautiful and flourishing town of Cincinnati, most delightfully situated on the bank of "the most beautiful river on earth." This large and populous town has risen almost instantaneously from nothing, it being (as I was told) only 4 years since it was all in woods. But such is the happy effects of that government in which every trace of vassalage is rooted out and destroyed. To a real republican, as I am, how grateful, how pleasing the sight which I

now behold. To a man weary of slavery and the consequent evils attending it what pleasing reflections must arise.

The goodly land I see,
With peace and plenty blest,
A land of sacred liberty
And joyous rest.

But this distant sight is not enough for me. My feelings I expect are something like those of Moses, when he uttered that passionate prayer recorded in Deuteronomy 3:25, "I pray thee let me go over and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain and Lebanon." With a pleasing hope of this desire being granted, we left the Kentucky shore and in about 5 minutes landed on "The Territory Northwest of Ohio." On arriving on shore I could but thank God, who had preserved me thro many dangers, and brought me at length to see a land where liberty prevails, and where human blood is not shed like water by the hand of the merciless and unfeeling tyrant. Here are no objects of despair, deprived of liberty and worn down with continual toil. We seem to be gotten out of hearing of the cries of the tortured and the mournful voice of woe. We hear no threats of the inhuman driver, nor lashes of the loud resounding whip. We see no backs furrowed with whipping, nor cheeks moistened with the tears of sorrow. We see no husbands and wives torn from each others arms, by worse than savage cruelty. We hear no fathers and mothers bewailing the miserable fate of their hapless offspring, torn from their embraces and carried into perpetual slavery. Even the loud and bitter cry of parents and children torn asunder under such circumstances as these, reach not the ears of the highly favored inhabitants of this thrice happy land. But on the other hand, here the honest and industrious farmer cultivates his farm with his own hands, and eats the bread of cheerfulness, and rests contented on his pillow at night. The aged mother instructs her daughters the useful and pleasing accomplishments of the distaff and the needle, with all things else that is necessary to constitute them provident mother sand good housewives. The young man (instead of a cowskin or some other instrument of torture) takes hold of an ax, or follows the plough. The ruddy damsel thinks it no disgrace to wash her clothes, milk her cows, or dress the food for the family. In a word, it is no disgrace here to engage in any of the honest occupations of life, and the consequence is, trade and manufactures increase, the people live free from want, free from perplexity, free from the guilt that results from the practice of keeping slaves. Thus they live happy and their end is peace.

HIS FIRST SERMON IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY — FORT HAMILTON —
DOWN THE GREAT MIAMI.

Mon. 16th. We left Cincinnati about 9 o'clock pursuing our journey toward Fort Hamilton; after traveling about 7 miles we met with a remarkable friendly man of the name of Talbert. He over persuaded us to stay with him till the next morning, to which we at length consented. His kind and amiable wife set to and baked a quantity of biscuit for us to take with us on our journey. In the meantime Mr. Talbert sent and collected a number of his neighbors to whom I preached the glad tidings of salvation from Luke 2:10. The attentive hearers behaved with seriousness and I humbly hope this word will not be in vain. Mr. Talbert informed us that his abhorrence of slavery led him to take sanctuary in this country at a very early period. He appears to be a man that fears God and treated us with uncommon kindness, for which may the Lord reward him.

Tues. 17th. After taking breakfast with these kind and friendly people we committed each other to God and departed. In our way to Fort Hamilton we were shown the spot where last May 12 mo. 8 men who were conducting provisions &c to the army were butchered by the Indians. The Indians concealed themselves behind some high weeds and pawpaw bushes on both sides of the road; the first fire they killed 7 men. A resolute young horseman drew his sword, rushed on an Indian and instantly killed him. He had but just time to execute this when he was overpowered and killed. The bodies of the dead were laid together in a heap and covered with a pile of logs. I saw a number of their bones, particularly a skull which had been mangled in a most frightful manner with the Indian tomahawk. A young man whom we saw at the place informed us that he himself was one of the unfortunate party and from him I received the above account.

About 4 o'clock we reached Hamilton. This fortification stands on the eastern bank of the Miami river about 30 miles from Cincinnati and nearly as far from the North Bend. The fort is built of large logs with port holes to shoot thro. This is partly surrounded with an outer wall of considerable extent; this wall is composed of the bodies of trees of about 9 or 10 inches in diameter, cut off about 10 or 12 feet long, set endways in the ground, and sharpened at the top. It was my intention to have proceeded up this river as far as the mouth of Mad river, but not being very fond of lying in the woods we here terminated our travels northwestwardly and returned towards the Ohio, pursuing our course down the Miami river, which at this place is about 120 yards wide and affords a navigation to within a few miles of navigation in a river of the lakes. We proceeded down the river about 5 miles and lodged with an Irish family adjoining the river. Here we got plenty of fish which are taken in great abundance in this river.

Wed. 18th. We set out early and traveled to and fro thro the wild woods. A body of low grounds which we came thro last evening, for beauty and fertility exceeding any that I had ever seen. I had therefore a wish to see the lands on the hights; for this purpose we ascended the highest hills we could find and to my great astonishment found the lands here in no respect inferior to the low grounds. The growth being mostly walnut was amazing large; buckeye, sugartree and white ash abounded here also. Scarcely any undergrowth but pawpaw was to be seen. The earth we found light and green as a carpet; wild rye and clover was here in abundance. Game we found in great plenty. Indeed it seems to abound with beasts, fish and fowl in the greatest abundance. After riding several miles thro these rich but uninhabited lands, we returned to the river and pursued our course.

THE MOUNDS — AN OLD FORTIFICATION.

About 11 o'clock we came to Dunlap's Station; here the river makes a large bend in the form of a horseshoe and encircles a beautiful, fertile flat of considerable extent. I have often observed while traveling thro this country a number of round hillocks, raised from 15 feet high and under and from 50 to an hundred yards round them. It seems evident that these places are not natural, but are the work of men. The only question seems to be, what were they made for? Some have supposed they were once plans of defense; but the most probable opinion is, that they are burying places of the former inhabitants of this country. On digging into these, I am informed, great quantities of bones are found lying in a confused, promiscuous manner. Some authors inform us that once in ten years the Indians collect the bones of their dead, and bring them all to one place and bury them. Thus they proceed putting one layer over another till they get them to the height above mentioned.

An object however of a different kind now presents itself to our view. In the bend, or horse shoe above mentioned, is a neck of land about 4 or 500 yards wide. Across this neck of land lies an old wall joining the river at each end and enclosing I suppose about 100 acres of land. This wall is composed of earth dug from the outside, where a ditch of some depth is still discernable. The wall as present is so mouldered down that a man could easily ride over it. It is however, about 10 feet as near as I can judge in perpendicular height and gives growth to a number of large trees. In one place I observe a breach in the wall about 60 feet wide where I suppose the gate formerly stood, thro which the people passed in and out of this stronghold. Compared with this what feeble and insignificant works are those of Fort Hamilton, or Fort Washington. They are no more in comparison to it than a rail fence is to a brick wall.

We travelled down the Miami river from this old fortification, pursuing our course to the Ohio, our only guide being the river, for path

we had none. I have however reason to believe, that there had in former ages been a road leading along the very course we were going. My reasons for thinking so, were these: I observe in a number of places, the river hill is pretty steep and comes quite down to the water. In such places as these, I observed a level place on the hillside, from 30 to 60 feet wide appearing as if the hill had been cut down and the earth removed to the lower side. This appearance continues till we came within a half mile of the Ohio, where I thought I could discover the traces of an old town. It is probable that the appearance alluded to, was once a high road, leading from the town of the Miami, to this other on the Ohio. But a vast length of time must have elapsed since these surprising works were performed. The trees on the wall in the town and on the highway (if such they were in reality) are as big as they are in other places.

About 4 o'clock we arrived at Judge Simms', who has the disposal of this rich and beautiful country. I hoped to have seen the judge and to have some conversation with him respecting the land here, but neither him nor his deputy being home I was unhappily disappointed.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO

Having now finished my tour thro the territory northwest of the Ohio, it may not be amiss to speak in general terms of the country thro which I have passed. From Cincinnati we found the lands near the river broken, not very rich, a little sand and some small pebble stones. 5 or 6 miles from the river, the lands were level, clear of stone, soil rich, water good and clear and serene air. As we advanced further the lands continued level, but were not as well watered as they were a little back. Within about 9 or 10 miles of Hamilton, the lands I think are the richest I ever saw. The growth is mostly walnut, sugartree, &c, tied together by clusters of grapevines, which in this country grow amazingly large. From this to Hamilton is the most beautiful level that ever my eyes beheld; the soil is rich, free from swampy or marshy ground and the growth mostly hickory.

Near Hamilton we saw several pararas, as they are called. They are large tracts of fine, rich land, without trees and producing as fine grass as the best meadows. From Hamilton down the Miami river to the Ohio, the lands exceed description. Indeed this country of all others that I ever saw, seems best calculated for earthly happiness. If you have a desire to raise great quantities of corn, wheat or other grain, here is perhaps the best soil in the world, inviting your industry. If you prefer the raising of cattle or feeding large flocks of sheep, here the beautiful and green parara excites your wonder and claims your attention. If wearied with toil, you seek the bank of the river, as a place of rest, here the fishes sporting in the limpid stream invite you to cast in your hook, and draw forth nourishment for yourself and your family. The most excellent fowl perch in the trees and flutter in the waters, while these

immense woods produce innumerable quantities of the most excellent venison. Amidst this rich, this pleasing variety, he must be undeserving the name of man, who will want the common comforts of life. Glad should I have been to have had a little more time to have pleased my eyes with a view of this delightful country. But circumstances call me hence. I must now take off mine eyes and turn them another way and for the present bid adieu to this delightful land.

LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.

I can not however on this occasion conceal the warm emotions of my heart. Long have I wished to see a land, sacred to liberty, nor stained with the crimson dye of blood. A land where slavery, *the present disgrace and the future scourge of America*, should not be permitted to come. This ardent wish I at length see accomplished and in this infant country behold the features of true felicity and greatness. Here I see genuine liberty and national happiness growing up together, on the firm foundation and under the guardian protection of constitutional authority.

Yes, I anticipate O land, the rising glory of thy unequalled fame. Thy forests, now wild and uncultivated, soon shall the hand of industry sow with golden grain. Thy unequalled soil, cultivated by the fostering hands of freemen shall e'er long display its beauties and yield an increase worthy a land of liberty. Thy stately trees, habituated for ages to lie and rot shall e'er long raise the lofty dome and be fashioned into curious workmanship, by the hand of the ingenious artist. Thy large and noble rivers which silently flow in gentle currents, shall e'er long waft thy rich products to distant markets in foreign climes; and thou, beautiful Ohio shalt stand an impenetrable barrier, to guard this sacred land. And tho the tears of the oppressed on thy southeastern border, may help increase thy crystal tide, yet the galling yoke, should it attempt to cross thy current, shall sink beneath thy wave and be buried in thy bosom. The voice of the oppressor may spread terror and dismay thro the eastern and southern states but farther than thy delightful banks, it cannot, it dare not, it shall not be heard. Yes in thee, O thrice happy land, shall be fulfilled an ancient prophecy. "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. The glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. There the weary prisoners shall rest together and hear not the voice of the oppressor." (Isa. 35. Job 3.). I must now leave this fair land of happiness with offering to heaven this humble request: May the foot of pride never come against thee, nor human blood stain thy lovely plains. May the scourge of war, never desolate thee, or cruel tyrants raise their banners here. May thy aged never feel the loss of liberty, nor the yoke of slavery rest on the necks of thy children. May thy gates remain open to the oppressed of all nations and may those that flock

thither, be the excellent ones of the earth; and if the still continued oppressions of enlightened Virginia, should at length bring down the just judgments of an incensed Deity, may it be, when I or those that pertain unto me have found an asylum in thy peaceful borders.

THE OHIO NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT MIAMI.

We crossed the Ohio at the North Bend and reached the Kentucky shore about sunset. The Ohio here (as in all other places that I ever saw it, is gentle, smooth and clear; and as far as we were informed about three quarters of a mile over. We rode down it, after crossing it, about 9 miles to Thomas Moseley's where we lodged.

Thurs. 19th. When we arose in the morning we found ourselves on one of the most beautiful and agreeable situations, that I have seen south of the Ohio. This noble and delightful river rolls its beautiful current, under Mr. Moseley's windows a full prospect of which for several miles each way presents itself to view. The point where the Miami mingles its waters with those of the Ohio, is also easily seen, being about 3 miles up the river. Boats passing and repassing continually render the prospect still more pleasing and delightful. The bank of the river here, is at least 50 feet high, from the top of which a beautiful level plain extends itself, containing not less than 200 acres of very rich land. Nature seems to have formed this for a town for which it is well calculated in every respect, except that it lacks good water. The river affords a never ending supply but the banks are of such a vast height, and withal so very steep, that renders it extremely difficult to get water from thence.

It is however an undoubted fact notwithstanding these difficulties, that a town of considerable note, actually once stood on this very spot. What nature denied, art then supplied. These high banks have avenues cut extending from the water about 100 yards, by which means the ascent is made gradual and the water thereby easily brought from the river. There are about 10 of these cuts in the bank, being about 100 feet apart. On the level above mentioned, I observed a number of places appearing like old cellars some of which were very large and in a square shape. I suppose there were nearly fifty of these. In another place a mound of considerable height still remains. Mr. Moseley informed me that human bones were found here, buried deep in the earth, as is the custom with us. These cellars, these cuts in the river bank, these bones found deep in the earth, the old highway over the river and the wall on the Miami, are sufficient to warrant a belief, that a civilized people, once inhabited this country; for nothing of the kind is practiced among the savages at this day. But who they were, how brought here, or whither gone, are matters which we must be content to remain ignorant of. We may form conjectures, but they may be wrong. I shall therefore confess my ignorance and be silent.

BIG BONE LICK — FRANKFORT.

Fri. 20th. We set out after early breakfast, taking in our way the Big Bone Lick, where we arrived about 1 o'clock. This is one of the principal salt licks in Kentucky, but being in a frontier part is not worked at present. The salt water issues forth out of a boiling spring with a very bold stream and emits a strong smell of sulphur and has a bluish cast. It also dyes the earth and stones over which it passes of the same colors and leaves a white scum where it overflows. But the most remarkable thing we saw here, were the big bones, which gave name to the Lick. These we saw lying round about the spring in abundance and were truly of a most enormous size. A person living at the place informed me that the bones are mostly under ground and are got by digging. It is probable that they are kept from putrefaction by the strength of the salt water, and by that means have been kept entire from time immemorial. Deer about the lick are very plenty, and a few buffalo yet remain. We left this place about 2 and reached Little's about 9, after traveling about 43 miles.

Sat. 21st. We started early and reached Col. Collins' about sunset.

Sun. 22nd. Having some business at the metropolis, I shaped my course for Frankfort and lodged in the evening with a Mr. Major about 3 miles out of town

Mon. 23d. Mr. Bryant (with whom I lodged) and myself set out for Frankfort, where we arrived about 9 o'clock. We took breakfast at Mr. Bryant's lodgings and repaired to the capitol, where the assembly of Kentucky are now in session. While the members were collecting, Mr. Bryant took me up the steps into the steeple from whence I had a most beautiful view of the whole city.

Frankfort, the metropolis of Kentucky, is situate in a deep valley in a bend of the Kentucky, and is washed by that river on the south and west. On the north rises a high hill, commanding an extensive prospect. At the east end of the town, the hill is low and admits a good road in to the city, which in fact is the only way that there can be a good road got to it. A very few good buildings have lately been erected in this new city. But the state house or capitol is most worthy of notice. It is an elegant stone building three stories high, a steeple on the top and a portico on each side. The work is well executed and it makes a noble appearance. I left Frankfort after dinner and about an hour in the night reached Josiah Woodridge's, with whom I spent this evening.

Tues. 24th. I visited several old acquaintances, taking my leave of them all, as I expect to see them no more before I leave the country. I came in the evening and lodged with my kind friend John Moss.

Wed. 25th. I left Mr. Moss' after breakfast, called at Mr. Watkins' and at Mr. Lockett's and arrived at my brother's a little after dark.

Thurs. 26th. Attended, with my brother, a funeral in the neighborhood and returned in the evening.

Fri. 27th. My brother and his wife and myself visited Capt. Holloway and returned in the evening.

Sat. 28th. Continued at my brother's.

HEARS A NEGRO PREACH — A HUNT.

Sun. 29th. Attended a funeral where I heard a black man preach, to the wonder and astonishment of a number of whites. I was happy to find that the prejudices against the poor blacks are less powerful in this country than in Virginia. I gave an exhortation after the black man concluded, and my brother, terminated the meeting with an exhortation at the grave. The greatest decency and good behavior was discoverable through the whole solemnity. O! when will the time come when "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand" and these poor outcasts of men be favored with all the privileges of men and of Christians? I spent the evening agreeably with Mr. Lockett and his family.

Mon. 30th. Mr. Lockett and my brother, this afternoon took a small hunt, in which I accompanied them. They killed two opossums, 2 turkeys, 3 pheasants, three pigeons and 4 partridges. If game is thus plenty where the people are so thick, what must we think of the frontier?

Tues. Dec. 1. Went in company with my brother to Woodford court. Here I met with Mr. Charles Bailey, with whom I made an agreement to start for Virginia on Friday next. Just as we were about to leave the court house, came on a violent storm of thunder, wind and rain, through which we returned to my brother's.

Wed 2d. and Thurs. 3d. I spent in getting my horse shod and fixing to start for home.

HOMEWARD JOURNEY THROUGH CUMBERLAND GAP.

Fri. 4th. I took leave of my brother's family, himself and sister Frances accompanying me some distance. At Mr. Lockett's, I met with Mr. Bailey and Thos. Porter and we set out from thence about 11 o'clock and proceeded for the Crab Orchard. My brother and me now took an affectionate leave of each other and parted. We got to Wm. Bryant's about 7 at night.

Sat. 5th. We pursued our journey to the Crab Orchard where we arrived a little after dark.

Sun. 6th. We left Crab Orchard about break of day; the weather intensely cold and ground frozen rendered it bad traveling. We baited at Lankford's and pushed on again. About 10 o'clock we reached Rock Castle river, in crossing of which I met a remarkable deliverance. My horse attempting to mount a steep bank, fell backward into the river, but instantly rising again, made a second attempt and fell the second time and had well nigh thrown me against a large rock. He rose in an instant and mounting the bank, carried me out safe without the least

hurt. It is very remarkable that in the midst of this hurry and confusion I was not at all frightened, but felt my spirits calm and was enabled to keep my seat in the saddle. Not an hair of our head shall fall to the ground without the permission of our heavenly Father. We reached and tarried at Logan's Station.

Mon. 7th. We started as soon as we could see, through rain and mud, baited at Collins' Station and reached Middleton's.

Tues. 8th. Started as soon as it was light. The falling snow soon covered us with a white mantle. The roads are dreadful bad and our horses lame. But our situation is preferable to some others. Poor women and children! I feel much for you, who are wading through the mud, up to your horses' bellies, while the snow from above benumbs your tender limbs. We baited at the station at Cumberland river and reached Davis' in the evening at the foot of Cumberland mountain.

Wed. 9th. We started just as the sun began to gild the tops of the high mountains. We ascended Cumberland mountain, from the top of which the bright luminary of day appeared to our view in all his rising glory; the mists dispersed and the floating clouds hasted away at his appearing. This is the famous Cumberland Gap, where the numbers have felt the butchering tomahawk. Here we re-enter the state of Virginia, after an absence of 50 days, during which time I have traveled to and fro, through these western regions about 1,000 miles. Only 4 days I have rested from traveling, the rest I have spent in riding through this country in various directions, having passed through the counties of Mason, Bourbon, Fayette, Woodford, Mercer, Lincoln, Madison, Scott, Franklin and Hardin. Consequently my opportunities of seeing the country have been pretty considerable but as so many have given a description of this country, I shall be silent on that head. We traveled a few miles in Virginia and came to the territory southwest of Ohio. We came in the evening to Capt. Chissum's with whom I spent the evening.

Thurs. 10th. After breakfast, I set off, passed the high Clinch mountains, ferried the river and in the evening reached Major Orr's where we lodged.

Fri. 11th. Started early and reached Long's near Ross' Iron Works.

Sat. 12th. My horse being taken unwell, proves a great affliction to me. I am near 400 miles from home, in a strange country and among a strange people. But I am conscious that my Almighty Protector is near and he knows what is best for me. I will therefore cheerfully commit the disposal of all to Him: We reached and took up at a widow Anderson's. Here we are again in Virginia having traversed the southern territory about 70 or 80 miles.

Sun. 13th. We traveled (my horse being better) and reached Craig's one mile below Washington Court House.

Mon. 14th. After a rainy night we arose with the light and prepared for our journey, but to our great mortification found it snowing. But what was worse than all, my horse was stiff foundered. However my

anxious desire to see my family surmounted these difficulties. We set off, traveled slow and reached Thompson's, 12 miles below the head of Holstein.

Tues. 15th. We pursued our journey through piercing winds and over the mountains covered with snow and reached Stropher's in the evening.

Wed. 16th. Started early and reached Dublin in the evening.

Thurs. 17th. We started as soon as it was light, crossed New river in the morning and the Alleghania mountain about 2 in the afternoon. Here we salute the eastern waters. We rode down Roanoke some distance and saw the surprising effects of the freshet last fall. So violent was the force of the waters, that it cut a new channel for the river and filled up the old, as we were informed, drowned a number of cattle and did much other damage to the beautiful farms on the river.

Fri. 18th. We crossed the Blue Ridge and reached Capt. Buford's.

Sat. 19th. After getting breakfast, we pursued our journey and reached Mr. Chastain's in the evening in Bedford.

Sun. 20th. Our horses find difficult traveling this morning by the clogging of the snow, which fell last night, about 3 inches deep. We reached Mr. Stovall's.

Mon. 21st. We reached Mr. Gatch's.

Tues. 22d. Pursued my journey and reached Mr. Francis Harris'.

Wed. 23d. About 9 o'clock had the pleasing satisfaction of meeting my family and finding them in health. For the mercies of the Lord, bestowed them on me and them, may his name have endless praise. Amen.

III.

JOURNEY INTO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY — 1797.

Near two years have passed since a glimpse of the Northwestern Territory first saluted my wondering eyes. The fertility of its soil and the liberality of its government, convinced me of its real worth and immense value. A desire to make myself more fully acquainted with that country, and a wish to provide a place to carry my family to, together with a design to survey some lands in the state of Kentucky, determined me to leave my family and domestic concerns for a time in order to accomplish the above purposes. I took leave of my family and friends, August 31st, 1797 and set my face westwardly.

About 12 I reached my brother George Smith's. Accompanied by my brother and Sister Sublett we pursued our journey. At Powhatan Court House we were joined by Wm. Sowall and James ———. About sunset we reached the house of Mr. Robert Biscoe. Here we found a number of people awaiting our arrival, to whom I preached from 2 Peter 3:14. Bro. George was poorly.

Fri. Sept. 1st. We took early breakfast and started. The weather

was amazing hot and our horses seemed scarcely able to proceed. We however reached Wm. Maxey's about 1 o'clock, took dinner and then rode on to brother Gatch's. Here also we found a large company waiting for preaching. Bro. George being still poorly, I again attempted to preach from Rev. 22:17. Bro. George exhorted a little after I had done, and Bro. Gatch spoke a few words after him. A spirit of engagedness came upon the people; some shouted amain, while others were weeping bitterly and crying for mercy. It was just 12 o'clock when we lay down to take a little repose.

Sat. 2d. The weather being so exceeding and uncommon warm, our company by mutual consent agreed to lie by until the next morning.

Sun. 3d. Took leave of our affectionate friends and started. Called and took dinner at Flood's Tavern, then rode on to Hunter's. My Bro. and myself rode on about 2 miles further to Mrs. Stovall's.

Mon. 4th. About sunrise our company assembled at the place appointed and having gotten from all our acquaintances, etc., propose pursuing our journey. We are now five in number, Mr. Edward Watkins having joined us. We took breakfast at De priests, passed New London, a little after 12, dined at Lee's and then rode on to Liberty or Bedford Court House, and took up at Ota Tavern.

Tues. 5th. We rose with the day and started, breakfasted at Buford's, rested two or three hours and then set out forward; crossed the Blue Ridge about 2 o'clock, got dinner with a Dutchman and lodged at McLannahan's.

Wed. 6th. I was considerably indisposed by a severe cold. We started, breakfasted at Dunlap's, crossed the Allegenia mountain, rode through a poor country, gave 5 s. per bushel for oats to feed our horses and rode on to Stobaugh's.

Thurs. 7th. Having sweated freely the last evening I feel much better. About sunrise we started, breakfasted at Ad. Hacent's and reached Wythe Court House or the town of Evansham in the evening and took up at Johnston's Tavern.

Fri. 8th. Made an early start, breakfasted at Cathascies, baited at Crow's (head of Holstein). From thence we traveled till late in the night before we could get anything for ourselves or horses. About 9 we reached the sign of the Blue Ball and took up with Meek's.

Sat. 9th. Breakfasted at Greenway's, passed Abingdon about 12, baited at Col. Purton's, dined at Boulton's and took up at Hickman's on the borders of Tennessee.

Sun. 10th. We entered Tennessee, baited at Goddard's, dined at Yancey's and passed on to Klyne's.

Mon. 11. Breakfasted at Hawkins Court House (at Rogers' Tavern) and reached Oris' in the evening.

Tues. 12th. We set out early and presently began to climb the steep, rugged and rocky mountain of Clinch. Arriving near the top, we found ourselves in a surrounding cloud, the contents of which showered

plentifully upon us. We pursued our course, crossed Clinch mountain, Copper Ridge, Clinch river and reached the Big Spring about 11 o'clock. Here we got breakfast with Mr. E. Chisme, thence crossed Walkins' Ridge, Powell's river and in the evening reached Cumberland Gap, entered the state of Kentucky and took up at Davis'.

Wed. 13th. After leaving our lodgings, about 3 hour's ride brought us to Cumberland river. Here we were stopped by the turnpike men, who demanded fees of 1 s. per man for admittance thro the turnpike gate. We paid the money and went on intending to get breakfast at the Ford, but to our great disappointment could get nothing but a little milk and some mush made of pounded meal and a little green corn. We took our repast and set forward and crossed the river, which is about 100 yards wide. But the drought has been such that I walked quite across the river and did not wet the soles of my feet. We baited at Middleton's and reached Ballenger's in the evening, but the station was so crowded that we preferred lying in the woods.

Thurs. 14th. Started about an hour before day, breakfasted at Thompson's and reached Ch. Smith's in the evening.

Fri. 15th. Our company now separated. My brother and myself take the right hand road at Lankford's and the others the left. We reached the settlement of Kentucky about 9 o'clock, breakfasted and rode thro the fertile lands of Kentucky, to Mr. John Bryant's. It was delightful to see the fine fields of corn, which everywhere presented themselves to our view. What a surprizing difference there is between the produce of these lands and those of the back part of Virginia. The people are kind and hospitable to strangers and plenty is the blessing they enjoy.

Sat. 16th. Accompanied by Mr. Bryant, my brother and myself pursued our journey to our brother's, where we arrived in the evening. The pleasure we enjoyed on meeting with a brother, whom we had not seen for several years, can only be conceived by those who have experienced the like sensation.

Sun. 17th. News of our arrival flew like lightning thro the neighborhood. A meeting was instantly appointed for us at Mount Pleasant M. H. A large audience collected, to whom we preached; my Bro. from _____ "He smote the rock and the waters gushed out" and myself from Mark 1: 15. The people were very attentive and an old Methodist preacher shouted amain.

Mon. 18th. My brothers and myself rode to Lexington and returned in the evening.

Tues. 19th. We dined with Capt. Holloway and returned and spent the evening with Mr. John Mosely.

Wed. 20th. Attended with my brothers a meeting at Mt. Pleasant.

Thurs. 21st. Bro. George and myself rode into Woodford and spent the evening with Mr. J. Watkins.

Tours Into Kentucky and the Northwest Territory. 389.

Fri. 22nd. Returned by the way of Major Crittenden's, Lexington, etc. to my brothers.

Sat. 23rd. Visited Mr. Thos. Mosely and returned in the evening to my brother's.

Sun. 24th. Went with my brother to Elkhorn M. H. and heard Mr. Saunders Walker preach from Isa. 2:10-11.

Mon. 25th. Visited Mr. Hayden and returned to my brother's.

Tues. 26th. Dined with Mr. Moore. This afternoon it turned cool after a long spell of very warm weather.

Wed. 27th. Attended a meeting at Mr. Watkins' and heard Mr. Shackelford preach from Gen. 5:9.

JOURNEY TO THE OHIO.

Thurs. 28th. This and yesterday morning we have frosts that bite pretty much. The air continues clear and the weather very dry. A great scarcity of water prevails in this country which is an evil, severely felt by man and beast.

I now prepared for my journey over the Ohio. I had got everything in readiness, my beast shod &c. But a multitude of thoughts now crowded into my mind. My brother had declined going with me over the Ohio, for want of a beast. Mr. Sowell had intended to go with me, but I had heard nothing of him for sometime. I now expected to be under the necessity of taking the journey alone. Now, thought I, if sickness should seize me in a strange land, among strange people, who will administer me aid and comfort? If the hand of the murderer should take my life, who will carry the fatal tidings to my disconsolate family? If cruel savages should lie in ambush and deprive me of life, will anybody do me the friendly office of laying my mangled body beneath the silent earth? A number of accidents may befall; what miseries I may suffer for want of a companion. At these and such like thoughts I felt my spirits sink, but calling to mind the motives that moved me to take this journey, the providence that had thus far watched over me, the promises that were still engaged to defend me, and the hope I feel that God would be with me, I was enabled to cast my care on Him, hoping in His mercy and claiming His protection.

I took leave of my brother and family and in the evening arrived at Mr. Elisha Wooldridge's; here I had the happiness to find Mr. Sowell. He informed me he was ready to start with me in the morning, for the northwest side of the Ohio. This proved like reviving cordial to my sinking spirits.

Fri. 29th. We took an early breakfast (after paying our devotions to the Most High) and started. We travelled about 40 miles and reached Mr. Jno. Hampton's late in the evening.

Sat. 30th. We rested and refreshed ourselves. In the evening I

attended an appointment at old Mr. Hampton's, which had been made for me during the day. I preached to a considerable number of well behaved hearers from Acts 17:30, 31 and then returned to Johny Hampton's.

Sun. Oct. 1st. We pursued our journey taking in our way a quarterly meeting of the Methodists. Here I had an opportunity of seeing several old acquaintances of the ministerial character, among whom were Bro. F. Poythress and that amiable and pious young man, Bro. Kobler. Here I also met with Bro. McCormick. I spent the evening with Bro. Kobler at a Bro. Colman's.

Mon. 2nd. Bro. McCormick, Bro. Teal, Mr. Sowell and myself set out for the Ohio. We travelled about 30 miles and reached a little village called Germantown about 8 o'clock in the evening and took up with a Mr. Black.

CROSSES THE BEAUTIFUL OHIO.

Tues. 3rd. We pursued our journey and reached a little town on the bank of the Ohio about 11 o'clock. From a high eminence we had a view of that beautiful country beyond the river; charmed with its beautiful appearance, I longed to be there. We took some refreshment at Augusta, then took boat and about 1 o'clock made the opposite shore. The Ohio river of all that I ever saw is the most beautiful stream. It flows in a deep and gentle current, is from 1-2 to 3-4 of a mile in width; it is confined in high banks, which it seldom if ever overflows. The adjoining hills are lofty, from whence a charming view of the river and low lands presents itself to view. How delightful will be the scene, when these banks shall be covered with towns, these hills with houses, and this noble stream with the rich produce of these fertile and fruitful countries.

