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The President's Page

To Keep and Bear Arms

> A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

THE foregoing amendment, which is the second one in our Federal Bill of Rights, guarantees to the people of each State the right to maintain a trained Militia.

For centuries the right to bear arms, within the meaning of the second amendment, has been considered, among the English people, one of the inalienable rights of free men, involving a latent power to resist tyrannical government.

The foolish James I of England, who seemed to be doing everything which would hasten his downfall, abrogated this right to bear arms; but in 1688, during the reign of William and Mary in England, this right was fully restored and confirmed by a provision in their Bill of Rights which reads:

> The subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense, suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

William and his queen were not providing very well for the preservation of their Catholic subjects.

Our second amendment is based upon this declaration, which has throughout the centuries, in the language of Judge Cooley, "stood as a protest against arbitrary action of the late dynasty [James I] in disarming the people, and as a pledge of the new rulers that this tyrannical action should cease."

Although the militia in England languished at times, as the size of the standing army increased, it became active and efficient again about 1757.

In the early days in this country those living on the frontiers and elsewhere were of necessity bearers of arms.

New Hampshire's convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, proposed this amendment:

> Congress shall never disarm any citizen, unless such as are, or have been, in actual rebellion.

The conventions held in Virginia and New York proposed amendments reading:

> That the people have a right to keep and bear arms; that a well-regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state; [and]
> that any person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, ought to be exempted, upon payment of an equivalent to employ another in his stead.

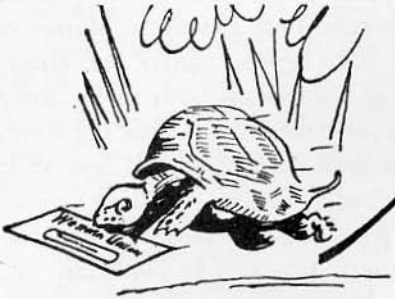
This last proposal suggests the custom which existed during the Civil War between the states, when it was considered not utterly disgraceful or cowardly to hire a substitute for service in the Union Armies, irrespective of the slacker's religious scruples.

The 37th (Buckeye) Division, Ohio's own, has recently gathered unto itself new laurels in the New Georgia operations, along with those won by it in Lorraine, Meuse-Argonne and Ypres-Lys of World War I. The soldiers of that division, of whom we are so justly proud, formerly constituted Ohio's own Militia.

Let no citizen infer that this amendment gives him the right to carry concealed weapons, or he may find himself, some beautiful, sunshiny Sunday morning, sitting in a cell of a state's prison.

Richard D Logan

PRESIDENT



Meeting of Legislature's Anthony Wayne Memorial Committee —from *Defiance Crescent-News,* September 30, 1943.

Development by the state of an Anthony Wayne Memorial Parkway—linking the Revolutionary forts across western Ohio and along the Maumee river in a marked system of parks, trails and highways—was given informal approval by members of the Ohio legislature's Anthony Wayne Memorial Committee after an inspection tour and meeting here Wednesday.

This was the first meeting of the state committee, which plans similar inspections and meetings throughout the military route of Anthony Wayne, extending from Cincinnati to Detroit via Greenville, Defiance and Toledo; west from Defiance to Fort Wayne, and back to Greenville via St. Marys.

One suggestion made to the legislators was creation by the state of a permanent Anthony Wayne Parkway Commission to unify present developments on the Wayne military route and to direct a long-range planning program, in which state and local agencies already working on the parkway would co-operate.

Members of the legislative committee indicated that at least a year would be devoted to studies before definite recommendations are compiled.

Wednesday's meeting opened with a luncheon at the Kettenring golf club in Defiance. Then in a caravan down the Maumee river, the group visited Fort Defiance, Independence state park, Wayne park near Napoleon, Providence park near Grand Rapids, Roche de Boeuf, Fallen Timbers battle monument, Side Cut park near Maumee, Fort Meigs at Perrysburg, and the An-

thony Wayne boulevard development into downtown Toledo.

Dinner was served at the Greyhound Post Tavern in Maumee.

Guy D. Hawley of Greenville, state representative and chairman of the committee, presided at discussions both in Defiance and Maumee. Other members of the committee attending were, from the Ohio Senate: Miss Margaret A. Mahoney, Cleveland; Raymond H. Burke, Hamilton; Fred L. Adams, Bowling Green, and Theodore M. Gray, Piqua; from the House of Representatives: Roy H. Longnecker, Pemberville; Fred L. Hoffman, Jr., Cincinnati, and Harold L. Carr, Hicksville.

Members absent were Fred R. Seibert, St. Marys, senate, and Roy E. Harmony, Sidney, representative, both detained by other business.

In addition to remarks by all members of the committee, brief talks were made by Dr. M. M. Quaife, Detroit, president of the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association; Dr. Harlow Lindley, secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; W. R. Wheelock, chief of inland lakes and parks, Ohio conservation division; Charles E. Hatch, engineer of the Lucas county planning commission, and a number of others.

Members of the group accompanying the committee on the tour also included Dallas Dupre, chief landscape architect, Ohio highway department; Dr. James Rodabaugh, of the Hayes Memorial; P. S. Robinette, traffic engineer of city of Toledo; E. C. Zepp, Columbus, curator of state memorials; S. A. Canary, editor Bowling Green *Sentinel-Tribune;* Robert H. Larson, director of Detroit Historical Museum; Karl Mollenberg, Bowling Green; Lee J. Ninde, Fort Wayne, president of Indiana Civic Association; O. W. Eusey, engineer, Indiana highway department; Henry W. Lepper and William A. Bayer, Fort Wayne; President H. D. Hopkins of Defiance College; Russell J. R. Lawwill, Columbus, assistant curator of Ohio memorials; Ellick E. Maslon, Toledo, planning engineer; H. Ralph Denniston, Lima, landscape architect, Ohio division No. 1.

Others from Defiance who assisted with arrangements and accompanied the pilgrimage were Ed F. Wanley, Abram Smith, Walter Buchholz and Ralph W. Peters.

Members of the legislative committee were presented preliminary memoranda on Anthony Wayne studies being made by Dr. Rodabaugh, with recommendations for further research, marking of sites, erecting monuments, reconstruction, developing parks and parkways, and publication of Anthony Wayne materials.

Each member of the committee at the concluding discussion in Maumee expressed approval of the idea of living memorials, rather than great monumental structures, and pledged earnest consideration in preparing suitable recommendations to be presented to the next session of the legislature.

* * *

Apparently the committee has not considered including Fort Miami in the parkway plan, in spite of its importance. No word of this has reached any officer of our society.

Northwestern Ohio a Hundred Years Ago

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER

THE past century has brought a wondrous change in northwestern Ohio. This part of Ohio of course was the last section of the state to be settled: (1) because of its remoteness from eastern centers of population; (2) because of the Indian reservations that remained until a rather late date; and (3) because of the Black Swamp which covered a considerable portion of the region and contributed to unhealthful conditions. Additional factors which may have temporarily deterred settlement to some degree were the protracted boundary dispute with Michigan and the difficulty of continuous navigation down the Maumee because of the obstructions near the present Grand Rapids, Ohio.

In southeastern Ohio, Marietta (accessible by the Ohio River) had been founded as early as 1788; in southwestern Ohio, the modern Cincinnati had been laid out less than a year later, and Dayton had been founded in 1795; in northeastern Ohio, Cleveland had been established in 1796; but northwestern Ohio remained practically unsettled until after the War of 1812. In 1840, when Cincinnati boasted of 46,382 inhabitants, and Cleveland had 6,071 (not including 1,577 who resided on the west side, then called Ohio City), the settlement of a large part of northwestern Ohio was just taking place in a really substantial way.

A few settlers, it is true, had come into the region before the War of 1812. Especially was this the case of the extreme eastern edge of northwestern Ohio, the Firelands area (the present Huron and Erie counties). A pioneer in what is now Huron county later recalled that when he arrived in May 1808, two American families were already located there.[1] But a prospective settler riding on horseback in September, 1820, from Wooster to Perrysburg *via* New Haven and Lower Sandusky (Fremont) found a settlement only here and there. "From Lower Sandusky to the Maumee it was an entire wilderness, and known

as the Black Swamp, through which there was no road except a mere trail through the woods." Perrysburg was yet unsettled except for a few outlying houses, though Maumee (across the river) was a "considerable village with two good taverns, two or three stores, and other objects and appliances necessary for the convenience, comfort and business of such a place."[2] Toledo of course was yet unborn.

