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Old Fort Industry and the Conflicting Historical Accounts

By WALTER J. SHERMAN

Upon the south wall of an old brick mercantile building, at the northeast corner of Monroe and Summit Streets, Toledo, hangs a faded inscription reading as follows, viz.: "This building stands on the site of Fort Industry, a stockade erected by General Anthony Wayne, in the year 1794, as a safeguard against the British, who then held Fort Miami. It was garrisoned by a company of United States troops, under the command of Captain J. Rhea, who held it until after the evacuation of all the British Posts in the northwest in the year 1796, an Act which was brought about by the operations of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain. In July, 1805, the treaty was negotiated at Fort Industry by which was extinguished the Indian title to all the western part of the reserve known as the Fire Lands, a tract of about 500,000 acres, granted by the State of Connecticut to the sufferers by fire from the British troops in the incursions into that state during the War of the Revolution. Evidences of the Fort were not entirely obliterated as late as 1836. A bluff 20 feet high was leveled and Fort Industry Block erected 1842-1843 by Richard Mott."

This brief and tersely expressed account of the time and occasion for the building, occupancy and abandonment of Fort Industry and its final disappearance should and ordinarily would satisfy students of local history who seek only the essential facts concerning this, at one time, rather important frontier post. However, a review of the numerous authorities who have referred to Fort Industry by name or location, discloses the fact that the above inscription does not in several respects harmonize with their accounts, nor are the writers in accord among themselves. Because of these conflicting accounts, and with the object of clarifying the history of Fort Industry as much as pos-

sible, the writer, during leisure moments of recent years, has undertaken to assemble in convenient form for reference, all the information obtainable from available authorities and to deduct therefrom a plausible narration of facts concerning this early post. The result of these researches and the conclusions reached will follow.

Before proceeding farther, and on the assumption that this post may have been established at a much earlier date than that given in the Richard Mott inscription (1794), it may be profitable to recall a few of the most important events in the history of the lower lake region and the valley of the St. Lawrence.

HISTORICAL NOTES

In 1535, Jacques Cartier, a French navigator, entered the St. Lawrence River and took nominal possession of North America, in the name of his King, Francis I.

In 1623, De Champlain built Fort St. Louis, at Quebec, and from this strong fortification, for a period of 140 years, France ruled a vast region, including the Great Lakes, and the Valley of the St. Lawrence and later that of the Mississippi River. During this period the Recollet and Jesuit missionaries traversed the country in all directions and became the pioneers of civilization in the Far West.

In 1679, LaSalle in the *Griffin* sailed the waters of Lake Erie, bearing a Royal Commission to establish a line of forts along the Great Lakes and to hold for France this rich domain, which Frenchmen had discovered. He looked forward to a chain of forts and trading posts, stretching from Quebec along the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi to its mouth.

In 1701, the site of Detroit was permanently settled by French colonists under De la Motte Cadillac and Fort Pontchartrain was built as a defense against the Indians.

In 1745, a Colony of English traders from Pennsylvania built Fort Sandowski, on the north side of Sandusky Bay.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763) France surrendered her possession in the Ohio country to the British who remained in possession until after Wayne's victory over the Indians, at Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, when in accordance with the provision of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, signed November 17, 1794, all of the military posts held by the British south of the Great Lakes were surrendered to the Americans.

Prior to the arrival of the French, and long thereafter, the Valley of the Maumee was the abode of the Miami Indians, the boundaries of whose lands were so graphically described by Chief Little Turtle at the Council of Greenville in these words: "My fathers kindled the fires in Detroit; from there they extended their lines to the head waters of the Scioto; from there to its mouth; then down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; then to Chicago and over Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen."

THE SWAN CREEK TRADING POST

There is little doubt that Swan Creek was considered by both the French and the English a point of strategic importance for trading with the Indians. There were numerous Indian villages in the Maumee Valley between the present site of Fort Wayne and Maumee Bay, including one at the mouth of Swan Creek. The river itself was a favorite route of communication between the Indians of the Ohio Valley and those of the North. The importance of the Maumee route was very early recognized by the French, for Killits says, (Vol. 1, page 61), that after the loss of the *Griffin*, LaSalle returned to Fort Frontenac for supplies and from there wrote, "There is at the end of Lake Erie ten leagues below the Straight (Detroit River), a river by which we could shorten the way to Illinois very much. It is navigable by canoes to within two leagues of the route now in use." So La Salle knew all about the Maumee River as early as 1680. Indeed, it appears well defined on the map of 1656 by Nicholas Sanson, the Royal Geographer of France referred to and shown by Killits.