We rode down the river 3 or 4 miles to the mouth of Bull Skin creek, then left the river and pursued a northwardly route thro a rich and beautiful country. The land, after leaving the river, lies high and is very level. The trees, which are mostly red and white oak, are the tallest and most beautiful timber I ever beheld. The soil appears deep, clear of stone and wild pea-vine in abundance. It was very pleasant to see the deer skipping over the bushes and the face of the country clad in a livery of green.

PLAINFIELD, (NOW BETHEL, CLERMONT COUNTY).

We crossed the waters of Bear creek and Big Indian and arrived in the evening at Dunham's town on the waters of the Poplar Fork of the East Fork. Dunham's town, or Plainfield, is about 12 1-2 miles from the Ohio; the land is fertile and water good. Here we saw the fruits of honest industry. Mr. Dunham is a Baptist minister, who left Kentucky on account of its being a land of oppression. He arrived here last April and since then has reared several houses, cleared a small plantation, has a fine field of corn growing, a number of vines and garden

vegetables, an excellent field of wheat and a meadow already green with the rising timothy. The old man seems to possess both grace and talents, with a spirit greatly opposed to slavery. He thinks that God will withdraw his spirit from such countries and persons, who having the light, resist its dictates.

Wed. 4th. We started from Plainfield pretty early and pursued a northwest direction. The country continues exceeding level except near the water courses, where it sinks into deep valleys. The soil in general is rich, the growth being oak, hickory, ash, walnut, sugartree, beech &c. About 1 o'clock we reached the Little Miami; near this river the lands appeared to be much better than any we had yet seen. The low grounds or bottoms on the river, are vastly rich and extensive. The river itself is about 100 yards wide, the water very pure and clear but rapid. We crossed the river and rode up the same about a mile, where we saw the walls of an old fortification.

AT FRANCIS M'CORMICK'S ON THE LITTLE MIAMI.

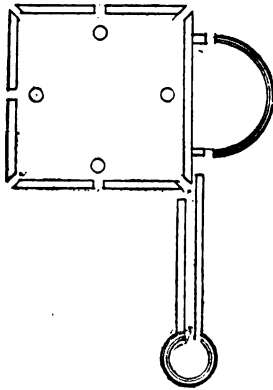
We then recrossed the river and arrived at Bro. McCormick's about 2 o'clock. His situation is most agreeable and delightful. The river runs within 50 yards of his house, which stands on an eminence and commands a beautiful view of the river and the rising hills on the opposite side. It would seem incredible to those unacquainted with the clearness of these waters to be told, that I stood in Bro. McCormick's yard and saw numbers of fish near the opposite bank of the river; indeed it is no uncommon thing to see shoals of fish of an uncommon size and excellent in their kind sporting themselves in these rivers.

In Bro. and sister McCormick we found the christian and the friend. Their hospitality and kindness seemed to flow from a generous heart. Their doors were open to receive us strangers and their extraordinary liberality has deeply impressed my mind with gratitude. Devotion was here our regular employ. The praises of God resounded thro the adjoining groves and it was a pleasing reflection that the worship of God was now set up in a place, that but few years ago was the haunt of savages and the covert for fowls. The wilderness becomes a fruitful field and the thirsty land springs of water. The grass is green in their meadows and their fields loaded with golden grain. May the God whose servant they have received and whose praises they celebrate, be their portion in time and their happiness thro eternity.

AN ANCIENT EARTHWORK.

Thurs. 5th. We got breakfast and started down the river to see a Mr. Dunlacy, respecting the location of our lands. In the course of our journey I had an opportunity of viewing more accurately the ancient wall I mentioned before. I went entirely around it and observed its form and dimensions. The body of the fort seemed to be an exact square,

fronting the 4 cardinal points and including about 22 acres. Adjoining the main wall is another on the north side resembling a half moon, with a gateway where it joins the other wall at each end. The wall is much mouldered down, but is at the bottom about 20 feet over. At each corner and in the center of each broadside is a gateway about 30 feet wide. Fronting the gate in each broadside and about 40 feet within the wall, is a small amount of about 100 feet in circumference and of the same height of the wall. From the northeast gate two other walls about 30 yards apart extend a considerable distance and then open into a circular form near the river. The ground is firm and dry and water convenient. The plan appears to have been well devised and the work executed with the utmost regularity, but conceiving it will give a more perfect idea of it, I here subjoin its form.



We now pursued our journey to Mr. Dunlavy's. After doing our business with him we returned; Mr. Dunlavy attended us to another of those old forts, the form of which was altogether different from that just described, but situated in a very advantageous place. He also informed us of another, which he thought a great curiosity, but we had not time to call and see it. On our return we met Bro. and sister McCormick, going to a Baptist meeting at Mr. Smailie's. We returned and went with them; being a stranger I was importuned to preach, which I did from Mark 1:15; felt some liberty, had some agreeable conversation after meeting and then returned to Bro. McCormick's.

Fri. 6th. Mr. Sowell and myself rode to the mouth of Cliff creek and viewed a tract of land belonging to Dr. Turpin. From thence we bent our course up the East Fork to a Mr. MaLot's, where I had appointed to preach in the evening, but the distance being greater than we expected, the road bad and difficult to follow, we did not reach the place till near 8 o'clock. Some of the people were gone, but others had waited patiently till we arrived, to whom I preached from Rev. 22:17, but felt so faint thro fatigue and the want of bodily nourishment, for we had not got any dinner, that I felt but little satisfaction.

Sat. 7th. Mr. MaLot treated us exceeding kind and when we started, accompanied us some distance and showed us another of those old forts, which so justly excite the admiration of travellers. We travelled down East Fork thro amazing fertile lands and saw two more of those ancient forts; one of which I will as far as I am able briefly describe.

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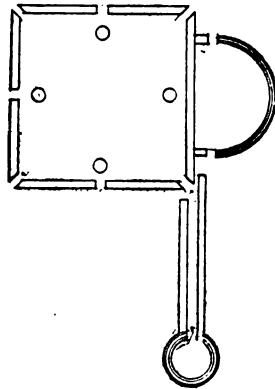
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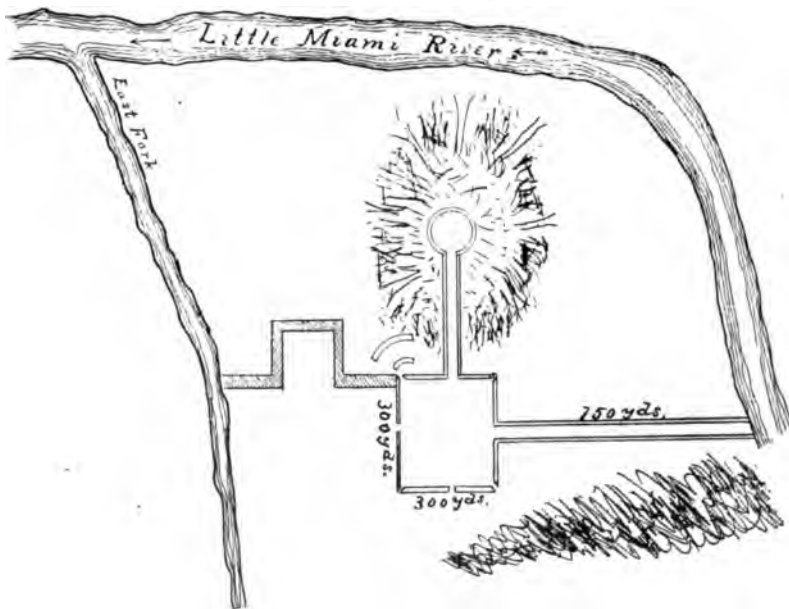
We now pursued our journey to Mr. Dunlavy's. After doing our business with him we returned; Mr. Dunlavy attended us to another of those old forts, the form of which was altogether different from that just described, but situated in a very advantageous place. He also informed us of another, which he thought a great curiosity, but we had not time to call and see it. On our return we met Bro. and sister McCormick, going to a Baptist meeting at Mr. Smaillie's. We returned and went with them; being a stranger I was importuned to preach, which I did from Mark 1:15; felt some liberty, had some agreeable conversation after meeting and then returned to Bro. McCormick's.

Fri. 6th. Mr. Sowell and myself rode to the mouth of Cliff creek and viewed a tract of land belonging to Dr. Turpin. From thence we bent our course up the East Fork to a Mr. MaLot's, where I had appointed to preach in the evening, but the distance being greater than we expected, the road bad and difficult to follow, we did not reach the place till near 8 o'clock. Some of the people were gone, but others had waited patiently till we arrived, to whom I preached from Rev. 22:17, but felt so faint thro fatigue and the want of bodily nourishment, for we had not got any dinner, that I felt but little satisfaction.

Sat. 7th. Mr. MaLot treated us exceeding kind and when we started, accompanied us some distance and showed us another of those old forts, which so justly excite the admiration of travellers. We travelled down East Fork thro amazing fertile lands and saw two more of those ancient forts; one of which I will as far as I am able briefly describe.

ANOTHER EXTENSIVE EARTHWORK AT THE MOUTH OF EAST FORK.

The Little Miami in these parts, as it generally does, runs from north to south. The East Fork of that river runs generally from east to west and discharges its waters into the Miami about 8 miles from its mouth. In the fork of these rivers is a body of extremely fertile, level land, of about 6 miles in circumference, lying in a kind of triangle, having the Miami on the west, the East Fork on the south and a ridge of high hills on the northeast. About the center of this beautiful level,



is a hill about 1-2 a mile long from east to west and 1-2 that distance from north to south. At the east end of this hill (which appears as if it had been actually formed by art) is the body of an old fort, 300 yards each way, lying exactly square, with a gate in each corner and one in each broadside, which appear to have been about 50 feet wide each. The walls of the fort are at the bottom about 30 feet over, but are so decayed by time, that they are but low to what they were once. A man on the outside and another on the inside might perhaps see each other's heads. From the north gate proceed two walls about 100 feet apart and extend 750 yards in length till they strike the Miami river. At the southwest corner gate is a wall and a ditch of about 100 feet in circumference fronting the entrance. From this gate also, proceeds a ditch,

which gets deeper as it proceeds extending about a quarter of a mile to water, where the ditch or trench cannot be less than 40 or 50 feet deep. This trench from its various crooks and short turns is a great curiosity and may favor the opinion that its original invaders (?) were not acquainted with the use of fire arms. But the most astonishing work seems to be the hill above mentioned and the style of its fortifications. There are various avenues leading to the top of this hill, appearing as if cut for the purpose. But the two walls leading from the western gate of the grand fort seem most worthy of notice. These walls are about 100 feet apart, extending in a direct line up an easy ascent about a quarter of a mile where they reach the summit of the hill. Here they open out into a circular form and enclose 2 or 3 acres of ground. Thro this circular wall are several very narrow gates, as if intended for only one man to pass at a time. This fortification is one of the most astonishing works of the kind that I ever saw, and is at at once a striking monument of the ingenuity and corruptibility of man.

AT COLUMBIA — RIDE UP THE LITTLE MIAMI.

Sun. 8th. We rode to Columbia to meeting. Here I saw the most extensive and luxuriant cornfield I ever beheld in all my life. The preacher not coming to his appointment I preached in his stead from Ep. 6:14, 18. We attended another of his appointments in the afternoon about 2 or 3 miles out of town and I preached from 1 Thes. 5 &c. The people seemed serious and attentive and after the meeting ended seemed loth to depart, and some of them having expressed a wish for preaching again, I gave notice that I would preach by the lighting of a candle. A considerable company attended and I preached with liberty from Mark 1:15, I hope not without some good effect.

In the interval of our meetings today I visited a woman who was supposed to be at the point of death. When I came in I found her in a burning fever, but perfectly in her senses. I sat down by her and asked her a few questions respecting the state of her soul and of her preparation for death. On being asked whether she thought she would die she said, with eyes flowing with tears, she did. "I saw the spirit of God" said she, "and he told me I should live 12 days and this is the last. I saw also the Evil spirit but he said nothing to me." I went to prayer with her and left her.

Mon. 9th. We returned to Columbia, where we had occasion to visit Mr. Smith, the Baptist minister. We breakfasted with Mr. Smith and then returned to Bro. McCormick's. After we got dinner we started for the old Chillicothe Indian town, near the head of the river. We proceeded as far as Col. Paxton's with whom we spent the evening.

Tues. 10th. Having sent for Mr. Donnels, a surveyor of the military lands, he arrived this morning and we bargained with him to do ours, return the works and send us a certificate in 8 months, for which we

agreed to give him 1-3 of the land. We breakfasted at Col. Paxton's, then rode on to Deerfield, took dinner and pursued our course and took up in the evening with a Richard Kirby. The land thro which we have passed today has been various; a considerable part we found to be thin white oak land, but we found also some large bodies of fine, rich, fertile land, well adapted to farming and excellent for meadow and the raising of stock. It may not be amiss here to observe, that there has not been a frost to bite anything in this country, till this morning. Hence it appears that this climate, tho about 120 miles north from Lexington, is not near as cold, for when I left those parts the corn blades in many places were entirely killed. But on my arrival northwest of the Ohio I was surprised to find not the smallest symptom of frost. To account for this surprizing circumstance, it may be observed that the soil of this country is a little inclined to sand which is naturally warm. It is also generally very clear of stone, whereas Kentucky, being without sand and at the same time has everywhere a bed of stone a little under the surface, makes it (as I suppose) subject to frost, and those sudden chills, which are so common in that country. During last winter, the wheat in Kentucky was almost entirely killed, while the wheat in this country grew and produced a fine crop.

WAYNESVILLE — PRAIRIES ON THE LITTLE MIAMI — OLD CHILlicothe.

Wed. 11th. We started pretty early, baited at Martin Keever's and then rode on to Waynesville. This little town is situate on the western bank of the Little Miami. The lots are sold to none but actual settlers, and tho it was only settled last spring about 14 families are already here. They have the advantages of good air, good water and good land. They are also on an equality; pride and slavery are equally strangers; industry is seen in all, and the consequences are, they are happy. We are lodged here with a Mr. Heighway, an emigrant from England, who with a number of his country people, suffered inconceivable hardships in getting to this country. It was curious to see their elegant furniture and silver plate glittering in a small smoky cabin. We have today travelled thro a fine country; the land is extremely rich and well watered.

Thurs. 12th. Mr. Heighway after compelling us to take breakfast with him, accompanied us some distance and put us into the right way to Old Chillicothe. About 1 o'clock we were saluted with a view of one of those beautiful plains, which are known in this country by the name of pararas. Here we could see many miles in a straight direction, and not a tree or bush to obstruct the sight. The grass in the parara, we found higher than our heads on horseback as we rode thro it. After riding about 2 miles thro this enchanting parara we arrived on the spot, where the old town of Chillicothe stood, of which scarcely a vestige now remains. We saw a few slabs and something like an old breastwork but so decayed and covered with grass that it was scarcely discernable.

ever my eyes beheld. Here we travelled over ancient walls, ditches, monuments &c, at the sight of which a considerate mind feels lost in silent contemplation. We arrived a little in the night at Chillicothe town and took up at Umpston tavern.

CHILLICOTHE.

Thurs. 19th. The morning of this day till about 11 o'clock, I employed in surveying this newly erected town. It stands on a beautiful level, rich and convenient spot. The Scioto, a beautiful, clear, gentle river and capable of an extensive navigation, waters it on the east side. Paint creek, which is also navigable a considerable distance washes its western borders. The streets extending from the Scioto to Paint creek in a direct line are about a mile in length. Again there are cross streets, which cross the others at right angles. Thus situated it is not only a beautiful, but is also a most convenient place for a town, and if it be considered as situated in the heart of a rich and fertile country, near the center of the limits pointed out for a state, and on one of the finest rivers in the western country for its navigation, it seems evident that it will at a time not far distant be a place of very great consequence. The inhabitants of this town (as I was informed) amount to upwards of 100 families, which at a moderate computation will exceed 1,000 souls. This has been effected in about 12 months. If these be the fruits of a free government may despotism and slavery be banished from the world and the blessings of liberty universally prevail. Here I saw and had a little conversation with some of the savage tribes, who had come to town on a friendly visit.

RETURN TO THE OHIO.

About 1 o'clock, Mr. Sowell and myself after parting with Bros. McCormick and Howard, set out on our return, travelled about 24 miles and encamped in the woods.

Fri. 20th. Having taken a violent cold I got sick. An hour or two before day it began to rain. We were in a wild wilderness and had unfortunately lost our way and got off from the road. When day came on, we started and in about two hours had the good fortune to find the road. About 12 o'clock we reached a house, wet, weary and sick. We stopped, dried ourselves, took a little coffee and pursued our journey. We reached another house in the evening but could not prevail with the unfeeling woman (the only one of this character I saw in this country) to let us have a bed; so I lay on the floor but rested poorly.

Sat. 21st. We rose and started, the weather still rainy. We soon got wet, but called at a house, got breakfast and dried ourselves. We then set forward and reached the Ohio, about 2 o'clock.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO.

Having now travelled between 3 and 400 miles thro this country, I think I can form a tolerable judgment of the same and will as concisely as possible, give a general description of the same before I leave it. The land naturally claims the first place. Bordering on the rivers, the land exceeds description. Suffice it to say that the soil is amazing rich, not subject to overflow, unbroken with gulches and gutters, as level as a bowling plain and vastly extensive. Leaving the rivers a high hill skirts the low ground. Here the land is still amazing fertile, covered with a heavy growth of timber, such as white and red oak, hickory, ash, beech, sugar tree, walnut, buckeye &c. Here a number of small streams take their rise; then gently creep along thro the winding valleys, and in their course these winding streams, form a great quantity of, excellent meadow land. These streams uniting increase their consequence; the meadows enlarge and extend themselves, till they discharge their crystal streams into the rivers.

As to mountains, there are properly speaking none; there are however high hills from which a beautiful view of the adjoining country presents itself. There is generally but little stone. Quarries of free-stone are plenty on the Scioto and limestone in many places. The land is generally very light, soft and easy to cultivate. Indian corn grows to great perfection; wheat, oats, rye &c thrive amazing well. All kinds of roots, such as potatoes, turnips, and the like grow extremely well. Cotton also grows very well and hemp and flax come to great perfection.

Grass of the meadow kind grows all over this country and white clover and blue grass grow spontaneously wherever the land is cleared. A country so famous for grass must of course be excellent for all kinds of stock. Here I saw the finest beef and mutton, that I ever saw fed on grass. Hogs also increase and fatten in the woods in a most surprizing manner. Exclusive of tame cattle, great numbers of wild beasts as bears, buffalo, deer, elk &c shelter in these immense woods. The rivers produce an infinite number of fish; besides geese, ducks and the like, turkies, pheasants, partridges &c are produced in great plenty and get exceeding fat on the produce of the forest. Honey itself is not wanting to make up the rich variety. Incredible numbers of bees have found their way to this delightful region and in vast quantities deposit their honey in the trees of the woods, so that it is not an uncommon thing for the people to take their wagon and team and return loaded with honey.

The water of this country is generally very good The rivers are clear as crystal and the springs are bold, good and in considerable plenty.

The air appears clear and serene not subject to dampness and vapors, which render a country unwholesome. Neither does it appear subject to

those sudden changes and alterations which are so pernicious to health and prejudicial to fruits and vegetables. When these things are duly considered the country which possesses these natural advantages surely merits notice. But when we recollect this country is the asylum of liberty; that cruelty has not stained the country with blood; that freedom and equality is the precious boon of its inhabitants, and that this is to be the case in the future, surely this of all countries is most worthy of our attention and esteem.

AGAIN IN KENTUCKY.

Sun. 22nd. We pursued our journey, breakfasted at Rouse's, crossed the Licking and the Blue Licks and arrived in the evening at Tho. Howard's.

Mon. 23rd. We passed thro Paris, the county town of Bourbon, reached Lexington about 3 o'clock and my brother's about daylight disappearing.

Tues. 24th. We now prepared with all possible dispatch for our journey home. My brothers started this morning for the south side of Kentucky river. But I having some business in Woodford went thither, did my business, saw Mr. Sowell (with whom I parted last evening at Lexington) informed him we proposed leaving the country Sunday next. We appointed to meet Sunday morning at Ch. Smith's and I returned to my brother's.

Wed. 25th. Took leave of my brother's family and left with an hope of shortly seeing my own. I met with my Bro. George at my friend J. Bryant's where we tarried the night.

Thurs. 26th. Set out accompanied with my Bro. and Mr. Bryant, rode to Stanford, the county town of Lincoln. Here I parted with my brother and Mr. Bryant and rode on to Mr. Thos. Hutchinson's with whom I spent the evening.

Fri. 27th. Pursued my journey to Mr. Renfro's, where I arrived about 11 o'clock. Here I again met with my brother George S. Smith, with Mr. Forbes a surveyor, prepared to survey my lands.

Sat. 28th. We set out before sunrise to run out my lines. Mr. Lafon and myself carried the chain. It was nearly sunset when we completed our work, after being closely employed almost the whole day and what, thro fatigue and want of refreshment, I was so exhausted that I was almost ready to faint. After getting a little nourishment I felt revived. I now had the consolation to find, that the different objects of my journey to this country were now happily accomplished; consequently I find my thoughts occupied with a pleasing hope of a speedy return to my family and friends in Virginia. Our Bro. George S. Smith now took leave of us to return home.

THE JOURNEY HOMEWARD.

Sun. 29th. We now fix up and about 9 o'clock set our faces toward home. At Smith's we met with Mr. Sowall. We travelled on together and reached Gollett's Station in the evening.

Mon. 30th. Pursued our journey being now joined by Peter Mosely of Buckingham and three Jones' of Campbell. We breakfasted at Balingler's and encamped in Cumberland Canebrake.

Tues. 31st. We set out pretty early and reached the Big Spring in Powell's Valley.

Wed. 1st. Nov. Started early, breakfasted at the foot of Clinch mountain and reached Roger's tavern.

Thurs. 2d. We traveled pretty hard and reached Yancey's.

Fri. 3d. We passed Abingdon and reached Greenway's.

Sat. 4th. Left our lodgings pretty early, breakfasted at the sign of the Blue Ball and took up in the evening at Akinson near the head of the Holstein. Here we met a company of Virginians, who (not at all to the honor of their state), drank freely, swore lustily and when we retired to rest, betook themselves to cards, which considerably disturbed our rest.

Sun. 5th. Not being able to sleep for noise, we rose before day and started. The morning was pleasant and warm, but about sunrise it clouded. The blustering winds roared through the mountains, it soon began to rain, then to snow which it continued to do briskly for about an hour and then rather abated. Breakfasted at Ingledove's; lodged at Sayre's.

Mon. 6th. Was cold and blustering. We had several snows with piercing wind. Fed at Peak creek, crossed New river about 1 o'clock, dined at Haydon's and rode to Capt. Craig's.

Tues. 7th. Was very cold. We started about the break of day, crossed the Allegenia mountain, breakfasted at Mrs. Rot's, dined at McClannahan's, and rode on to McCrary's.

Wed. 8th. We crossed the Blue Ridge just after sunrise, breakfasted at Goose creek and rode on to New London.

Thurs. 9th. Breakfasted at Priestley's and reached Flood's in the evening.

Fri. 10th. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Bro. Gatch's.

Sat. 11th. We left Bro. Gatch's after breakfast and reached Mr. McLaurin's.

Sun. 12th. We pursued our journey and in the evening I had the inexpressible happiness of meeting with my family, finding them well and no misfortune happening to them in my absence. For their safe preservation and my own may the Lord have unremitted praise.

EDITORIALANA.

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E. O. Randall

AUGUST, 1907.

A CHAPTER OF CORRECTIONS.

W. F. MCFARLAND.

[History is never free from imperfections. Particularly is this true of the collected and collated records and data of pioneer periods—the beginnings of history. This is most natural as the memoranda are furnished by different authorities who discern the events recorded from various points of view or who are not accurate in their method of statement. The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society endeavors to gather and preserve all that is worthy of preservation concerning the early history of our state. It therefore gladly welcomes criticism upon and corrections of the material which it puts forth. It of course goes without saying that the Society is not to be held responsible for the authenticity or accuracy of articles contributed by various writers to the columns of the Society's publications. We therefore readily publish "corrections" when they come from persons deserving credence. One of the most learned and critical scholars of Ohio's early history is Professor R. W. McFarland, who was born near Urbana in 1825, and who still at the age of eighty-two, with eye undimmed and faculties unimpaired takes an enthusiastic and active interest in the events of "ye olden time." He knew and conversed with many of the prominent settlers of the Buckeye State. Probably no one living has so much knowledge "at first hand" of the startings of our state history. Professor McFarland's memory retains it strength and clearness unabated and what he says has the stamp of original authority. The editor of this *Quarterly* has often during the past years been indebted to Mr. McFarland for much valuable assistance in the effort to obtain reliable data of pioneer times and also for much revision and correction of material published. The editorial desk retains safely pigeon-holed many letters from the professor touching upon articles appearing in the *Quarterly*. We have culled from them some of the "items" we believe deserve not only the light of day but permanent place in the literature of the Society. The purpose of their appearance and their value speak for themselves. While much of the matter herewith published was intended only for the personal benefit of the Editor of the *Quarterly*, we gladly give the readers of the *Quarterly* and thereby all students of Ohio history, the benefit of the statements.—EDITOR.]

Professor McFarland says:

NAME OF SANDUSKY TOWN.

The name "Sandusky" as applied to the town, was not generally known as the name for more than twenty-five years after 1816. It was called Portland. I lived in the western part of Champaign county when I was young; and as late as 1842 my father sent a wagon-load of flour to Portland. All the country round did likewise, as being the best market for flour—and everybody said Portland. It was after 1842 that the name of Sandusky became general.

In the article on Daniel Boone¹ the author says: "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." It seems to me that there are three of four errors along here. The Indians did not enclose their villages with pickets; Clark had no cannon; the time was not 1782, but 1780. Clark did not destroy the town, the Indians themselves set it on fire and it was burnt down when Clark got there. See Clark's own report for 1780. He did not march through or near to this old site in 1782. These are minor points, but they disfigure "History."

ACREAGE OF OHIO COMPANY PURCHASE.

As to the mistakes of Schouler and King in their histories. They both say that the Ohio Company purchased five million acres; and Symmes two million. The Ohio Company asked for only one and one-half million and did not get so much, in fact it was less than one million. Five million acres would take all the land south of Columbus and enclosed by the Muskingum, Scioto and Ohio rivers, about one-fifth of the whole state. Symmes applied for one million, and he secured less than one-fourth of that figure. If you take all the land between the Miami rivers as far north as the old Indian boundary lines, and as far east as the Ludlow line, you will have only about one and one-half million acres. It is certain that neither Schouler nor King ever made any investigation at all of either subject—one probably copied from the other—and so "History is writ." In volume I, *Laws of the United States*, the facts are nearly all to be found.

GRAVES OF GENERAL BUTLER.

Following out in part the clues I was working on in my brief articles on the old forts,² I find that General Butler, killed November 4, 1791, and for whom our county is named, was buried in the following

¹ See Article on "Sandusky River," Vol. XIII, page 275, Publications Ohio State Arcæological and Historical Society.

² Vol. XIII, page 264.

³ Forts Loraine and Pickawillany: Vol. VIII, page 479.

winter; and then was again found and buried two years later by Wayne's forces; that not far from 1836 his body was again independently found and given a separate burial and the grave was marked on maps; and that again in 1875 the remains were again found; and still later in 1891, they found the bones and dug them up in still another place. All this, I think I can prove by Ohio historians; and I think it is a pity such cheerful and gratifying news should not be "put where it will do most good"—say in our *Quarterly*. And so feeling I will try to bring together some of the proofs of this assembly of burials, and so make another manifestation of how much Ohio writers of history know. And if all points of Ohio History turn out to be made of such stuff, the sooner bonfires are made of such works the better.

ORIGIN OF "O. K."

I read with great pleasure Gen. Keifer's explanation of "O. K.)* My home was in Champaign county, and I was at the great gathering of the Whigs in 1840. The Jackson Township man lived but a few miles from my father's house; and my recollection is that the spelling "Oll Korrect" was meant to catch the eye and make fun. I saw those twelve long tables heaped up with eatables,—one ox was roasted whole—a very large animal. It was swung on a heavy pole resting on two stout forked posts planted in the ground. Attendants stood by and sliced off pieces for those who wished "roast beef." I took a piece to eat with the bread taken from the table. I saw ex-Governor Metcalf of Kentucky in his buckskin suit, pants and hunting shirt. The hunting shirt was a coat reaching almost or quite to the knees, having a cape around the shoulders. All around the cape and lower end of the coat was a fringe of deer leather, made by taking a strip about 4 inches wide and cutting cross-wise and then sewing the strip to the cape and the bottom. A band of the same was also put on each arm just above the wrists.

At that date a hunting shirt made of blue linsey was very common among the pioneer families. All the Kentons wore them. There was another use or explanation of O. K. which General Keifer does not notice. Van Buren lived at Kinderhook on the Hudson river. The Whig papers said "O. K." meant "Off to Kinderhook" for Van Buren after the election—and so it was. At that time I was of the right age to enjoy all political jokes, especially if they "hit the other party." I can call up the events of that day as though it was but yesterday, whereas it is almost sixty-four years. Governor Metcalf was a conspicuous figure on the sand—but the rustic pronunciation of his name was "Mad-cap." I heard it over and over again.

* Origin of "O. K." Vol. XIII, page 350.

DUNMORE'S WAR.

Allow me to say that you have given the best general account of Lord Dunmore's War,⁵ that I have seen; and you found it a task of no small difficulty. I like your way, too, when accounts differ, of giving both sides. I was anxious that such an account should not be subject to adverse criticism by reason of a few slips which come about so easily. Personal inspection of historic places also is always desirable—and sometimes it is essential, if a true account is to be made up.

THE CHILLICOTHESES.

I have re-written the Chillicothe statements,⁶ in my private letter to you. I had said that Clark destroyed the old Chillicothe on his way to the Mad river towns; this was not strictly the case, I give it in the transcript. Clark destroyed all the corn about the village; but the Indians got ahead of him as to the town itself—but only by a few hours.

All the places I have mentioned, I have visited over and over again, — some of them perhaps fifty times.

1. Chillicothe—Howe's Ohio and other histories speak of the town of this name on the Great Miami river. It was on the site of the present city of Piqua.

2. Chillicothe—Three miles north of Xenia,—fifty years ago it was known as "Old Town." I knew the place sixty years ago. This old Indian town was destroyed by General Geo. Rogers Clark in 1780 on his way to Piqua, the great town of the Shawanees—on the north bank of Mad river, six miles west of Springfield.

3. Chillicothe—Usually spoken of as "Old Chillicothe." This was in Pickaway county, about four miles down the Scioto from Circleville, on the west side of the river. Any history giving an account of "Lord Dunmore's War"—1774—including the battle of Point Pleasant—and naming "Chillicothe"—means this one. The present village of Westfall is on or very near the site. It was at the second "Chillicothe" where Simon Kenton once ran the "gauntlet."

4. Chillicothe—Now called Hopetown—three miles north of Chillicothe City in Ross county. Where I lived in the present City of Chillicothe, fifty years ago, the village was ordinarily called "Old Town"—in reference to the old Indian village. The present city of Chillicothe does not occupy the site of an Indian town.