In September 1823, a new mail contractor between Bellefontaine and Perrysburg found his route one of eighty-one miles "through a wilderness" with only one family resident in Hardin county and but one post office (that at Findlay) along the way.[3] As late as 1830 the thoroughfare of travel from Fremont to Perrysburg "was nothing more than a trail cut through the deep forest, with few dwellings or inhabitants along its way, except those engaged in the business of supplying the travelers with the necessaries of life."[4]

In the same year (1830) a pioneer judge and his party, endeavoring to go from Findlay to Perrysburg *via* Defiance, sent their horses in the custody of a rustic citizen directly through the Black Swamp. They themselves then went by canoe down the Blanchard and Auglaize rivers to Defiance. Later the judge recalled:

> The voyage was a dismal one to Defiance, through an unsettled wilderness of some sixty miles. Its loneliness was only broken by the intervening Indian settlement at Ottawa village, where we were hailed and cheered lustily by the Tahwa Indians as would be a foreign warship in the port of New York. From Defiance we descended the Maumee to Perrysburg where we found all well. In descending the Maumee, we came near running into the rapids, where we should probably have been swamped had we not been hailed from the shore and warned of our danger.[5]

At this time the region northwest of Defiance was almost wholly unsettled by white men, and as late as 1834 one might journey directly northward from that place and not encounter a single family within the boundaries of Ohio.[6] Farther to the east, Fremont (then called Lower Sandusky) in 1827 consisted

of "one frame and six or seven log houses" together with three stores.[7]

Sandusky City, situated on Sandusky Bay and at the easternmost edge of northwestern Ohio, was then the chief commercial center of the region. Originally called Portland (laid out in 1818), it was a popular port of disembarking for passengers arriving *via* Lake Erie en route to the lower Ohio and the Mississippi valleys.[8] Similarly, many travelers took passage here on boats bound for western New York. Thus, in 1834, when Rutherford B. Hayes and his sister Frances journeyed to Vermont and Massachusetts, they went from Delaware to Fremont *via* stagecoach, then by boat down the Sandusky river to Sandusky, where they boarded the *Henry Clay* for Buffalo.[9]

In general, northwestern Ohio enjoyed a modest but steady development during the period from 1815 to 1835. As early as 1795, by the treaty of Greenville the Indians had ceded their lands in what is now southern and eastern Ohio, but northwestern Ohio had remained Indian country except for certain areas reserved for the United States government. Indian lands in this region, however, had been reduced in area by treaties at Fort Industry (Toledo) in 1805, Detroit in 1807 and the Rapids of the Maumee in 1817.[10] President Andrew Jackson was favorable to the removal of the Indians to the trans-Mississippi country, and after his accession to office (1829), a number of treaties were arranged by agents of the federal government that provided for the removal of Senecas, Shawnees, and Ottawas.[11]

Pioneers in northwestern Ohio during the 1820's and 1830's encountered numerous red men, and relations between the two races were generally quite friendly. Sometimes the natives taught the pioneers to tan deer skins for pants and moccasins which were worn by the men.[12] By 1840, however, the only important group of Indians in northwestern Ohio was the Wyandot tribe near Upper Sandusky, and since 1837 definite efforts had been exerted to secure the acceptance of terms by the tribesmen for their removal to the West. The tribesmen, frowning upon what they considered dubious methods of procedure by United States agents, had sought the intervention of Governor Joseph Vance

in their behalf, and to him their spokesman had thus addressed himself:

> I am authorized by the chiefs of the Wyandott [sic] nation residing in the State of Ohio . . . to inquire of you Sir, whether the people of this State positively require our removal to the West? If the answer be in the affirmative then it will be adding another pang to our already lacerated feelings and disappointed hopes, and we can only indulge in unavailing regrets at the idea of being abandoned by our Ohio friends with whom we have so long lived upon terms of intimacy (and on our part) ardent friendship. . . .
>
> . . . [Commissioners appointed under an act of Congress have tried to excite] "in the minds of a few disaffected individuals a hostility against the constituted authorities of the [Wyandot] nation, by holding private interviews with these few, and avoiding an open and honorable Council with the chiefs. . . . They have succeeded in getting about fifteen or twenty of the improvident and vagabond class of our nation to enter into their measures—a class we know to be reckless of consequences and equally so of the true interests of the nation. . . .[13]

As a result, the Governor (who had known the tribesmen over a period of many years) wrote to the Secretary of War, pointing out that the Wyandots were then occupying only about twelve square miles of territory in Ohio, and were to a large extent farmers who had intermarried with most respectable white families and had professed Christianity. He pleaded:

> The feelings of the people of this State toward this remnant of a once powerful and noble race are of the most friendly character. We are not so selfish as to wish to wrest from these original occupants of our territory, the small spot they now inhabit. . . .[14]

The day of the Indian in northwestern Ohio was rapidly passing, however, and in 1843 this last tribal group left the state forever.

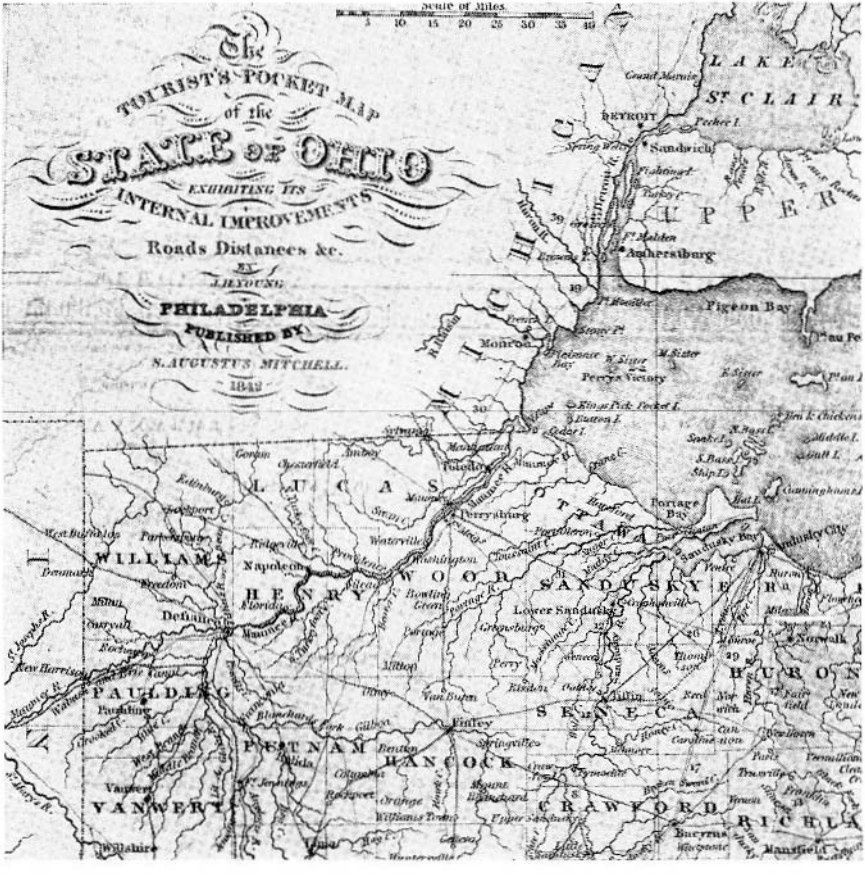
The presence of the friendly Indian had not been a really serious deterrent to the settlement of northwestern Ohio, but

the unhealthiness of the area had been a more important matter. One pioneer later recalled the early situation:

> From 1820 to 1830, a vast new territory was thrown open by the United States to emigration. Throughout the whole West, there were numerous enticing places, holding forth their future promises to emigrants, besides the Maumee. During that time, thousands of emigrants passed through the Maumee Valley to Indiana, Michigan, and other parts of the West; and it seemed as though they purposely avoided this valley. The principal cause of this, was then well known—the unhealthiness of the country. . . . During the forepart of my residence there, the amount of sickness arising from bilious complaints in the shape of agues and fevers—intermittent and remittent of the most virulent type, was often frightful. This sickness would commence in September and October, and last until some time in the cold weather of the coming winter. . . .[15]

By 1832 (when health conditions had become distinctly improved), however, there was a definite boom in the Maumee Valley. By 1837, a pioneer intent upon locating farther west could write from Defiance that he had decided to remain in that vicinity, since he could not see why it was "not as healthy a country as" their old neighborhood in northern New York.[16] Two real estate developments, Vistula and Port Lawrence, near the mouth of the Maumee, had become parts of the new village of Toledo by 1835.[17] Already a year earlier, as state officials were prepared to fix the exact routes of the northern ends of the Wabash-Erie and Miami and Erie canals a really feverish era of land speculation had developed.[18] In the very western part of what is now Defiance and Williams county, the Hicks Land Company and the American Land Company secured large tracts, the town of Hicksville was laid out in 1836, and the next year Alfred P. Edgerton (after whom the town in Williams county is named) became land agent for the eastern interests.[19] As a result of such activities:

> . . . The whole Maumee valley was filled with eastern fortune-hunters . . . and the shores of the river from Fort Wayne to the Maumee Bay, were alive with city-



From a Map of Ohio Published by S. Augustus Mitchell, 1842.