Bliven says, "The evidence is abundant that a French trading post was located on this spot in 1680 and there is also strong evidence that it was occupied many years earlier, * * * probably 1640-1648, when the French escorted the Hurons to the Miami Conference." He also states that a French fort was built at Swan Creek in 1669-1670.

Knapp speaks of a trading station built in 1695 "at the west end of Lake Erie" and about this time (1700) a party of factors from Detroit built a small post on the Maumee River *where Toledo now stands.*"

The British Military Archives contain many references to the Indians at the mouth of *Swan Creek* and to supplies furnished them at that point, and also to supplies for Fort Miami from *Swan Creek*.

It is evident that this was an important British trading post and supply station both before and after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, even up to the final evacuation of the American posts in July, 1796.

Slocum says: "In 1702, Captain Francis Morgan de Vincennes with French soldiers and others from Canada, established posts along the Maumee and the Wabash as far southwest as Vincennes, Indiana," and that in 1742, there were forts on the Maumee and Wabash and that in 1748, the French established trading posts on the Maumee.

Slocum also says:

"From the original records, we catch glimpses of different traders with the Aborigines along the lower Maumee River, and there can be no doubt that stockades were employed for the protection of their goods and peltries from the beginning of the eighteenth century or before."

THE CONFLICTING ACCOUNTS

With this brief historical review before us, we can now note a little more intelligently what the various authorities have to say as to the origin of Fort Industry. We have already the Richard Mott inscription from which it would appear that Anthony Wayne built the fort in 1794.

The Uhl Brothers, publishers of *A History and Atlas of Lucas County*, 1901, say on page 3:

The following important data, giving a recapitulation of the most important of these contests and battles (between the Whites and the Indians) was presented in a paper read by Mr. Charles B. Bliven of this city (Toledo) before the Maumee Valley Pioneers' Association, in which he says: "In the numerous Indian wars, the war between the French and Indians, the French and the English, the English and the Indians, the United States and Great Britain, and the United States and the Indians, many severe battles were fought in this immediate vicinity * * * **1669-1670 French Fort built at Swan Creek** * * * 1697 French Forts built at Kekionga (Fort Wayne) and foot of Rapids (Miami). * * *"

When, under orders from General Wayne, Colonel Hamtramck in 1796, took possession for the United States of the British Post, Fort Miami (or Campbell) at the foot of the Rapids, also Detroit and Mackinac, he **rebuilt the post at the Swan Creek**, very near the northeast corner of the Twelve Mile Square reservation and named it Fort Industry. It was garrisoned for some ten (1806) or twelve (1808) years and is distinguished as the location of an important treaty with the Indians. The fort consisted of a blockhouse surrounded by a stockade and stood in the center of a clearing of about four acres. The exact location has been questioned, but from the best attainable evidence it stood on the site of the National Hotel now occupied by the Duell Block or F. Eaton and Company's store, 143 Summit Street. The cellar or magazine as was supposed, also some of the stockade, were visible as late as 1830 * * * **While we give the precise date of the rebuilding of the Fort by General Wayne, the evidence is abundant that a French Trading Post was located on this spot in 1680 and there is also strong evidence that it was occupied many years earlier even before LaSalle came down the river in 1669-1671, probably 1640-1643 when the French escorted the Hurons to the Miami confederation."**

of Northwestern Ohio

Knapp in his *History of the Maumee Valley*, says, (page 10):

In 1695, the Captain Nicholas Perrot built a trading station at the west end of Lake Erie, which in 1697, was destroyed by the Miami Indians * * * the exact location of Perrot's station cannot now be determined * * * about this time (1700) a party of factors from Detroit built a small post on the Maumee where Toledo now stands. (Page II.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

For the year 1774 and before the war, the King's or Eighth Regiment occupied the upper posts, viz:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Michilimackinac | 23 men |
| Detroit | 68 men |
| Fort Erie | 29 men |
| Fort Schlosser | 14 men |
| Landing | 7 men |
| Niagara | 100 men |

—From Vol. 20, page 272.

Captain Grant being ill desires me to acquaint you that not doubting Major DePeyster gave you every information from the Indian Country, he declined troubling you on his return from the Miami River; that finding the provisions at the mercy of the weather and Indians, he *built a rough block house* for its lodgment which may be defended by ten men against one hundred.—Captain Burnet to Brigadier-General Powell, Detroit, September 5th, 1782, Vol. 20, page 55.