5. Chillicothe—Frankfort, Ross county—twelve miles northwest of the city of Chillicothe—on one of the old country roads leading from Chillicothe to Greenfield, which is in the northeast corner of Highland county. When I lived in Greenfield, from 1848 to 1851, I passed this

⁵ Vol. XI, page 167.

⁶ The Chillicothes, Vol. XI, page 230. See also Vol. XII, page 167..

Frankfort a number of times. People called it "Old Town" because of the old Indian village. It is a half a mile or so north of the station on the Baltimore and Ohio Southwestern Railroad, called Roxabell—half way between Chillicothe and Greenfield. In an excellent map of Ohio which I bought in 1854, number 3 of this series is called "Old Town."

All of these "Chillicothes" were Shawanee towns, and I have seen the statement that the record is of the Shawanee dialect, meaning "Place where the people live," or words to that effect; but I don't know whether it is the correct meaning. Of course, all persons somewhat versed in the Indian usage, know that Indian names are usually significant, as Niagara—"The Thunder of Waters."

OHIO'S PART IN THE REVOLUTION.

In your article on Ohio's Part in the Revolution⁷ you make several slips.

1. Point Pleasant is south of the Ohio river, and of course is not in Ohio.

2. You make Dunmore's camp below the "present city of Chillicothe,"—whereas it was about three miles from the "old Chillicothe" at Westfall.

3. Harmar's expedition was in 1790, not in 1789.

4. Wayne's army was 3,000—it had been proposed to have 5,000, but fell short as above. In Wayne's official report of the battle of the Fallen Timber, Wayne says that less than 900 of his men were actually engaged in the fight.

5. You seem to have mixed Clark's two expeditions of 1780 and 1782. It was in 1780 that Clark destroyed the corn about "old Chillicothe," north of Xenia, the Indians had burnt that town before the Kentucky troops got there. The Piqua then destroyed was six miles west of Springfield. The battle was severe. The site of the present Piqua was occupied by the Shawanees of the Mad river Piqua, after the destruction of the latter. When you say "Xenia," you are a little "off your base." The first expedition was the bloody one, that of 1782 was almost bloodless; this was against the Piqua towns—particularly Upper Piqua or Pickawillany, three miles north of Piqua. Laramie's store was burnt the same night. It was fourteen miles farther north. Hardly a man was lost—only two, so far as I know—they had been wounded while away from the main body. The Indians ran away and I can find a record of only five Indians slain, and they about Laramie's store. Wherefore this expedition of Clark in 1782, could hardly "have broken the backbone of the Revolution." The expedition of 1780 was the big one—but that was two years before, and of course

⁷ Vol. XI, page 102.

had no special influence in stopping the war. Virginia claimed the land by royal grant to latitude 41°, which is the south border of Portage county, part of Summit, Huron, Seneca and Paulding counties. All south of this line belonged to Virginia, fully three-fourths of Ohio. It seems to me that you will have to review and straighten up the account of Clark's two campaigns.

TERM ABORIGINE.

The other little point which I had in view is the criticism of Dr. Slocum on the use of the term "Indian." As to "Aborigine" in the singular number,⁸ it is sufficient to say in general, scholarly men have considered the word illegitimate, although the plural has long been in use. Stormouth, Worcester, and Webster, all refuse the word a place in their respective dictionaries; but the Century and the Standard admit it. Away back in 1840 a "corner-grocery" politician in Westville, near Urbana, a man who could reasonably well entertain a political meeting of his own party, wishing to refer to the Indians, and not being a scholarly man, rather unlettered, indeed, but willing to use high sounding terms, called them "The Abo-roginés"—the "g" having the same sound as in *give*; and the "i" long, as in *hives*. It served his purpose, and he was not troubled with "linguistics." Dr. Slocum's criticism as to the term "Indian" is wholly wrong, and I am sorry that a member of our Society makes such a blunder. The islands south of the United States have borne the name of the "West Indies" ever since they had a name. The inhabitants were properly called Indians—even if the discoverers had not struck the India of Asia, as he at first supposed he had. The same is used by Irvin, Cooper, Bancroft, Motley, Prescott, and all other writers of American affairs.

PICKAWILLANY AND LORAMIE.

I wish to congratulate you on your trip to Pickawillany and Loramie. Of course at the old fort Loramie, you saw the stone which is claimed as having been under the Loramie store; you probably saw what was claimed to be the grave of Gen. Butler. This latter point was fully discussed in my article on "Forts Pickawillany and Loramie." And every writer whose works I quoted or referred to, except Howe, had put the two at the same place—some at Pickawillany and some at Loramie. I asked this question—"What are such histories worth?"

About 200 yards south of the old Johnson homestead, is old Fort Piqua built by Wayne in 1794. I hope that you visited it. When I was at Loramie in 1899, the west end of the Greenville treaty line was shown by a peach fence extending over 50 or 60 rods east of the creek back towards the houses in the villages. The end of the fence was about

⁸ Vol. XIV, page 354.

one-fourth of a mile *north* from the *fork* of the creek, which in the treaty is named, and from which *fork*, the line to Fort Recovery begins. But the west tributary (Mile Creek) had cut across the corner, and enters Loramie's creek a good many rods south of the old mouth. The line on the east side was measured from the Tuscarawas river westward—and although the course was a little changed miles east of Loramie, and still it came out one-fourth mile too far north. I am glad that you took that trip. I wish I could have been with you. I made two trips.

EARLY CINCINNATI.

There are two or three little slips made by writers for our Journal, to which I call attention, that they may be too small to require correction. They are all in the article on "Early Cincinnati;" and the president of an historical society ought to speak and walk carefully—following where possible, the old Davy Crockett rule. "Be sure you are *right*, then go ahead." But to "my mutton." On the first page of the article, near the bottom, it is said, in speaking of the Northwest Territory, "Virginia, in 1781, gave up to Federal control any rights she had in this territory." The cession was in 1784 not 1781, and Virginia especially reserved all the territory between the Scioto and the Little Miami. On the next page near the top, it is said that the Federal government by treaty in "1786" etc. The Federal government made no treaty in 1786, it was in 1789, in January, at Fort Harmar. Again, beginning at the bottom of page 453, and extending to the middle of page 454, the paragraph shows a want of exact knowledge of the question under discussion. At the bottom of page 453, the part of the clause within the quotation marks, is not the exact language of the act of Congress. The act is not before me as I write, but I give the substance—"east from the south extremity of Lake Michigan, until it meets the line between the United States and Canada, in Lake Erie, thence with that line," etc. The trouble was that line from the south end of Lake Michigan would not touch Lake Erie at all. The writer of "Early Cincinnati" says: "During the controversy as to where the * * * line should be drawn, * * * a hunter * * * brought it to the attention of the convention," etc. The convention was in November, 1802, and this subject was not before the body. Further, he says, "A compromise was made," etc.—there was no such thing as a compromise. The United States Congress about 1836 corrected the mistake first made as to the north line; and made it run from the south end of Lake Michigan to the north cape at the bay at Toledo—south point of the cape. Again, "But the line remained in doubt"—there is no doubt about it. While I was at the State University, I wrote for the Surveyor of Williams county, at his request, the description of that line along the north border of the county, for twenty miles

^o Early Cincinnati, Vol. XIV, page 448.

or so, giving the distance from the section corners, and the witness trees, where this north line of the state crossed the lines running north and south between the section. The whole line is on record in the Land Office. Again he says, speaking of this hunter's report to the convention, "Thereupon the settlers of Toledo became disturbed for fear that they should be left out of the new state about to be carved out of the Northwest Territory." There was no Toledo then, nor for many years afterwards.

Read the middle paragraph on page 457. The four counties spoken of crossed most of the Northwest Territory. The east boundary of that Knox county was the line from Fort Recovery to the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river. St. Clair county crossed most of Illinois, if memory serves me right.

Page 462, bottom, he says the railroad was finished to Springfield in 1846, it was in 1848. Myself and ten or twelve other young men went from our homes six or eight miles northwest of Urbana to see the first train reach Springfield. Thousands were there. We rode eighteen miles for the sight and eighteen back.

OHIO CANALS.

There is only one more point for this letter; and this is a statement in the little work on the Ohio canals.¹⁰ Men seem to be absolutely oblivious to dates, or else they put down whatever year is first thought of. The young man who compiled that work did not make this error—they quote Hadley on Railroad Transportation. See Ohio Canals, page 43. It says, "Part of Cincinnati, Sandusky and Cleveland Railroad had been built about 1837 and by 1846 there was railroad communication from the Lake to the River."

Now let me give you an item or two from my recollection. In the Spring of 1849, I was in Cincinnati, superintending the printing of my edition of Virgil. Cholera came on; by the last of May or the first of June, the death rate ran up to fifteen, or twenty a day. Many people fled from the city—"me, too." When we reached Springfield, about dusk, fourteen old-fashioned stages were there to carry the passengers forward. I was the twelfth man to get on the last stage, and had to hold on carefully, or be spilled along the road. I stopped at Urbana. My recollection is that on the north the railroad came to Bellefontaine, "twenty miles away." Springfield is fourteen miles south of Urbana.

2d Item. I was married on the 19th day of March, 1851, at Greenfield, in the northeast corner of Highland county. By 10 o'clock on the morning of the 20th we reached Xenia, coming in from the east in carriages. By 11 A. M. we reached Springfield by railroad and there

¹⁰ The Ohio Canals; Published by the Archæological and Historical Society, 1906.

two or three of my brothers and other friends met us, with carriages, and took us to my father's house, which was eighteen miles from Springfield, and seven northwest of Urbana. Urbana was fourteen miles on the way, but there were no cars. Now even if my memory were at fault in these dates, there stands 1849 on the title page of my book, and 1851 in the family Bible, so that one may call this "documentary proof." You can easily see that my dates can hardly be disputed.

SERPENT MOUND.

I have read with great interest your account of the Serpent Mound,¹¹ with the discourse on Serpent Worship, the world over. The snake has always been brought in by some hook or crook. Did ever you see Stephen's account of his travels in Central America and Yucatan? He gives in one of his pictures, the head and part of the body of a huge serpent as a sort of handrail to the long flight of steps up to an old temple. In old Greece, the sign for a doctor was a rod with a serpent around it, or two serpents wound around each other. You can see the cut in my modern books. Then it was said on one occasion, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves." The doctor can look wise, a serpent is his symbol. But this is a big subject.

PICKAWILLANY AGAIN.

Before I wrote my article on "Pickawillany" I spent two or three days in the State Library at Columbus, and used all of the general or special histories of Ohio which spoke of the place. One was the account of Christopher Gist's visit. I think also that the Journal of Capt. Trent, also has something on the subject. Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley is greatly in error. In Howe's History of Ohio, under the head of "Shelby County," you get a pretty full account, and there is a reference to C. W. Butterfield's account—but that account I have not seen. Atwater, Taylor and King's Histories of Ohio, could soon be examined. Albach's "Western Annals," is "no good"—worse than nothing. It is possible that "Burnett's Notes" may have something valuable—Miami University Library has no copy of these "Notes."

The stockade at Pickawillany was built late in 1750; Christopher Gist was there in February, 1751. The fort was destroyed in June, 1752, by the French and Indians, because of the English traders who had built and occupied the "fort"—most or all of the English traders were from Philadelphia, they were weaning some Indian tribes away from the French. Some think this was really the beginning of the "French and Indian War," including Braddock's defeat, the battle of Quebec, ending

¹¹Serpent Mound; published by Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1905.

with the ousting of the French from Canada, and the Northwestern Territory, as shown by the treaty of 1763.

REV. J. B. FINLEY,

The article on Wyandot Missions, in volume XV, interested me greatly, especially the references to Rev. J. B. Finley. We boys used to call him "Old Jim Finley" and he and father were intimate friends for more than forty years. They both came into the church at the celebrated campmeeting an Cane Ridge, Ky., in the early years of the last century. In 1842 he was "Presiding Elder" in the district where my father lived near Urbana. One night he (Finley) and the young man who was preaching on that circuit staid at my father's house during a two days' meeting, father was talking with the preachers, and I had a good view of Mr. Finley's face; and as I sat some distance away, I rested a piece of paper on my slate and drew a picture of Mr. Finley with the hair roached back, as he always wore it. I was then about sixteen or seventeen years old and was teaching the country school. After awhile I slipped my picture into the hand of the young preacher. He looked at it, then showed it to Mr. Finley. He didn't more than half like it—but the young man said, "Brother Finley, it is a good likeness of you." At that time colleges in the land were not so numerous as they are now. The next year when I made up my mind to go to college, Mr. Finley sent me to Augusta College, Ky. At that time each presiding elder in Ohio and Kentucky had the privilege of sending one young man from his district to Augusta College, free of tuition, which was \$32.00 a year. The college was supported by Ohio and Kentucky conferences. It was in 1843 Mr. Finley sent me to college—and as teachers' salaries at that time were usually \$15.00 a month or less, the saving of that money was very acceptable to me. I knew Mr. Finley as well as I knew anybody. He was a muscular Christian, had been a young man who would fight on the proper provocation, and being a very powerful man, he was accustomed to be the victor. The year he sent me to college, he conducted a campmeeting about six miles from my father's house. I was there. In those days it was not an unusual thing for rowdies to make disturbances on the campground. But always some men were selected as policemen to enforce order. One day a rough customer was brought in by this local police to the preacher's headquarters. He behaved very rudely—even threatened to "lick" Mr. Finley, who was giving him some strong talk. Finley was in his shirt sleeves, he unbuttoned the sleeve on his right hand, pulled the sleeve up above the elbow, shut his fist, and turned his arm back and forth, as if ready for a fight. He said, "Young man, do you see this? God wouldn't let you whip me, and if He would, I wouldn't—so behave yourself or I'll drub you." The young man, on seeing that arm, and hearing the threat became as "meek as a lamb." I saw the whole fun.

A year or so afterwards he held a "Quarterly Meeting" in Westville, a village about four miles west of Urbana. In the village was a young man subject to "fits"—once in three or four months—seldom oftener, and they would come on without premonitory symptoms. As Mr. Finley was preaching the 11 o'clock sermon, a "fit" came on the young man—he fell to the floor. His friends understanding the case ran up at once to carry him out—but of course the speaker quit preaching, and he thought the men were merely crowding around the man too close—and not knowing anything of the case, he cried out in a loud voice, "Stand back, brethren, stand back and give the man fresh air—if he is a sinner he may die and go to hell and be damned,—stand back." The friends carried the man out, and the preacher resumed his discourse. Finley was staying at my brother's house. Sometime in the afternoon he received a note from some of the young man's friends, saying that they intended to "ride him on a rail" for what he said about the sick man. Finley had intended to preach at night at Urbana, but he said to my brother, "Brother Mac. if I go to Urbana, those fellows will say they ran me out of town. I'll send some one in my place"—and he did. The next morning right after breakfast, he took off his coat, and walked up and down the whole length of the street for at least three or four hours. He came into my brother's shop and said, "Brother Mac, tell those fellows for me that I say they are a set of cowards, they threatened to ride me on a rail, and here I have been waiting all morning for them, and they don't come. Tell them I say they are cowards." They had signed their names to the paper; one of them was a justice of the peace, long known to me.

Finley and my father were life-long friends—both uniting with the church at the celebrated "Cane Ridge" campmeeting in Bourbon county, Ky., in the early years of the last century. They differed less than a year in their ages—"Cane Ridge" was a sort of permanent link, binding them together—my father was an old-fashioned Methodist exhorter, having his license renewed forty times,—several by Finley as Presiding Elder. So you see I was, in a certain sense, "native and to the manner born." Finley died in 1857. About two years after the events which I give, he was made Chaplain to the Ohio Penitentiary, and remained there two or three years more. He wrote a book called "Prison Life," also an "Autobiography," and other books. The two I name are doubtless in the State Library. Finley suited the rough age in which he lived; absolutely without guile, and perfectly honest and outspoken. Nobody could possibly misunderstand him; and he would defend himself and his side to the last extremity. I think he was a noble man. Once he had been invited to an old Kentucky "hoe-down" or a country dance. In the meantime he had "experienced religion" (using the phraseology of the time), and when he went to the dance, he caused it to be turned into a prayer meeting. You will find the account in some of his writings.

GOVERNOR ROBERT LUCAS.

"The life of Robert Lucas presents an outline of intense convictions and strong assertive action. Set in a background of pioneer conditions, it partook distinctly of the characteristic vigor and ruggedness of that great westward movement. Robert Lucas was one who made up his mind definitely and positively; and when once convinced of the righteousness of a course of action, no power could divert him from it. * * * But the aggressive strength of character of an executive like Robert Lucas was greatly needed both in the formative period of the State of Ohio and in the period of the organization of the Territory of Iowa."

Those are initial words to the author's preface to a *Life of Robert Lucas* by John C. Parish of the State University of Iowa. The volume belongs to the Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Iowa, which Society is responsible for the publication in question. Mr. Parish has done his work in an accurate, scholarly and entertaining way. He has diligently "dug out" the facts and material for his book from the original sources and has carefully verified his important statements. The story told is deeply interesting to both Ohio and Iowa readers for the theatre of the incessant activities of Lucas embraced both states.

Robert Lucas was a fine type of the personages of his time, who "did things." He was eminent in the class of men who by ability and energy founded states and steered the march of frontier civilization. Robert came from Virginia stock, which contributed so forcefully to the early building of Ohio. He was born at Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, Virginia, April 1, 1781; in 1800 he moved with his parents to the banks of the Scioto, whither his elder brothers have proceeded him. He was energetic and enterprising as is evidenced by the fact that in 1803 he was surveyor of Scioto county and ran the line between that and Adams county.

He seems to have been strongly imbued with the military spirit, and in the year just named he was commissioned by Governor Tiffin to recruit twenty volunteers for the army, then projected with the idea that the United States would have difficulty with Spain growing out of the entanglement of the proposed sale by Napoleon of the Louisiana Territory to the United States. In 1805 he was made justice of the peace for Scioto county; in 1808 he was elected to the legislature from his county and displayed at once great aptness in public affairs in which he later became so conspicuous. Perhaps the most interesting chapter to Ohio readers is the one on the War of 1812, in which Robert Lucas played an effective and unique part. When Governor Meigs was called upon to raise the quota of volunteers apportioned to Ohio, Lucas was Brigadier General of the Second Brigade of the Second Division of the Ohio Militia. For some time he had been desirous of entering the United

States army; mainly through the efforts of General McArthur, he had received a commission of captain in the Nineteenth United States Infantry; this office he had accepted only a few days before receiving the brigadier orders, but as yet had not received assignment as United States army officer; he assumed the duties of the office of Brigadier General of the Militia; at the same time in order to encourage enlistment of volunteers, he volunteered as a private in his brother's company; he was, therefore, at one and the same time, captain of the United States army, brigadier general in the Ohio Militia and private in a volunteer company; in addition he was constantly performing the independent duties of scout, guide, express messenger and staff officer. At the opening of this campaign he began an interesting daily journal which he carried with him throughout the Hull campaign, and which throws most interesting side-lights upon the events as they transpired. On the 23d of May (1812) General William Hull arrived at Dayton, where the army was rendezvoused, and it was then and there that the famous campaign of Hull began, which ended so ignominiously three months later; the march to Detroit is minutely related in Lucas' journal; Lucas was in the lead performing the various duties of scout, guide and picket. Then followed Hull's stupid movements across the Detroit River in the vicinity of Malden. Lucas was one of the officers in the party under Major Van Horne, who was directed by Hull to return back across the Detroit River and proceed down to the River Raisin to meet and escort back to Detroit, Captain Brush, who had arrived at the Raisin River with reinforcements and provisions for Hull's army. The well-known result of that rescuing expedition was the disastrous defeat at Brownstown, where the American militia were ambuscaded and surprised by the force consisting mostly of Indians under the command of the wily Tecumseh. The American soldiers were panic stricken and fled precipitously with a loss of a hundred including killed, wounded and missing. It was the first blood in the War of 1812. Upon the surrender of Hull, Lucas evaded the disgrace of becoming a prisoner by proceeding to Cleveland. The war over, he resumed his political career, being elected to the Ohio Senate several successive times. For a period he presided as speaker over that body. In 1830 he was named by the Democratic party for the office of governor, but was defeated by his opponent, Duncan McArthur. He was again elected to the legislature, and the following year (1832) he was elected governor over his old opponent, McArthur, Allen G. Thurman being selected as his private secretary. This same year he had the distinguished honor of presiding over the first Democratic national convention, held at Baltimore. He was re-elected governor in 1834. As an executive officer he displayed great ability, firmness, and though a bitter partisan, was a loyal patriot. It was during his governorship that the famous and somewhat burlesque "Toledo War" occurred over the Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute. In

1838 President Van Buren appointed Mr. Lucas governor of the Territory of Iowa. In this position he exhibited great capabilities in the organization of the territory into the state. The election of William H. Harrison as Whig President in 1840 caused Mr. Lucas' removal from the office of (Iowa) governor, when he returned to Ohio and was nominated by the people of his home district for membership in United States Congress. In the election he was unsuccessful. He then sold his farm and home at Friendly Grove and returning to Iowa made Iowa City his home. He again took a prominent part in the politics of the territory of his adoption. He was elected a member of the convention which was to create a constitution for the forthcoming state of Iowa; served at the head of several important committees, one of them being the Committee on State Boundaries, which was to consider the dispute over the line separating Iowa from Missouri; Mr. Lucas, therefore, appears to have been peculiarly the hero of state boundary disputes. About this time he was charged with being a confirmed office seeker for he looked "with longing eyes to the governorship of the state whose early destinies he had watched and guarded as the pioneer Territorial Governor. But younger men were pushing to the front and now his declining years came upon him and the fate of a superannuated statesman brought him that fretful idleness that is so hard for men of action to endure." In 1852 he deserted the party he had so long and zealously served and joined the Whig forces. Death ended his career on December 8, 1853. He died at his home, Plum Grove, and the following day was buried in the cemetery at Iowa City.

Such are the brief and concise facts of his phenomenal life. That such a career must have had for its foundation and results a strong character and unusual ability, goes without saying. Mr. Parish, his biographer, has followed his life in a most faithful and in not ungraphic portrayal. He has in a most successful degree pictured the background events in which Mr. Lucas was so prominent a figure. Mr. Parish has an easy flowing style and the historic instinct to properly emphasize the larger incidents, while leaving nothing to be desired in detail. The little volume is tastefully produced as to typographical and mechanical composition. It has the double value of historic interest in the development of two states, Ohio and Iowa.

CENTRAL OHIO VALLEY HISTORY CONFERENCE.

Various historical and patriotic societies located in the southern part of Ohio have issued a call for a conference of the different historical societies of the Central Ohio Valley to be held in Cincinnati on November 29 and 30 next. The committee appointed for that purpose consists of Charles T. Greve, Chairman, Isaac J. Cox and Frank P. Goodwin, Secretary. In the circular sent forth by the committee, they state:

"The observance of national holidays and of centennial celebrations may be said to be a fixed American habit, but as yet too little attention has been paid to the details of local history and its connection with sectional and national development. In view of this fact, various organizations of the city of Cincinnati have combined for the purpose of holding a history conference that should embrace as its field a considerable portion of the Ohio Valley.

"In furtherance of this plan some twelve organizations of Cincinnati, representing the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, the Cincinnati Branch of the Archæological Institute of America, and the various hereditary patriotic societies, in connection with the teachers of the city and vicinity, have determined to hold a series of meetings on Friday and Saturday, November 29 and 30, 1907. This movement to represent all classes of workers in the local historical field has been endorsed by the authorities of the University of Cincinnati, and they have offered the use of the University buildings for the holding of such meetings as should seem desirable. The above mentioned organizations of the city are to act as hosts on this occasion, and they invite the attendance and hearty co-operation of similar bodies in the central portion of the Ohio Valley. The undersigned committee desires to get into communication, as quickly as possible, with all such organizations of this section, and will appreciate any suggestions that will further this purpose.

"One of the proposed meetings will be devoted to the work of local history societies, of which there are a number of national reputation within this district. We plan to give these societies an opportunity to explain their work, the value of their collections, and to discuss possible methods of co-operation in our particular field. The meeting will also be addressed by a speaker of national reputation, and there will be an exhibit of the valuable collections of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, under whose auspices the meeting will be held.

"By means of this conference we hope to accomplish definitely the following object:

"(1) To arouse a greater interest in the subject of local history throughout the whole Ohio Valley, to stimulate the work of gathering and preserving historical records, and to secure more efficient co-operation among the local societies.

"(2) To bring in closer touch the various classes of historical workers, and to excite a permanent interest in all phases of active historical work.

"(3) To assist the history teacher in the definite problems connected with his work, and particularly to bring to his service the wealth of illustrative material afforded by the details of our local history. In this connection it may seem advisable to extend the field of work of the Cincinnati History teachers Association so as to include the Central Ohio Valley.

"(4) To bring the individual teachers and workers into intimate personal contact with certain leaders in the historical field.

"(5) Should the success of this meeting warrant it, and if it should seem advisable to other communities participating in this conference, to adopt some general plan for holding similar future meetings, at such times and places as may seem advisable.

"In view of our purpose we invite the hearty co-operation of all

who are interested in this work. The undersigned committee will be glad to receive suggestions concerning speakers, lists of names and addresses of history workers, details concerning local history organizations and patriotic societies, and any other sources of information that will assist in rendering the conference a success. Address communications to Frank P. Goodwin, 3435 Observatory Place, Cincinnati, Ohio."

HOW GOVERNOR MEIGS GOT HIS NAME.

Where did the parents of Return Jonathan Meigs get the name? This question has been asked innumerable times by Ohioans, in looking over the list of names of Ohio governors in early days. Possibly there is no accurate information on the subject, but General Zeigler, visitors' attendant at the state house, tells, a story of the matter which he says he secured from relatives of the dead governor.

According to this story the elder Jonathan Meigs, father of Return Jonathan, was very much in love with a charming girl down in Connecticut. He asked her hand in marriage one evening. The lass looked calmly into the big open fire place, and measured in her mind the worth of the young man. Jonathan Meigs is a young lawyer, of good family, as well off in this world's goods as any of the other men of the community, but he lacks something. What was it? Vinegar? That's it. He lacked spirit. So, pressed for an answer, she told Jonathan that she would think of him as a very dear brother. Flushing, Jonathan Meigs arose, picked up his hat and cane and started out without a word. "Why be in such a hurry?" the maiden called. But the slam of the door was the only answer. "Why, he has a temper after all," she said aloud, and rushed to the door just in time to see the old gate slammed shut so violently that the wooden hinges split apart. "Return Jonathan Meigs," she cried. Jonathan returned, a wedding followed and the first child born was named Return Jonathan Meigs, and later he became the fourth governor of Ohio.

Meigs was one of the war governors of the state, serving during the war of 1812. He resigned his office as governor to become postmaster-general of the United States. Othniel Looker, of Hamilton county, completed his term.

CRAWFORD MASSACRE ANNIVERSARY.

On June 11th, the Pioneer Association of Wyandot county held its anniversary of the Crawford massacre. Several hundred people gathered in the picturesque grove, on the banks of the historic Tymochtee, but a few hundred feet from the monument erected to the memory of the martyr Colonel William Crawford, who gave up his life in the cause of the advancement of white civilization on June 11, 1782. The

exercises of the day were presided over by Mr. Emil Schlup, retiring president of the Pioneer Association. The election of the officers for the ensuing year resulted in the selection of Mr. Amos Nye as president and of the re-election of Mr. Mark Karr as secretary. An interesting program of music and speeches was successfully carried out. Music was furnished by the Adrian Cornet Band, composed of E. K. Ewing, Eugene Ewing, Fred Ewing, Thomas Reardan, Fort Presler, Burt Allion, Derf Ringheisen, Earl Snyder, George Myers, Karl Truby, Ralph Green and C. C. Haines; and the Carey Male Quartette, composed of Jesse Stombaugh, J. D. Ewing, R. D. Hilty and W. L. Baker.

Interesting reminiscences of "ye olden tymes" were given by President Nye, Mr. H. K. Inman, Postmaster Hiram Miller of Wharton, Mr. F. L. Feltus of McCutchenville, Captain A. P. Cutting of Kenton, Rev. T. J. Carey of Wharton and the venerable Isaac Burke of Crawford, whose memory went back to the days of the "Indians, rattlesnakes and blacksnakes of the Tymochtee"; in his boyhood days Mr. Burke spoke the Indian language and became acquainted with many Indians, visited and transacted business with them and the following Indians were some of his personal friends: Big Solomon, Little Chief, Charles, Fider, George Wright, Armstrong, Peacock, Mud-Eater, Stuckey, Grey-Eyes, Between-the-Logs, John Seneca, Warpole, Spybuck, Guard, Mononcue, Bullhead, Porcupine, Bigelow, Walker, James, and Deer. Mr. Burke "was raised on Tymochtee Creek and always loved to live on its banks; in its earlier days it was considered one of the best streams in the state, but it is different now, being damaged by oil and salt water."

The speakers of the day were Hon. Grant Mouser, member of Congress from that district, and Mr. Randall, the Secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Mr. Mouser made an eloquent address on the marvelous growth of our country and its present prosperity. The Secretary of this Society dwelt upon the historic events of Ohio, the various races contending for supremacy in the Ohio Valley and the bitter contest between the white and the red people.

It was a day long to be remembered by those who were fortunate enough to be present.

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By the appointment of a financial committee of three, the trustees of Western Reserve Historical Society, in their first meeting for two years, took definite steps at their meeting in May last, toward raising a permanent endowment fund of \$150,000.

W. H. Cathcart is the newly elected president of the society. When it became known that L. E. Holden, president of the society since 1902, could not serve another term on account of other pressing duties and Mr. Cathcart was elected in his place, the president-elect frankly told

his trustees that he would not serve unless they would pledge themselves to raise an endowment fund. They decided to start at once.

The financial committee which will have charge of raising the fund consists of L. P. Baldwin, D. Z. Norton and W. S. Hayden. Its power to name other members is unlimited. Until the endowment fund is raised the museum will be supported as for the past two years, in part on its guarantee fund and in part from the proceeds of a lecture course.

The report of W. H. Cathcart as secretary of the trustees, opened the meeting. In it he briefly reviewed the work of the year giving great praise to Librarian A. M. Dyer for his able and energetic management. He strongly urged the need of an endowment fund.

The board, as at present organized, consists of A. T. Brewer, J. H. Wade and C. A. Grasselli (until 1908), Ralph King, Douglas Perkins and D. Z. Norton (until 1909), A. L. Withington, E. M. Avery and Ambrose Swazey (until 1910), C. W. Bingham, H. C. Ranney and James Barnett (until 1911), and S. P. Baldwin, Webb C. Hayes and L. E. Holden (until 1912).

The new president has been connected with the society for seventeen years and has been known as an active worker in local historical circles. The other officers elected were vice presidents, J. D. Rockefeller, Jacob Perkins, D. C. Baldwin and Col. O. J. Hodge; treasurer, E. V. Hale; secretary, W. S. Hayden; corresponding secretary, A. L. Withington; librarian, A. M. Dyer.

ATTACK ON FORT ST. CLAIR.

We are glad to be able to present to our readers an extract of interest pertaining to the battle of Fort St. Clair, fought near Eaton, Preble Co., in the days of white settlement and Indian ravage. It has been handed to us by a student who is doing research work in early Ohio history and is copied from a file, now owned by the State Library, of the *Sentinel* of the North-West Territory, the first paper ever published in any of the five states comprising that area. Its opening number was issued from the corner of Front and Sycamore streets, Cincinnati, on November 9, 1793, by Wm. Maxwell, publisher. The entire file was preserved by Peyton Symmes of the famous Symmes family and was presented to the State Library by Col. John James of Urbana. It is the only one in the world.