> builders. From the foot of the rapids to the bay, land was all considered necessary for three-story brick blocks. . . .[20]

Napoleon (in Henry county) which had been laid out in 1832, had developed to the point that the influence of Governor Lucas was sought in 1835 for the establishment of a post office at that place.[21] During the same period a lively trade developed on the lower Maumee. By 1837, eight steamboats regularly entered the river on scheduled trips while numerous boats arrived frequently at less certain intervals.[22] It should be pointed out, however, that travel by steam boat in this region had its difficulties. Joshua R. Giddings, Ohio congressman arriving at Detroit in July 1837, complained:

> I got to this place last night in a most wretched dirty Steam Boat as ever a fellow set foot upon. The bedbugs were so thick that we could not sleep except we stood up on the promenade deck where the wind blew pretty thoroughly.[23]

At about the same time the formal solution of the Michigan-Ohio boundary dispute brought Toledo definitely within the bounds of Ohio, much to the delight of the inhabitants of the youthful village.[24] But the speculative fever was severely repulsed by Jackson's Specie Circular of 1836 and by the panic of 1837, and the enthusiasm ebbed for some years thereafter.

The census of 1840 showed that at that time the chief towns of northwestern Ohio were really small villages. Lima had only 208 inhabitants; Findlay had 469; Tiffin, 728; and the whole township in which Defiance was located had only 944. Fremont (Lower Sandusky) had 1,117 and Toledo, 1,222. Sandusky continued to be an important commercial center. Its citizens had been disappointed bitterly that none of Ohio's canals was to touch their city. In 1825, Alfred Kelley, sometimes considered a "Father of the Ohio Canals," wrote that there was "much rage" through the columns of the Sandusky *Clarion,* a local newspaper, since the people there took it for granted that a canal on the Sandusky-Scioto route would be much more accommodating and would be practical.[25]

To some extent compensation was secured through roads and railways. An excellent turnpike was built connecting it with Columbus, and by 1841 five regular stage-lines reached a terminus in the town. Early in 1832, after authorization by the Ohio legislature, railroad commissioners had met in Bellefontaine on February 22, and in Sandusky City on March 29, to take steps for the building of the Mad river and Lake Erie railroad from Sandusky southward to Springfield.[26] By 1841 the first thirty-five miles of the road had been completed (as far as Tiffin), and a contemporary account of Sandusky showed it to be a very prosperous community:

> Its number of inhabitants is 2480 and [it] contains about 250 dwelling houses, 23 stores, 3 druggist shops, besides a number of groceries and provisions houses, 4 hotels, 1 large stone academy, [of] 3 stories; three magnificent stone churches, besides a Roman Catholic chapel now building.[27] [See *Post*, p. 63.]

The population of northwestern Ohio during these years was chiefly engaged in agriculture and in the commerce that grew out of the activities of the farming population. Some considerable trade developed in the skins of fur-bearing animals which were found in extensive numbers, and the great hardwood forests made ship-building materials readily available for use at Sandusky and along the lower Maumee.[28]

Yet, living conditions in this section of the state were very primitive. When Alfred P. Edgerton, of Hicksville (later to become United States Civil Service Commissioner under President Cleveland) was married at Columbus in 1841 to a niece of former state auditor John A. Bryan, a friend from Edgerton's home county wondered if the young lady comprehended the frontier type of life to which she was committing herself.[29] The present Paulding county was so sparsely settled that in 1837 a part of it comprising one hundred and eight square miles contained only two families;[30] in 1840 there was not a single lawyer residing in the county; and the present county seat of Paulding was not to be laid out until 1850 in the midst of a dense forest and several miles from any dwelling.[31] When the county seat of Williams county was moved to Bryan in 1840, the place was merely a convenient location being platted as a town in the midst of the

large real estate holdings of John A. Bryan, influential Ohio Democrat.

The early settlers of northwestern Ohio included many natives of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Local histories indicate that a large portion of the early lawyers were born in New England or were sons of families from that area that had lived for some years in New York state or the Western Reserve of Ohio. Thus, Emery D. Potter, the first lawyer to open an office in Toledo (1835) was born near Providence, Rhode Island; William C. Holgate—for whose family Holgate, Ohio, was named—was born in Burlington, Vermont, was graduated at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, and established himself at Defiance in 1835; Ralph P. Buckland, prominent Fremont lawyer, was born at Leyden, Massachusetts to parents who soon migrated to Ravenna, Ohio, and he started the practice of law in Fremont in 1837.[32]

A number of French families located in northwestern Ohio shortly after the War of 1812, and the rich farming lands of this region had an almost magnetic attraction for Germans who migrated to the United States after 1825. Some were Catholics who found homes in the vicinity of Minster and New Bremen in Auglaize county, at Glandorf in Putnam county, at Delphos (which included two early German villages) and in numerous other places. Many were Lutherans who settled in Crawford and Hancock counties and at Ft. Jennings, Fremont, Gibsonburg, Defiance, Napoleon, and in other communities. Evangelical and Reformed groups also were among the newcomers, and by 1845 a number of German Reformed churches were well-established, especially in Seneca county.[33]

Among immigrant groups the Irish were only less important than the Germans. Many came to work on the canals, some being paid only thirty cents a day with plain board and lodging in a shanty along the right of way. At times they even slept in bowers formed with limbs of trees.[34] Whiskey flowed freely, especially since it was considered a protection against the prevalent malaria. After working for a time on the canal many Irish eventually settled in the towns of the Maumee valley, adding tremendously to the Roman Catholic population.[35] [See *Post,* pp. 47-48.]

At about the same time Welsh settlers founded Gomer in Allen county and Venedocia in Van Wert county, and Scotch immigrants established themselves at Scotch Ridge in Wood county.[36] In 1833-4, Swiss Mennonites had already begun extensive settlements in Putnam and Allen counties.[37]

Thus, the filling in of the unsettled portions of northwestern Ohio was gradually taking place. Already Toledo was making headway as a railroad center, being a terminus of the first railroad in Ohio (and the first west of the Alleghenies), the Erie and Kalamazoo, completed in 1836 as far as from Toledo to Adrian, Michigan.[38] The finishing of the task of building the Wabash and Erie canal from Toledo to Lafayette, Indiana in 1843 and of the Miami and Erie canal from Cincinnati to its union with the Wabash-Erie route at Junction, Paulding county in 1845 proved to be a great boon to northwestern Ohio.[39] Toledo thereafter for a time became the chief outlet for "the best grain belt of the northwest" especially in the shipment of corn.[40] Slowly the steady influx of settlers marked the passing of the last frontier in Ohio.

NOTES

1. William W. Pollock, "Firelands Reminiscences," *The Fire Lands Pioneer* (old series), I (Sandusky, 1858), 43.
2. "Reminiscences of Hon. Thomas W. Powell," H. S. Knapp, *History of the Maumee Valley* (Toledo, 1876), 292.
3. Findlay *Courier*, Jan. 23, 1847, quoted in *ibid.*, 612.
4. "David Hockman," *The Maumee Valley Pioneer*, I (Grand Rapids, Ohio, August, 1890), 2.
5. D. Higgins, "Memories of the Maumee Valley," Knapp, *op. cit.*, 279.
6. Edwin Phelps, "Reminiscences," Defiance *Express*, June 2, 1887.
7. Basil Meek, ed. *Twentieth Century History of Sandusky County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1909), 121.
8. F. D. Parish, "Sandusky City," in W. W. Williams, ed., *History of the Firelands* (Cleveland, 1879), 435-6.
9. Charles R. Williams, *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Boston, 1914), I, 16-7.
10. H. C. Shetrone, "The Indian in Ohio," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVII (1918), 453.
11. F. P. Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontier* (Vol. III in *A History of the State of Ohio*, ed. by Carl Wittke, Columbus, 1941), 35-40.
12. John B. Waggoner, "Reminiscences," *Addresses, Memorials . . . The Maumee Valley Pioneer Association, 1899* (Toledo, 1899), 154.
13. William Walker, Secy. By order of the Wyandott Council to Governor Joseph Vance, Columbus, July 9, 1837; *id.* to *id.*, Upper Sandusky, Ohio, July 29, 1837. Governors' Papers, Ohio State Museum.
14. Governor Joseph Vance to Hon. Joel R. Poinsett and E. Whittlesey, Columbus, September 25, 1837, in *ibid.*