They (the Indians) added, that many years ago, their ancestors had granted permission to the French King to build trading houses or small forts on the water communication between Canada and the Western Indians in the heart of their country for the convenience of **trade only**, without granting one inch of the land, but what these forts stood upon * * *. Brigadier-General Maclean to General Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Quebec, Niagara, May 18th, 1783, Vol. 20, pages 117, 119.

After the troops had taken some refreshments, the Legion continued their route down the river and encamped in sight of the British Garrison (Fort Miami) * * * and continuing from "Camp, Foot of the Rapids 22nd August, 1794," * * * we have destroyed all the property within 100 yards of the Garrison. **The volunteers were sent down eight miles below the fort** and have destroyed and burned all the possessions belonging to the Canadians and savages * * * a small party of dragoons were sent over the river to burn and destroy all of the houses, corn, etc., that were under cover of the fort (Miami) which was effected.—Boyer's Daily Journal of Wayne's Campaign, Vol. 34, page 546.

Lieutenant Boyer, in his official journal of Wayne's Campaign, makes no mention of Fort Industry.

THE WAYNE PAPERS

We located the original private and official Wayne papers in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, his native state. There are eleven volumes of 125 pages each, covering the period from the date of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, to the time of Wayne's death at Fort Erie, December 15, 1796. There were many volumes in addition to the above, referring to an earlier period in his career. The writer arranged for the careful examination of each paper in the entire eleven volumes. The reader's report says:

I have examined 11 volumes of Wayne's papers, covering the period from August, 1794, to December, 1796, and am sorry to say I found no reference to Fort Industry by that name. Enclosed you will find extracts from the Wayne letters relating to Forts, Stockades, and Blockhouses erected in Ohio; whether any of these extracts refer to Fort Industry, you are better able to judge than I am. You will notice there are several references to orders for provisioning various Forts, and that Fort Industry is not included in the list * * *." Following is from enclosures: "Greenville Headquarters, December 1, 1795, Colonel Kilpatrick—you will furnish the Posts herein mentioned up to the first of April, 1796, with the following complete rations * * * viz: Forts Washington, Hamilton, St. Clair, Jefferson, Greenville, Recovery, the Post at the old Piqua Town, at Lowmies [Loramie], St. Marys, Forts at Adams, Wayne, Defiance, Knox, Steuben and Massac (fifteen in all). (Signed) Anthony Wayne."

A letter from General Wayne to Isaac Williams, Agent, etc., of the Wyandottes at Sandusky, Vol. 43—Headquarters Greenville, May 31, 1795, reads as follows:

Sir * * * Bluejacket assures me that all the Indians from **Swan Creek**, etc., will undoubtedly attend the treaty and he has accordingly gone back to bring them on and to counteract McKee, etc. * * * This will be handed you by Capt. Reid, a Shawnee Chief, who is accompanied by Mr. MacLean, a man whom you probably know. Reid left **Swan Creek** on the 15th of this month and says that the Indians at that place were preparing to come to the treaty. * * *

In his official report of his campaign against the Indians General Wayne wrote:

We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Maumee, in front of the Field of Battle.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT

From Robert C. Davis, Acting Adjutant General, comes the following:

War Department A. 9 O., May 1, 1922, to Mr. W. J. Sherman, 305 Produce Exchange, Toledo, Ohio—A search of the records on file in the War Department, deemed likely to afford information relative to old Fort Industry on the site of the present City of Toledo, Ohio, has resulted in failure to disclose any original official data on the subject. The records of the War Department during which that post was maintained are far from complete. * * * I find on file here one unofficial memorandum stating that Fort Industry was built under General Wayne's orders in 1794; another that it was built in 1800, and another that the First Regiment of the United States Infantry under Colonel Thomas Hunt landed there in June, 1803. (En route to St. Louis.)

of Northwestern Ohio

Andreas and Baskin, editors and publishers of the *Historical Atlas of Wood and Lucas Counties*, 1875, say:

To counteract the influence of Fort Miami, Wayne built a fort at the mouth of **Swan Creek** and named it Fort Industry.

In his *History of Fort Meigs*, James P. Averill says that General Wayne built and garrisoned Fort Industry with a small force under Lieutenant Rhea by whom it continued to be occupied for several years. * * * Upon the completion of *Fort Industry*, General Wayne marched his army back up the river.