The paper from which this article was taken has interesting notes on the proceedings of the National Convention of France and advertisements for the opening of the first packet line on the Ohio River.

The account reads:

CINCINNATI, November 9, 1793.

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 and second sub legions, with a command consisting of about ninety, non-commissioned officers and privates, having under their convoy twenty wagons, loaded with grain and commissaries' stores, were attacked between daylight and sunrise, seven miles advanced of Fort St. Clair, on the morning of the 17th ult. (October, 1793, E. M.) These two gallant young gentlemen, with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell in action. It would appear that after the fall of the officers, the party did not make much resistance, which was naturally to be expected.

The Indians killed or carried off about seventy horses, leaving the wagons and store standing in the road, and they were brought into the camp six miles advanced of Fort Jefferson, on the 20th ult., with scarcely any loss or damage, except what is before related.

SACREDNESS OF INDIAN GRAVES.

In reply to an inquiry made by Secretary George Martin of the Kansas State Historical society, Attorney General Jackson handed down an opinion to the effect that it is just as much of a crime to open Indian graves even in the interest of archæological research as it is to open the graves of white people. He says the law nowhere permits the opening of graves for archæological or scientific research.

"I know of no reason," he says in conclusion, "why Indian graves should be despoiled any more than another. The rights of the red man should be respected as much as those of whites or blacks. All the natural instincts and feelings of humanity cry out against the violation of sepulture. Except in the interest of justice or prompted by motives of love and duty, the sanctity of each deceased person's 'six feet of earth' should not be disturbed."

LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the Annual Meeting of the Society (March 22, 1907) the following have been elected Life Members of the Society: Hon. Charles A. Hanna, New York; Hon. Jacob G. Schmidlapp, Cincinnati; Hon. Florien Giaouque, Cincinnati; Mr. George M. Finckle, Columbus; Hon. William H. Taft, Washington, D. C.; Dr. George R. Love, Toledo; Colonel John W. Harper, Cincinnati; Mr. Frazer E. Wilson, Greenville; Prof. Frank P. Goodwin, Cincinnati; Rev. R. J. Richmond, McConnellsville; and Judge Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati; Hon. Drausin Wulsin, Cincinnati.

AMERICAN ABORIGINES AND THEIR SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

REV. J. A. EASTON, PH. D.

[Mr. Easton was a native Ohioan, born at Sinking Springs, Highland County, August 9, 1852. His father and grandfather, like himself, were ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Eugene Easton, his son, the distinguished American newspaper correspondent in the Boer War, is the present owner of Fort Hill (Highland County), which is crowned by one of the most interesting and best preserved prehistoric fortifications in the state. Fort Hill and much of the adjacent land has been in the possession of the Easton family for several generations. It was in such a locality, amid the surroundings of the remains and traditions of an aboriginal race that the author of this article was raised. His subject therefore has the flavor of personal interest as well as the value of scholarly study. — EDITOR.]

INTRODUCTION.

No feature of American history has been more darkened by multiplicity of words than that relating to the Aborigines, respecting the manner of their life, their native, every day life; the customs and usages that obtained, especially, those which constituted their social relations and made up the woof and warp of their primitive, yet prescribed social order.

THE ABORIGINES.

Our favorite childhood pictures, of painted, disfigured warriors attacking humble cabins of adventurous frontiersmen, or the ruthless torturing of their unfortunate victims, abide with us, lending an early prejudice to any maturer knowledge of the real character of the North American Indian.

We think of him as a veritable wild-man of the wood; a wanderer without limit of habitation; a restless rover, seeking whom he may devour, blood-thirsty, relentless, cruel and crafty, without even method in his madness, as fickle as the wind, and

more devoid of fixed relationship in life than the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, or the fishes of the sea. That he was not only, (we must think of him as belonging to the past, the original * type is lost), a little lower than the "baser sort" of his professedly civilized brother, but, lower than the game he fed upon, and with less instinct of kindred ties than the trees, vines and flowers that constituted his favorite haunt, made the fastnesses of his retreat and bedecked the fields to his irresponsive nature. A be-fethered, be-smearred villain! Capable only of dark deeds. A vicious idler! "Good only when dead."

The scalping scene is no more the true picture of savagery, than the bayonet charge of civilization. It is fortunate that before the American Indian shall have been robbed of his last reservation and the inexorable progress of events more human than divine, shall have not alone dispoiled him of his original rights, but effaced him from his native valleys, plains and mountains, that something is known respecting his true type, and real character that redeem him from the false conception and unjust caricature to which he has so long been subject.

That he was a child of nature, none can deny. That he was a son-of-man, linked to the human family by all the bonds of ethnologic law is patent to the superficial observer.

The implements of his cunning artifice bespeak his artistic skill. While the range of his work was largely confined to the useful he was not wanting in instinct, admiration or love of the purely ornamental. Much of his handiwork shows the latent genius, possible under more favorable conditions of vieing with the masterpieces of Grecian and Roman sculpture. The household utensils while crude were not without evidence of beauty as well as utility. Their pottery presents not only skill of execution but an endless variety of fantastic designs in shape and representation of bird, beast and creeping thing to the envy of the modern artist whose inventive genius would discover something new in ceramic art.

The articles of personal adornment from his feather-head-dress to his bead bespangled moccasins, in which he gratified his

* Eth. Ann. 1, p. 76, "History, Customs and Ethnic Characteristics."
— Powell.

love of display, were no less exhibitions of human vanity than the "gew-gaws" of fashionable finery; paste and "paidless" diamonds that express the pride, folly and vanity of their recent imitators, the elite "Four Hundred" of our topmost, boasted, cultured (?) society.

No one can look upon the specimens of their workmanship, found scattered, more or less, over the face of the whole country, remains of camp sites, and enduring monuments of earth works, stone mounds, burial fields,¹ extensive communal residences including vast tracts of ground, protected by miles of earthen embankments, such as Fort Hill in Highland County, Ohio, and Fort Ancient in Warren County, Ohio, the extensive works at Marietta, Ohio, and others equally elaborate, and not recognize that time, numbers, skill and patience were indispensable requisites in the construction of works of such magnitude. Many instances of their work are suggestive of a system of civil engineering of no mean order, squares, circles, octagons, embracing the same number of acres in different localities. No one can observe this cumulative evidence without being impressed with the magnitude of the aborigine population and the existence of method, and some basis of calculation, in all that characterized their undertakings.

RACIAL TYPE.

It is useless to indulge in fanciful speculations as to the origin or differences of racial type that may have made one or another of the various kinds of mounds, effigies, stone and earth works that are found in all parts of the land. The best ethnological thought finds the simplest solution of the vexed theories of different peoples in recognizing pronounced and divergent characteristics in the same people. That human nature was not more uniform in its expression of individual and community life then than now. That the same race-stock can and does exhibit widely divergent tendencies even under the same climatic conditions. While some will build with permanence and leave indelible impress, others will leave little or nothing that abides. Numbers may execute and carry into effect that which fails to be

¹ The Problem of the Ohio Mounds, Chapter III.—Thomas.

realized when their ranks are broken by disease or their forces decimated by more powerful foes. As to origin, Beard well observes, in reference to the "New World": "It is quite as old if not older than that on the other side of the globe. Ages before it was known to Europe, successive civilization arose, flourished and decayed, and, as far as anything is actually known on the subject, it is just as possible that the Old World was discovered ages and ages ago and was peopled from America, as that the native inhabitants, the forefathers of our Indians, came from the Eastern Hemisphere, for America is a very ancient land. Of course no one thinks this is the case, but really nothing at all is known about it.² The unity and identity of the Mound Builders³ and the Indians of the discovery of America is evidenced by similarity of earth works known to have been constructed by the Cherokees in East Tennessee and Western N. Carolina, and also that the Shawnees were the authors of a certain type of stone graves,⁴ and of mounds⁴ and other works possessing similar characteristics to the mound and earth works of Ohio and Wisconsin. Thomas reasons that the "Tallegwi" were the same as Cherokee or Chelakee of our historical period. "That the character of the works and traditions of the latter furnish some ground for assuming that the two were one and the same people."⁵

THE DWELLING PLACE.

The house, the dwelling place, the integral of the home and home-life, the unit of society, savage, barbarous and civilized in its most primitive condition was not an original, but a borrowed idea. The house shelter, temporary or permanent, as a dwelling, did not originate with man in his "wild estate" or archaic condition, but was a borrowed idea, copied by him from the habits of the lower animals with which he was associated, and necessitated by local conditions and climatic influence. This is manifest by the character of their structures from the house of the Lake Dwellers, through the whole list of the varied forms of

² Curious Homes and their Tenants, P. 87.

³ To What Race Did the Mound Builders Belong, p. 74 — Force.

⁴ The Problem of the Ohio Mounds, pp. 25-32.—Thomas.

⁵ The Problem of the Ohio Mounds, p. 46.—Thomas.

temporary and permanent buildings; from the brush house of the individual family, to the many chambered house of the Cliff-dwellers in the fastnesses of the rocks; from the tepee of the nomad Indian to the elaborate Pueblo or communal residence of the Village Indian with their hundreds of occupants.⁶

The same local conditions that gave individuality to manifold dialects, so different as to constitute new languages, would also tend to give individuality to habits of life and all that make for differences between peoples.

To our thoughts the North American Indian whether dwelling in the bejeweled (?) palace of the ancient Aztec of sunny Mexico, or the snow hut of our Northern ice-fields: whether known as the Mound-builder or the more romantic nomad of the primeval forests, he is to be regarded,⁷ not as presenting different orders of racial classes, but as representatives of a common stock, possibly modified here and there by infusion of new blood. But in the main, differentiated only by the many-fold variety of aptitudes, tendencies and racial vagaries that are to be found in any separate stock of people subject to varied vicissitudes of life through a long period of time. The difference to be observed in children, born of the same parents, reared under the same discipline, is sufficient for unlimited racial specialization.

When America was discovered, in its several parts, the Indian tribes presented one sub-period of savagery — the "Middle period" — and two sub-periods of barbarism — the "Older" and "Middle" periods. The least advanced tribes were without the art of pottery, without horticulture, and were therefore in savagery, but in the arts of life they were advanced as far as the possession of the bow and arrow. Such were the tribes in the valley of the Columbia, in the Hudson Bay territory, in parts of Canada, California, Mexico and some of the Coast tribes of South America. These depended upon fish, bread, roots and grain for subsistence. The second class were intermediate in the scale of ethnic culture. They had the art of pottery, lived on game and

⁶ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol 4, House and House-Life of the American Aborigines, Chapt. 6.— Morgan.

⁷ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 74, Limitations to the Use of Anthropologic Data.— Powell.

the products of a limited horticulture. Such were the Iroquois, the New England and Virginia Indians, the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Miamis, Mandan, Minatarees and other tribes East of the Missouri River, together with certain tribes of Mexico and South America."⁸ These represent the "Older" period and "lower" status of barbarism. The third class were the Village Indians.⁹ They were horticultural, cultivated maize and plants by irrigation, constructed adobe-brick and stone houses, usually more than one story high.¹⁰ Such were the tribes of New Mexico, Central America and upon the plateau of the Andes. These represent the "Middle Period" and "Middle Status" of Barbarism. An entire ethnic period intervened between the highest class of Indian and the genesis of civilization.

The weapons, arts, usages, customs and forms of government of each and all bear the impress of a common mind and reveal in the wide range, the successive stages of development of the same original conceptions. The evidence of their unity of origin, has now accumulated to such a degree as to leave no reasonable doubt upon the question of racial unity.

THE FAMILY OR HOUSEHOLD.¹¹

All society has its unit in the family. The family life is the index to the social life of any people. The family is the instrumentality by means of which society is organized and held together. The family is based upon the sanctity and sacredness of marriage relation. Consanguinity, as in all the early period of gentile life, inhered in the female, or mother line. The woman being the head of the house,¹² the lines of descent were reckoned from her. Relationship was originally recognized on the maternal side. From a survey of the facts, it seems highly

⁸ House and House-Life of American Aborigines, Chapter 2, pp. 42. 43.—Morgan.

⁹ House and House-Life of American Aborigines, Chapter 7, p. 154. Morgan.

¹⁰ Jackson's Report, p. 434.

¹¹ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 59, A Study of Tribal Society.—Powell.

¹² Eth. Ann. 1, p. 59, A Study of Tribal Society.—Powell.

probable that kinship society as it existed among the tribes of North American Indians in both the Clan and Gens was developed from connubial society. The fabric of Indian society is a complete tissue of kinship, the warp was made of streams of kinship blood, and the woof of marriage ties.

THE GENES.

The fundamental units of the social organization were bodies of consanguineal kindred either in the male or female line. The units were well denominated "Gentes." In the ancient clan and archaic gens descent was limited to the female line. In the Middle Status of barbarism, the North American Indian changed descent from the female to the male line. As intermarriage in the gens was prohibited it withdrew the members from the evil of consanguine marriages, and thus preserved the vigor of the stock. "The woman carries the gens,"¹⁴ is the formulated statement by which a Wyandot expresses the idea that descent was in the female line. Each gens bore the name of an animal or an inanimate object, never the name of a person. The ancient of such animal or object, being their tutelar god. In some tribes the members of the gens claimed their descent from the animal whose name they carried and would not eat of such animal, their remote ancestors having been transformed from the animal to the human form.¹⁵ Up to the time the Wyandots left Ohio eleven gentes were recognized, as follows: Deer, Bear, Highland Turtle (striped), Highland Turtle (black), Mud Turtle, Smooth Large Turtle, Hawk, Beaver, Wolf, Sea Snake and Porcupine.¹⁶

An individual was said to be a Wolf, a Deer or a Bear, indicating the gens to which he belonged. In speaking of a body of people comprising a gens they were said to be relatives of the Wolf, Deer or Bear as the case might be.

¹³ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 69 A Study of Tribal Society.— Powell.

¹⁴ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 59, A Study of Tribal Society.— Powell.

¹⁵ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p. 8, House and House Life of the American Aborigines.— Morgan.

¹⁶ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 59, A Study of Tribal Society.— Powell.

GENS, vivos, and ganas, kin, have the same elements as *gigno*, jivouos, and *ganamia*, signifying *to beget*. A gens was therefore an organized body of consanguineal kindred. The modern family as expressed by its name is an unorganized gens with the bond of kin broken and its members as widely dispersed as the family name is known. When the idea of gens was evolved it naturally took the form of gentes in pairs, thus the males and females of one could marry the males and females of the other, and the children would follow the gentes of their respective mothers in the archaic, and that of the father in the more recent order, or Upper Status of society. Resting on the bond of kin, as the cohesive principle, the gens afforded to each individual that personal protection, which no other existing power could give. The gens of the Iroquois, the best representative branch of the Indian family North of New Mexico, possessed the following "rights, privileges and obligations, conferred and imposed upon its members which made up the *jus gentilitium*."¹⁷

- I. The right of selecting its sachem and chiefs.
- II. The right of deposing its sachem and chiefs.
- III. The obligation not to marry in the gens.
- IV. Mutual rights of inheritance of the property of deceased members.
- V. Reciprocal obligations of help, defense, and redress of injuries.
- VI. The right of bestowing names upon its members.¹⁸
- VII. The right of adopting strangers into the gens.¹⁹
- VIII. Common religious rites.
- IX. A common burial place.
- X. A council of the gens. (composed of four women).²¹

Similar in substance were the rights and privileges of the gentes of the Indian tribes in general. The four women councillors of the gens, were chosen by the heads of households, themselves being women. They were selected by sentiment of fitness.

¹⁷ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p.7, Houses and House Life, etc.—Powell.

¹⁸ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 59, A Study of Tribal Society—Powell.

¹⁹ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 69, A Study of Tribal Society.—Powell.

²⁰ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p. 7, Houses and House Life, etc.—Morgan.

²¹ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 61, A Study of Tribal Society.—Powell.

Potential members were expected to attend the meetings of the council, but had no voice or vote.²² When a woman was installed, a feast was prepared by her gens and all the members of the tribe were invited. She was painted and dressed in her best attire. The sachem of the tribe placed upon her head the gentile chaplet, and formally announced that she had been chosen a councillor.²³ The gentile chief was chosen by the council of women. At his installation they invested him with an ornamented tunic, placed upon his head a chaplet of feathers, and painted the gentile totem on his face. He was head of the gentile council. The Tribal Council was therefore composed of four times as many women as men.²⁴ Thus substantial and important in the social system was the gens as it anciently existed and as it still exists in the fading remnants of the once numerous, powerful and widely distributed tribes of the North American Indian.

THE BROTHERHOOD.

The Phratry²⁵ or brotherhood as the term implies, was an organic union or association of two or more gentes of the same tribe for certain common objects. "It did not possess original governmental functions as the gens, tribe and confederacy possessed them, but was endowed with certain powers in the social system." The gentes in the same phratry were brother gentes to each other and cousins to those of another phratry. In the social games one phratry would play and bet against another, the parties of the contestants on opposite sides of the field watched the games with eagerness cheering their respective players at every successful turn of the game.²⁶ The phratry was often called in to aid the gens in redressing wrong or avenging crime within the gens. This unit in their organization had a mytho-

²² Eth. Ann. 1, p. 61, *A Study of Tribal Society*.—Powell.

²³ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 62, *A Study of Tribal Society*.—Powell.

²⁴ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 61, *A Study of Tribal Society*.—Powell.

²⁵ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p. 12, *Houses and House Life, etc.*—Morgan.

²⁶ *Leagues of the Iroquois*, p. 294.

logical basis and was chiefly used for religious purposes and in festivals and games.²⁷

There was an interesting institution among the Wyandots and some others of the North American tribes, namely that of "Fellowhood." Two young men agreed to be perpetual friends to each other or more than brothers. Each revealed to the other the secrets of his life, counseled with him, defended him from wrong, and at death was chief mourner.²⁸ A veritable David and Jonathan Society.

TRIBE.

An Indian tribe was composed of several gentes developed from two or more, all the members of which were intermingled by marriage, and all of whom spoke the same dialect,²⁹ and moved within well defined geographical limits. A tribe was a body of kindred.³⁰ The functions and attributes of an Indian tribe were as follows:

- I. The possession of a territory and a name.
- II. The exclusive possession of a dialect.
- III. The right to invest sachems and chiefs elected by the gentes.
- IV. The right to dispose these sachems and chiefs.
- V. The possession of a religious faith and worship.
- VI. A supreme government consisting of a council of chiefs.
- VII. A head of the tribe in some instances.³¹

The tribe was limited in the number of its people, poor in resources, but yet a completely organized society. It illustrates society in the Lower Status of barbarism.³²

The confederacy or uniting of kindred or contiguous tribes for mutual defense or aggressive warfare would naturally suggest itself, when interests of such tribes were imperiled by conditions equally hostile to either. It would be simply a growth

²⁷ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 60, 9 Study of Tribal Society.—Powell.

²⁸ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 68, A Study of Tribal Society.—Powell

²⁹ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p. 18, Houses and House Life, etc.—Morgan.

³⁰ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 61, A Study of Tribal Society.—Powell.

³¹ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p. 21, Characteristics of a Tribe.—Morgan.

³² Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p. 22, The Confederacy of Tribes.—Morgan.

from a lower into a higher organization by extension of the principle that united the gentes in a tribe.³³ The highest examples of Indian Confederacy of North American Indians were those of the Iroquois and Aztec. The general features of the Iroquois Confederacy may be summarized in the following propositions:

I. The Confederacy was a union of Five Tribes, composed of common gentes, under one government on the basis of equality; each Tribe remaining independent in all matters pertaining to local self-government.

II. It created a General Council of Sachems, who were limited in number, equal in rank and authority, and invested with supreme powers over all matters pertaining to the Confederacy.

III. Fifty Sachemships were created and named in perpetuity in certain gentes of the several Tribes; with power in these gentes to fill vacancies, as often as they occurred, by election from among their respective members, and with the further power to depose from office for cause; but the right to invest these Sachems with office was reserved to the General Council.

IV. The Sachems of the Confederacy were also Sachems in their respective Tribes, and with the Chiefs of these Tribes formed the Council of each, which was supreme over all matters pertaining to the Tribe exclusively.

V. Unanimity in the Council of the Confederacy was made essential to every public act.

VI. In the General Council the Sachems voted by Tribes, which gave to each Tribe a negative upon the others.

VII. The Council of each Tribe had power to convene the General Council; but the latter had no power to convene itself.

VIII. The General Council was open to the orators of the people for the discussion of public questions; but the Council alone decided.

IX. The Confederacy had no Chief Executive Magistrate or official head.

X. Experiencing the necessity for a General Military Commander, they created the office in a dual form, that one might neutralize the other. The two principal war chiefs created were made equal in power.³⁴

The Confederacy rested upon the tribe ostensibly, but primarily upon the common gentes. The bond of kin here as elsewhere being the cementing unit.

³³ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p. 23, The Confederacy of Tribes.—Morgan.

³⁴ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, pp. 28-29, The Confederacy of Tribes.—Morgan.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

As to courtship and marriage customs, while there were differences as to form, there was agreement as to the prevailing idea of tribal etiquette. There was little of child-betrothal. Gifts were extended to parents and friends upon the part of suitors to curry favor, but parents did not sell their daughters³⁵ except the Karok³⁶ and "Digger" Indians of California, and those of lowest status, among whom marriage was sometimes compulsory or by force.³⁷ And in those cases what appears as purchase may have been merely the exhibition of the suitor's ability to provide for the future. In case of presents, if the suitor did not commend himself the presents were returned. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter, but he could marry his father's sister's daughter, as she belonged to a different gens.³⁸ A man could marry any woman, not his kin, if she were not among the forbidden affinities.³⁹ Polygamy, or rather polygyny, was permitted, for the first wife remained the head of the household. The maximum number of wives were three. When a man wished to take a second or third wife he always consulted his first wife, reasoning thus: "I wish you to have less work, so I think of taking your sister, your aunt, or your brother's daughter." Should the first wife refuse, he could not marry the other women. Polyandry was prohibited. The marriageable age was from fifteen years upward, anciently men waited until they were twenty-five or thirty and the women until they were twenty.⁴⁰ The men courted the women either directly or by proxy.⁴¹ Among Wyandots a man seeking a wife consulted her mother, sometimes direct and sometimes through his own mother. A council of women was held, and the young people usually submitted to their decision. "The women used to weigh the matter

³⁵ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 3, p. 22, The Karok.—Powers, Stephen.

³⁶ Eth. Ann. 3, p. 259, Courtship and Marriage Customs.—Dorsey, J. O.

³⁷ Eth. Ann. 11, p. 188, The Hudson Bay Eskimo.—Turner, L. M.

³⁸ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 63, The Study of Tribal Society.—Powell.

³⁹ Eth. Ann. 3, intro., p. LIV.—Powell.

⁴⁰ Eth. Ann. 3, p. 259, The Courtship and Marriage Custom.—Dorsey.

⁴¹ Eth. Ann. 11, p. 21, The Sia.—Stevenson, Wm. C. Mrs.

well, but now they hasten to marry any man they can get."⁴² It was customary to consummate the marriage before the end of the moon in which the betrothal was made, and to give a feast in which the gentes of both parties participated.⁴³ At the death of the mother the children belonged to the mother's sister or nearest kin. Sometimes the courtship continued through years.⁴⁴ Girls were as coquettish then as now. Among the Santee Dakotas where mother's right (?) prevailed, a wife's mother could take her from her husband and give her to another man. Among the Seri, "Probably the most primitive tribe in North America in which the demotic unit is the clan, there is a rigorous marriage custom under which the would-be groom is required to enter the family of the girl and demonstrate (1) his capacity as a provider, (2) his strength of character as a man by a year's probation before he was finally accepted."⁴⁵ The conjugal theory of the tribe was monogamy. Unfortunately the original strictures are being broken down by the looseness of civilized customs. Among the American Indians both clan and gentile, the taboo and prohibitions are used chiefly in connection with marriage in clan and gentile organizations. "Marriage in the clan or gens being prohibited, a vestige of the inferential condition is found in the curious prohibition of communication between children-in-law and parents-in-law, the clan taboos are commonly connected with the tutelar beast-god, perhaps represented by the totem."⁴⁶ The above prohibition as to communication between mother-in-law and son-in-law is illustrated in the social etiquette of the Omahas. A man does not speak to his wife's mother or grandmother nor the woman to her father-in-law if it can be avoided. The son-in-law tries to avoid meeting his mother-in-law alone.⁴⁷ This is not peculiar to Aborigine life. Divorce was by mutual agreement and either party was free to marry again. Bastards⁴⁸ had

⁴² Eth. Ann. 3, p. 259, Courtship and Marriage Customs.—Dorsey.

⁴³ Eth. Ann. 1, p. 64, A Study of Tribal Society.—Powell.

⁴⁴ Eth. Ann. 3, p. 260, Courtship and Marriage Customs.—Dorsey.

⁴⁵ Eth. Ann. 15, p. 202, Classification of Tribal Society.—McGee.

⁴⁶ Eth. Ann. 15, p. 204, Classification of Tribal Society.—McGee.

⁴⁷ Eth. Ann. 3, p. 263, Omaha Sociology.—Dorsey.

⁴⁸ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 3, p. 23, The Karok.—Powers.

no recognition even among the "Digger" Indians, and no relationship in the gens unless adopted. Foeticide was rare. "Infanticide was not known among them."⁴⁹ In Western tribes virtue was rare. Concerning love-making among the Cherokees this extract from one of their love formulas must suffice:

"Ha! I belong to the (Wolf) (—) clan, that one alone which was allotted into for you. No one is ever lonely with me. I am handsome. Let her put her soul the very center of my soul, never to turn away. Grant that in the midst of men she shall never think of them. I belong to the one clan alone which was allotted for you when the seven clans were established.

"Where (other) men live it is lonely. They are very loathsome. The common polecat has made them so like himself that they are fit only for his company. * * * Your soul has come into the very center of my soul never to turn away. I—(Gatigwanasti,) (O O) —I take your soul. Sge!"⁵⁰

Among the Omahas, the Ponkas, the Otos and Pawnees, widows and widowers waited from four to seven years before marrying again. Widows over forty did not remarry.

"Marriage among all Indian tribes is primarily by legal appointment, as the young woman received a husband from some other prescribed clan or clans, and the elders of the clan, with certain exceptions, control these marriages, and personal choice has little to do with the affair. When marriages are proposed, the virtues and industry of the candidates, and more than all, their ability to properly live as married couples and to supply the clan or tribe with a due amount of subsistence, are discussed long and earnestly, and the young man or maiden who fails in this respect may fail in securing an eligible and desirable match. And these motives are constantly presented to the savage youth."⁵¹

HABITS AND SOCIAL ETIQUETTE.

As to personal habits of the Indians, while some were sloven and unclean, the majority observed habits of cleanliness and for want of more delicate perfume to complete their toilet dropped cedar twigs on hot stones and caught what they could of the

⁴⁹ Eth. Ann. 3, p. 264, Omaha Sociology.—Dorsey.

⁵⁰ Eth. Ann. 7, pp 376-7, Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees.—Mooney, James.

⁵¹ Eth. Ann. 7, p. 35, Indian Linguistic Families.—Powell.

incense produced by the burning of the fragment and pungent wood. Greetings were exchanged among kindred and friends long separated. The parental caress was not entirely wanting, though verbal salutations were not indulged. Hands were extended and thanks returned at feasts and in receiving presents. Persons were not addressed by name except when there were two or more present of the same kinship degree. Mothers taught their children not to pass in front of people if they could avoid it. Girls could not speak to any man except he were a brother, father, mother's brother or grandfather who were blood relation, otherwise they would give rise to scandal.⁵²

"Though perhaps not realized in its full force by anthropologists, and obscured by the degradation resulting from contact with civilization, the separation of the immature youth of the two sexes is a feature originally strongly insisted upon in the social practice of all the North Western American tribes, I have been intimate with and without doubt of all our aborigines when their culture was in its primitive vigor."⁵³

Hospitality has characterized the North American Indian from the landing of Columbus to the present time. Treachery in defence of real or imaginary wrong might follow his humble entertainment yet he shared with the stranger his meager fare. Should an enemy appear in a lodge and put the pipe to his mouth or receive a mouthful of food or water, the law of hospitality compelled his protection until he was returned whence he came, though they might kill him the next day. The hospitality which is so marked a trait in our North American Indians had its source in law.

"As is well known, the basis of the Indian social organization was the kinship system. By its provision all property was possessed in common by the gens or clan. Food, the most important of all, was not left to be enjoyed exclusively by the individual or family obtaining it."⁵⁴

The hungry Indian had but to ask to receive. To this in part may be attributed the indolence that prevailed more or less among them. The lazy shared in the products of the industri-

⁵² Eth. Ann. 3, p. 81, Labretifery, 81.—Dall, W. H.

⁵³ Eth. Ann. 3, p. 270, Omaha Sociology.—Dorsey.

⁵⁴ Eth. Ann. 7, p. 34, Indian Linguistic Families.—Powell.

ous, thus putting a premium on improvidence. John Bartram writing of an experience among the Onondagos, 1743, says, "their hospitality is agreeable to the honest simplicity of ancient times."⁵⁵ Hernando de Soto in 1539 in his explorations in Florida and the South West records many instances of gracious hospitality⁵⁶ at the hands of the several tribes of South Carolina and west of the Mississippi. The custom of hospitality was almost universal.⁵⁷ That there were inhospitable Indians but evidence their kinship in the flesh to their civilized brother.

Many of the early writers indulged in harrowing accounts of ingratitude and neglect upon the part of Indians to the aged and helpless among them. What may have obtained of cruelty and neglect in some isolated instances, is happily not confirmed as general customs. In many tribes the aged were cared for with all the tenderness and consideration of which their circumstances admitted, and the helpless and unfortunate were not without the aid and sympathy of those who were able to minister to them. To the aged were allotted such things as they could do, with leisure hours to sit and smoke or relate incidents of their early days or tell myths for the amusement of those around them. Their legends so rich in imagery, so mythical in conception, so varied in description were not idle dreams of fantastic youth, but rather the metaphysical speculation and transcendental theorizing of mature age, as in quiet meditation and long periods of deep reflection it sought, out of long experience and wide observation to find some solution of the phenomena of Being—some explanation of the genesis of life—some answer to the vexed problems that confront us everywhere. These evidence that age was not only protected but also given opportunity to weave its web of fancy and transmit its best thought to posterity.

MYTHS.

The myths or legends to which reference has been made form one of the most interesting phases of aborigine social life. We have

⁵⁵ Bartram Observations, London 1751, p. 16.

⁵⁶ Historical Collection of Louisiana, Part II, p. 139.

⁵⁷ Con. N. A. Eth., Vol. 4, p. 53.—Morgan.

thought of them as living sordid, stoical lives, void of interest beyond the excitement of the chase or the vagaries indulged in preparation for the war-path, or the orgies following the successful hunting expeditions and victories in their predatory or defensive warfare, when in fact they were not dependent upon these alone but were fertile in imagination and inventive in conjuring the most fantastic conceptions of things visible and invisible, formulating their crude ideas in fables and committing these, and by frequent recital transmitted them to others. The traditional matter of almost any tribe with reference to their tutelar origin, the creation of the world, the peopling of the earth, their stories of the flood, their theories of the origin of fire, their mystic account and explanations of the various phenomena of the organic and inorganic world, if written, would constitute a great literature in itself. And as it possesses the element of pathos, humor, tragedy and wit, the recital of their legends, was one of their many social pastimes, and the utmost care was observed that the ancient tradition be repeated without the loss of jot or tittle. They were scrupulously careful that they be unimpaired in transmission from one generation to another. It was their unwritten bible. On winter nights the Indians gathered about the camp fire, and the doings of the gods were recounted in many a mythic tale.