15. "Reminiscences of Hon. Thomas W. Powell," in Knapp, *op. cit.*, 305; see also Lee Newcomer, "Construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVI, 205-7.
16. Francis P. Weisenburger, "Defiance in History," in *ibid.*, L, 70; see also W. C. Holgate, "Horace Sessions," in Knapp, *op. cit.*, 595-6.
17. Harvey Scribner, ed., *Memoirs of Lucas County and the City of Toledo* (Madison, 1910), I, 80-1.
18. Harold E. Davis, "Elisha Whittlesey and Maumee Land Speculation, 1834-1840," *ante*, XV, 139ff.
19. Article by A. P. Edgerton in *The Hicksville News*, December 25, 1890. Reprint in possession of present author.
20. "Reminiscences of Jesup W. Scott," Knapp, *op. cit.*, 542.
21. J. N. Evans to Governor Robert Lucas, Napoleon, July 6, 1835. Governors' Papers.
22. Maurer Maurer, "Navigation at the Foot of Maumee Rapids, 1815-1845," *ante*, XV, 159ff.
23. Giddings to Maria (his daughter), Detroit, July 14, 1837. Giddings Papers in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library.
24. Carl Wittke, "The Ohio-Michigan Boundary Dispute Re-Examined," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (1936), 299-319; Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontier*, 297ff.
25. Alfred Kelley to E. A. Brown, Cleaveland [*sic*], March 11, 1825, Ethan Allen Brown Papers, Ohio State Library.
26. Printed circular dated Sandusky City, March 31, 1835 in Governors' Papers.
27. Warren Jenkins, compiler. *The Ohio Gazetteer 1841*, 396. Published figures for the population of towns according to the census of 1840 are not so often given separately from the townships in which they are located as in the census reports for 1830 and 1850. Jenkins's figures for Sandusky may be inexact, for the published figures of the census of 1840 give the population of Portland township in which Sandusky City is located as 1,433.
28. Maurer Maurer, *ante*, XV, 165ff.
29. MS. of Edwin Phelps, grandfather of the author (in possession of author).
30. Reminiscences of Alexander S. Latty (after whom the village of Latty was named); Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (1902), II, 377.
31. Nevin O. Winter, *A History of Northwest Ohio* (Chicago, 1917), 534, 539.
32. H. S. Knapp, *op. cit.* 285-8, 597-9; *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1876), 536.
33. W. Lang, *History of Seneca County* (Springfield, Ohio, 1880), 282.
34. Mary L. Ziebold, "Immigrant Groups in Northwestern Ohio to 1860," unpublished master's thesis, Ohio State University (1937), 51.
35. Newcomer, "Construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal," in *O. A. and H. Quart.*, XLVI, 206.
36. Ziebold, *op. cit.*, 68-9.
37. Delbert L. Gratz, "Historical and Genealogical Sketch of the Swiss Mennonites of Allen and Putnam Counties, Ohio," *O. A. and H. Quart.*, XLIX (1940), 282ff.
38. Paul F. Laning, "History of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad in Ohio," M.A. thesis, Ohio State University (1938), 30-2.
39. Newcomer, "Construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal," *O. A. and H. Quart.*, XLVI, 199ff.
40. Elbert J. Benton, *The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies* (Baltimore, 1903), Ser. XXI, nos. 1-2, p. 193.

An Unsuccessful Mission to the Shawanese, 1802

DAVID BACON

THE BACON FAMILY of Connecticut have been sending forth leaders in religion and intellectual pursuits since colonial days. One of the present generation is a poet of ability. David Bacon was born in 1771 at Woodstock, Connecticut, and died in 1817. He early formed a close friendship with David Brainerd, the missionary to the Indians, experienced a deep and thorough religious transformation, studied theology, and in 1800 was commissioned by the Connecticut Missionary Society. He finally made his headquarters at Michilimackanack Island. In April, 1802, as the epistle below commences, he started on his ill-fated attempt to christianize the Indians along the Maumee River. This letter, written to the Trustees of the Connecticut Missionary Society after his return to Michilimackanack, dated July 2, 1802, gives a clear picture of the life of this tribe, and explains better than Bacon could ever know why the Indian could not get along with the white man. Some tedious passages have been excised. Beamont, mentioned in the first line, is his young brother-in-law, fourteen years old. David Bacon is best known in the Western Reserve as the founder of Tallmadge, 1807 (see "Proceedings in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Tallmadge," 1857). The extract below is reprinted from The Connecticut Missionary Magazine, *volume III, and was called to our attention by Mr. Ernest Wesson of Mansfield.*

THE 29th of April I sat out for the Miami in a canoe with Beamont and the man that I had hired; but by reason of unfavorable winds we did not arrive at the mouth of the river until the 4th of May. We were much fatigued with hard rowing, and were several times in danger by the violence of the waves, but God was better to us than our fears. I was obliged to go without the public interpreter, as he could not be spared. I started however, with the hopes of obtaining his brother, who, as I was told, lived but a few miles out of my way;

but after travelling till late in the night to see him, with limbs that were wearied with the fatigues of the day, I was disappointed of him also.—But when I came to the Miami, I learned the reason of these disappointments; for there I found an excellent interpreter in whom the Indians place the utmost confidence, and who served me faithfully for a much less sum than what either of the others would have asked. His name was William Dragoo. He appears to be a very worthy man, considering the advantages he has enjoyed—was taken prisoner on the Monongahela when he was ten years of age, and adopted into the head family of the nation, and is considered a chief.

When I arrived at the mouth of the river, the most of the chiefs were drunk at the traders above. After remaining there two days and finding it uncertain when they would be down, we went up and stored my provisions and farming tools at Fort Miami, eighteen miles above. Hearing there that the most of them had gone down, we returned the next day to the mouth. The day after, I found that Little Otter, the head chief, and one other, were all that were in the main village where we were, and that the rest all lay drunk in the neighboring villages. In the afternoon, I spent several hours with these two, in explaining to them the origin and designs of the Missionary Society, and the benefits, temporal and spiritual, that they might expect to receive from having me among them. They appeared to pay good attention, and when I had concluded, Little Otter observed in reply, that the Great Spirit had been listening, and that they and their young men had been listening to all that I had said, that he believed it was true—that the air appeared clean and no clouds in the way, and that he would assemble his chiefs and hear me again as soon as possible; but that till then, he could give me no further answer. This was Saturday the 8th. Through the sabbath following, we enjoyed peace and quietness in the midst of them. Hitherto the most of them had remained sober. But the following night we were disturbed with the rattles and drums of a number of individuals who spent the night in conjuring over a poor sick child in order to save its life; but it died within a day or two after. Near morning they

began to drink, and by 8 o'clock several got to fighting. But at the request of the sober Indians, who chose not to interfere, we parted them, and after some time made out to pacify them, though one of them was so far enraged as to attempt to murder his antagonist. As soon as this disturbance had subsided, I called on Little Otter, who informed me that he should not be able to collect his chiefs that day, as we had expected, as most of them were still drunk; but added, that they would be sober the next day, as they were preparing to have a dance the Tuesday night following, and that if it was possible, he would assemble them in season to attend to my business first, though he tho't it doubtful whether they would be able to give me a hearing till after the dance. The next day he called upon me and informed me that they would not be collected in season, and observed that as I was sent there by the Great Spirit, and my business was important, it would not do to have it hurried; and that as it was necessary to have them all sober before we entered on the business, he wished me to wait three days, as they would not be prepared sooner, and as I might expect by that time to find them wise, and ready to attend to me. As there were sick people who needed my charity, and as others were constantly begging from me, I had then disposed of all my provisions, and found it necessary to go up to the fort for more. . . . As we had a strong head wind, it was with difficulty that we got but five miles up the river that afternoon. We encamped about a quarter of a mile above their dancing ground. My interpreter advised me to go with him to see them that evening; and I had a desire to be present, as I supposed that I might acquire some information that might be useful; but I thought it would not be prudent to be among them that night, as I knew that some of them were intoxicated, and that such would be apt to be jealous of me at that time; and that nothing would be too absurd for their imaginations to conceive, or too cruel for their hands to perform. But as a son of the head chief was sent early next morning to invite me down, I went to see them. I had the greater desire to go, as this is their annual conjuration-dance, which is celebrated every spring, on their return from hunting, and at no other