On page 44 of his *History of Toledo and Lucas County*, 1888, Clark Waggoner says:

The immediate object sought in this expedition to the Maumee River having been attained in the brilliant and complete victory of Fallen Timbers, General Wayne, by easy marches, made his way to the Grand Glaize, arriving there August 27, 1794, (seven days after the Battle of Fallen Timbers). * * * Leaving a sufficient force at Fort Wayne, the General with a remnant of his former command, proceeded to Greenville, where he arrived November 2nd, after a fatiguing tour of 97 days during which he marched upwards of 300 miles through a dense wilderness, meanwhile **erecting three fortifications**—Fort Adams at St. Marys, Fort Defiance at Auglaize, and Fort Wayne at the Miami Villages.

And on page 64, he quotes as follows from a letter received by him (Waggoner) from Adjutant General L. C. Drumm (U. S. War Department), viz:

A stockade fort was erected about the year 1800, near the mouth of Swan Creek on the Maumee River, and as near as can be determined upon what is now Summit Street, in the City of Toledo, to which was given the name of Fort Industry. It was at this Fort that a treaty was held with the Indians, July 4, 1805, by which the Indian title to the Fire Lands (Huron and Erie Counties) was extinguished and at which were present Mr. Charles Jouett, United States Commissioner, and Chiefs of Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, Muncie and Delaware Indian Tribes.

J. R. Spears, in his *Biography of Anthony Wayne*, page 228, says:

After clearing the the ground about Fort Miami, Wayne went down the river and built a wooden fort called Fort Industry, on land that now forms the easterly quarter of Summit and Monroe Streets, Toledo.

In his *Settlement of the Northwest Territory*, 1896, William Van Z. Cox states that:

Fort Industry was erected as a blockhouse near the mouth of the Maumee and that it was built so expeditiously that he called it Fort Industry.

In his *History of the Late War in the Western Country*, McAfee says Colonel McKee, Superintendent of Indian affairs for the districts of Detroit and Mackinaw wrote to Colonel England, the (English) Military Commander at Detroit, from "Camp near Fort Miami, August 30, 1794," as follows:

Sir: I have been employed several days in endeavoring to fix the Indians (who have been driven from their villages and corn fields) between the Fort [Miami] and the Bay. **Swan Creek** is generally agreed upon and will be a very convenient place for the distribution of provisions, etc.

THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES

The Deputy Minister in charge of the Archives of Canada, writes under date of January 23, 1925:

Regarding Fort Industry, there is no map showing a fort of that name. No record in the manuscripts. There is evidence that General Wayne in 1795 had intentions of building a fort at the mouth of the Miamis River at Point au Chene (probably Bay View Park) should he be enabled to push that far to the Northeast. (See extracts from C. Series, Vol. 673.) There is no indication that he did so. * * *

From these archives he makes the following extracts:

Mr. Godfrey * * * brings the same reports respecting the intentions of General Wayne to advance and build a Fort at Sandusky, and another **at the mouth of this river.** * * * All reports say that a fort is certainly to be built immediately at Sandusky and another at the entrance to this river. Whatever General Wayne may do at Sandusky, I can hardly think he will send any party below the Glaize.—From letter from Major Steele to Colonel England, dated Fort Miamis, August 20, 1795, Archives C Series, Vol. 673, page 45.

* * * And he heard from some of the officers that he (Wayne) would build a fort this Fall at Point aux Chenes, provided Perroques with merchandise and stores were prevented from passing the British post of the Miamis. N. B. Point aux Chenes is shown on the 1795 MS. Plan (from Q 74) as being on north shore of Miamis Bay, opposite Turkey Point. (This is probably a point on what is now Bay View Park.)—Information from Charles Tillier, dated "Detroit, October 20th, 1795," C Series, Vol. 673, page 50.

Having wrote to Colonel McKee, the 22nd ult. that if I did not hear from him in the course of eight days, I would make a requisition for 35,000 rations of provisions and 1,000 gallons of rum as an additional supply for the Indians at **Swan Creek** and Detroit, etc. * * *—Captain Joseph Chew to Thomas Aston Coffin, Montreal, September 3rd, 1795, Vol. 20, page 419.