"I have heard the venerable and impassioned orator on the camp meeting stand rehearse the story of the crucifixion, and have seen the thousands gathered there, weep in contemplation of the story of divine suffering, and heard their shout roll down the forest aisles as they gave vent to their joy at the contemplation of redemption. But the scene was not a whit more dramatic than another I have witnessed in an ever green forest of the Rocky Mountain region when a tribe was gathered under the great pines, and the temple of light from the blazing fire was walled by the darkness of midnight, and in the midst of the temple stood the wise old man, telling, in simple savage language the story of '*Ta-wats*,' when he conquered the sun, and established the seasons and the days."⁸⁸

In that pre-Columbian time before the advent of white men, all the Indian tribes of North America gathered on winter nights by the shores of the sea, where the tides beat in solemn rhythm,

⁸⁸ Esthmann, Vol. 1, p. 40, *Mythology of North American Indians*.—Powell.

by the shore of the great lakes where the waves dashed against frozen beaches, and by the banks of the rivers flowing over in solemn mystery, each in its own temple of illumined space — and listened to the story of its own supreme god, the ancient of time. There is a basis here for the possible evolution of the theistic idea of "The Ancient of Days."

Every tribe had one or more persons skilled in the relation of their tribal lore, their philosophy, their miraculous history, their authority for their governmental institutions, their social institutions, their habits and customs.

"A camp fire of blazing pine or sage boughs illumines a group of dusky faces intent with expectation, and the old man begins his story, talking and acting; the elders receiving his words with reverence, while the younger persons are played upon by the actor until they shiver with fear or dance with delight."⁹⁹

And ever as he tells his story he points a moral. Some of the stories afforded striking apothegms.

"You are buried in the hole you dug for yourself."

"When you go to war everyone you meet is an enemy; kill all."

"You were caught with your own chaff."

"Don't get so anxious that you kill yourself."

"You are bottled in your own jug."

"That is a blow of your own seeking."¹⁰⁰

The following myths, fables or legends must suffice as illustrative of their character. The Maidris legend of the Flood.

"Of old the Indians abode tranquilly in the Sacramento Valley and were happy. All of a sudden there was a mighty and swift rushing of waters, so that the whole valley became like the Big Waters, which no man can measure. The Indians fled for their lives, but a great many were overtaken by the waters." Also the frogs and the salmon pursued swiftly after them and they ate many Indians. Then all the Indians were drowned but two who escaped into the foot-hills. But the Great-Man gave these two fertility so the world was soon re peopled. From these two there

⁹⁹ Esthmann, Vol. 1, p. 43, *Mythology of North American Indian.*—Powell.

¹⁰⁰ Esthmann, Vol. 1, p. 56, *Mythology of North American Indians.*—Powell.

sprung many tribes, even a mighty nation, and one man was chief over them all.⁶¹

THE GENESIS OF THE WORLDS, OR THE BEGINNING OF NEWNESS.

Before the beginning of the new-making, Awonawilona (the Maker and Container of All, the All-father Father), solely had being. There was nothing else whatsoever throughout the great space of the ages save everywhere black darkness in it, and everywhere void desolation.

In the beginning of the new-made, Awonawilona conceived within himself and thought outward in space, whereby mists of increase steams potent of growth, were evolved and uplifted. Thus by means of his innate knowledge, the All-container made himself in person and form of the Sun whom we hold to be our father and who thus came to exist and appear. With his appearance came the brightening of the spaces with light, and with the brightening of the spaces the great mist-clouds were thickened together and fell, whereby was evolved water in water; yea, and the world-holding sea.

With his substance of flesh (yeprane) outdrawn from the surface of his person, the Sun-father formed the seed-stuff of twain worlds, impregnating therewith the great waters, and lo! in the heat of his light these waters of the sea grew green and scums (k'yanashotsiyallawe) rose upon them, waxing wide and weighty until, behold! they became Awitelin Tsita, the "Four-fold Containing Mother-Earth," and Apoyan Ta Chu, the All-covering Father-sky.⁶²

ORIGIN OF THE ECHO.

I-o-wi (the turtle dove) was gathering seed in the valley, and her little babe slept. Wearied with carrying it on her back, she laid it under the *ho-pi* (sage bush) in care of its sister, *O-ho-tou* (the summer yellow-bird). * * * Now when *I-o-wi* returned and found not her babe under the *ti-ho-pi*, but learned from *O-ho-tou* that it had been stolen by a *tso-a-zwits*, (a witch, * * * then she went in search of the babe for a long time, mourning, as she went and crying and still crying, refusing to be comforted, though all her friends joined her in the search, and promised to revenge her wrongs. Chief among her friends was her brother, *Kwi-na* (the eagle) * * *. Well I know *Kwi-na* is the brother of *I-o-wi*, he is a great warrior and a terrible man; I will go to *To-go-a* (the rattle-snake), my grandfather, who will protect me and kill my enemies.

To-go-a was enjoying his mid-day sleep on the rocks, and as the *tso-a-zwits* came near her grandfather awoke and called out to her, "Go back, go back, you are not wanted here; go back!" But she came on begging

⁶¹ N. A. Eth. Vol. 3, p. 290.—Powers.

⁶² Eth. Ann. 13, p. 379, Zuni Creation Myths.—Cushing.

his protection; and while they were still parleying they heard *Kwi-na* coming, and *To-go-a* said, "Hide, hide!" But she knew not where to hide, and he opened his mouth and the *tso-a-vvits* crawled into his stomach. This made *To-go-a* very sick, and he entreated her to crawl out, but she refused, for she was in great fear. Then he tried to throw her up, but could not, and he was sick nigh unto death. At last, in his terrible retchings, he crawled out of his own skin, and left the *tso-a-vvits* in it, and she, imprisoned there, rolled about and hid in the rocks. When *Kwi-na* came near he shouted, "Where are you, old *tso-a-vvits*? where are you, old *tso-a-vvits*?" She repeated his words in mockery. Ever since that day witches have lived in snake skins, and hide among the rocks, and take great delight in repeating the words of passers by. This is the origin of the echo.⁶³

There was not only this formal method of instruction and entertainment but also, the informal recital of incidents, the propounding of riddles, the use of puns, and proverbs, by way of comparison. An Omaha would state:

"A thing having gone to the water, and looked at it, is coming back, weeping. What is it? It is a kettle."

"There is a place cut up by gulleys. What is it? An old woman's face."

"There is a mountain covered with trees. Horses are moving there, some have black hair, some red and some white. What is it? A person's head is the mountain, the hairs are trees and lice are the horses."

"The raccoon wet his head." This refers to one who talks softly, when he tries to tempt another. Sometimes they say of an obstinate man, "He is like an animal."⁶⁴

AMUSEMENTS.

The instinct for amusement was not dormant, and many devices were employed in their social games. Their dice before the introduction of the spotted cubes of the whites, were plumstones or oblong and flattened bones. Five were used in the game, three of which were marked on one side only with a greater or smaller number of dots or lines, two of them were marked on both sides..

A wide dish and a certain number of sticks as counters were

⁶³ Etn ann 1, p. 45, Mythology of North American Indians.—Powell.

⁶⁴ Eth. Ann. 3, p. —, Omaha Sociology.—Dorsey.

also provided. The plum stones or bones were placed in the dish and a throw was made by jolting the dish against the ground causing the seeds or bones to rebound, and they were counted as they lay where they fell, whoever gained all the sticks won the game. This was called plum stone shooting.

The Bowl game, or shooting the Bowl, was somewhat similar.† The players were of the same sex or class. Men played with men, girls with girls and women with women. They were not wanting in games that were intricate and difficult of successful execution. Such as shooting at the Rolling Wheel (Banan ge-Kide).⁶⁵

Their ball games were equally tests of skill with our modern golf, base-ball, foot-ball and lawn-tennis. Their tribal and village contests were scenes of exciting interest and exhibitions of alertness, dexterity and endurance. The children imitated their elders as children do to-day. The boys early mastered the bow, by contests of rivalry, and were urged to greatest excellency by the conditions of the contests, as in the absence of stakes those losing must submit to a blow from the more successful. The little girls made dolls of sticks and no doubt had the same fondness for their wooden babies that is evinced by the little maiden of to-day toward her Bisque and French doll of marvelous beauty and mechanical perfection.

They were adepts in the terpsichorean art. Finding in the maddening whirl of their nocturnal delights as their lithe bodies moved in rhythm with their solemn chants and monotonous tones of their tom-toms, and the wierd shadows of their dance fires, that perfection of sensuous joy, that inspires the soul to valorous deeds or opens the vision to spiritual things that make revelations of the mysteries known only to the gods. The form varied as the entertainment had reference to a mere social event or to ulterior objects, subtle and remote, using the dance as a means to arouse passion and induce the frenzy necessary to the accomplishment of the sinister purpose. The Ghost Dance,—a religious ceremony — lead to the Sioux outbreak of 1890, effecting all the tribes of the South West. In fact the various revolts of the

⁶⁵ Eth. Ann. 3, p. 335, Games.—Dorsey.

Indians since 1680 to the present have found their inspiration in the Ghost dance as practiced by the several tribes.⁶⁶ The Mountain Chant,⁶⁷ a Navajo ceremony as described by Dr. Washington Matthews is truly typical of the various forms of entertainment and instruction serious and comic, that characterized the American Aborigine in his sylvan life before and since the advent of his civilized dispossessor. The purpose of the ceremony was various, its professed reason was to cure disease, but it was made the occasion for invoking the unseen powers in behalf of the people particularly for good crops and abundant rain. It was an occasion when the people met to have a jolly time. The patient paid the expense and hoped to obtain social distinction for his liberality. The feasting and dancing continued nine days. It was a winter festival accompanied with elaborate ceremonies, pictures,⁶⁸ songs,⁶⁹ music and dancing.⁷⁰ During the days the women danced with the men, but at night the men danced alone. There were eleven⁷¹ dances in all. The last dance was a fire dance,⁷² or fire play which was the most picturesque and startling of all.

CULTS.

Another interesting feature of the social life of the American Aborigines was the secret organization or "Cults"⁷³ with their several order of degrees — as many as four —⁷⁴ in which the courage and endurance of the candidate was put to the severest test. They were not mock ceremonies, pretended imprisonments, imaginary fastings, burial without graves, and resurrections void of meaning until their significance was explained in exhaustive post lectures, but most realistic. The tests were real. Fire was fire, abstinence was enforced until hunger fed upon the vitals,

⁶⁶ Eth. Ann. pt. II, 14, p. 659, The Ghost Dance Religion.—Mooney.

⁶⁷ Eth. Ann. 5, p. 385, The Mountain Chant.—Mathews.

⁶⁸ Eth. Ann. 5, Plts. XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII.

⁶⁹ Eth. Ann. 5, p. 445.—Mathews.

⁷⁰ Eth. Ann. 5, p. 442.—Mathews.

⁷¹ Eth. Ann. 5, p. 441.—Mathews.

⁷² Eth. Ann. 5, Plt. XIII.

⁷³ Eth. Ann. 11, p. 361, A Study of Siouan Cults.—Dorsey.

⁷⁴ Eth. Ann. 7, p. 183, The Mide Wiwin of the Objivwa.—Hoffman.

and the pangs of thirst were most excruciating. The Lodge was decked with symbolic⁷⁵ pictures, emblems and tokens. Their paraphernalia was emblematic, picturesque and awe inspiring.

There were personal generic signs worn upon garments and robes and decorated the tent of the owner, as sacred as the "Coat-of-Arms of our forefathers. Part of the initiatory rite of the "Dancing Lodge" was as follows: The candidate was made to stand before four posts⁷⁷ arranged in the form of a square and the flesh on his back being sacrificed in two places thongs were run through them and fastened to them and to the posts behind him. His chest was also scarified in two places, thongs were inserted and tied, and then fastened to the two posts in front of him.⁷⁸ This is but a sample of the ordeals incident to the initiatory rites of their numerous organizations. The Sun Dance and Snake Dance were even more severe in their exactions than what is specified above. The last dance of this character allowed by the government was in 1883. Women as well as men, submitted to all the requirements of the mystic rites in order to give demonstration of personal courage and secure social prestige. Accompanying these formal lodge dances there were informal or "intrusive" dances held outside the lodge, such as the "Mandan" dance of the "Society of the Stout Hearted Ones," the "Wakan" or "Mystery" dance, the "Ghost" dance, the "Buffalo" dance and "Grass" dance. The variety is almost endless, while possessing much in common. Each tribe had its individual peculiarities which were sacredly observed and preserved. The social life of the Aborigine was greatly intensified by their communal habits of living. The variety of its character is marked in the more settled or Village Indian, as the Iroquois, Cherokees and Zuni Indians. It is impossible in a paper of this length to more than hint at the more salient features of the Social Customs of the American Aborigines. But sufficient has been produced to relieve them of much of the common odium to which they have

⁷⁵ Eth. Ann. 7, p. 88, Fig. 11.

⁷⁶ Eth. Ann. 11, pls. XIV, XV, XVIII, XIX, The Sia Cult Societies. —Stevenson.

⁷⁷ Eth. Ann. 11, p. 63.

⁷⁸ Eth. Ann. 11, p. 463, A Study of Siouan Cults. — Dorsey.

been most unjustly subject, and to assure us that the darkness of barbarism was not without its rifts of light. And that even savagery gives promise and prophecy of the abiding social instinct and fellow-feeling that show the spark of divinity, latent though it be, that unifies the human race, and allies it to the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.



THE MOUNDS OF FLORIDA AND THEIR BUILDERS.

REV. J. F. RICHMOND.

[Mr. Richmond, now resident of McConnellsville, Ohio, was born and educated in New York, in which city he was for many years pastor of a prominent Methodist Episcopal Church. He is the author of several books. For twenty years he made his home in Florida where he improved the opportunity of giving thoughtful investigation to the so-called Indian Mounds, and the various theories concerning the race that produced them. His distinctive views therefore have the merit of being derived from knowledge obtained at first hand.—EDITOR.]

The complete history of the primeval American has never been written and probably never will be. This writer has not found himself capable of accepting the hypothesis of a separate creation in Central America to people the Western continent, autogenous with the generally accepted one of Genesis in Asia; nor yet the hypothesis of an interoceanic maritime communication between Asia and Central America, previous to the Noachian Deluge, sufficient to establish contemporaneous civilizations on both hemispheres. These brilliant theories I leave to writers of more florid vision.

Still, the construction of great cities and vast pyramids, the foundations of which are being slowly exhumed in the narrow central portions of the continent, speak eloquently of immense forces that certainly toiled in the long, long ago. The stupendous operations carried on in Central America, Mexico, and in Ohio, the latter containing ten thousand earth works (mounds) and fifteen hundred constructed of stone, could only have been accomplished by vast aggregations of men toiling in unison. The conclusion is inevitable that at some period in prehistoric time portions of this Western continent contained a vast population.

One sober glance, however, at what the Anglo-Saxon has done during the last one hundred and fifty years, changing near-

ly everything on the continent, will modify many statements hitherto made as to the amount of time necessary for the accomplishment of given results, often reducing the period from thousands of years to centuries.

In the Northern section there were three routes by which the Asiatic could, and doubtless did, reach this continent. First, the most Northern by Behring, secondly, by the Aleutian Islands, and, thirdly, by the accidental drift of water crafts containing human beings, caught in the Japan Current, a part of which flows south of the Aleutian Islands until it feels the bank of the Western Continent, when it turns southward to California. This great river of the ocean has drifted Japanese junks to our shores during the present century, which proves rather more than the possibility of human transit in a similar manner at various periods during the last six thousand years.

At what precise period the Red Man took up his abode in Florida, and whether he entered from the North, feeling his way down the tangled peninsula or whether he came by way of the West Indies, as some think, is at present impossible to determine, nor is it material, he has certainly been there and left an abundant trail.

As there are a few available rocks in Florida his numerous mounds, scattered over much of the State, are all constructed of earth. From the earliest white settlements these mounds have been matters of curiosity, though little examined, and in the improvement of the territory many of them fell into cultivated fields, where they were reduced by the plow and in some instances orange groves were planted over them.

During the last fifteen years the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences under the immediate supervision of Mr. Clarence B. Moore, has conducted a most thorough and systematic investigation of some of these mounds by digging every portion of them with shovels, closely watching everything, and preserving all that could throw a ray of light on the period, the thoughts, the arts and habits of the builders. A very large mound on the land of the writer was dug over which quickened his interest in this investigation and study.

Nearly one hundred mounds were in this manner examined

between the Atlantic at the mouth of the St. John's River, following the stream last named to Sanford, and the Ocklawana to and around the banks of certain large bodies of water in Lake County. These mounds were all of ancient construction, in but two places was anything found of European or post-Columbian times, and those mounds gave certain evidence of superficial additions of a recent date, probably the work of the Seminoles.

Some old writers spoke of the Mound Builders as if certain tribes had followed it as an occupation, but it is probable that all the people of the period engaged in it, and from notions of public utility. Mounds served a variety of purposes. A cavity from two to six feet deep was often excavated before the mound was begun, for this we can assign no reason. The amount of sherds (pieces of broken pottery) and midden material, and the bones of forest animals, found so plentifully in the lower stratas or courses of the mounds, prove that some of them were constructed on the sites and with the surface materials of what had been ancient villages.

The mounds were probably constructed for the following uses: First, as places of residence for the ruling chieftain, where Councils were held, where orders were issued and justice distributed. Second, as places of protection from inundation. Along the low banks of the Atlantic and the St. John's River, where the stream was choked with fallen timbers, and where great rains caused frequent overflows these mounds were a protection from a tidal wave, and an annual inundation. Third, in the days of their construction and chief glory it is probable that they possessed ornamental features, such as gay decorations, with games and festivities. These would appeal to a popular desire and stimulate the toil of construction. Fourth, in time of war they were fortifications. A mound one hundred feet in diameter and twenty feet high, surrounded with timbered breastwork that would stop arrows, became a formidable point of resistance to an invading foe. Fifth, the mounds were probably the places of tribal sacrifice and worship. And sixthly, they were places of sepulture.

In excavating these mounds broken pottery was found in abundance, much of it so weakened that it fell to pieces in the

handling. Some beautiful decorated pieces of large size were preserved. Among these not a few were for mural uses. There were also large ornamental vases, and large table pieces containing three separate compartments for food and sauces. Drinking cups made of conch shells (*Fulgar Perversum*) by the skillful removal of the columella and a portion of the body whorl. Mussel shells sharpened on gritty stones, appear to have served as knives. Chisels and gouges were made from shells, and bone, and others from sandstone. Several axes of enormous size, one measuring thirteen inches in length of blade, manufactured from fine grained sedimentary rock, and probably used for cutting trees. The soil they probably cultivated with wooden tools, as nothing answering the purpose of a harrow, shovel, hoe or rake, was discovered.

In the matter of personal ornamentation the Red Man has in all ages been profuse, and these mounds yielded plentifully in that line. Sheet copper manufactured into ornamental plates four inches square, with bosses and beaded lines, and perforated corners to be worn as breast plates were numerous. Also sheet mica seven inches square, with perforated corners for suspension. Pendants for the ear of great size, some of slate stone, with copper bands, others of soapstone, and a few of syenite, either perforated or grooved near the end for suspension.

Large canine teeth of bears, wolves, and of sharks, showed that these were much prized as pendants.

Beads were very plentiful. Some of these of earthenware were more than two inches in diameter. Many were of beautiful shells, and some were of copper, made by pounding the overlapping margins, disclosing their mode of manufacture. Pebbles and pebble hammers were numerous near the ocean. In a shell mound in Orange County, ten feet below the surface was found an earthen vessel with the incised delineation of the human head and face, and a part of the human form, which was thought to be the first specimen of such ancient work discovered in America. Pins were found made of bone, round and pointed and several inches in length.

Celts (hatchets) manufactured from fine grained igneous rock, were everywhere plentiful, and a few of them beautifully

polished. Arrow points, lances, spear points, suited to attach to wooden handles, manufactured from chert, or horn-stone, one of red jasper, and several from chalcedony, were found. During these investigations a band of railroad laborers near Palatka, unearthed a half dozen beautiful daggers, made of chalcedony, six inches in length, and so lightly appreciated their treasure that nearly all of them have been lost. Smoking pipes of many forms and sizes, some of earthenware, some of soapstone, some of sandstone, were also numerous.

Human remains were found in most of the mounds, but in a very disappointing condition, as these presented the greatest lack of order of anything discovered. Very seldom was a skeleton found presenting separate and anatomical order. As a rule collections of osseous remains were encountered in a bunched condition, sometimes without the skull, as if the remains had been interred without the head, often prominent bones were missing, and in some instances these bones in such unnatural juxtaposition that the conclusion was almost inevitable that they were denuded of flesh before interment. Here and there were evidences of orderly separate interment, probably of Chieftains. With some of these were large bowls near the head — which were probably filled with food at the interment to be eaten on the journey. In such graves were also large pipes, canine teeth of great size, many pendants and beads, and in one was found twenty conch shells, and a vase holding four gallons. Many of these large vessels were perforated at the bottom (after manufacture), which signified their demise, or killing, that their spirits might thus be liberated to attend the deceased to the spirit world. It is probable that the beautiful spears of chalcedony, and many of the polished celts were interred with Chieftains, the handle with the bow and string having long since mouldered to dust.

In the construction of their mounds they displayed peculiar taste. A course of soil two feet thick was colored artificially a bright red, the next course would be brown or black, then one of gray, with narrow lines running through of pure white sand, and an occasional pocket presenting other variations. These matters were probably made to conform to the ability or caprice of the chieftain under whose direction it was constructed.

All the evidences show that the Florida Mound Builders were a *very ancient people*. The mounds externally indicate this. Settling through long periods many of them are now but a few feet above the surrounding surface, their angles having been smoothed by the storms of centuries, until farmers have trampled over them, believing them natural elevations, and are surprised to learn that they are artificial. Great forest trees, large as any in the vicinity, grow on the top of them. The mouldering bones discovered in these mounds are in the last stages of decomposition, in some instances leaving only a streak of yellow to show where they have lain.

Their implements were of the rudest class, affording no idea of modern invention. Their paint and coloring material, used so plentifully, were doubtless obtained from the ochers which they dug from the earth, and of which we now have abundant trace. Their mica was probably obtained from what is now Georgia, which in our day affords an abundance, but in large sheets it is not found in Florida. Igneous rocks of the solidity for hatchets, abound in Florida, and there is no lack of limestone, or of sandstone.

They found plenty of material for their pottery in Florida, as that state abounds in China clay of the long, tough variety, that holds form in moulding without other admixtures. Well baked pottery of good material is among the most indestructible things of human art, and the decay of their wares simply indicates that they did much imperfect work, or lacked the proper knowledge and appliances. Still, some of their pieces exhibit skill, being well decorated, in pinched work, in squares, and in other complicated stampings, often graceful in form and of great variety. To us they are quite original in design, as all their large pieces have four supporting feet, whereas the European style has but three, so they borrowed nothing from Europe.

Their copper was of the unsmelted variety and probably come from the region of Lake Superior, as the great mines there that have yielded such immense quantities in our day of pure copper, without refining, were discovered, worked and abandoned before the advent of the European. Their long distance from these mines evidently prevented their making use of copper for

culinary utensils, weapons, and tools; restricting its use to ornamental purposes.

Not one trace of bronze was discovered in any mound, a metal so extensively used by the Aztecs in Mexico, an almost contiguous country, proves conclusively that their reign antedated the Aztecs.

Not one trace of gold or silver was discovered, indicating that they flourished before the later Toltecs, if not, indeed, before the Incas of Peru. It is not easy to ascertain when gold, which was so abundant at the period of the Spanish conquests, was brought into use in America. The immense stores found and carried away are believed to have been accumulations of centuries.

We know that a rude commerce was conducted up and down the continent, extending also from the interior to the coast. The Red Man everywhere has been as fond of barter as the ancient Phœnician, or the modern Yankee, and it seems incredible that gold should have been collected in Mexico and Peru in quantities to fill apartments of houses, without one fragment of it finding its way into Florida. Certainly, the commerce that brought mica from Georgia, chalcedony and jasper from some distant place, and copper from Lake Superior, would have brought gold and silver from Mexico and beyond if the Florida Mound Builders and the gold miners had been contemporaneous. The absence of these things can only be construed therefore as showing that in the order of time these Florida Mound Builders appear to have been foremost.

Nothing whatever answering to our notions of money was exhumed, leaving us without any light as to their system of exchange, unless beads and pendants answered that purpose.

In 1539, DeSoto landed at what is now Tampa, Florida, and found an Indian Sachem dwelling on a mound, but the mound building period had mostly closed, and the modern Seminoles when questioned concerning these mounds in their territory denied any definite knowledge concerning them, attributing them to the work of their forefathers. Professor J. S. Newberry believed the mounds of the lower Mississippi were completed and abandoned two or three thousand years ago. Caleb Atwater be-

lieved the Southern Mound Builders were the ancestors of the civilized races of Mexico and Central America. "My own view is that most of the mounds of Florida were constructed many hundreds of years before Columbus was born, by a quiet, sedentary, agricultural people, more peaceful and less nomadic and warlike than the Indian tribes of modern times. These mounds give evidence of much greater age than those of the Carolinas and Ohio. Much timber in a fair state of preservation was found in some of the mounds of Ohio, also some pieces of European manufacture. In North Carolina iron implements were unearthed in mounds, clearly proving that the work there was in part at least the work of another and a later generation, and at a later period.

The bunched condition of the bones in so many of the mounds indicate reburials or extensive cannibalism. Rev. Heckewelder, writing of the Indians in Northern Ohio and Michigan, says: "When a tribe removed from one locality to another, they exhumed the bones of their dead, and carried them to their new burial place." He also states, that the Indians removed the flesh from the bones of their dead before interment, and that every eight or ten years they conducted a tribal burial, when all the bones of the locality were collected and interred at one time. If these practices prevailed in Florida they may account for these jumbled, promiscuous, masses of osseous material so rudely pressed together, heads and points, without skulls, or other large bones at times, all the evidence showing that a hole was excavated in the mound and the skeletons massed together crowded down into it. The most orderly interments were evidently made by placing the remains on the mound as it then stood, and immediately covering them by building the mound higher. Successive interments are indicated in many mounds from the bottom upward. Among some tribes in the West, when a chieftain died whose house was on a mound, they interred his remains under his house and then burned the house, which accounts in part for the ashes so plentiful in every mound. The evidence of mortality among children were painfully evident, and the marks of orderly and loving interment in ancient Florida were scattering and few.

The absence of rocks and cliffs in Florida rendered it difficult for that ancient people to leave us studies of their thoughts and deeds in pictures, as their congeners have done in other parts of the world. They left no improvements whatever. No architectural skill has been traced north of the Gulf of Mexico, or in Florida, on our continent. They evidently dwelt in tents made with poles and grass, bark or clay. Does not the complete absence of stone structures, everywhere so abundant in Mexico, and Central America, prove them to have been a different race and probably an older?

The rude arts of that earlier period were probably carried on as now by experts who occupied themselves chiefly at a single occupation. The uniform precision discernible in the manufacture of every arrow point, celt, bead, and pendant, shows that a skilled workman produced it. Some conducted the ceramic art, producing the pottery, others manufactured stone pipes. The tobacco plant evidently originated somewhere in sub-tropical America. Columbus discovered the smoking habit among the Indians on the Island of Cuba on his first voyage in 1492. Later investigation proved that the plant grew as far North as Virginia, and extended down through Central America, and that the habit of using it as snuff, and for chewing and smoking was universal and ancient, and had existed here from time immemorial. Fernandes, one of Phillips II Spanish physicians, carried the plant to Spain in 1558. It spread over Europe, and Sir Walter Raleigh took a strong pipe full of it just before going to the block.

In nothing did the Red Man display greater skill than in the manufacture of pipes. In Ohio, and in other Western States the places of manufacture have been discovered by the masses of broken material left near the rocks where the material was found. A large collection of these pipes shows also that the Red Man was as skillful as the White, in the variety, form, and beauty of his manufacture. With the modern the pipe symbolizes recreation, but with the ancient American it attended things sacred and solemn, such as worship and treaties.

The bones of the animals left behind show that the Mound Builders ate meat, and the piles of shells that he relished the

bivalve. Between Jacksonville and the Atlantic for a distance of twenty miles, there are scattered evidences of a large pre-historic population. A few years ago there were mounds of oyster shells, which after settling through the centuries were still more than thirty feet high. Some of these have been ground and sold to Southern poultry-men, and untold quantities of them were used in constructing the jetties of the St. John's River. These mouldering mounds, and these piles of shells are the only legacies left by the Florida Mound Builders to the present generation.



MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

HON. ALBERT DOUGLAS, M. C.

[A brief synopsis of this address was delivered by Mr. Douglas at the annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Page Hall, O. S. U., March 22, 1907. — EDITOR.]

At the centennial celebration of Ohio statehood, held at Chillicothe in May, 1903, I had the pleasure of offering the following preamble and resolution:

“Recognizing that the people of Ohio have for one hundred years done injustice to the name and fame of Major General Arthur St. Clair, valiant soldier of the Revolution, beloved friend of Washington, president of the Continental Congress, and for fourteen arduous, formative years the devoted governor of the Northwest Territory:

“Believing that, whatever his mistakes or faults, his work and his accomplishments in that critical period of our history deserve our gratitude, and should receive formal acknowledgment from the men of our time; and,

“Encouraged by the just and eloquent utterances from this platform of our present governor, George K. Nash; therefore,

“Be it Resolved, By us, citizens of Ohio, assembled at this centennial celebration of our statehood, that the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and the governor of Ohio, be and they are hereby most earnestly requested to urge upon the General Assembly of Ohio, at its next session, the propriety of erecting, in the State House grounds at Columbus, a bronze statue of General Arthur St. Clair in recognition of his great services to this commonwealth, whose firm foundation he helped to lay.”

These suggestions were endorsed and adopted with enthusiasm; and I presume that I am indebted to this incident for the compliment of being asked by your Society to prepare an address for this occasion, with St. Clair as a subject. I have

done so with pleasure. For not only do I share the **common** opinion that bitter injustice was done St. Clair by his country while he lived; but I do very sincerely believe that the clouds which gathered about the closing days of his public career have unjustly obscured, through the century that has intervened, the memory of his noble character and splendid services to his country.

The true character of the controversy that was carried on in 1801 and 1802 between St. Clair and those who believed with him, and what is known as "the Chillicothe party," has been much misunderstood and misrepresented; and the significance of it inordinately magnified. It has been characterized by various writers as a contest between democracy and aristocracy; as a contest between tyranny and self-government; between the right of the people to govern themselves and the right of one or more to govern all; and the triumph of the immediate statehood or Chillicothe party over St. Clair has actually been compared to the triumph of the barons at Runnymede over King John.



MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

All of this seems to be utterly beside the matter. No one for a moment questioned that Ohio should be a state. St. Clair no more opposed ultimate statehood for the eastern part of the Northwest Territory than he opposed the ordinance of 1787, under which such statehood was absolutely guaranteed to the people without conditions and as matter of right whenever the population of a certain part of it amounted to sixty thousand people. He did believe, though I do not insist that he was unselfish in his belief, that it was unwise to accept of Congress the conditions of the act of 1802, offering statehood, and with this opinion many of the leading men of the time fully agreed.