time in the year. No one is suffered to take a part in it, who has not served an apprenticeship, and been regularly admitted. Their number used to be but small, and consisted of men only; but it is now very great, and consists of men and women and children that are above the age of 12 or 15. It appears to be a very growing evil among them of late; and is as much of a secret as free masonry. My interpreter, who has been bred up with them from a child, told me, that he knew nothing about it, as he had not thought fit to join them. Satan has not been ignorant of what has been doing, of late, for the spread of the gospel among them; and I believe that this, and spirituous liquor are the principal engines which he is employing against it. And I doubt not but he is flattering himself with hopes of success; and certainly appearances seem to be in his favor. Mr. Anderson, a respectable trader at Fort Miami, told me that they had been growing worse and worse every year since he has been acquainted with them, which is six or seven years; and that they have gone much greater lengths this year than he has ever known them before. He assured me that it was a fact, that they had lain drunk this spring, as much as ten or fifteen days at several different traders above him, and that some of them had gone fifteen days without tasting a mouthful of victuals, while they were in that situation. Mr. Anderson disapproves of the practice; and by not complying with it, has lost the trade, and has turned his attention to his farm. He treated me very kindly, and seemed friendly to my designs, and very desirous to have me come out there. . . .

Here Bacon goes into a missionary explanation of the Indian conjurers or doctors, and their place and power in the tribe. He decides to go to the dance that night.

While I was there, the chief of their time was taken up in conjuring over their medicine, and in rattling and drumming, singing and dancing. Each of these dancers had skins of fur-animals filled with pulverized medicine, which they would puff into each other's faces as they were dancing. This had very different effects on different persons. My interpreter informed

me that, when it first strikes the face of the newly received members, they fall down motionless and remain for ten or fifteen minutes with scarce any signs of life. As they were admitted at the beginning of the dance, I was not witness to this myself; but when I came there they looked like death, and would fall as soon as it reached them, unless held up; but they would commonly rise again within the space of one or two minutes. On the old ones, who were most experienced, it appeared to have much less effect. They did not fall; but they conducted [themselves] much like persons strangled with snuff. I was told by my interpreter, that when drunken Indians, who did not belong to the dance have ventured in among them, and accidentally received some of the medicine, it has very near cost them their lives. From all this I concluded that it was composed of very poisonous materials; and that the different effects which it had on different persons, was owing to habit. The dancers appeared to be about 150 in number, and very gaily dressed. Their parade was upon a beautiful eminence upon the bank of the river. The turf was taken off of their dancing ground, which was about twenty feet in width and forty in length. In the middle stood a red post with a white feather in the top, round which the conjurers took their stand, who seemed to be musicians to the rest, who were dancing round them. On each side they had bark roofs erected, under which they smoked their pipes and refreshed themselves when fatigued. The most of them had begun to be intoxicated, and some of them were very noisy and quarrelsome; but when they attempted to fight, the rest would hold them till they got pacified, or till they got them drunk enough to sleep. The Indians who did not belong to the dance, were seated round at some distance from the rest, and were merely spectators. I took my stand by the side of my interpreter at the end of a bark hut, within four or five rods of them, where I had a fair prospect. While I was standing there I recollect to have seen one of the conjurers walking about for some time, and looking at me, but I paid no attention to him till I saw him advancing very fast towards me, with a countenance that bespake bad intentions. He was just-enough in liquor to feel insolent and courageous.

The nearer he advanced, his countenance assumed a more threatening aspect. By the time he came within a rod of me, while approaching me with greater speed, he railed out at me, flourishing his fist, and charged me with despising them, and with coming there to make game of them. I must acknowledge, with shame, that I was daunted at the first shock, being off from my guard; but on looking to God for grace and strength, and recollecting that this enemy could not raise his hand without his agency, I was immediately strengthened. As soon as the words were interpreted to me, I replied that he was mistaken, and that what he said was not true, that I had a great regard for the Indians and had come out in a friendly manner to visit them, in order to do them good—that I had been invited there by one of his people, but that I had not come there with the least intention of making sport of them. This, however, did not satisfy him, for he immediately added, that he supposed that I thought that he was poor, and that he did not know much; but he said that he had property at home, and that he thought himself as good as a white man. I replied, that I had a good opinion of the abilities of the Indians, and that he had no reason to think that I was disposed to undervalue them, as I had come out to live with them, to be one of their people, if they were willing to receive me. But he said that he did not want to have me stay there; and observed that when the French came into this country the Wyandots and some others embraced their religion, but that they had not, and did not like it, and had always continued in their own way; and added, that the Great Spirit had made him an Indian, made him red, and made him every way just as he was, and placed him there on that ground; and said that he meant to remain just as he was; and that he did not mean to hear to me. He added further, as I understood my interpreter, that they did not pray; but, pointing to the dance, said that that was the way that they did. I suppose his meaning was, that they did not pray to the Good Spirit, but to the bad spirit, as that is undoubtedly the case when they are conjuring. I told him that I was waiting to have a council with the chiefs; and if they were not generally disposed to have me stay, I should

go away immediately. And I observed that, if I did stay, he or any other one would be at liberty to do just as they pleased about embracing my religion. He held up his medicine bag, and said he supposed I thought that that was a bad thing, and that their way was a bad one; but he said that bag was a good thing, and that there was nothing bad in it; and that their way was a very good one, and much better for them than ours. But he said if we thought our religion was so much better than theirs, he wanted to know why our people did not teach it to their forefathers, when they first came into this country. He said if our people had begun with the Indians then, that they might have learned our religion, and been all of our way now. But he said that their forefathers were all dead and gone; and they had continued in their way so long, that they could not turn about now. I told him that our people did do something to christianize the Indians then, that lived near them; and that they had been doing something since; but that wars between us and them, and a want of ministers, with many other difficulties had prevented them from being able to do much till of late. He then related to me the shameful, and horrid story, respecting the poor innocent Moravian Indians on the Muskingum, who were inhumanly murdered, in the late revolutionary war, by a band of our American volunteers. And he added that they might expect to experience something similar if they received me amongst them. I replied that we were as angry as they could be, but that it was difficult to keep wicked men from doing mischief in time of war. I observed, however, that as we were at peace with our red brothers, they had nothing now to fear, as our good people did not wish to hurt them, and our bad people would not be suffered to do it in time of peace. To cut the business short, as he was disposed to be tedious, I offered him my hand, and told him I must leave him, as I was in a hurry to go up the river—that if I remained there, and he wished to have any more talk with me, he must come to see me; and added that, notwithstanding all he had said, if I came there to live, I meant to treat him well; and that I meant to have him for one of my best friends. At first, he seemed unwilling to receive my hand, but

on hearing that I meant to be a friend to him, he shook my hand, and said if that was the case, he would be a friend to me, and as a token of this, invited me to come and eat meat and bear's grease with him.

This was Wednesday the 12th of May. I then went up to the fort, and as I thought it doubtful whether they would receive me, I brought down all my things. When I returned I found the most of them sober.

Friday the 14th, in the afternoon I got them assembled at the mouth of the river. After a short introduction I delivered the Trustee's address to them; which I endeavored to make as plain and familiar to them as possible. I had read it, and explained it to my interpreter before; but fearing that that would not be sufficient, I took care now, to read him but a few lines at a time, and then, to express the ideas in a language better adapted to his capacity, and more agreeable to their modes of speaking. I think the address was much too long, i.e. that it contained too many ideas on that subject, to them so uninteresting, to be delivered to Indians at once, but this made it much longer. Little Otter was too unwell to attend that afternoon. I was glad that I had explained the business to him before; and I apprehend that he heard the most of it now, as he lay in a flag camp, that was close to the door of the bark house that it was delivered in. From what I could discover, the leading ones who were present, were disposed to treat the matter with neglect, if not with contempt. The most of the chiefs, though not conjurers, belonged to the dance, and I observed that these took a more active part in it than others. Little Otter belongs to the dance, likewise, but he appeared to take a less active part, and he treated what I had to say with much more respect. When speeches are delivered to them, it is usual for most of the chiefs and old men, to give their huoh at the end of every paragraph, or interpretation. It seems to be always a sign of attention, and when breathed out strong, of approbation. When such parts of the address were

interpreted to them as accorded with their notions of things, such as, that there is a God who made all things, and that we must not murder, steal, cheat or lie, &c. they gave the sign of attention that I have mentioned, though with a degree of backwardness. To other parts of the address, they appeared to pay very little attention, and almost wholly withheld the sign of it. We were much disturbed the most of the time by the hallooing, screaming and laughing of a multitude of their young men, who were playing ball round the house. This shows the difficulty of teaching a disorganized people.