Late yesterday afternoon, I received a number of letters from Detroit * * * also two letters from Colonel McKee dated 19th, 21st, April, that of the 19th respecting mode of paying the Department at Detroit, the the other concerning **flour, wanted for the Indians at Swan Creek,** likewise two letters from Mr. Selby of the 19th and 22nd April, the first relating to the postage of letters sent by Colonel McKee and the latter saying that Colonel England had given orders for the **flour being supplied for the Indians at Swan Creek,** etc. * * *—Joseph Chew to Thomas Aston Coffin, Montreal, May 12th, 1796, Vol. 20, pages 441-442.

Having this day received a report from **Swan Creek** that messengers have arrived from the Spanish Governor or his agents to draw away the Indians from thence (Swan Creek) to their frontier on the Mississippi, by unjust representations of the conduct of the British Government toward (the Indians) I judged it immediately necessary to dispatch one of the interpreters from hence to counteract, etc.—From letter from Colonel Alexander McKee to Joseph Chew, Detroit, June 20th, 1796, Vol. 20, page 456.

* * * In my last I said the Yankees were either at Sandusky or were hourly expected. * * * The Iroquois have left the Village and are at **Swan Creek.**—From letter from Rev. Edmund Burke to Brigade Major Littlehales, Military Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe of the Providence of Upper Canada, River Raisin. **Other Histories** June 17, 1795, Vol. 20, Page 406.

OTHER HISTORIANS

Henry Howe in his *Historical Collections of Ohio* (1846), says that Fort Industry was erected about the year 1800.

Homer and Harris in the *Toledo Directory* 1858, on page 14, say:

A small stockade known by the name of Fort Industry was built near the Junction of Swan Creek and the Maumee River immediately after the Treaty of Greenville. It was garrisoned until 1808 by about 150 men, merely to guard the territory ceded to the United States against Indian depredations.

L. H. Hosmer, in *Early History of the Maumee Valley*, quotes above.

Benson J. Lossing, in his *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 1868, states:

I visited (Toledo) on the 24th of September, 1860, and had the singular good fortune to be accompanied by L. H. Hosmer * * * and the venerable Peter Navarre (page 490). We left the city for our ride up the Maumee Valley * * * Mr. Hosmer volunteered to be coachman * * * At the Oliver House in time for dinner and a stroll about the little City of Toledo * * * It covers (page 493) the site of Fort Industry, a stockade erected there about 1800 near what is now Summit Street.

James D. McCabe in his *The Great Republic*, 1871, page 836, says:

Toledo covers the site of a stockade fort called Fort Industry, built in 1800.

On page 20, of *A Story of Early Toledo*, 1919, Judge John H. Doyle, the author, says:

Shortly after the treaty (Greenville) and about the year 1800, there was erected by the Government in the vicinity of what is now Monroe and Summit Streets, a fort which was called Fort Industry. This was erected and garrisoned to enforce obedience to the treaty and to protect the reservations from depredation, and for a number of years a company of regulars was stationed there. At this fort, in 1805, another treaty was concluded with the Indians, by which their title to the Fire Lands (now Erie and Huron Counties) was finally extinguished.

On page 130, Vol. 1, of *Toledo and Lucas County*, 1923, John M. Killits says:

Fort Industry was erected on this site by order of General Anthony Wayne just after the Battle of Fallen Timbers as a defense against the British who occupied Fort Miami.

John Gunckel in his *Early History of the Maumee Valley*, 1902 (pages 41, 43), says:

After completely routing the Indians, General Wayne followed them down the river, passed the silent Fort Miami, where upon a high bank (Swan Creek) overlooking the river, he rapidly constructed a military fort on August 23, 1794, and this was built so expeditiously that he called it Fort Industry. This fort or blockhouse, as it was familiarly known, General Wayne left in charge of a small but efficient force, by which it continued to be occupied for several years. The dimensions of the Fort were about 200 x 250 feet. * * * On August 27, 1794, he started with his main army for Fort Defiance.

The Historical Society

Harvey Scribner in the *Memoirs of Lucas County*, 1910, (page 77), says: "S. S. Knabenshue, in an editorial in the *Toledo Blade* of January 24, 1903, writes that "The date of its (Fort Industry) erection, by whom and for what purpose have never been determined. The tablet on the Monroe Street side of Fort Industry Block, recites the popular legend, but no historic proof of the statement has ever been found;" * * * "The popular belief is that it was erected by a detachment of Wayne's army soon after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, which is probably correct, even though the records on the subject are not clear," says Scribner.

Randall and Ryan in their *History of Ohio*, 1912, page 560, say:

Fort Industry, located at the mouth of the Maumee, was erected by orders of Wayne, after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, as a safeguard against Fort Miami. It was never in possession of the British.