It is true that he was born (as indeed his principal oppo-

ment Tiffin was also born) under the British flag. It is true that he had, for many years, been a soldier and an officer, accustomed to give orders and to receive obedience; that when not actually a soldier he had long been in positions of power and authority. It is true that he was Federalist, sharing something of the prejudices and mistakes of that great political organization, of which Washington and Hamilton were the acknowledged leaders. But no one can read the story of his life, no one can read his congratulations to the first territorial legislature of the Northwest Territory, upon the fact that the people were coming to their birthright in the territory, the right of all Anglo-Saxon men to live under laws of their own making; no one can study his career and character and believe that he desired anything but the fullest good for the people of the Northwest Territory; and that he desired statehood in due time and under proper conditions under the Ordinance of 1787.

The reasonable limits of this paper will not permit an elaborate and detailed discussion of this interesting episode in the life of St. Clair and in the history of Ohio; but the result of that struggle, the heat and misrepresentation it engendered have done so much to obscure the just claims upon our gratitude and applause to which the character, labors and accomplishments of St. Clair justly entitle his memory, that some review of it may seem essential.

But what I desire particularly to insist upon is this: that no just opinion of St. Clair's attitude and utterances during that controversy can substantially affect his claim to be esteemed and honored as one of the great and grand figures of the heroic days of American history; and especially his claim upon the lasting gratitude of the fair, well-informed and patriotic people of the Northwest Territory.

Certain facts, and enough for our purpose, are commonly known as to the early years of the life of Arthur St. Clair: that he was born in Scotland in 1734, that he was a scion of a very distinguished Scottish family, that he attended the University of Edinburgh, that it was designed that he should be a physician, and that he was apprenticed in London to the most celebrated doctor of his generation, William Hunter.

But the tastes of the young Scotsman lay in other directions. He was connected by family ties with General Thomas Gage, commandant of the British forces in New England, and probably through his influence he obtained in 1757, at the age of twenty-three, a commission as ensign in the Sixtieth Royal American Regiment of Foot.

Young St. Clair's soldier days in America fell upon heroic times. The half century of conflict between France and England for the possession of the fairest parts of the new world was drawing to a close. This grand drama was to end in two stirring scenes; and at both Louisburg and Quebec our young subaltern had the opportunity to show his metal. It rang fine and true. For his services under General Amherst at Louisburg he was promoted; and on the Plains of Abraham the young lieutenant was conspicuous for his gallantry. As the colors of his regiment fell from the hands of their stricken bearer, young St. Clair caught up the flag and bore it in the front of the struggle, till the field was won; and his King was King from Labrador to Florida.

St. Clair shared the stress and privations of the winter of 1759-1760 at Quebec; and in the spring when the siege was raised he went, either upon some military mission, or upon furlough, to Boston.

Among his companions in arms was Major William Ewing, an aide-de-camp to General Wolfe and a brother of Mrs. Bowdoin, wife of the Massachusetts governor of that name. Through his connection with General Gage, St. Clair was welcomed to the social life of Boston; and probably through Major Ewing he was welcomed to the home of Belthazer Bayard, whose wife was a sister of Mrs. Bowdoin.

That he enjoyed the young society of the New England capital goes without saying. "The descendant of an ancient and distinguished family; tall, graceful, dignified, with chestnut hair, blonde complexion, handsome blue-gray eyes," and wearing modestly the fresh laurels of war, the young officer doubtless appeared something of a hero to the fair maids of Boston. That he was so to one of them, and that he quickly fell before her charms is demonstrated by the fact that in May,

1760, Arthur St. Clair and Phoebe Bayard were united in marriage in the presence of a distinguished company at Trinity Chapel. With his own savings and the fourteen thousand pounds received with his bride, St. Clair found himself, for that day, a man of wealth; and, as children came soon to the young couple, St. Clair resigned in the spring of 1762 his commission in the army, and became a citizen of Boston.

Now came a critical period in the life of this young man of thirty. Surrounded by a congenial society, amidst many warm friends and relatives, with means adequate to all the necessities and even luxuries of life in an attractive and growing city, with a charming wife devoted to the life and surroundings in which they found themselves, with the just excuse of a young and growing family, it would not be matter of surprise had St. Clair yielded himself to a life of quiet ease and usefulness as a citizen of Boston. Had he done so, who could blame him? But had he done so the pioneer life of western Pennsylvania, the mighty scenes of the American Revolution, the heroic age of the Northwest Territory would never have known the perpetuated name of Arthur St. Clair. Had he done so he would in all probability have been among that host of wretched and disappointed Tories who fled with Howe from Boston in the spring of 1776, before the triumphant army of George Washington of Virginia.

But St. Clair was made of sterner stuff. The instinct for action and adventure which led him into the American army from Dr. Hunter's London office, lured him again from the peace and ease of Boston to the bracing air and stirring scenes of the far frontier of Pennsylvania.

There, during the course of ten or more active years, he was an acknowledged leader among the vigorous, self-reliant redoubtable men who met the difficulties and dangers of that pioneer life. Honors, offices, responsibilities, and wealth all came to him in full measure and he deserved them all. As a soldier he was commandant of Ft. Ligonier, and a leader in the struggles with the hostile Indians. As justice of the peace his integrity and good sense gave to his decisions finality among his neighbors and throughout his jurisdiction; and his fearless cour-

age as a magistrate was illustrated in his memorable dealings with Dr. John Conolly, the agent of Lord Dunmore, at Pittsburg. As a citizen he was a leader in every enterprise for the general weal, and foremost in the life of the country.

Partly by purchase and partly by locating lands granted him for his services to the Crown, he became the owner of a large tract of land in the beautiful valley of the Ligonier, in Bedford, afterwards Westmoreland county. There he built a substantial and comfortable home upon a charming site. There he brought his somewhat reluctant wife, with their children, from the safety and comfort of Boston, to the discomforts and perils of the frontier. He cleared his lands, raised stock, and built the first grist mill in all that region. Other Scotch families settled about him. To all the "newcomers" he was an unselfish friend and wise counsellor. He was the trusted friend and agent of the Penns in their protracted dispute with the Virginia authorities over the limits of Pennsylvania's territory in the West; and when Lord Dunmore demanded his dismissal for the arrest of Conolly, John Penn peremptorily declined, and in his reply wrote of St. Clair — "he is a gentleman who for a long time has had the honor of serving his Majesty with reputation and distinction in every station of life; and preserved the character of an honest, worthy man."

He was trusted and esteemed even by the fierce and suspicious red men of the forest; and in all his dealings with them either in private or in his capacity as a treaty-maker for the public, he sympathized with their wrongs, endeavored to protect them from wanton aggression, and to secure a just regard for their treaty rights. A policy from which, to his eternal honor, he never departed under much stress and temptation when he came to great power in the newer West.

Thus passed eleven eventful, prosperous, honorable and doubtless happy years. St. Clair in some of the correspondence and memoirs of this time is described as a man of noble bearing and imposing appearance, graceful, cultured and self-reliant; a man whose agreeable and intelligent conversation, captivating manners and honorable principles, won all hearts; a man who

had habitual respect for the feelings of others, as well as genuine politeness, courtesy and refinement.

And now we approach another crisis in the life of this young man of forty, this well-to-do citizen, this friend of the Penns, this soldier of the Crown, this loyal and prosperous subject of King George. With keen interest from his far away seat among the Westmoreland hills, among the active pursuits of his frontier life he had watched the course of the controversy between the King and the Colonies. Like thousands of other free, liberty loving and brave men he had not believed that separation was either wise or desirable.

But with Lexington and Concord, with Hessians and Indians employed by an English king to crush his rights as an Englishman, he turned his back upon the memories, the glories and the sentiments of the past, and gave his loyalty, his heart, his voice and his sword to his adopted country. It was no light and easy thing for such a man to do. His letters show clearly the moral and mental struggle through which he passed; and we must honor him for it, as well as for the resolution to which he came; just as we should honor especially those men of the border, who in 1861 were compelled to choose between their state and the Union, and chose aright.

On May 16, 1775, there assembled at Hannastown in western Pennsylvania, a meeting of citizens which has become memorable in the annals of America. The fate of the frontier was in the balance. Toryism was rife. Many of the settlers were fresh from the mother country. The troubles and excitement of the seaports had not reached them. They were as near in time to British Detroit as to American Philadelphia; and Philadelphia was not a Boston in patriotism by any means. St. Clair was at Hannastown. His mind and heart were made up. With his own hand he drafted those wise, moderate, patriotic, memorable resolutions; with his quiet, earnest voice and persuasive manner he secured their adoption, and western Pennsylvania was committed to the right side.

He urged upon the Congress when assembled at Philadelphia an immediate expedition against Detroit, which he offered

to lead; and we know how eminently wise this suggestion, though disregarded at the time, was proved to be by subsequent events.

Soon after St. Clair was called to Philadelphia by President Hancock, and commissioned to raise a Pennsylvania regiment on continental establishment. This commission was dated January 22, 1776, and on the 12th of March Colonel St. Clair left Philadelphia for Canada with a fine regiment fully equipped for service.

It is not within the limits of this address to follow St. Clair through all the years of war that followed. His name is indeed writ large in the history of that sad, heroic and glorious struggle; and as we follow up and up and up with kindling eyes and beating hearts that roll of consecrated names, there, nearly at the top, close to the topmost name of all, we find that of Major General Arthur St. Clair

The story of his battles, sieges and fortunes is well-nigh the history of the American Revolution. From that disastrous Canada campaign in '76, clear to Yorktown—yes, and beyond Yorktown, with Greene in the Carolinas,—St. Clair was literally “in at the death.”

There is no act of his in all that long eight years to palliate or excuse; nothing but honor and faith and wisdom and heroism. Even the retreat from Ticonderoga, for which at the time he was so violently assailed, when it came under the calm and searching criticism of an able committee of Congress, redounded to his fame, both as a man of high moral courage, and as a general eminently fitted for the highest command. Well might the committee declare, “We do unanimously acquit him of every charge with the highest honor.”

Pending this investigation General Washington, who knew the facts and the man, took him into his immediate military family; and there began a warm and mutual esteem and friendship which lasted without a cloud until the death of his great chief.

He shared in the disaster at Brandywine, and in all the suffering at Valley Forge. In the memorable battles of Trenton and Princeton he took prominent part. According to General

Wilkinson and others who should know the facts, as well as the statement of St. Clair in his own narrative of these events, "it was he who in council suggested the idea of marching by our right and turning the left of the enemy." This movement, resulting most successfully, gave to the patriot cause that memorable campaign in New Jersey; which, in the darkest hour of the war once more brought hope and courage to a disheartened and perplexed people. Cabals were checked. The prestige of Washington was restored never to fall again. Troops flocked again to his standard, and the crisis was passed.

When at last the war was over, and peace had come, and independence, and with it all a new order, Major General St. Clair found himself financially ruined. At the beginning of the war the Indians urged on by the British at Detroit had fallen upon the frontier settlements. General Washington sent Colonel Broadhead to Pittsburg, where a small force was maintained, but this defense proved ineffective, and the isolated settlements of western Pennsylvania were repeatedly visited with fire and the tomahawk.

St. Clair early in the war removed his wife and family to Pottsgrove (now Pottstown) where he bought a house and established them in comparative safety; but his mill and house, indeed all of his buildings were burned, his lands laid waste and his beautiful estate ruined. Moreover, at a critical time during the war, when called upon by Governor Reed to assist in raising and equipping Pennsylvania troops, he had advanced his private credit for funds, and, owing to the disordered state of the finances, he never obtained indemnity from the Government. In a pathetic letter which he wrote to Washington in 1785 he describes himself as "a poor, indeed a very poor man;" and so indeed he was, and poor he continued to be all the remaining days of his life. Eight of the best years of that life from its forty-second to its fiftieth year, he had given loyally to the service of the country of his adoption, and he had sacrificed his fortune cheerfully upon the same altar. Few men gave as much to the cause of independence as St. Clair, and no man was subsequently treated by his Government with more ingratitude.

He returned to his home in Westmoreland county and man-

fully set about repairing as best he might the havoc that absence and war had wrought upon his mortgaged lands in the Ligonier Valley. But he had played too distinguished a part upon too wide a stage to be permitted to remain long in private station. In 1783 he was elected a member of the "Council of Censors," a board of somewhat peculiar but formidable powers under the constitution of the new state of Pennsylvania. In February, 1786, he was elected member of the Continental Congress; and one year later he was exalted to the presidency of that body—a position, as has been well said, but little short of the chief magistracy of the nation not yet formed.

In July of this year was passed by the Congress over which St. Clair presided that historic measure which will ever be known to American history as "The Ordinance of 1787." A statute which erected the vast territory northwest of the Ohio River into a civil government, dedicating it forever to freedom; and St. Clair was unanimously chosen by Congress to be the chief executive officer of the new Territory.

It is undoubtedly true that St. Clair sacrificed much in accepting this office. Not only was the territory vast and almost uninhabited, but it was far away, much further in that age than Darkest Africa today from the centers of human interest and political activity. He had achieved by his heroic character, services and sacrifices, an exalted position among the foremost men of the new nation about to be formed. In the full prime of a noble manhood, urbane, brave, capable and self-reliant, it is indeed hard to overestimate to what place in the councils of the new nation he might not have attained, had he stayed in the East and cultivated his own advancement.

But "He followed his star;" and duty still tinged by adventure once more lured him westward. It is also most probably true that he hoped by legitimate means in the new country to retrieve for "wife and weans" his now shattered fortune.

Preceded by Putnam, and the other leaders and settlers of the Ohio Company, Governor St. Clair landed at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, on the 9th day of July, 1788.

He was received amid the roar of the little guns of the

fort, and with military honors, and on the next day before the assembled soldiers and citizens at Marietta he delivered his noble inaugural address.

In his public utterances St. Clair was habitually inclined to be somewhat verbose, as indeed was rather the fashion of his time, but he concluded his address in these simple and manly words: "Would to God I were more equal to the discharge of the duties of government; but my best endeavor shall not be wanting to fulfill the desire and expectations of Congress, that you may find yourself happy under it. * * * And at all times and places it shall be my duty and my desire to do everything within the compass of my power for the peace, good order and establishment of these settlements."

And from that day forward right well did he fulfill the resolve then expressed upon Campus Martius. Possessed, under the ordinance, of great power and a larger influence, and ever conscious of their possession, he never failed in their exercise to be governed by the same uprightness of purpose and high sense of duty which he that day set before the people and before himself. "Plain and simple in his dress and equipage, open and frank in his manners, and accessible to persons of every rank," as Judge Burnet described him, yet without descending from his manly dignity to court popularity, he continued until after the establishment, under the ordinance, of a territorial government in 1799 "in the possession of a greater share of the confidence and respect of the people of the Territory than any other individual in it,"—and even though he proved at the last that high talents united with unfaltering integrity are not always sufficient to guide a man in the path of political safety; nevertheless, even at the end, his enemies, bitter as they proved, never assailed his pure and lofty character.

It would be hard to overstate the labors and the accomplishments of St. Clair in the Northwest Territory. With the judges named by Congress he promulgated laws for the new country upon almost every conceivable subject. He made and remade treaties with the Indians. He led armies against them, and strove in every way to protect the growing settlements from their incessant depredations. He resolutely preserved and main-

tained, against the demands of old settlers in the West who had slaves, and against immigrants from the South who insisted upon bringing slaves, that unique provision of the great ordinance which forbade slavery or involuntary service except for crime, in all the vast extent of his domain. He assiduously looked after the settlement of Revolutionary soldiers. He formed counties, and insisted upon his right to re-form them, until Congress, after many years, and much of bitterness engendered between the governor and his opponents, declared he had not this right. He issued proclamations against invasion of Spanish Louisiana when Citizen Genet conspired with Western firebrands to bring this about.

He persistently and consistently strove to prevent outrage and injustice to peaceable Indians. He resolutely preserved the lands provided by the ordinance and by Congress for the future maintenance of schools and colleges. He labored to keep peace between rival judges and officers near and far through the territory. He visited the ancient posts and settlements on the Wabash, Detroit and Mississippi rivers, relieving their destitute inhabitants, and settling so far as he might their ancient and conflicting land titles under French, English and Congressional grants. He traveled back and forth from Philadelphia, New York and Washington, reporting to Congress, or to the President, and interceding in the interest of his territory and its people. "He made repeated journeys from one part of the territory to another, sleeping upon the ground or in open boats, and living upon coarse and uncertain fare. At one time he travelled in this manner a distance of five thousand miles without means of protection against inclement weather and without rest." Such hardships were a strain upon even his fine constitution; and in 1795 he was prostrated by a fever which brought him near to death. During the earlier years of his administration he lived at Marietta, where the citizens built him a comfortable home, which was presided over by a daughter; for it is questionable whether his wife ever even visited the Territory. Afterwards he made his home at Cincinnati, and finally perhaps at Chillicothe.

In 1791, when the Indians encouraged by the British at

Detroit had become unbearably hostile and aggressive, St. Clair was appointed commander-in-chief of the army organized to march upon the Maumee towns and destroy them. The miserable organization of that army, especially in its commissariat, resulted in one of the most harrowing disasters ever inflicted by the Indians upon an American army. As in every such case the first storm of reproach fell upon the commanding general; but the conclusions of the committee appointed by the House of Representatives to inquire into the cause of the disaster, a committee which at the outset was in no wise partial to St. Clair, have ever since been accepted by unprejudiced historians as a true statement of the facts. The conclusion of this committee, after the most patient and careful investigation was,—that the disaster was due chiefly “to the gross and various mismanagement of others,” and should “in no wise be imputed to the commander.” St. Clair soon after resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the army, and Wayne’s memorable victory at “The Fallen Timbers” not only brought final and lasting peace to the Ohio settlements, but restored the good humor of the nation and the West.

In 1798 it being ascertained that his territory contained five thousand white male inhabitants, Governor St. Clair, pursuant to the ordinance, issued his proclamation, calling upon the voters to elect representatives who should meet at Cincinnati in February, 1799. This body met accordingly and selected ten freeholders whose names were returned by the Governor to the President for his selection of five from the list, as the “Legislative Council” of the Territory; and in September, 1799, the first territorial legislature, consisting of the representatives and legislative council, met with the Governor at Cincinnati.

The earnest and eloquent address delivered by Governor St. Clair upon this occasion can be found in full in the published “St. Clair Papers,” and should be read by any one who is desirous of seeing this distinguished pioneer governor at his best.

He at this time enjoyed the unlimited respect and confidence of all the people. He was known to be one of the most valued personal and political friends of both President Adams and of the retired president, George Washington, whose influ-

ence in the country still remained paramount. Political strife and bitterness were substantially unknown in the territory; and St. Clair could turn his thoughts and his statesmanship solely to the interests of the fast growing settlements over which he presided.

He began by earnestly congratulating the people of the Territory that "having been heretofore governed by laws adopted and made by persons in whose appointment they had no participation and over whom they had no control, that the time had now come when their laws should be made by their own representatives." Certainly a somewhat anomalous statement from one so steadfastly accused of enmity to all democratic principles! With great force he urged upon this new and untried body of western legislators the benefits to result, through the years to come, from timely education, and the early instruction of the people in the principles of religion. He urged them to restrain the traffic in intoxicating liquors. He urged justice and humanity to the Indians; the preservation of the rights and liberty of the people by the writ of habeas corpus; that minor courts be established for the local administration of the laws; and, after touching upon many other objects of legislation which he deemed of importance, he concluded with the following earnest words: "The providing for and the regulating the lives and forces of the present and of the rising generations, for the repression of vice and immorality, for the promotion of education and religion, for the protection of virtue and innocence, for the security and property and the punishment of crime is a sublime employment. Every aid in my power will be afforded; and I trust we shall bear in mind that the character and deportment of the people and their happiness hereafter depends much upon the genius and spirit of their laws."

For ten years, endowed with large powers by the great Ordinance of 1787, Arthur St. Clair, as governor, had conducted affairs of the Northwest Territory; until now, under the territorial government foreordained by the ordinance itself, the people had come to the point of substantially governing themselves.

These had been years of vast importance to the future

of the western country. It would be difficult to point to any act of St. Clair's as governor, during the whole of that formative period which should be harshly criticised. It would not be just to say that nothing was left undone that might have been done, and that nothing was done amiss; but that St. Clair had truly and faithfully kept his word given to the soldiers and citizens at Marietta in 1788 will not be denied by the student of these most interesting years in the history of the Northwest.

But a time had now come in the life of the new American Republic when party spirit was breaking forth with a bitterness and intensity such as has scarcely been known since in the history of the country. This spirit of bitter and almost malevolent partisanship which had been inaugurated even during the closing years of Washington's second administration, had now begun to reach the far and isolated West; and in the closing days of this first session of the Territorial legislature of 1799 an incident occurred which was somewhat ominous for the future.

At the close of the session an address, complimentary to President Adams, was introduced. It was unanimously passed by the legislative council, but against it five members of the House cast their votes. The names of these five members included those of the members from Ross county and Chillicothe, and this was the nucleus of the new Republican party in the West. The accession to power of their leader, Jefferson, in the years soon to come, enabled them to destroy the prestige and almost the character of St. Clair and to remove him from office. That he helped somewhat by his own intemperance of language to contribute to this result the sequel will show.

In the year 1800 the Northwest Territory was divided and the new district, known as Indiana Territory, was separated from what is now the state of Ohio. William Henry Harrison was appointed governor of the new territory; and thereupon St. Clair's official connection with the Wabash and the Mississippi country terminated.

The territorial legislature assembled in the fall of 1800 in the town of Chillicothe; then a rude but rapidly growing settlement of but four years old, and the capital of that interesting

portion of the state of Ohio known to historians and to lawyers as the Virginia Military District. Some considerable friction and heat had been evolved by the moving of the meeting place of the legislature from Cincinnati to Chillicothe. And indeed it is apparent that very much of the bitterness that arose out of the controversy between St. Clair and the Chillicothe party had its roots in local and territorial questions and in his too unyielding opposition to the legitimate schemes of town site and land speculators. These questions had aroused the personal enmity of several of the Chillicothe men, and as they were at the same time members of the new Republican party, led by Jefferson, while St. Clair, like all of the Revolutionary veterans and friends of Washington, was an earnest Federalist, the bitterness of feeling between them had already grown intense.

St. Clair referred to this in his address to the legislature which assembled in Chillicothe in November, 1800, and to "the baseness and malevolence of the aims of certain slanders and falsehoods circulated against him." With great earnestness he concluded, "I am not conscious that any one act of my administration has been influenced by any other motive than a sincere desire to promote the welfare and happiness of the people of this Territory;" and, to the student of the history of the time, it seems clear that this declaration of St. Clair's expressed but the truth with regard to the sincerity and purity of his motives.

But it is John Quincy Adams who says in his diary, "In public affairs it appears to me there is no quality more useful and important than good humor;" and this quality, which some call tact and some good humor, and others the ability to yield in the right place, was the quality, as Judge Burnet in his just and conservative narrative points out, that St. Clair in this crisis of his affairs failed to exhibit. His own consciousness of his own integrity led him to mistrust both the wisdom and the integrity of the men who opposed him; and also led him to an intemperance in speech and in the prosecution of his own designs, which stood greatly in the way of his political success.

The local feeling against him in Chillicothe about this time, and indeed until his ultimate downfall, was very bitter. It was known that he not only antagonized the men of Ross county per-

sonally and politically, but that he was also opposed to the permanent location of the capital of the Territory and state at Chillicothe. His appointment by President Adams to be governor of the new territory was strongly opposed by his enemies in the West and in Washington, but was finally confirmed by the Senate.

When the new legislature assembled on November 24, 1801, much friction was soon developed between the House of Representatives and the Governor. His honest but ill-advised insistence upon his right to re-form and subdivide counties already established, as well as other matters of dispute, had begun to dishearten his own partisans, and added to the number of his enemies. The bitterness against St. Clair in Chillicothe had become especially intense owing to the proposed removal of the seat of government to Cincinnati. At one time during the session of the legislature, party and local spirit became so turbulent that a mob, led by men not without standing and influence in the community, broke into the house where the Governor and some friends boarded, and were only prevented from doing violence to the person of St. Clair by the intercession of Thomas Worthington, and when confronted by cocked pistols in the hands of one of St. Clair's friends. As it was, he was burned in effigy on the public square, openly insulted upon the streets of the town; and his enemies, encouraged, as the correspondence shows, by partisans in Washington, proceeded to open hostilities against him.

Thomas Worthington, afterwards senator of the United States from, and governor of, Ohio, went to Washington in the interest of the party in the West opposed to St. Clair, of which Edward Tiffin was the leader, and preparations were actively pushed forward for presenting to President Jefferson specific charges against the Governor.

St. Clair was soon advised not only of the purpose of his enemies, but also of the presence of Worthington in Washington in furtherance of their plan, and he wrote to President Jefferson a manly and earnest letter of protest. After advising the President of the hostility of the men who had opposed his nomination, he told him that they were "now endeavoring by like means to ruin me with you, and scruple not to opine that my

removal is decided upon." He begs the President, in case his enemies have found their way to him, not to give credit to their suggestions until he himself might have a hearing. He feelingly refers to his twelve years of service in the Northwest Territory and concludes: "I dare challenge the whole world to produce one action in my administration in which a single individual has met with opposition in any one act to further the interests and welfare of the people. To the accomplishment of these objects I have given the best years of my life at the expense of my health and fortune."

The charges which were ultimately presented to the President by Worthington on behalf of himself and his colleagues, and as the "agent of the state party and Republican leaders" were ten in number. They refer principally to what are insisted upon as abuses of his power over the legislature, the judiciary and other officers of the Territory, the taking of excessive fees, the appointment of improper persons to office, the obstruction of the organization of the militia, and lastly his general "hostility to the form and substance of Republican government."

No one can read the correspondence that took place between Worthington in Washington and his colleagues in Chillicothe without something of shame for the methods which were adopted for the degradation of St. Clair in the eyes of Jefferson. Private conversations held in unconstrained social intercourse were collected in the form of affidavits and used against St. Clair; and were met by him with counter-affidavits of other gentlemen who happened to be present. After St. Clair had seen President Jefferson in person the charges seem to have been in substance ignored.

But while the immediate statehood party, led by Worthington and Tiffin, failed at the time in casting St. Clair from his place, they did succeed in their main object of bringing about statehood to Ohio prior to the time contemplated by the original Ordinance of 1787.

The ordinance distinctly provided that whenever the eastern portion of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River contained sixty thousand inhabitants, it should have the right to adopt a constitution and to come into the Union as a new state.

A census taken about this time had shown a population, including all the inhabitants of Wayne county, which is now that part of the state of Michigan in which the city of Detroit is situated, but which was then a part of the territory of Ohio, of about forty-five thousand souls.

St. Clair and others were strongly of the opinion that it was wise to defer statehood until the people of the Territory were entitled to it under the ordinance; and influenced doubtless by his wish to defer statehood, he favored a resolution which passed the legislature by a two-third majority, suggesting the line of the Scioto river as the western boundary of the new state. For reasons which now seem erroneous St. Clair subsequently gave his hearty endorsement to this measure, to which the Chillicothe, or immediate statehood party, was very violently opposed. In writing to his confidential friends in regard to this question, St. Clair gave as reasons for the proposed division of the Territory and the consequent delay of statehood: That the people were ill-qualified to form a constitution and government for themselves; were too far removed from the seat of government to be fully impressed by the power of the United States; that their connection, owing to the great distance and other interests, with the general government was very slender, and their loyalty likely to be affected thereby, and that many of them held sentiments in opposition to the general government. Whatever may be thought of the political wisdom of these arguments, they cannot be said either to reflect upon his character as a man, nor are they such as might not have been entertained at the time with perfect honesty by even the most ultra Democratic.

There are those who hold self-government to be in itself an end. There are others who hold that the end and aim of government is protection of persons and property, the maintenance of peace, order, and such religious liberty and such an educational system as give promise of the speediest intellectual and moral development; and that self-government is or ought to be simply a means to this end. It is probable that St. Clair would have declared himself in favor of the latter view; but certainly it was and still is quite erroneous to say that such an

opinion constituted St. Clair an aristocrat, an autocrat and a despiser of the people.

At any rate, with the administration at Washington upon their side, and their triumphant partisans in power in Congress, the immediate statehood party was able to secure the passage by Congress of the famous enabling act of 1802, through which Ohio became a state of the Union; though just how or just when, has ever since remained a subject for academic discussion.

The act of Congress which offered statehood to the people of the eastern district, now the state of Ohio, cut off a large territory which is now embraced in the state of Michigan, and made conditions with reference to the taxation of lands sold by the Government, and other matters, which certainly might have been avoided had the people been content to wait but a short time for the operation of the provision of the Ordinance of 1787. The position taken by St. Clair and those who acted with him, in opposition to the acceptance of the offer made by Congress in the act of 1802, was based upon these grounds, and can be found set forth with great clearness by Judge Burnet in his "Notes;" but it certainly seems to me that no difference of opinion upon this question should, after the lapse of more than a century, obscure from us of this generation the splendid services that St. Clair had rendered to his country and especially to the Northwest Territory.

When the convention, provided for by the act of Congress, met at Chillicothe in November, 1802, St. Clair, upon his own motion, delivered to it an address, by which he played immediately into the hands of his enemies.

Animated by what he conceived to be a righteous indignation, he indulged in a tirade against the action of Congress, and in bitter prophecies as to the future of the country, which ill-became a man in his position. Unfortunately for himself he was not one who could acquiesce where he believed speech and opposition to be his duty, and his utterances upon this occasion, however honest and sincere they may have been, were certainly such as to excuse, if not to justify, the action of President Jefferson in removing him from his office as governor of the Territory, even though he had still but a short time to serve. The

circumstances attending his removal were, however, somewhat harsh, and added greatly to his bitterness of spirit.

"To the victors belong the spoil;" and the victors in that contest got, as indeed they fairly deserved, the spoils of victory and of office. But we may perhaps agree with Judge Burnet, who sums up his review of those incidents, in which he himself had borne a part, in the following paragraph:

"But on a calm review of those party conflicts, after a lapse of more than half a century, many circumstances over which the mantle of oblivion has been thrown, might be uncovered which would account for the conduct of the leaders of both parties without ascribing to them more of self-interest or less of honesty of purpose than falls to the lot of those who are now called consistent politicians. Some part of the Governor's conduct was condemned by his best friends and was well calculated to excite a warmth of feeling in his opponents which might have led upright men beyond the limits of moderation and even of justice."

With his dismissal from office, November 22, 1802, the public life of Major General Arthur St. Clair terminated. He returned, a man now sixty-eight years of age, much the greatest part of which had been spent in the active service of his country, broken in health and fortune, to the Ligonier Valley.

He had never been reimbursed by his Government for the private means spent by him during the war of the Revolution. In addition to this, during the Indian Campaign in 1791, he had again advanced his personal credit in the public service, and the officers of the Government, for more or less technical reasons, now and thereafter turned a deaf ear to his appeals for reimbursements or succor. He struggled earnestly from year to year to retrieve his broken fortunes, but when the years of the embargo came and the values of all property in America suffered such terrible depreciation, he was compelled to stand by and see the last of his property, both real and personal, sold by the sheriff; and himself left, at nearly eighty years of age, absolutely penniless, dependent upon the charity of his family and friends. In referring to this execution, St. Clair himself wrote: "They left me a few books of my classical library, and the bust of John

Paul Jones which he sent me from Europe, for which I was very grateful."

One of his sons built for him a log cabin on a small piece of land on Chestnut Ridge five miles west of Ligonier, and here he lived in honorable poverty until the summer of 1818, when, on his way to town for provisions, his wagon upset, threw him out and he was carried back to his home to die. And so this hero of two wars, this hero of countless deeds of faithfulness and bravery and self-denial in times of peace, was quietly interred in the little burying ground of the neighboring hamlet of Greensburg.