Before I began the address, I marked out on the ground, a map of lake Erie, the state of New-York and Connecticut—divided the latter into towns, and described a great house in the middle of each, where our people met to worship God, and hear his ministers—described another at Hartford for the General Association; and, for convenience, another at New-Haven for the Legislature, and a still greater one at the city of Washington for Congress. This excited their curiosity, and served to give them an idea of Connecticut, the number of our ministers and the regularity of our towns; and it helped them to understand those parts of the address which spake of the General Association, the Missionary Society and the Legislature. And it helped me likewise, to give them a more just idea of the importance of the different characters which compose the honorable Board of Trustees, as I could point them to the great houses to which the different civilians belonged; and tell them what important stations they held in them—I informed them that the other six were as great in the ministry. I had taken care before this to let them know that I had a written recommendation from one of the great chief warriors of the United States. I was the more particular with respect to such characters, as they feel the most dependent on these, and have the greatest respect for them. At the conclusion of the address I observed to them, that if their patience was not exhausted I should be glad if they would hear what I had to say to them. And as they readily complied, and seemed to pay better attention, I delivered them a pretty lengthy speech, in which I carefully noticed every thing of importance,

that appeared to me to be to the purpose. Supposing that they might want to know why we had not sent them a minister before, since we were so urgent to have them receive one then, I informed them we had been prevented by wars, by a want of ministers and by their living at such a great distance from us; but that we had sent ministers to the other Indian nations who lived nearer to us.

Having heard of four objections which I supposed they stood ready to offer, I brought them up and answered them.

The first objection was, that our religion was not designed for Indians. In answering this, I availed myself of the declarations and promises of scripture to the contrary, and the command of Christ to preach it to every creature (which I told them I could show them) and the success which he had given to the ministry.

The second objection that I noticed was, that our religion was not good for them. In replying to this, I showed them what effects it would have on their children, on their young men, who it was said, did not mind the chiefs as they used to, and on society in general; how it would fit them for heaven, and give them a sure title to it—that it must be good for them if God had designed it for them—that other Indian nations, to whom we had sent ministers, had tried it, and found it to be good, and they would do wrong to condemn it, or reject it without trying it.

The third objection was, that by listening to me they would expose themselves to the fate of the poor Moravians, who were destroyed by our people, in consequence of their embracing our religion.

In answering this, I observed to them, that they could have nothing to fear from having me among them, or from listening to me, because that our bad men would not be allowed to hurt them now, as our people were at peace with them, and their great fathers in congress were disposed to treat them as their children.

The fourth objection I thought to be much the most important, and the most difficult to answer. It was this, that they could not live together so as to receive any instructions on account of

their fighting and killing one another when intoxicated. Two had been killed but a few days before at the trader's above; and I found that they seldom got together without killing some—that their villages there were little more than places of residence for fall and spring, as they were obliged to be absent in the winter on account of hunting, and as they found it necessary to live apart in the summer on account of liquor; and that the most of them were going to disperse in a few days for planting, when they would be from ten to fifty miles apart, and not more than two or three families in a place. To remove this objection, I acknowledged the difficulty of their living together while they made such free use of spirituous liquor; and proposed to them to begin and build a new village upon this condition, that no one should be allowed to get drunk in it; that if they would drink, they should go off and stay till they had it over, and that if any would not comply with this law, they should be obliged to leave the village.

I then showed them the advantages of adopting the plan—that they would live in peace, as they never quarreled when they were sober—that, with my assistance, they would be able to give their children an education; for want of which they were going on blindfold in their business with white people, who frequently imposed upon them; but who would not have it in their power, if they once had eyes of their own, to see for themselves; as would be the case if their young chiefs and others should get an education and learn to speak English; and that then, they might have books printed in their own language for them to read—that I would show them and assist them what I could about making carts and ploughs, and about ploughing their ground, so that they might improve their horses, which were then almost useless to them; and raise a plenty of corn and wheat, potatoes, squashes and tobacco, horses and cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry—that I would show them and assist them what I could about building a mill, building houses and making furniture for their houses—that I would make them wheels and show them about making looms; and that my wife would learn their young women to make their own cloth—that our good people would send them

on school masters enough to school all their children for nothing —that I would try to have them send on a blacksmith, who was a good man, and would mend their guns and do all their work for them in the best manner, and at a much more reasonable price than what they had to give for it then; besides saving them the trouble of going a great distance for it. I told them that, as their land was excellent, if they would adopt this plan, and their young men would assist their women and children, they might enjoy all these privileges within a few years without working hard; and that then they would have a comfortable home for their old people, and for those who were sick, where they could remain through the winter whilst the others were gone to their hunting grounds; and, what was infinitely more than all the rest, they might then enjoy the religion of God's word, which, if they would rightly attend to it, would make them unspeakably happy forever.

I then brought into view the consequences that would follow if they did not listen to this proposal. I told them that game was growing scarce, and that, as the white people were settling round them, it would soon be too scarce for them to live by hunting— that if they did not teach their children to cultivate the land, and raise their living out of it as we did, that they would soon be so poor and hungry that they would not know what to do— that at best, they would sell their excellent land for little or nothing, and be obliged to leave that pleasant river, and delightful country, and seek a home in some distant and unknown wilderness. And I observed to them, that, since it was thus, I hoped they would listen to my advice; and that they would not only prevent liquor from being brought into the proposed village, but that they would entirely desist from drinking it— that I would have them more afraid of those who brought it among them, than those who came against them with fire-guns. To convince them of this, I assured them that the country between them and the Atlantic, which was once thickly inhabited with Indians, had become almost entirely depopulated, principally by means of this destroying liquor. And I added that this universal drunkenness was very displeasing in the sight of God,

and had provoked him to give them up to die, as it were, by their own hands; and that, if they continued to go on as others had done, they must expect ere long, to be universally swept from the earth in like manner. I told them, that they might think that they could not keep from drinking, but that, if they would strive against it, and pray to the Great Spirit to help them, that he would enable them to keep from it—that, if they had any regard to their welfare, the least that they could think of doing, would be to accept of my assistance, and follow my advice with respect to the village I had proposed, and not suffer any liquor to come into that.

I told them that I might have lived much happier at home, among my dear friends and acquaintance, where we had everything that was comfortable around us; but knowing how much they needed my assistance, and having a great love for them, and being commanded by God, I had forsaken all, and had come a great distance to spend my days with them, in order to make them happy in this world and in the world to come—that I had come by the desire of God's ministers and good people, who tenderly loved them, who had always been their best, and only true friends, both in time of war and in time of peace; and had always been praying to God for them, that they might enjoy those great privileges which they had now been at so much pains and exepnse to help them to—that I had not come merely of my own accord, or by the desire of those good people, but that I was sent there by God himself, who commanded them to listen to me—that since it was thus, if they did not receive me, and attend to the good things which I was sent to teach them, they would make me very sorrowful, exceedingly grieve the hearts of God's ministers and people, and, what was inconceivably worse, they would dreadfully offend the God who had sent me, and make him very angry with them. To conclude my speech to them, I told them that they were not to blame for not having this good religion sent to them before; but that if they rejected it now it was sent, rejected the goodness of God in sending it to them, which had cost us so much trouble and expense, they

would certainly be inexcusable; and that I therefore hoped they would give me a favorable answer.

I was thus urgent with them, because I suspected that the most of them were determined not to receive me. They heard me with the more patience on account of my having furnished them, in the first place, with as much tobacco as they could smoke. As the Trustee's address took up so much time, I should have been glad to have been much shorter; but, as I thought the case doubtful, I was unwilling to omit any thing which might be to the purpose. The most of the chiefs remained together that night. They assembled on the grass the next day, at about 12 o'clock, and sent for me. Little Otter was well enough to attend; and he delivered me the following speech, with several of the ideas often repeated.