H. S. Knapp in his *History of the Maumee Valley*, 1872, shows on the frontispiece of this work, a wood engraving of Fort Industry and writes:

Landing at **Fort Industry** (Toledo) of the First Continental Regiment of United States Infantry under Colonel Thomas Hunt in June, 1803 * * * on its way from Detroit to St. Louis. A night was spent in the vicinity of the Fort under tents * * * This Old Fort stood near the edge of the Bluff, about thirty feet above the river * * * erected under orders of General Wayne in 1794.

Knapp (page 93) says that Fort Industry was built by order of General Wayne, immediately after the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

A quaint old volume, entitled *Sketches of the War Between the United States and the British Isles*, published by Fay and Davidson in Vermont, 1815, contains on page 15, the following: "There was also a small settlement on Swan Creek on the Michigan side, which falls into the Miami seven miles below this Fort" (Miami).

On pages 122-125 of Volume 12 of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, 1903, Charles E. Slocum writes as follows:

There has also been much of conjecture with unauthoritative statements regarding Fort Industry, the site of which tradition places about the crossing of Summit and Monroe Streets in the present City of Toledo, Ohio. Henry Howe, in his **Historical Collections of Ohio**, in 1846, also in his edition of 1896, volume II, page 148, wrote that Fort Industry, was "erected about the year 1800." H. S. Knapp, in his **History of the Maumee Valley**, 1872, page 93, wrote that it was built by order of General Wayne immediately after the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Neither of these writers give any authority; and their statements are negatively disproved by official records, as follows:

1. The Battle of Fallen Timbers occurred 20th August, 1794, and General Wayne's army was very busy caring for the wounded and dead, in searching the country for savages and in destroying their crops, during the two days before the countermarch began. The night of the 23rd, according to Lieutenant Boyer's Diary, the army bivouacked at Camp

of Northwestern Ohio

Deposit, Roche de Bout (not Roche de Boeuf as written by some early chroniclers), and the morning of the 24th the march was continued up the Maumee River. This shows that there was not sufficient time between the Battle and the return march to build even a stockade, with all the other work on hand, and this, also, immediately after the great excitements and exhaustions of the Battle.

2. No mention is made of Fort Industry, nor of building a post on the lower Maumee, in the Diary of General Wayne's Campaign, nor in the reports.

3. The report to General Wayne that on the 30th August, 1794, the British Agent, Alexander McKee, had gathered the Aborigines at the mouth of Swan Creek to feed and comfort them ("fix them"), is also presumptive evidence against the existence there or thereabouts of an American fort or body of troops at that time. (*American State Papers, Aborigine Affairs*, vol. II, page 526. Also McKee's letter to the British Colonel Richard England at Detroit.)

4. Timothy Pickering, then acting Secretary of War, reported to the Congressional Committee on the Military Establishment 3rd February, 1796, the names of the then existing Military Stations. In this list the name of Fort Industry does not appear. The stations then existing in and near the Maumee region were Forts Defiance, Wayne, Miami, and Sandusky, all of which aggregated a force of one battalion of infantry, one company of riflemen, and one company of artillery at Fort Wayne which was the headquarters for these posts. Also Forts Adams, Recovery, Jefferson, Loramie, Head of the Auglaize, and Greenville, the headquarters, had one battalion of infantry and one company of riflemen divided among them.

5. The 29th March, 1796, James McHenry, Secretary of War, with his thoughts on economy, particularly "ought the military force of the United States to be diminished," gave to the beforementioned Committee the list of forts to be mentioned in this region, with the garrison each should have, as follows: Defiance, Wayne, Adams, Recovery, head of Wabash, (Auglaize?), Miami, and Michillimackinac, each fifty-six men, and Detroit 112 men. In these reports Forts Miami and Detroit were recognized as the property of the United States, but they were not evacuated by the British until the 11th July, 1796, according to the report of Lieutenant Colonel Hamtramck and others.

6. With the date of "War Department 23rd December, 1801, the estimate of all the Posts and Stations where Garrisons will be Expedient, and the number of men requisite for each garrison," does not contain the name Fort Industry.

7. An official statement of the reduced army under the Act of March, 1802, and its distribution 1st January, 1803, names Fort Wayne, with a garrison of sixty-four men, as being the only fortification or military station then in or near the Maumee region.