When the American, French and British commissioners were negotiating the treaty of Paris in 1782, by which our independence was acknowledged, the British commissioners insisted upon the Ohio river as the northwest boundary of the United States. Count de Vergennes, the French commissioner, favored this claim, and tried to induce Dr. Franklin and the other American commissioners to accept this, rather than fail in the main object. But Franklin, Adams and Jay, the American commissioners, successfully resisted this importunity; and the chief argument by which they save that splendid domain to their country, was, that the territory northwest of the Ohio river had been conquered by George Rogers Clark, an American general, in 1778; and was even then in the occupancy of the troops of the United States.

General Clark, the conqueror of the great Northwest, was permitted to die in poverty, neglect and obscurity; and, by a strange and sad coincidence, General Arthur St. Clair, the pioneer governor and organizer of that vast domain, shared, the very same year, a similar fate.

The language of the epitaph upon the simple stone, which was afterwards erected over the grave of St. Clair by his Masonic brethren has often been quoted, and should still carry its earnest appeal to men of our time. It is as follows:

"The earthly remains of Major General Arthur St. Clair are deposited beneath this humble monument which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country."

Amen! "So mote it be!"

WASHINGTON AND OHIO.*

E. O. RANDALL, LL. M.

The many-sidedness of Washington presents an unflinching field of study in his character and career. His varied accomplishments, in each of which he was *facile princeps*, again and again quicken our interest in and increase our admiration for the foremost figure in American annals. So glorious was he in the "pomp and circumstance" of the War of Independence, and so wise and potent was he in the arena of our national awakening, that we are apt to think of him merely as a soldier and a statesman.

He was far more. He was eminent as a "man of affairs." He was not a college-bred man, but he was trained in the "school of life" and in its broad curriculum he came in contact with many phases of effort calculated to peculiarly prepare him for the work of his manhood. The qualities displayed in the spheres of soldiery and statesmanship were discovered and developed in his early experiences in the frontier wilderness. Washington was a graduate of the forest. His first tutors in the art of warfare were the tribesmen of the backwoods of the Ohio Valley. The school of his diplomacy was his unique service, while yet a lad, in the romantic and picturesque plays made by England and France for racial supremacy in the Northwest. The *loci* of these ambassadorial contests were chiefly on the banks of the Ohio. Thus Washington's introduction to events military and political was on the advance line of western civilization.

Undoubtedly Washington received much of the breadth of his views and the keenness of his vision from his life amid the rugged mountains, the ample plains and the sweeping rivers of the primeval West. He was pre-eminently an expansionist. As a boy he looked down from the heights of the Alleghany range and beheld the empire of the Ohio Valley and the glories thereof. Long before the Revolution and years after he looked to possibilities of the vast domain bounded by the Great Lakes, "the

* The substance of this article appeared in the *Ohio Magazine* for February, 1907.

beautiful river" and the "Father of Waters." He planned for its development and assiduously strove to create the channels which should connect the commerce of the East with the products of the West. It was the prospective future of the Ohio Valley that made Washington a surveyor, an engineer, a promoter of western real estate and one of the largest land holders of his day.

The events that unite Washington with the Ohio country were as romantic as they were resultful. The Ohio country was to be the arena for the bitter and prolonged struggle of the Latin and the Saxon competitors for the acquisition of an American empire. The adventurous and chivalrous Frenchman first dominated the Ohio by the right of discovery and exploration. Under the patronage of the luxurious and ambitious Francis I, who, as the politicians phrase it, "viewed with alarm" the lodgments the English and Spanish were making in the New World, Jacques Cartier, in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, navigated the hitherto unknown waters of the broad St. Lawrence. Others followed until Champlain, "the father of New France," planted the colony of Quebec (1608) on that rocky height which was to be the Gibraltar of the kingdom of the Gaul in the newly discovered world. Champlain's associates and successors pushed on across the Great Lakes and down the rivers of Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, till their frail but plucky canoes, carrying the fur trader and the Jesuit priest, embarked on the swift majestic current that whirled them on to the mouth of the Mississippi. From the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico the banners of the Bourbons proclaimed the sovereignty of France. All this while the Anglo-Saxon, from time almost immemorial the inveterate foe of the Latin, was slowly but surely securing a firm foothold on the rugged coast of the Atlantic and preparing to measure strength with his old-time enemy for the conquest of the West.

The Alleghany mountains were not to be the barriers to his onward march. The Anglo-Saxon has always been a reacher-out and taker-in. He has always been a land-grabber and a land owner, and in extenuation, be it said, a land improver. The discoveries of the dauntless Cabots preceded the landing of Cartier, and in 1607, just one year before the foundation of

Quebec, the Jamestown (Va.) colony became the first permanent English settlement in America. It was thus a neck and neck race between the Gaul and Teuton for the American stakes.

Under the charter of 1609 the Jamestown company "became possessed in absolute property of lands extending along the sea coast two hundred miles north and the same distance south from Old Point Comfort, and with the land throughout from sea to sea." It is familiar history how other colonial settlements followed under various forms of charter and patent; how many of these royal grants called for land from the Atlantic to the unknown limit on the West and how these colonies' claims often conflicted and overlapped. The English settlers on the barren Atlantic shores began to look with longing eyes to the vast expanse, the land of promise, "flowing with milk and honey," beyond the Alleghanies, the domain claimed by France. Virginia was the center that attracted the most enterprising English colonists, and she sent forth the most venturesome settlers into the great Northwest, the Virginia colonists being advance skirmishers in the westward pioneer emigration. Virginia's claim of territory extended west to the Mississippi river and north to a line covering most of what is now Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The territory between La Belle Riviere, as the French poetically called the Ohio River, and the waters of the placid Erie, was to be the storm center of the conflict that in its finality was to determine not merely the relative careers of these two peoples, but the destiny of the world.

FIRST OHIO COMPANY.

By the year of 1748 the plucky Pennsylvanians and the belligerent Virginians had worked their way to the eastern foothills of the last range of mountains separating them from the coveted country. Many a bold straggler had already scaled the boundary heights and had ferried the dividing river to seek his luck in the fertile valleys of the Tuscarawas, the Muskingum, the Sandusky, the Scioto and the Miamis.

"Where's the coward that would not dare
To fight for such a land?"

Surely the English cavalier, with his "swashing and a martial outside" and filled to the brim with fighting blood, would not hesitate to cross swords or exchange shots with the dashing and daring French courtiers; no, not even would he hesitate to chance it with the tomahawk and scalping knife of the stealthy and elusive red warrior of the forest.

The Washington family, if one of its members did not really suggest, was the foremost among those to promote the original "Ohio Movement."

The Anglo-Saxon, be it noted, never fails to put up plausible pretense of "law and order," even in his predatory exploitations.



LAWRENCE WASHINGTON.

This Ohio invasion was to be along the lines of "business." The English claimed that in addition to their charter rights to the Ohio country, their title as against the French was confirmed by the treaties with the Indians made at Lancaster (Pa.) in 1744 between commissioners from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia and the Iroquois tribes, whereby the latter, for four hundred pounds, gave up all right and title to the land west of the Alleghany mountains, even to the Mississippi, which lands, according to Iroquois traditions, had been con-

quered by their forefathers. It mattered not that their treaty was repudiated by the tribes of Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Mingoes and others occupying the territory in question. The Iroquois title was good enough to "get in" on, and under cover of these charter and treaty "titles" a company of Virginians organized the Ohio Company. The initiators and charter members were John Hanbury, a Quaker merchant in London; Thomas Lee, "member of his Majesty's Council and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in his Majesty's Colony of Virginia;"

Colonel Thomas Cressap, Lawrence Washington, Augustus Washington, George Fairfax and others, "all of his Majesty's Colony of Virginia."

These enterprising gentlemen petitioned the king "that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to encourage their undertaking by giving instructions to the Governor of Virginia to grant to them and such others as they shall admit as their associates a tract of 500,000 acres of land betwext Romanettes and Buffalo's Creek on the south side of the River Aligane (Allegheny), otherwise the Ohio, and betwext the two Creeks and the Yellow Creek on the north side of the River or in such other parts of the west of the said mountains as shall be adjudged most proper by the petitioners for that purpose, etc." This land lay, in modern geography, in the Ohio Valley between the Monongahela and Kanawha Rivers. The land might be chosen on either side of the Ohio. A portion the company proposed to secure was "in the present Jefferson and Columbiana counties of Ohio and Brooke county of West Virginia." The conditions of the grant were that two hundred thousand acres were to be taken up at once; one hundred families were to be "seated" within seven years and a fort was to be built by the grantees as a protection against hostile Indians.

The king readily assented to this scheme, as it was represented to him by the Lords of Trade "that the settlement of the country lying to the westward of the Great Mountains in the Colony of Virginia, which is the center of all his Majesty's provinces, will be for his Majesty's interests and advantage, inasmuch as his Majesty's subjects will be thereby enabled to cultivate a friendship and carry on a more extensive commerce with the nations of Indians inhabiting those parts, and such settlement may likewise be a proper step towards disappointing and checking the encroachments of the French by interrupting part of the communication from their lodgements upon the Great Lakes to the River Mississippi, by means of which communication his Majesty's plantations there are exposed to their incursions and those of the Indian nations in their interest." In plain terms this Ohio grant severed the chain of the French claim uniting the St. Lawrence with the Mississippi. This location was further selected, "that

water communications between the heads of the Potomac and the Ohio might be available for transportation." Although the grant was never issued as planned and directed, the managers of the Ohio Company proceeded in anticipation of its realization and established stores at Wills Creek (Cumberland, Md.) and opened thence a road across the mountains to the Monongahela, and they further prepared to erect a fort at the confluence (Pittsburgh) of this river and the Allegheny. Two cargoes of goods suitable for the Indian trade were ordered from England and an explorer was secured to prospect the lands. As Thomas Lee, who took the lead in the concerns of the Ohio Company, died almost at the outset, the chief management fell upon Lawrence Washington, elder half brother of George.

THE FRENCH EXPEDITION.

At these activities of the Ohio Company, the French authorities at Quebec began to take notice. Evidently something must be doing. As a prelude to more effective measures, a sort of curtain-raiser to the coming drama, the Marquis de la Galissoniere, commander of all New France and the country of Louisiana, directed that the Chevalier Celoron de Bienville, with proper escort, proceed to the Ohio country and pre-empt the same in the name of France. This expedition was a characteristic spectacular performance. In June, 1749, Celoron, De Contrecoeur and De Villiers being his chief subordinates, embarked from Montreal in a flotilla of twenty birch bark canoes, conveying a detachment of two hundred French officers and Canadian soldiers and some sixty Iroquois and Abenake Indians. This picturesque outfit pushed its way up the St. Lawrence, across Ontario to Niagara, around the roaring falls of which they shouldered their canoes, re-embarking on the waters of Lake Erie. Thence they ascended Chautauqua creek to the lake of that name, over which they paddled to the mouth of Conewango creek, which skurried the little fleet into the broader current of the Allegheny. At this point, now known as Warren (N. Y.), a halt was made and at "the base of red oak on the south bank of the river 'Oyo'" (Ohio), as the Allegheny was then called, and of the Chanongon (Conewango), the party buried a plate of lead some eleven inches

long and seven wide, on which was engraved in formal French words, an inscription that Celoron, in behalf of the King of France, took renewed possession of the Ohio River "and of all those which fall into it and of all territories on both sides as far as the source of said rivers, as the preceding kings of France have possessed or should possess them." As an additional clincher, a tin sheet was tacked upon the tree setting forth a "Process Verbal," bearing the arms of France and certifying that a plate had been there buried, etc.

Having thus literally "nailed down" the title of France, the band of medieval Gauls and western savages, drawn up in military array, shouted "vives" for their king and then, re-entering their canoes, resumed their journey and at the forks of the Allegheny and the Monongahela floated down the majestic current of La Belle Riviere, upon which its discoverer, La Salle, had floated three quarters of a century before. The leaden plate burial ceremony was encored at the mouth of French creek (Pa.), Kanawha in West Virginia, the Muskingum and Little Miami rivers in Ohio. At the mouth of the Great Miami, then called the Riviere a la Roche, the last metallic "nota bene" was sunk and the little navy of bark gondolas turned their prows northward and ascended the Miami, to the mouth of Loramie creek, then the site of Pickawillany stockade and the village of the Piankashaw band of Indians, whose chief, because of his gaudy attire, was known to the French as "La Demoiselle." The English called him "Old Britain," as he was friendly to their interests. After extending to Demoiselle much French palaver and more substantial persuasion in the shape of fire water and gun powder to wean him from the British friendliness, Celoron burned his battered canoes, that had transported his command up the Miami river, and thence with Indian ponies he picked his way across the divide and along the River St. Mary to the mouth of the Maumee, where was located the French fort Miami. Here pirogues were secured and the journey continued down the river to Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and the place of their departure, Montreal, which was reached in the middle of October.

The expedition had occupied four months and traversed "at least twelve hundred leagues." Celoron had faithfully discharged

his errand. The Ohio Valley had certainly been placarded as the property of France, and due warning had been given all British intruders to "keep off" the domain of his Majesty King Louis XV. But Celoron in his diary was compelled to admit "that the nations (Indians) of these countries (traversed) are very ill-disposed towards the French and are devoted entirely to the English." This circuit of Celoron was little else than a quixotic comedy, a passing show in the trappings of mock war, amid the wild scenery of savage inhabited country. It was soon evident that it would require lead in some more potent form than buried inscriptions to exclude the undaunted Virginians.

THE ENGLISH EXPLORATION.

The Celoron "claiming with confidence" expedition aroused the attention of the Virginians and Pennsylvanians. George Croghan, one of the most conspicuous figures in western annals in connection with Indian affairs for twenty-five years preceding the American Revolution, had trading posts at various Indian towns on and west of the Ohio. He was the agent of the Province of Pennsylvania to distribute presents to the Ohio Indians and keep them friendly to the colonies. In the fall of 1750 Croghan and one Andrew Montour, another diplomat for the Quaker colony and familiar with the Indian tongues, were dispatched by Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania to the Ohio country to checkmate Celoron's expedition. At the same time the Ohio Company of Virginia summoned from his home on the Yadkin the intrepid backwoodsman and Indian expert, Christopher Gist, and employed him to proceed across the Ohio country and examine the western country as far as the Falls of the river (Louisville); to look for tracts of good land; to mark the passes in the mountains, the courses of the rivers and to observe the numbers and strength of the Indians and make full report to the Company. It will be noted that this expedition was no ceremonial and fantastical claim for the king's domain. On the contrary it was a characteristic Anglo-Saxon prospecting tour for land. The Ohio Company, with Lawrence Washington at its head, was the first western real estate explorer and boomer.

Gist and his companions set out from Shannopin's Town

(site of Pittsburg) and struck west across the Ohio country to Beaver creek, Elks Eye creek and on to the Indian town on the Muskingum, where he fell in with the party of Montour and Croghan, who had preceded him and over whose quarters floated the British flag. Thence the explorers continued west across the center of the (Ohio) state to the Shawnee town of old Chillicothe on the Scioto. They later camped at "Great Swamp," head of the reservoir, now Buckeye Lake; thence proceeded to the Twigtwee town on the Big Miami, the Pickawillany headquarters of the Piankashaw King Demoiselle, or "Old Britain." Gist's company, with as much pomp as possible, entered this Indian capital flying the British colors, as Celoron had entered a year and a half before under the French flag. Imposing councils were held in the chief's wigwam; many speeches were delivered and presents distributed by the English agents to the Redmen. In the midst of these parleys a legation of French Indians, bearing aloft the French colors, arrived from Detroit. The rival French and English embassies vied with each other to impress and influence the Indian chief and his people. The counter ceremonies lasted many days. "Old Britain" gave the hand of friendship to the English, from whom he received most bountiful largess of purse and promise. The French envoys, outdone in diplomacy, struck their colors and withdrew.

Croghan and companions returned overland to Pennsylvania and reported to the provincial assembly. Gist returned by the Miami to the Ohio and threaded his way through the wild and beautiful backwoods of Kentucky to his home on the Yadkin, which he reached in May, 1751. He made a full report to the Ohio Company, the first detailed account of any white man's explorations across the present Buckeye State.

And now the plot for the possession of the Ohio country begins to thicken. In June, 1752, the Indians met Gist and the Virginian agents at Logstown on the Allegheny and in spite of French intrigues and blandishments made a treaty whereby the Ohio Company was permitted to make settlements on the Ohio and build a fort at the forks of that river, the strategical entrance to the Ohio Valley. Gist began the survey of the Ohio Company's lands and removed from the Yadkin to Shurtee's creek

on the Ohio just below the forks. The plans of the Ohio Company were progressing swimmingly. Pennsylvanian traders were scattering themselves over the Ohio country, planting posts and cajoling the Indians. The sheets of tin and plates of lead had proven futile scarecrows against the aggressive Saxon. It was time to strike blows, and Celoron Bienville, now commandant at Detroit, sent the fearless Langlade, with French officers and one hundred and fifty Indian warrior allies in a "fleet of swift darting canoes," up the Maumee to destroy the British Indian quarters at Pickawillany. The attack was made in June, 1752. The stockade fort was plundered, many Miami Indians killed, the English traders taken captive and poor "Old Britain" murdered, boiled and eaten. It was the first bloodshed, on Ohio soil, in the racial contest for the Ohio country.

Meanwhile Duquesne, Governor of New France, hastened to fortify the French settlements and cut off the English on the east. Under his directions, in the spring of 1753, a force of French troops and allied Indians proceeded from Montreal, reached the harbor of Presque Isle (Erie) and there built a fort. Advancing into the interior, a fort called Le Boeuf was erected on Le Boeuf creek, a branch of French creek, and at the mouth of the latter, as it empties into the Allegheny, another fort was built, called Venango. They purposed pushing on to the forks of the Ohio and there establish their main fortification. Governor Dinwiddie, now a member of the Ohio Company, and therefore zealous of English interests, not only from patriotic motives but also from pecuniary ones, accepted the challenge of Duquesne.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

While the French and British powers were "scoring" for the opening struggle in the conquest of the Ohio valley and the great west, he who was to be the most conspicuous figure in the prelude and the unrivalled hero in the subsequent drama, was a mere boy tramping the almost untrodden backwoods of Virginia and Maryland, expanding his lungs with the mountain air, toughening his muscles with mountain climbing, learning precious lessons from the preceptor, Nature, acquiring the physical prowess, the powers of endurance and self-restraint and the

mental alertness that so admirably fitted him for the duties that later crowded thick upon him. That boy was George Washington. He was a typical product of the rough wilderness plus the innate nobility of character and genius of mind with which nature endowed him.

A century before Celoron and Gist traversed Ohio the Washingtons had left the mother country and settled in Virginia; and their immediate descendants, in the male line, were men of large and powerful physique, resolute and persevering temperament, dominant, if not violent, disposition, not averse to war, religious in the Church of England way, thrifty and aristocratic. Into this family came George in 1752, at Wakefield, Westmoreland County, Virginia, his mother, Mary Ball, being the second wife of his father, Augustine Washington, who, at his death in 1743, left large land estates. To Lawrence, elder son by his first wife, Jane Butler, the father bequeathed Mt. Vernon and two thousand five hundred acres, with slaves, iron works, mills, etc. In the event of Lawrence's death without issue, this property was to pass to George. It subsequently so passed. To Augustine, second son by the first wife, the father left the Wakefield estates; small allotments were made respectively to Samuel, John and Charles, younger full brothers of George, and to Betty, his own sister. To George was devised the farm on the Rappahannock and portions of land on Deep Run.

Thus George, at the age of eleven, became a landed proprietor with most flattering prospects. Like many of his youthful companions, he might have made a profession of being a "gentleman," which meant going to Oxford for an education, returning to Virginia and spending life in fox-hunting, cock fighting, slave bossing and rum drinking. George was better inclined and better advised. He reserved himself for higher pursuits. Dame Fortune, ever looking for subjects worthy her favoritism, supplemented his common-sense and high-mindedness. His two half brothers made excellent matrimonial alliances. Lawrence married Anne, daughter of William Fairfax, proprietor of Belvoir, a plantation in the neighborhood of Mt. Vernon; Augustine won for his bride Anne, daughter and co-heiress of William Aylett, Esq., of Westmoreland County. George, for some years after

the death of his father, spent his time alternately at Wakefield, the home of Augustine, and at Mt. Vernon, the home of Lawrence. Both these elder brothers were refined and dignified men; the residence of each was the abode of colonial culture and the resort of the best Virginia families. George therefore had unusual opportunities of acquiring the sentiments and manners of "good society," but he was early made to understand that he was not to grow up a genteel loafer. He must do something in the aid of his own support and that of his mother.

His brothers looked with disfavor upon the luxurious and loose life of the younger sons of the Virginia planters. Yet to engage in trade or work as a clerk was not to be considered; for the scion of a wealthy family that would not be tolerated. He would lose caste with his class. His respectability must be preserved, and so the choice of a vocation was the perplexing question. Inclination and opportunity combined to open him the avenue in accord with his aptitude and one that would best qualify him for the lofty stations awaiting him. While abiding with his brother Augustine at Wakefield, he attended the nearby school of Oak Grove, kept by a Mr. Williams. George here discovered little taste for Latin, history or literature, but great fondness for mathematics. With youthful zest he accompanied his teacher when the latter surveyed some meadows on Bridge's creek. It was the realization of his predilection. Working out a mathematical problem, staking off the bounds of unmeasured land, tramping the woods in all their primeval splendor, offered a mingling of labor and delight that charmed the boy. He would be a surveyor. Moreover it was a gentleman's business, in great demand and incidentally a lucrative one.

Mr. Williams arranged that George be permitted to further inform himself by attending upon Mr. James Genn, the official surveyor of Westmoreland County. After some years' residence with Augustine at Wakefield, George took final leave of school and transferred his home to that of Lawrence at Mt. Vernon, when it was definitely to be decided what he should do for a life calling. He could easily have made his own choice, but he was only fifteen and the elder brother was the arbiter. The father-

in-law of Lawrence, William Fairfax, was cousin to and business agent of Thomas, Lord Fairfax of Fairfax County, and one of the largest land proprietors in the Virginia colony, his estates numbering a million five hundred thousand acres. His vast domain lay between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers and extended over the Blue Ridge mountains, comprising, among other lands, a great portion of the Shenandoah valley. At Mt. Vernon Lord Fairfax was a frequent and welcome guest, and there he came in contact with George Washington. A great friendship sprang up between the wealthy, scholarly, blase, bachelor lord of sixty and the young boy, just entering his teens and wrestling in his earnest, frank, enthusiastic way with the problems that confronted him on the threshold of life. Lord Fairfax approved the boy's selection of surveying as a profession. It was honorable and profitable. He could at once set up the apprentice in business in the opening of his lordship's vast lands. So choice and chance made George Washington a surveyor.

Through the influence of his benefactor, Lord Fairfax, George was made a Surveyor of the County of Culpeper and a little later William and Mary College gave him a surveyor's commission. It was in the spring of 1748 that the young surveyor with George Fairfax, James Genn, a pack horse and servants, entered upon his first important service. Through the melting snows and the swollen streams they wended their way through the Ashby's Gap in the Blue Ridge mountains into the Shenandoah valley, near where the river of that romantic and historic name joins the Potomac. What a magnificent scene met the enchanted gaze of the appreciative youthful surveyor—a grand panorama of delectable hills and expanding valley cleft with the winding river, and all clad in the white cloak of winter and overhung with the azure arch of heaven. It was Washington's introduction to the splendors of Nature. He describes in his diary, of that trip, the joy of outdoor life, the giant trees, the sweeping streams, camping in the wilds of the forest, sleeping in the open air on the ground with leaves for a bed and a bear skin for wrappings; shooting the wild game for food and his "agreeable surprise at ye sight of thirty Indians coming from war with only one scalp."

Small wonder the first and last love of Washington was the grandeur of Nature as portrayed in the rugged mountains and rushing streams of the untamed West.

On this journey he learned how the French were looking with jealous eyes to the western world and how a struggle "was on" between them and his country.



GEORGE WASHINGTON,
The surveyor.

Washington's words were brief but methodical, showing "that keen observation of Nature and men and daily incidents which he developed to such good purpose in after life." It was a rough and tumble life, but a priceless preparatory school for the future hero of Valley Forge and Yorktown. He states in his first journal that he was to survey certain lands for the Ohio Company, but there was no word that he really did so. For several years the industrious surveyor pursued his profession, mostly in the employ of Lord Fairfax. In 1751 he accompanied Law-

rence to the Barbadoes whither the elder brother went in search of health. But the voyage was unavailing, and returning to Mt. Vernon, Lawrence there died in July, 1752. It was the same year that George was summoned to Williamsburg, the seat of the Virginia government, and by Governor Robert Dinwiddie appointed Adjutant General of the Northern Division of the Virginia Militia, with the rank of major, on pay of one hundred and fifty pounds a year. He was thus preferred over many older candidates because of his sobriety, faithfulness and the proven evidence that he carried an old head on young shoulders. In appearance he easily passed for thirty, though he was but nineteen. Governor Dinwiddie told the young major of his interest in the

Ohio Company and the coming struggle between France and England for the Ohio valley. The chain of forts established by the French from Lake Erie to the Ohio must be broken in twain. Virginia must send an envoy to present the claims of the Colonies to the Ohio valley and to warn the French that further advances by them would be met by force of arms.

WASHINGTON A DIPLOMAT.

The youthful Major Washington was chosen as that envoy by Governor Dinwiddie on the advice of Lord Fairfax, who said, "Here is the very man for you; young, daring and adventurous, but yet sober-minded and responsible, who only lacks opportunity to show the stuff that is in him." The first diplomatic errand of Washington was to champion the cause of England against the pretensions of France. In October, 1753, accompanied by Christopher Gist, as guide and Van Braam as French interpreter and one Davidson as Indian interpreter, for the Indian was the third and intervening party to be reckoned with in this conflict, Washington set forth from Wills creek (Cumberland, Md.). They passed the forks of the Ohio, where Washington had advised the erection of a fort, and arrived at Logstown, being there received by Tanacharisson, the Indian chief known as the Half King, because of his semi-sway over several tribes, and who was predisposed toward the English. The Half King, White Thunder, Guyasutha and two or more other chiefs, joined Washington's party, and thence this singular embassy of savages and Saxons proceeded seventy miles north to Venango on the Allegheny, where Washington beheld "with anger and shame" the flag of France flying over the fort. Here the party met Captain Joncaire, half Indian and half French, bitter enemy of the English, who dined and wined the English embassy after the frontier fashion, and sent it on to Fort Boeuf on French creek, where was stationed Legardeur St. Pierre, the French representative envoy in this unique international negotiation.

There was much diplomatic sparring, lasting several days. The clever, wily and talkative St. Pierre persisted in the claims of France; the temperate and cool-headed Washington presented the message of Dinwiddie, protesting against the intrusion of

French forces into the Ohio valley, "so notoriously known to be the property of the crown of Great Britain." St. Pierre was generous with French hospitality, and there was unstinted "flow of soul," while the Indian delegation was purposely plied with "heap" fire water to persuade them to France. Strange and unique incident in the wild forest of America — the dispute between the Romance race and the Saxon stock for the title to a new and almost unknown world, while the savage child of the forest, the original and only rightful possessor of the land in controversy was buffeted to and fro as were he a mere football in the game!

Through the cold of the midwinter, beset by frozen streams, treacherous Indians and many perilous dangers, Washington and Gist returned to Williamsburg. The answer of St. Pierre was unyielding. But Washington had courageously and sagaciously performed his duty, and while "the elder French officers were rather amused that a boy should be sent on an errand that might bring about a war," his report was printed and read not only in the American colonies but throughout England. He was the hero of the hour. The unflinching old Scotch Dinwiddie was through with Indian spears and French speeches. The Virginia House of Burgesses was summoned, a militia force called for and Washington made a lieutenant colonel, with command of three hundred men, with order to march to the forks of the Ohio, whither the fiery Governor, anticipating the action of the colony, had already sent Captain Trent to erect a fort. While Washington was getting his troops recruited and started from Wills creek, Trent's soldiers began their task of building a fort, when suddenly a large fleet of canoes and batteaux, carrying several hundred French and Indians under command of De Contrecoeur, swooped down the Allegheny and appeared before the astonished Virginian fort-builders. The English, a mere handful in comparison with the enemy, fled precipitously, and, though they had been first on the ground, the French seized the coveted spot, enlarged and completed the fort and called it Duquesne.

WASHINGTON A SOLDIER.

It was in April, 1754. Trent's retreating soldiers joined Washington's force, "a half shod, half dressed, vagabond crew, but mostly hunters and good shots," which trudged over the old Indian trail, Nemaocolin's Path, thereafter known as Washington's Road, toward the juncture of Redstone creek and the Monongahela, where the Ohio Company had built a storehouse. Washington had to make haste slowly, as he must build bridges, corduroy the swamps and cut wider the narrow forest thoroughfare. Nearing the Youghiogheny River, he was informed a French force was advancing to meet him. Picking out broad open space, free of large trees, "a charming place for an encounter," he erected a crude stockade and called it Fort Necessity. He pushed on with a half hundred soldiers to meet an almost similar number of French and Indians under De Jumonville. The encounter was a backwoods, semi-savage skirmish, but notable because the first bloody conflict between the two hostile nations and the first battle for Washington. It was his "baptism of fire," in which for the first time the future hero of two long-drawn wars heard the enemy's bullets whizz around him and felt that strange exhilaration of danger and excitement engendered in the clash of arms and din of battle. The surveyor boy had been transformed into a soldier. His little army won the fight, De Jumonville was killed, with ten others, and many of his force were made prisoners. Washington returned to Fort Necessity, where a week later he was attacked by De Villiers, half brother of De Jumonville, with a mixed band of French and Indians from Fort Duquesne. The assailants were too many for the Virginia rangers, and at midnight, amid a pouring rain that put out all lights, save one candle that flickered and sputtered as it tried to dispel the dark, Washington signed terms of capitulation and the next morning, July 4—memorable date in later times—the victor of a few days before marched out of the little fort, with drums beating and colors flying, an honor that the doughty Washington had snatched from the disgrace of defeat. It was his first and last experience of the humiliation of a capitulation, though he was soon again to taste of defeat.

England now took the war in dead earnest. No more back-wood squabbles and Indian bushwhackings! His Majesty King George would send a few chosen battalions to America and clean up this affair without further child'splay. And so General Edward Braddock arrived with two picked regiments. He possessed the experience and training of forty-five years in the wars of Europe. He was a jolly, roystering vivant, noted as a soldier for his courage and discipline. He was egotistical and conceited to the British limit and started with his choice troops from Alexandria for Fort Duquesne. He boasted it would be an amusing occupation for a few days to dislodge the French from the Forks and put an end to their absurd claims. He scoffed at proffered assistance from the Virginia militia or its officers, but condescendingly invited Washington to accompany him, more as a companion than otherwise, but with the rank of captain and nominal member of his staff. With his thousand Irish veterans and an equal number of colonial militia, Braddock advanced through the ravines and wooded hills along the route of Washington's road toward Fort Duquesne. That march and its terrible sequel is more than a thrice told tale. The confident, and braggadocio Braddock, "a stranger both to fear and common sense," haughtily spurned all advice from Washington—how could an American backwoods boy instruct a veteran of sixty, with the experience of two score years in the campaigns of Europe? Braddock approached within a few miles of the fort, and then stupidly stalked into the ambushade too well laid by the Indians and Canadians under the French commander, De Beanjeu. Suddenly yells and war-whoops resounded on every side, terrific sounds never before heard by his majesty's soldiers, while a deadly fire poured into the British platoons, drawn up "spic and span" as if in holiday dress parade. They could not return the attack, for the enemy were partly secreted behind trees and skulking amid the weeds and brush. The British soldiers huddled together like frightened sheep, were panic-stricken and powerless and broke in wild rout. They were mowed down like grass before the scythe. Braddock was mortally wounded, and, dying in the precipitate retreat, was buried by Washington beneath the middle of the road, that the trampling feet and roll-

ing wheels might conceal the grave of the rash and disgraced general. Washington had two horses shot under him and four bullets passed through his clothing. The Indian chief, Guyasatha, subsequently testified that with deliberate aim he fired time and again at the Virginia officer, but could not hit him; he "bore a charmed life."