Brother, We listened to you yesterday, and heard all you had to say to us. Since that, we have been thinking of what you said to us, and have been talking it over among ourselves, and have made up our minds. Now Brother, if you will listen to us, we will give you an answer. But it is our way to be very short. Our white brothers, when they make speeches, are very lengthy. They read and write so much, that they get in a great many little things. But it is not so with your red brothers. When we go on any great business, and have any great things to say, we say them in few words. Brother, we understand that you are sent out here by the Great Spirit, and by his good people, who live in one of the sixteen fires [states]. Brother, we believe that you have not come alone, or of your own accord; but that you are sent out here, as you say, by the Great Spirit, and by some of his great black-gowns* and great men who make laws. And we thank those great Fathers for being so kind to us. Brother, we like what you have said to us. We know that it is

* Black-gowns, their name for ministers, was probably taken from the gowns worn by the Roman Catholic priests.

all true, and all very good. When you was talking, you kept looking up, and said a great deal to us about the Great Spirit. We believe that there is a Great Spirit, who has made the world, the sun, the moon, the stars, the ground, the water, the trees, and all the men, creatures and things that are in the world. Brother, we understand that you have come to teach us and our children how to worship the Great Spirit; and what we must do to please him, and be happy in this world and in the world to come. We understand that you want to have us raise a plenty of corn and wheat, horses and cattle, and all the other creatures and things that you raise; and that you want us to live like the people that wear hats. And we believe that you and our great fathers that sent you, wish to do us all the good you can—that you want to make us happy not only here, but in the other world; Brother, we know that you spoke true when you told us that our game was growing scarce, and that it would soon be so that we could not live by hunting, as we used to. We feel very poor; and we do not know how we are a going to live, or what we shall do. Now Brother, if you and your great black-gowns and chiefs want to help us, and make us happy, why don't you stop your people from settling so near us? If you would do this, we might have game enough, and do very well.

Brother, We know that it is all true what you say to us about the stuff the white people make, which we like so well. We know that it makes us foolish, and quarrelsome, and poor; and that it destroys us, and has greatly diminished our number—that we used to be much happier before it came among us, and that it would be much better for us, to be entirely without it. We don't make it; Indians don't know how to make it, and have nothing to make it of. If your people did not make it and bring it to us, we should not have it. And if we did not see it we should not care any thing about it. But when we get a taste of it, we love it so well, we do not know how to stop drinking. Brother, since it is so, why do you not stop your people from bringing it among us? If you would do this, then perhaps you might get us to come and live together in one village, so that you might have an opportunity to instruct us, and do us good. But until this

liquor is stopped, we shall quarrel so among ourselves, when we get it, that we cannot many of us live together in the same village; and you will not be able to do any thing with us.

Brother, What you have said to us is all true, but we would not wish to steal these good words or keep them to ourselves. We understand that you was sent out to travel round and visit the Indians in order to find out their minds respecting this business. You have seen but a few Indians yet. There are a great many that live away back of us. If you was to go and see them all, it would take you two or three years. We think you had better go and talk with them all, and see what they think about it. And if they will agree to have black-gowns, we will agree to have one too. That is all your red brothers have to say to you.

I suppose they meant to require me to stop all the liquor, and get the consent of all the Indians to receive ministers, before they would receive me. This, they doubtless thought, would be putting the matter off far enough for the present; and that it would be a more polite way of answering me, than to say *no*. But I was not disposed to take even *no* for an answer, till I had a farther trial. Therefore, as soon as he had finished his speech, I begged another hearing, and delivered them another speech, as lengthy as my first, in which I was enabled, with the greatest ease, to remove every difficulty which they had artfully flung in my way; to represent things in the clearest light, and to press the matter home, in such a manner, as forced them to a fair explanation. But time and patience require me to be very brief in my account of it. I told them the fault with respect to our people's settling so near them, was their own, as they sold them the land—that their observations against liquor, were very encouraging; especially as the same had been made by Little Turtle in his speech to the President, which was in behalf of several nations; and as the same had been warmly expressed by the head chief of the Shawanese—that it was not in the power of our good people who had sent me, to put a stop to it; but that they would rejoice to hear that they were opposed to having it come among them; and that, if they would get the other nations to join them, and petition Congress against it, our

good people would undoubtedly do the same in their behalf; and that they there would be little danger but that the united influence of the whole would prevail; and that Congress would pass a law to prevent liquor from being carried into the Indian country. I assured them that nothing should be wanting on my part to bring this about. . . .

The missionary goes on to enlarge on the blissful state which will result from abstention from liquor, and building their village, and teaching their children. He ends with an appeal based on his great love for them, likening himself to one of their children who will not leave their fathers.

They went alone, and were very secret in their consultations with respect to an answer. After deliberating for some time, they sent for me to hear Little Otter's reply. The first part of it was mere repetitions of a few things that were nothing to the purpose; Occasioned, as I suppose, by a reluctance to come to the main point. The principal ideas contained in it, expressed in fewer words, are as follows. Brother, the most of our horses are wild. In order to catch them, we have to catch one of the tame ones first, and then we can draw the rest in so as to secure them too. It seems that you think that the Indians are like these horses. You consider us to be the tamest, and imagine that if you begin with us that you will be able to draw in the whole. But we are all wild, and if you was to try ever so long, you could never get us to live together. You can go home, or write home to the great Fathers who sent you, and let them know how it is. Tell them that it is not with their red brothers as it is with the white people; that you have tried all that you could, to have us live together, and that you could not get us to do it; and that if they were to try ever so much, they would never be able to do any thing with us; and that this is the way of their red brothers. Brother, your religion is very good; but it is only good for white people. It will not do for the Indians. They are quite a different sort of people. When the Great Spirit made white people, he

made them just as they be, and put them on another island, and gave them farms and tools to work with; and he made horses and horned cattle, and sheep and hogs for them, so that they might get their living that way. And he learned them to read and gave them their religion in a book. When he made Indians, he made them wild, and put them in the woods on this island, and gave them the game that they have, so that they might live by hunting. So that he did not make us to live like the white people. The religion, which we used to have, was very much like yours. But we found that that would not do for us; and we have lately discovered a much better way. We have now got so that some of us come to life again. There, stripping up his shirt sleeve, do you see that black spot on my arm? Well that was put into my arm when I lived before, away in the open country. Afterwards I came to life here on this ground where you see me. If you had only proposed to school our children, you might have got here and there one to attend to you, but we are afraid of your religion. We find that it will not answer for us, and therefore we cannot listen to you. You mentioned that you had come a great ways to see us. We go a great ways, sometimes to see folks, and get news; but if we do not get any news, or make out any thing, we don't mind it, or think any thing of it. This is all that your red brothers have to say to you.

The Interpreter told me, that what they meant by the new way, was conjuration.

Little Otter, though said to be clever, is a very shrewd old man, and capable of deceiving if he is disposed for it; but, from what I could discover, I am of opinion that he was in favor of having me come there at first; and am inclined to believe that in delivering these speeches he spoke for the conjurers, rather than himself. It was evident, at least that he was not half so bitterly opposed to me.

At the close of this last speech I told them that I had nothing more to say, only that I thanked them for treating me so civilly, and should always wish well to them—that I was sorry to find them so dreadfully deluded, and that they would be forever sorry for it in the world to come. I then shook hands with the whole

and left them. The Interpreter appeared very sorrowful. This was Saturday the 15th, and near night; but as we had every thing in readiness, and the wind favorable, we sat out and went several miles that evening. As the wind was fair the next day, and as we were on the Lake shore where we were liable to be detained with contrary winds for many days, and were on expence, and my call to be home was very urgent, we sailed about half of the day; and we were so far favored as to be enabled, with hard rowing, to reach home before noon the Tuesday following. We were blessed with good health, though we were exposed to wind and weather, and were obliged to lie upon the ground almost every night. . . .

The remainder of the letter discusses a proposed mission to the Indians at Arborcrosh.

CAPT. JAMES RILEY

Founding of Willshire

JAMES RILEY

THIS LETTER, *now in the Hayes Memorial, was first brought out in "The Collector" for June, 1942, by Miss Mary A. Benjamin, director of the firm of Walter R. Benjamin, New York City.*

The little we know of James Riley comes from his "Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig 'Commerce' on the Western Coast of Africa, with a Description of Tombuctoo," prepared from his journals and log-books by Anthony Bleecker and published in 1816.

A true Connecticut Yankee, Riley was born in Middletown on October 27, 1777, and at the early age of fifteen became a sailor. He was soon made the master of a vessel and in 1808 commanded the "Two Marys," which was however seized and confiscated by the French. He did not fare any better with the brig "Commerce," for, as the title of his book indicates, it was wrecked in 1815 off the coast of Africa. He was captured by the Arabs and enslaved by them for eighteen months, suffering such untold hardships and cruelties that his weight was reduced from 240 to 60 pounds!

Fortunately he was ransomed by William Willshire, British Consul at Mogadore, whom the United States Government reimbursed during the Presidency of James Monroe. He then formed the determination to seek fortune in the west and to found a town in honor of his deliverer, as he tells in the letter printed below, addressed to John F. Watson, author of "The Annals of New York." He became an outstanding citizen and was elected to the Ohio Legislature. He once more embarked on a seafaring career in 1831 and engaged in trade again with the Mogadore ports. He died in 1840.