8. The report issued from "Head Quarters, Washington, February 4, 1805, for the year 1803, designating every post and point of occupancy," does not contain the name of Fort Industry.

9. Nor does the name Fort Industry appear in the schedule of "Posts and places occupied by the Troops of the United States in the year 1804, taken from the latest returns and designating every post and point of occupancy; to which is annexed the number wanting to complete the Peace Establishment." The only fort, or United States troops in the Maumee region at this date was at Fort Wayne with an aggregate garrison, October 31st, 1804, of sixty-eight men. (See *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. II, pages 113, 115, 156, 175, 176.)

In fact, the only authoritative statement that Fort Industry ever existed is the mere mention of it, "Fort Industry on the Miami of the Lake," as the place where was held an important treaty with Aborigines, 4th July, 1805 (*American State Papers, Aborigine Affairs*, vol. I, page 695); nothing

The Historical Society

more, nothing before, and nothing after this date, so far as the writer has been able to find by several inquiries, in person and by letters, at the War Department, at the United States Library, and other large libraries; and there is nothing but tradition to designate its site within the limits of the present City of Toledo.

The negatives here adduced are equal to positives; hence we may rest with the belief that "Fort Industry" was little more than a stockade built hurriedly, industriously—if a former stockade inclosure as a trading post there was not repaired instead—in the summer of 1805 solely for the treaty there held, and called a "Fort" to make it more impressive to the Aborigines. It was soon thereafter abandoned by the troops who were then necessarily present, as at former treaties.

The authenticity of the frontispiece to Knapp's **History of the Maumee Valley** is completely set aside in an editorial from the able pen of S. S. Knabenshue in the **Toledo Blade** of January 24, 1903. O. J. Hopkins, who drew this view and engraved it on wood, asserted that his drawing was without foundation in fact, and purely a work of his fancy. And such is the case, also, with the "old painting in oil" that is sometimes referred to, and of many statements that have been written regarding this fort.

Before the grading for streets began, two prehistoric semi-circular earthworks, presumably for stockades, were surveyed in Toledo; one at the intersection of Clayton and Oliver Streets on the south bank of Swan Creek, and the other at Fassett and Fort Streets on the right bank of the Maumee. A third work of this character was recorded over fifty years ago by the late Colonel Charles Whittlesey as existing at Eagle Point about two miles up the river from the Fassett Street work.

NOTES OF THE SURVEY OF THE TWELVE-MILE SQUARE AT THE FOOT OF THE RAPIDS

In the office of the State Auditor, at Columbus, is filed a report by Jared Mansfield, Surveyor General of the United States, entitled "Notes of the Survey of the Twelve-Mile Square at the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami River of the Lakes, made under the direction of Jared Mansfield, Surveyor General of the United States and signed by him." These notes contain the following reference, viz: "* * * to the mouth of Swan Creek * * * where is kept a small garrison by the United States," dated September 8, 1805. (Name of fort is not given.)

RESUMÉ

We now have assembled in convenient form for reference the views of practically all the historical writers who have expressed themselves as to the origin, occupation and abandonment of Fort Industry. It will be seen there is much divergence in their views. Practically all of the later writers, dependent as they were on those who had attempted to record history while the important actors were still living, have simply re-affirmed the views of some one of these pioneer historians. Lacking access to source material, they merely reflect the views of the early writers, so they should be disregarded.

It is indeed strange that the elements of doubt and uncertainty should exist at all, for we must admit that in the life of a nation this span of one and one-third centuries since Wayne's campaign is indeed a brief one, and an accurate history of important events should be available and at our command. In the present instance, difficulty in verifying events of such a recent date may be explained in part by the destruction of the records of the War Department when the British occupied the City of Washington during the War of 1812; in part by the fact that Northwestern Ohio was possessed of an exceedingly sparse white population during and immediately after the Revolution and none or practically none of these were members of Wayne's "Legion of the United States"; so local family records do not avail.

Reviewing briefly the numerous references heretofore cited, we find that Mott, Knapp, Averill, Gunckel, Spears, MacAfee, Killits, and Randall and Ryan all agree that Fort Industry was built by Wayne in 1794. In this opinion, Scribner hesitatingly concurs. On the other hand, Hosmer, Homer, Herne and the *Toledo Directory* of 1858 assert that while this fort was built by Wayne, yet it was in the year of 1795 instead of 1794.

Bliven claims the fort was built or rather rebuilt after the British in 1796 surrendered to Wayne the posts at Miami, Detroit and Mackinac.