Such was the result of that hot July day, 1755. England was astounded, the colonies were paralyzed. It was not till three years later, in the fall of 1758, that Fort Duquesne was captured by the expedition, several thousand strong, under General John Forbes, "an able man, honest, brave, and without ostentation," and so inflexible in purpose that he was nicknamed the "Head of Iron." One division of his army was under the command of Colonel Washington, who was foremost in the advance upon the French stronghold and who, in the dusk of a November evening, amid a sweeping snow storm, marched into the blackened debris of Fort Duquesne, which had been blown up, burned and deserted the day before. The commanding gateway to the Ohio valley was at last the trophy of the triumphant British regulars and colonial militia. The French chain of forts had been severed forever. From the ashes of the French a new British citadel arose, to be known thereafter as Fort Pitt. It was the closing scene, on the western frontier, of the French and Indian War, which terminated a year later (1759) on the memorable heights of Abraham, before the battle-battered walls of Quebec, in the tragic and dramatic defeat of the intrepid Montcalm by the invincible Wolfe, who, as he entered the siege, presaged his victorious death upon the field by repeating the lines of Gray,

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Canada, the Ohio valley, the Mississippi basin, the American empire, passed forever to the possession and domination of the Saxon.

WASHINGTON ON THE OHIO.

Washington had passed his apprenticeship in the art of warfare, and he had learned his lessons, it is to be noted, west of the Alleghanies. And, now that "grim visaged war had smoothed

his wrinkled front," our hero, emerging from the strife renowned and honored, hastened from the smoking ruins of Fort Duquesne to yield to the smouldering flames of love. He was married to Mrs. Martha Custis, a youthful widow, "rich, fair and debonnair," and for many years quietly followed the pursuits of peace in his happy Mt. Vernon home, cultivating his ample acres and keenly watching the fates as they spun the threads that led to the great war that should exalt him to the heights of earthly fame. To the bitter disappointment of the colonists, whose sacrificing and loyal aid had enabled England to become the undisputed master of the unopened West, the stupid and selfish mother country proclaimed that the Ohio valley should be reserved for the Indian occupants and be closed to all colonial settlers. No one so clearly perceived as did Washington the folly of that policy and its inevitable fatal results. He knew the West, its limitless and invaluable resources, its requirement for the overflow of colonial immigration and the necessity of binding it by commercial intercourse with the New England settlements, lest, if isolated therefrom, it might become independent. His hopes foreshadowed the solidarity of the country into one indissoluble union. In the very year of the Treaty of Paris (1763), sealing the settlement between France and England, Washington organized the Mississippi Valley Company, for the purpose of locating and securing western lands. The articles of the association in the handwriting of Washington and signed by himself, John Augustine Washington and others, are now preserved in the Congressional Library.

The Company dispatched an agent to London to obtain the concessions desired, but the excluding policy of the mother country as proclaimed in the Quebec Act of that year (1763) rendered the efforts of the Company unavailing. Washington steadfastly maintained that the Ohio country was within the charter limits of Virginia, and therefore not within the effective operation of the Quebec Act exclusion. The position of Washington in this matter was both political and personal—no less public-spirited, we may be sure, because also self-interested. He was a western land-holder from the start. The invested interests of his brothers in the original Ohio Company opened the

subject to his study. In 1754, when Dinwiddie instigated the expedition for the seizure of the Forks of the Ohio, he offered as an inducement to volunteers bounty lands beyond the mountains. Washington, as chief officer of that campaign, became entitled to the largest allotment of such land claims, and in addition he purchased other claims assigned to officers and soldiers under him. He had the prophetic eye and the thrifty hand in business, as in politics. He foresaw the future development and rising value of the western domain no less than the portend of events toward dire differences with the mother government.

It was in the fall of 1770 that Washington made his memorable prospecting journey down the Ohio, an event slightly noticed, if not entirely ignored, by the chief historians, as it presents little relationship to his subsequent political or military career. That trip was significant as evidencing Washington's deep and continuing interest in the West and his realization that the lands on and beyond the Ohio were to be the Eldorado of the colonial emigration. The lands south of the Ohio were to be apportioned in satisfaction of the Virginia soldiers' claims issued by Dinwiddie. Land offices would soon be opened and locations selected. Moreover, just previous to this year (1770) a company formed in London and headed by Thomas Walpole, with associates both English and American, Benjamin Franklin and John Sargent being among the latter, petitioned the crown for a grant of a large portion of the vast country on the Ohio which had been ceded to the king by the Indian nations at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768). It was proposed to create out of this grant a new province or government west of Virginia.

The extent of the territory asked for, included southern Ohio as far west as the Scioto. This Walpole grant was conceded in 1772 and included and absorbed the grant previously made to the Ohio Company. The new province was to be called Vandavia, with the capital at the mouth of the Kanawha river. Before the scheme was perfected all proceedings were annulled by the American Revolution. Washington keenly watched the progress of this project, and it was in his mind when he undertook his observation tour on the Ohio. With a companion and two or three servants he reached Fort Pitt by horseback, stopping

on the way to view some six thousand acres located for him "near the Youghiogheny." After being entertained several days by Colonel George Croghan, then resident near Fort Pitt, the party embarked in a large canoe and were afloat upon the "Ohio, pearl of the Western forest sea."

WASHINGTON IN OHIO.

Washington's diary of the trip is fraught with interesting comment and description concerning the scenery, character of land, fertility of soil, Indian habitations and their disposition towards the whites. Frequent stops and encampments were made on both sides of the river, those on the Ohio side especially eliciting our attention. "We came to the Mingo Town, situated on the west side of the river, a little above the cross creeks. This place contains about twenty cabins and seventy inhabitants of the Six Nations." Was it the first time Washington stood upon the soil of the Buckeye State—

Ohio, first born of the great Northwest,
Nursed to thy statehood at the nation's breast.

the state that later was to give the Nation by birth or residence six successors to the office he was first to fill? Captina Creek, memorable later in the annals of Chief Logan, he describes as "a pretty large creek on the west side, called by Nicholson (his guide and interpreter) Fox-Grape-Vine, by others Captina creek, on which, eight miles up, is the town called Grape-Vine Town." On the opposite side, in Virginia, Washington, ten years later, owned "a small tract called Round Bottom, containing about six hundred acres." Other Ohio landings were made, notably at the mouth of the Muskingum, which river, he says, "is about one hundred and fifty yards wide at the mouth; it runs out in a gentle current and clear streams and is navigable a great way into the country for canoes."

Again, "We came to a small creek on the west side, which the Indians called Little Hocking." The terminus of the trip was the juncture of the Great Kanawha, about the mouth of which Washington became possessed of a ten thousand acre tract and

which in 1773 he advertised for sale or lease, suggesting among other advantages of its location, "the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio" and contiguity of these lands "to the seat of government, which, it is more than probable, will be fixed at the mouth of the Great Kanawha." On the return up the river when the party reached the Ohio Bend, Washington sent the canoe and baggage around by water, while he and Captain Crawford, as Washington says in his diary, "walked across the neck on foot, the distance, according to our walking, about eight miles." This walk was across Letart township, Meigs county. They entered the canoe again and continued on to Mingo Bottom, now in Jefferson county, two and a half miles below Steubenville, where they remained three days.

Washington advocated a plan to connect by canal the James and Great Kanawha rivers, separated at their sources by a portage of but a few miles, as he also urged the connection by artificial watercourses of the Potomac and Monongahela.

This Ohio voyage occupied some two months, giving the prospector a thorough and practical knowledge of the Ohio river and adjacent lands. Eventually Washington became the possessor of some thirty thousand acres on or closely contiguous to the Ohio, three thousand of which were on the Little Miami within the present bounds of Ohio. This holding he describes in an advertisement to sell, published in the *Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, February 20, 1796, viz., "On the Little Miami, upper side, within a mile of the Ohio, 830 acres; about seven miles up to said Miami, 977 acres, and ten miles from the mouth thereof, 1,235 acres. Total on the Little Miami, 3,042 acres." These lots he further states "are near to if not adjoining (the river only separating them) the grant made to Judge Syms (Symmes) and others, between the two Miamis; and being in the neighborhood of Cincinnati and Fort Washington, cannot, from their situation (if the quality of the soil is correctly stated) be otherwise than valuable." The Miami property is enumerated in his will, which designates some fifty thousand acres in the western country, aggregating a valuation, at that time, of nearly half a million dollars.

Washington's knowledge of and interest in the Ohio country

was surpassed by no contemporary. His real estate possessions presented a water front of sixteen miles on the Ohio river. It was from their commander that the veteran Revolutionists learned definite knowledge of the beauty and richness of the west, and through his "booming" of that section, was it, that thousands sought homes in the new empire beyond the Alleghanies; and at times he seriously contemplated removing his home to his lands washed by the waters of the beautiful river. In the dark hours during the "storm and stress" of the struggle for independence, the dauntless General kept in mind the vast domain of the West and looked to it as a safe refuge for the colonists, to which they might retreat and where, protected by the natural barriers of lake, river and mountain, they could set up their republic, if the armies of the king should drive the American rebels beyond the Alleghanies.

But the rebels drove the enemy into the sea, and hardly had the terms of peace been heralded before the victorious leader brought before the authorities of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania the schemes of interior navigation and his life-long projects of uniting the James and Kanawha rivers and the Potomac and Monongahela and the southern and northern rivers of Ohio, by which artificial arteries of commerce and transportation the lakes and the Ohio and the latter and the Atlantic would be indissolubly welded.

In 1784, Washington again traversed the land between the proposed canals, and the year following the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland authorized the formation of a company for the consummation of these practical and patriotic plans. The organization was called the Potomac Company and Washington was made its president. It began work, when it was overshadowed by the national enactments of the Ordinance of 1787, creating the Northwest Territory, the formation of the new confederated government and the Ohio Company settled at Marietta. Washington's knowledge, at first hand, of the Ohio country served him and his infant republic beyond estimation. No one could have more intelligently or sympathetically directed the expeditions of Scott, Wilkinson, Harmer, St. Clair and Wayne. The boundary lines of Ohio, first carved from the Northwest, as

finally determined, were practically in accord with the ideas of the first president, who was the Father of his Country, but in no less sense the prophet of the coming kingdom of the West and the forerunner of the settlement and development of the Ohio Valley.



PROLIFIC OHIO.

LUCIEN SEYMOUR.

[The following poem was recited by the author at the unveiling of the Perry's Victory Monument, at Hotel Victory, Put-in-Bay, Ohio, July 8, 1907.]

The sun never shone on a country more fair
Than beautiful, peerless Ohio.
There's life in a kiss of her rarified air,
Ohio, prolific Ohio.
Her sons are valiant and noble and bright,
Her beautiful daughters are just about right,
And her babies, God bless them, are clear out of sight—
That crop never fails in Ohio.

Our homes are alight with a halo of love,
Ohio, contented Ohio;
We bask in the smiles of the heavens above
No clouds ever darken Ohio.
Our grain waves its billows of gold in the sun,
The fruits of our orchards are equaled by none,
And our pumpkins, some of them, weigh almost a ton—
We challenge the world in Ohio!

Our girls are sweet models of maidenly grace,
In this modern Eden, Ohio.
They are perfect in figure and lovely in face,
That's just what they are in Ohio.
Their smiles are bewitching and winning and sweet,
Their dresses are stylish, yet modest and neat,
A Trilby would envy their cute little feet,
In beautiful, peerless Ohio.

When the burdens of life I am called to lay down,
I hope I may die in Ohio.
I never could ask a more glorious crown
Than one of the sod of Ohio.
And when the last trump wakes the land and the sea,
And the tombs of the earth set their prisoners free,
You may all go aloft, if you choose, but for me,
I think I'll just stay in Ohio.

A BUCKEYE HOME COMING.

THOMAS M. EARL.

[This poem was written to be sung at the Home Coming of the Buckeyes at Columbus Ohio, September 2-6, 1907.]

My native state, Ohio
Once more thy sward I tread,
Once more my eyes behold thy skies
Of azure overspread.
I breathe again thy buoyant air
I taste thy waters cool,
And feel the joy of growing boy
By the old swimming pool.

I've wandered in the Westlands,
And East I've chanced to roam,
But never yet could ere forget
Ohio as my home.
I loved its meadows, peaceful streams,
The vine-clad cottage low
Where first the light broke on my sight
In time so long ago.

With clasp again of friendly hands,
And heart-to-heart commune,
Dull cares take wing while memories bring
Aback life's time of June,
When golden goals rose fair to view
And high hopes burned sublime,
When Love was young, and all unsung
The vicissitudes of time.

Who would not be a Buckeye
And proud with Buckeye stand
To own the great Ohio state,
The fairest in the land?
Come, raise a carol to her praise,
The grand old chorus swell:—
Our prayer shall be, fair state with thee
Heaven's peace may ever dwell.

THE BUCKEYE PIONEERS.

OSMAN C. HOOPER.

[This poem was written for the Franklin Centennial, held at Columbus, Ohio, September 15, 1897.]

Fair Buckeyeland! we sing your praise
 And bare our head to them
 Who lived and wrought in other days
 And framed your diadem!
 Their handiwork none can forget;
 The jewels of the years
 Would in your crown be still unset,
 But for the pioneers.

CHORUS.

Then a song for the pioneers!
 The praise of a hundred years
 For the women true
 And the brave men who
 Were the pioneers!

They blazed their way through forests deep,
 A hundred years ago,
 And, in the trusty rifle's keep,
 They braved a wily foe.
 They felled the monarchs of the wood,
 They tilled the fertile plain;
 Kind Heaven saw and called it good
 And made earth laugh with grain.
 With latchstring out, the cabin door
 Gave greeting unto friend;
 To live was good, but it was more
 To succor or defend.
 And here, in every breast there beat
 A heart to country true,
 Which clad with strength the hurrying feet
 When this old flag was new.
 Undaunted then by any foe,
 If red in coat or face;
 Unconquered still, their spirits grow
 And give us of their grace.
 And here, where toiled the pioneer,
 There rises now elate,
 The glory of a hundred years,
 The beauties

EDITORIALANA.

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E. O. Randall

OCTOBER, 1907.

RICHLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The ninth annual meeting of the Richland County Historical Society was held in Mansfield, Wednesday, June 26, 1907. Preliminary to the business session, a procession was formed in front of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial building and marched to the court house lawn, where a short patriotic service was held at the Block-house, from the flag staff of which a beautiful flag floated gracefully in the breeze.

The meeting was called to order by Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, president of the Historical society, and prayer was offered by the Rev. J. Crawford, a kinsman of the lamented Colonel Crawford. Deputy Sheriff Sheridan Carroll sang the "Star Spangled Banner," the audience joining in the chorus. Col. H. R. McCalmont recited James Whitcomb Riley's apostrophe to "Old Glory." Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, wife of Gen. I. R. Sherwood, was present and was introduced to the audience. She made a few remarks which were well received. Photographic views were taken of the assemblage. A squad of soldiers from Company M of the Eighth regiment was present and fired a three-volley salute in honor of the American flag. After which the company dispersed and returned to the Memorial building. The march to and from the Block-house was led by Barney Pulver's drum corps, and the parade was in charge of A. J. Baughman, secretary of the Historical society. The members of the G. A. R. were out in full force. A large number of citizens were also in the parade. Speakers and other guests of honor were in carriages. Following the Block-house exercises, the regular meeting of the historical society was held in the G. A. R. rooms, Memorial building, General R. Brinkerhoff, presiding.

General Brinkerhoff said in his address of welcome:

"To-day we hold the ninth annual meeting of The Richland County Historical Society, and it is again my pleasant duty as its president to extend a cordial welcome to all who have honored us with their presence.

"This society, as has been heretofore stated, is not a pioneer association for the very good reason that the pioneers of this country have all passed away. Of course we are glad to receive and preserve any new information in regard to the pioneers, together with all later and current events, which is our main business.

"During the past year our efforts, in the main, have been given to preparation for celebrating the Centennial Anniversary of the founding of the city of Mansfield, which occurred in the month of June, 1808, and a whole week will be given to this celebration in June, 1908. In order to make the necessary arrangements for this anniversary, it will be remembered, a centennial commission was appointed at our last annual meeting, with ex-Mayor Huntington Brown as its president, and A. J. Baughman as its secretary. Much has already been accomplished by this commission. As a preparation for this centennial the old Block-house which we have just visited, was erected on the court house grounds, and



BLOCKHOUSE AT MANSFIELD.

as a relic of pioneer days this Block-house is certainly very impressive and instructive. The history of this Block-house, together with various other historic matters of interest, has recently been published by our society in an illustrated pamphlet of seventy-two pages, entitled, 'The Centennial Souvenir.'

"We have also arranged for re-opening of the museum in the third story of this building, in which are many historic relics belonging to our society. Curator Wilkinson, who has it in charge, will answer any questions in regard to it. There is no other city in Ohio, or elsewhere, so far as I know, of the size of Mansfield that has a museum of equal interest or value.

"One of the things greatly needed by the Historical Society is an increase of members. In a county as large as Richland, we ought to have several hundred as they have in the Western Reserve Historical Society. Certainly we ought to have at least one hundred, which would enable us to print and furnish to each member a full report of our annual proceedings."

Mr. George F. Bareis, of Canal Winchester, vice-president of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, was present and was introduced to the meeting. He gave a pleasant and interesting talk. Dr. A. Sheldon, secretary of the Firelands Historical Society, was present and gave a short talk. The Hon. W. S. Cappeller spoke with good effect, and the Hon. M. B. Bushnell, Peter Bissman and others gave short, interesting talks concerning the coming Centennial, dwelling upon the fact that Mansfield was founded on June 11, 1808, and that next year the people of that city would properly celebrate its centennial anniversary. Mr. A. J. Baughman, secretary of the Centennial Commission, gave a short resume of the work already accomplished by the commission and what it expects to further achieve in the future. Miss Irene Carroll, a relation of the late Phil. Sheridan, sang a number of patriotic songs, which were well received by the audience.

In the evening a meeting was held in the Opera house, which meeting was presided over by General Brinkerhoff. A pleasant feature of this meeting was the singing of the Vesper choir, led by Mrs. Florence Blumenschein-Rowe. The latter also sang a delightful solo.

The main address of the evening was delivered by Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, of Toledo, her subject being "The Women of Ohio." We regret we cannot present in full the splendid address of Mrs. Sherwood, a gifted author and one of the best known women in Ohio.

Mrs. Sherwood said Ohio women covered three periods, the pioneer period, the Civil War period, and the period of organization. She traced the history of women from the earliest period down to the present time. She told of the great sacrifices of the women at the time of the Revolutionary war, of their heroism and those of the pioneers of the state and country. She told of the important part played by the women in the history of the state and nation.

Mrs. Sherwood said that whole volumes could be written of sacrifices and heroism, and declared that no great man had ever existed who did not have a great mother.

The audience was told the mothers of early days knew the secrets of nature, that they traveled great distances to help one another in sickness and distress; that they taught their children to be honest, unselfish and patriotic.

In speaking of the Civil War period, Mrs. Sherwood spoke of the achievements of Ohio women and of the important part they took in work on the field of battle in nursing and caring for the sick and furnish-

ing food and supplies. She quoted the words of President Lincoln that without the women of the north the union could not have preserved.

The speaker dwelt at some length on the honors that Ohio women had won in various pursuits and callings, that over one hundred of them had been given medals for their part in great achievements. She gave a number of important actions benefiting womankind in which the initiative was taken by Ohio women.

Mrs. Sherwood spoke of the suffrage movement for women and said there was a class of men who were afraid to give women the right of suffrage because they were afraid that they would get the offices. In speaking of the suffrage movement she said the finest country in the world was getting to be a back number as far as women was concerned. She told of the rights that women had in voting, notably in Finland.

Mrs. Sherwood advocated organizations of women in the towns, villages and state, for the benefit of women. She impressed upon them the necessity of taking an active part in the work of uplifting mankind.

"We must answer the question, 'Am I my Brother's Keeper?' There is only one answer for the women of Ohio, and that is 'Yes, I am my brother's keeper.'"

Mrs. Sherwood's address was listened to with much interest and she was frequently interrupted with applause.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY ELROY M. AVERY — VOL. III.

The Jamestown Episode.

The Jamestown Exposition now in progress located in Princess Anne County, Virginia, at the mouth of the James River, while not drawing the crowds of visitors that were expected and that its merits deserve is certainly attracting the attention of historical readers and students throughout the country, and reviving among them the accounts of the memorable events connected with the establishment of the first permanent Anglo-Saxon settlement on this continent. Though the Exposition commemorating the event, for reasons of accessibility is situated as above noted, the scene of the actual historical occurrence is at Jamestown Island some thirty miles up the James River.

The Norseman had invaded New England several centuries before, and the Spaniards had explored the territory all along the Gulf. There had been vain attempts at English colonization. Sir Walter Raleigh's "lost colony of Roanoke" had been started and had disappeared from the shores of North Carolina, when on May 13 (old style), 1607, the three little ships, the "Susan Constant," the "Goodspeed" and the "Discovery" landed on the little island called James Towne—from the

settlement then and there inaugurated. The island is two and a half miles long and about a half mile wide. A recent survey gives the area as 1,600 acres. It is separated from the mainland, on the north side of the river, by a swamp and narrow stream, now crossed by a wooden bridge. For more than a century, indeed since the American Revolution, the island with its sacred associations and history, lay abandoned and neglected. It was finally purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Barney of Dayton, Ohio, who at once took measures for its safety. It was Ohio, daughter of Virginia, that came to the rescue of the neglected birthplace of her historic mother. Mr. and Mrs. Barney spared no pains in clearing the island from underbrush and debris and in protecting the ruins of the old church tower and the remaining entrenchments. In 1893 Mrs. Barney presented twenty-two acres, including the church-ward and ruins

to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Under the auspices of this association the tower was restored and the church, as formerly thereto attached, rebuilt. A few years ago Congress made an appropriation for the building of a sea wall to protect the island from being further damaged by the continued washing of the James River. That wall has been faithfully constructed and Jamestown Island will no longer suffer from the "Tooth of time and the rasure of oblivion.



ELROY M. AVERY.

This much by way of prelude, suggested by the recent visit of the Editor of the QUARTELY to the site of this "Cradle of the Republic." It is the companion site to Plymouth, first scene of the landing of the

Pilgrims and whatever else may be said in comparing the two diverse settlements, Jamestown takes priority in time and in "thrillingness" of history. The story of this settlement is told in concise but most delightful detail by Mr. Avery in the second volume of his history of the United States, which volume treats of the period of American colonization. This volume we reviewed in a previous number of the QUARTERLY. But Mr. Avery's account we read again with renewed interest after visiting the scene of his recital. "The little fleet carried forty or fifty sailors and 'six score' male emigrants including fifty-two gentlemen—and a barber. A gentleman of that time was unused to manual labor. 'I tell thee,' says Seagull in *Eastward Ho!* an oft-quoted comedy written in 1605, 'golde is more plentiful there than copper is with us; and as far as much redde copper as I can bring I'll have thrice the weight in golde. Why, man, all * * * * the chaines with which they chaine up their streets are

massive golde; and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth in Holydayes and gather them by the seashore.' And so to give full roundness to the picture, he promises, 'no more law than conscience and not too much of eyther.' Christopher Newport was commander of the fleet; with him were Bartholomew Gosnold, who had sailed to and from Cuttyhunk, and Captain John Smith, an indomitable adventurer, who had set up a dubious claim to glory won in the wars against the Turks." After describing the entering into the Chesapeake Bay, the touching at "good Comfort" — Old Point — Mr. Avery describes their going up the river as far as the mouth of the Appomattox and returning till towards the end of the fortnight the ships came to the chosen place "where our ships do lie so near the shore that they are moored to the trees in six fathom of water.' The next day, 'we landed all our men which were set to work about the fortifications, and others some to watch and ward, as it was convenient.' In honor of the king, this first firm settlement of Raleigh's 'Englishe nation' was named James Towne. The site chosen was a little more than thirty miles from the mouth of the river and on a low peninsula that was then connected with the mainland by a narrow neck that constituted an isthmus only at ordinary tides. The site was unhealthful, the selection was unfortunate. As this isthmus was submerged when the tide was above its normal level, most of the early references to the locality speak of it as an island. For instance, early in 1609, Captain John Smith 'built a Blockhouse in the neck of our Islet,' as a protection against the Indians. What appears to be traces of the isthmus are still found one or two feet below low tide. Owing to the long-continued encroachments of the river, part of the original town is now under water." The fortunes of the colony are graphically recited by Mr. Avery, we refer the reader to his chapter in the volume named (2) under the title "Virginia under the Charter." In his third volume, recently issued and now before us, Mr. Avery continues the story of this settlement in chapter two under the heading "Virginia — Bacon's Rebellion." Few events in early American history are more dramatic or more fraught with significant Americanism than this same Bacon's Rebellion. The longest rule of one man in our colonial history was that of Sir William Berkeley, who became royal governor of Virginia in 1642 and continued to hold the office till 1677, with the exception of a few years under the Cromwellian commonwealth (1653-1660). This appointee of the gay Charles I. over the destinies of the Jamestown settlement was, says Mr. Avery, "a courtly, well bred, merciless zealot, who 'believed in monarchy as a devotee believes in his saint,' and had the courage of his convictions." Berkeley carried his authority with a high hand. He was a Royalist to the core, greedy, grasping and a grafter of the most pronounced type. Mr. Avery says: "For thirty years, the Virginia Indians had been peaceful and the beaver trade had been profitable. About this time, the Iroquois drove the Susquehannas southward along both sides of the Potomac. Disputes and

depredations followed, and, in the summer of 1675, the Virginia and Maryland militia pursued and punished 'the heathen.' A score or more of the Indians were killed, some of them in disregard of a flag of truce, and others escaped to the mountains. One night in January, 1676, nearly twoscore whites were murdered in the upper settlements. Lieutenant-governor Chicheley prepared to take the field with a force of five hundred men. At the moment of his departure, the force was disbanded by the governor. Berkley's action was unaccountable to the people except on the ground of self-interest, for he held the profitable monopoly of the Indian traffic. In his account of the troubles in Virginia, Nathaniel Bacon says that the governor 'granted licenses to others to trade wth ym for wch hee had every 3rd skinne.' The exasperated populace declared that if the governor would not defend them they would defend themselves.

"While the King Philip war was raging in New England, the Susquehannas and their allies were doing bloody work along the Rappahannock and the James.. In seventeen days, one parish was reduced from seventy-one plantations to eleven. In March, 1676, the Virginian assembly met; it 'was the old and rotten one chosen fourteen years before,' and it continued to do 'what the governor desired and what the people detested.' The settlers vainly begged the governor to appoint a commander to lead them against the foe. When they heard that a large body of Indians was within fifty miles of the plantations, the citizens of Charles City County beat their drums for volunteers. Here is a cause; this is the time; *where is the leader?*

"Nathaniel Bacon had been nursed in the fierce strifes of the Cromwellian era. His address was pleasing and his speech was eloquent. At the age of about twenty-six, he came with wealth of worldly goods to make Virginia his home. He had an estate at Curles, just below the old city of Henricus, and another at Bacon Quarter Branch, a small stream within the suburbs of the present city of Richmond. In spite of his youth and recent coming, he was soon honored with a seat in the colonial council, of which his second cousin, Nathaniel Bacon the elder, had long been a member. Although he had never seen a hostile Indian, the younger Bacon's neighbors sought for him a commission to lead them against the Indians but no commission came. In the spring of 1676, when Bacon had been in Virginia less than three years, the Indians killed three servants of his neighbor, Captain Byrd, one of his own servants, and the overseer of his upper estate. Bacon swore vengeance for the murders and resolved to march against the Indians with or without a commission.

"As a leader, Bacon was distinctively of the frontier type—passionate, forceful, wilful—the avant-courier of Sevier, Robertson, and Jackson. He was now persuaded, perhaps easily, to cross the James River to see the volunteers assembled on the other side. As he came near, they, after the old English fashion, set up a sudden shout, 'A Bacon, a Bacon!' Elected thus by acclamation, he consented to lead in the defense.

of threatened homes and in the recovery of lost liberties. The three hundred volunteers wrote their names in a round-robin and took an oath to stick fast to one another and to him. They sent once more to Berkeley for a commission and gave notice that if it did not come by a special day they would march without it. The day but no final commission came. Bacon was as good as his word and the expedition moved. He was at once proclaimed a rebel, a price was set upon his head, and they who followed him were put under ban."

We wish space might permit the quoting in full of Mr. Avery's account of the Bacon Rebellion. In defiance of Berkeley's orders Bacon marched against the Indians, inflicting on them a stinging defeat. Berkeley, greatly incensed at the insolent insubordination of this young rebel, started after him with a troop of horse; but scarcely had he left Jamestown when he learned that the colonists had risen against him. Hastening back, he found that he must do something to regain his authority and so dissolved the long colonial assembly which had been his abject tool and ordered a new election. This was duly held and Bacon was elected to the new house of Burgesses. He was its controlling spirit and this assembly passed a series of reform acts known as "Bacon's Laws." The old governor, desperate over the state of affairs, dissolved the assembly and proclaimed Bacon a traitor, while the latter was at the head of another expedition against the Indians. Bacon, after attending to the red skins, marched at the head of several hundred followers upon Jamestown and burned it to the ground. He had become the chosen champion of the people's rights when death, resulting from the terrible fever so prevalent on the island, conquered him. Thus passed from the stage of action the first rebel in American annals. He was a most picturesque and potent character. The vindictive and merciless Berkeley wreaked his vengeance on the leaderless followers of Bacon, until he had hanged more than a score. Not even the King could stand for Berkeley's cruel stupidity. "The old fool has taken more lives in that naked country than I have taken for the murder of my father," said the second Charles. Berkeley was recalled (1677) to England. He was broken hearted and disgraced and "died soon after without having seen his majesty; which shuts up this tragedy." We have dwelt upon the Jamestown colony in connection with Mr. Avery's history because it is the subject of the hour and the completeness, in his elegant style and accurate adherence to the facts, of this episode illustrate the character of Mr. Avery's History of the United States. This third volume, as Mr. Avery says in his preference, "is devoted to the period between the active colonization and the final struggle for the conquest of New France. As a whole, the period herein treated, 'the neglected period of American history;' lacks the dramatic characteristics of the years that went before and of those that come after." Perhaps as to the actual current of events in the period described, that may be so, but Mr. Avery's delightful diction, careful choice of the

salient features and constructive powers in logically linking events with one another, carries the reader through this volume and its period without permitting his interest to flag or his enjoyment to diminish. The numerous and beautiful illustrations, and the plentiful accompaniment of maps and charts greatly add to the pleasure and profit derived therefrom by the reader. We still pronounce it the most complete, reliable and readable history of our country yet produced. This history is to consist of fifteen volumes and is published by the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio. The publishers will forward circulars and prospectus to any address sent them.

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