Howe, Lossing, Waggoner, and Doyle place the date at 1800 or four years after the death of Wayne.

Slocum says (1903) that Fort Industry was built in 1805, "for protection in various ways and for the convenience of the commissioners who negotiated the Indian Treaty in 1805 at this point." He also states that Hopkins and Ellicott, the two Quakers, were sheltered here late in April, 1804, "where a small fort had lately been established."

The Historical Society

The War Department is unable to furnish any information owing to the incompleteness of the military records for the period prior to about the year 1820. They are, however, inclined to think the post was established about 1800; and under date of October 8, 1828, they say "there was a treaty with the Indians at Fort Industry, July 4, 1805, and still others in that region on various dates as late as October 6, 1818, which fact suggests that there may have been troops at the site of Toledo for nearly twenty years after the year 1800."

An old war map, in the writer's possession, of "Upper and Lower Canada and the United States contiguous" dedicated "to the officers of the Army and the citizens of the United States" under date of November 4, 1812, does not show Fort Industry at all. So it is safe to say there was no garrison there during the War of 1812 though the post may have been reoccupied later for conferences with the Indians.

War Department estimates and reports under dates of February 3, 1796; March 29, 1796; December 23, 1801; January 1, 1803; October 31, 1804; and February 4, 1805, make no mention whatever of Fort Industry in referring to the posts maintained in the West by our government.

We know from the Quakers' journal referred to that in the latter part of April, 1804, Fort Industry had "lately been established."

We also know that it was at least temporarily occupied in June, 1803, so it was probably built or rebuilt in the spring of 1803 as a military outpost of Fort Wayne or Detroit, having been previously occupied as a stockaded trading post or supply station from the earliest arrival of the whites and during both French and English occupations.

L. H. Hosmer, and also Homer and Harris, in the *Toledo Directory* of 1858, say that Fort Industry was abandoned as a military post in 1808 and that during the period of its occupation it was garrisoned by about one hundred and fifty men. Bliven says it was abandoned in 1806 or 1808.

It may have been temporarily garrisoned at subsequent times as suggested by the War Department but that it was not occupied during the War of 1812 is indicated by the military map heretofore referred to and by Slocum's statement "that on January 12, 1813, General Payne of General Winchester's army, routed a gathering of Aborigines from an old stockade post on the north bank of Swan Creek near its mouth."

CONCLUSIONS

1. During the French occupation of the Maumee Valley from 1680 to 1763, and the English occupation from 1763 to 1796 trading posts or supply stations were maintained on the north bank of Swan Creek near its mouth, it being a convenient place for receiving supplies and for distributing them among the numerous Indian tribes in the valley.

2. These trading posts or supply stations were substantial log structures for housing stores of all kinds and for protecting them from Indian depredations and may have been and probably were stockaded.

3. They were never garrisoned by regular troops and therefore never bore the name of "fort," although they were probably occupied occasionally as temporary military posts.

4. Fort Industry was not built by General Anthony Wayne prior to the evacuation of Fort Miami, in July, 1794, and its occupancy by General Hamtramck, nor was there need for him to build it thereafter with Fort Miami in his possession only eight miles away.

5. It did not exist as a recognized and occupied permanent army post during any portion of the Wayne campaign nor in December, 1801; nor January, 1804; nor October, 1804; nor in February, 1805; nor during the War of 1812; and in January, 1813, it was occupied by the Indians who were driven out by United States troops.

6. It did exist as a temporary outpost station in June, 1803; and in April, 1804 and in July, 1805; also, in September, 1805.

7. It was probably established and occasionally occupied as an outpost of Detroit, the nearest and most important regularly garrisoned army post, or it may have been an outpost of Fort Wayne on the upper Maumee. It was occupied temporarily from time to time as conditions required the presence at this point of United States soldiers. The most important event occurring at Fort Industry was the Indian Treaty in July, 1805.

8. On the site of Fort Industry was probably an English trading post or Indian supply station established about 1670 by the French (Bliven), abandoned in 1796 by the British, but later repaired or rebuilt by United States troops and first occupied by them in the spring of 1803 and thereafter as required until 1808 or possibly until the War of 1812, when it fell into the hands of the British and later, of the In-

dians who were driven out by United States troops under General Wilkinson, in January, 1813.

9. We have no later information of a definite character concerning its history, so must assume it was allowed to gradually decay and finally made way for the Fort Industry block of 1842-1843.