Willshire, Van Wert County, Ohio,
July 3rd, 1824.

Dear Sir:

Your esteemed favour of May 1st came to my hands by the Last Mail and I am thankful for your kind remembrances and in

reply will give you a concise history of my movements since I wrote you Last.

In the Spring of 1819, having obtained from the Surveyor General at Chillicothe, O. (through the influence of my friend Josiah Meigs, late Commissioner of the General Land Office) assurances that I should be employed as a Deputy on the Public Survey in this State, I came here, and commenced to run off into Townships, Ranges, and Sections, the lands then lately purchased from the Indians, in the N.W. section of this State, in which employment I was continued during 3 Seasons at $3 per mile,—Bearing myself all expenses. The unwholesomeness of the Climate, the swampy Country I was forced continually to wade and traverse through, the heavy expences of Packing provisions 100 miles and more in a wilderness, of Horses killed by the flies and insects and fatigue, and the sickness I was doomed to endure during three seasons successively together with sickness of Hands, etc., etc., left me very little profit and my Public work concluded in 1822.

In 1820 I removed my family to Chillicothe and the winter following having made a small purchase from Government of 360 acres I settled my family here on the Banks of the St. Mary's River which, running 40 miles N.W. unites with the St. Joseph's at *Fort Wayne in Indiana* and forms *the Miami of Lake Erie* as you see by reference to any recent map of this State.

In this wilderness I built a Log Cabin and literally stowed my family into it, being 15 miles from any inhabitants and 5 from any road or path. My object was to Establish mills, to build up a town, which would be likely to perpetuate the Name of *my benefactor,* to Establish my children in a new country where with proper industry and energy and good conduct they might rise with the Country and to be where by taking advantage of the River which is navigable six months in the year—and the *N. York Grand Canal,* trade might be established between this and the Atlantic Cities.

With these objects in View, I began to build a saw and Grist mill in 1821, and in 1822 Laid out the Town of Willshire. A state and post road are established through the town and a Post

Office was opened here in '22, and about 20 families settled in my Vicinity form a sort of Neighbourhood which frightens away the *wolf, Bear,* and other wild and ravenous beasts which prowled around us and destroyed our domesticated animals for the first two years and by their cries and yells frightened my *town bred* family.

Sickness forced us to quit our residence the 1st Season for several months, but we returned in the winter. The forests bow before the axe of the *redeemed Captive,* cultivation smiles around us, and fruit trees, the seeds of which were planted *by our hands,* begin to yield us their delicacies. Melons and succulent plants are abundant now and although we have suffered much privation, have been forced to haul and pack our provisions more than 100 miles through swamps and marshes, we now raise our own bread stuffs, meats, etc., and my family (who have passed a *tremendous seasoning*) enjoy good health and comparative contentment. My *mill dams* have *broken,* my *money is expended,* and my *credit* consequently *Low,* but industry and energy will, I hope, resuscitate resources, and get me out of my embarrassments, which are however, not a little increased by an *accumulation of postages* to the amount of about $200 *per annum* and mostly from friendly correspondents which, however, I am glad to receive and yet money is hard to be obtained in this wilderness. $500 now would restore my mill dams and enable me to realize $200 per month by the sale of plank and yet I cannot obtain that sum on Loan or mortgage on property worth $8,000.

Permit me to thank you for your letter to the President (Monroe). I have known him and he me, *personally,* for about 15 years. He has been always friendly *in words* but every office must bend to the *rule of expediency* and although more than one half of the members of the 18th Congress, together with the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, solicited for me an appointment in 1822 and 3, I have not yet obtained one, so that you need not think it strange your request was not attended to.

For the many flattering compliments you pay me both in your

letter to our Chief Magistrate and myself, I feel grateful for like *Doctor Mitchell* I am not ashamed of my Vanity since it is the lot of the human family "to love flattery."

Of the good opinion of my fellow Citizens I shall always be proud, and endeavour to merit both that and their good wishes by my Conduct through life. My friends evinced that opinion the last year by Electing me a member of the House of Representatives of our State Legislature, and I have endeavoured in that new station not to disappoint their expectations, and have the satisfaction to know that my public acts are highly approved by my Constituents, consisting of the Citizens of the Counties of Darke, Shelby, Mercer and Vanwert.

My own companions in slavery have never been heard from since the year 1817, nor have the utmost exertions of Mr. Willshire been the means of rescuing any more from that dreadfull bondage. Although the Govt. furnished funds to any amount, it is feared that if still alive they are carried far into the interior behind the Atlass Mountains where they must end their days in *bondage* and *despair*. My friend Willshire was alive and well in March, 1823. I have not heard from him since. Will you not buy a Lot in my Willshire? It is now fast thriving. Several Mechanicks are established here, and this place was recently established by the proper authority as the *seat of Justice* for this County. I have sold some Lots containing 81 square rods at $100 and have still several on the publc square unsold. Should you wish it, I will send you a plott of the Town. Please present the respectful compliments of my wife and daughters and myself to your family, and I am with much regard your friend and Servt.

JAMES RILEY

Accustomed to the Luxouries and Comforts of Atlantic Cities, my family find it rough to dispense with many of them, to fabricate their own clothing and to drink domestic tea and coffee, and yet not a murmur escapes their Lips. They are free and not slaves.

John F. Watson, Esq.

Father Machebeuf on the Sandusky

THE RIGHT REVEREND JOSEPH P. MACHEBEUF, *pioneer priest of Ohio, New Mexico, and Colorado, Vicar Apostolic of Colorado and Utah, and First Bishop of Denver will live forever in history. But the Father Machebeuf of history will dwell forever in the hearts of posterity chiefly through the vivid portrayal of Willa S. Cather. How she gradually grew into her incomparable and deeply moving work, "Death Comes For the Archbishop," through extensive travel in the southwest, through an understanding of the beauty of the legends, the role of the Catholic church, the expression of that country in the art of the missions, through a feeling for Archbishop Lamy of New Mexico as "a sort of invisible personal friend," is told in her letter to "The Commonweal" of November 23, 1927. She became more and more curious about this pioneer churchman "who looked so well bred and distinguished. In his pictures one felt the same thing, something fearless and fine and very, very well-bred—something that spoke of race. What I felt curious about was the daily life of such a man in a crude frontier society.*

"Two years ago in Santa Fe," she continues, "that curiosity was gratified. I came upon a book printed years ago [1908] on a country press at Pueblo, Colorado: The Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, by William Joseph Howlett, a priest who had worked with Father Machebeuf in Denver. The book is an admirable piece of work, almost as revelatory about Father Lamy as about Father Machebeuf, since the two men were so closely associated from early youth. Father Howlett had gone to France and got his information about Father Machebeuf's youth direct from his sister, Philomene. She gave him her letters from Father Machebeuf, telling all the little details of his life in New Mexico, and Father Howlett inserted dozens of them, splendidly translated, into his biography. At last I found out what I wanted to know about how the country and the people of New Mexico seemed to those first missionary priests from France. Without those letters in Father Howlett's book to guide me, I would certainly never have dared to write my book. Of course, many of the incidents I used were experiences of my own, but in these letters I learned how experiences

very similar to them affected Father Machebeuf and Father Lamy." In Willa Cather's book, the Archbishop, Jean Marie Latour, represents Archbishop Lamy, and Father Joseph Vaillant represents his friend, Father Joseph P. Machebeuf. This brief excerpt gives an inadequate idea of her story of the development of the art of this marvellous work. Those interested should read the entire letter.

Father Machebeuf's letters from Ohio have also been preserved by Father Howlett in his life. They are personal and intimate. They give in detail the thoughts and feelings of the young missionary about the people and this raw country. He had a gift for description, and for entering with zest into struggles of his people to acquire a foothold, to colonize and survive. This 27 year old man was a born pioneer. It had cost him deep anguish to leave his widowed father, his sister and brother in Auvergne. He had to steal away, and in this crisis his friend, Father Lamy had come to his rescue. It is impossible to do justice to Father Machebeuf's life in this introduction. He arrived in Ohio in 1839, and Bishop Purcell assigned him to Tiffin, and from thence he travelled about doing missionary work. First, however, he made a trip from Lower Sandusky (Fremont) to Perrysburg, which is described in the first extract from his diary. He eventually moved from Tiffin to Fremont, and then to Sandusky, building churches in each place which are yet flourishing. He then returned to his home, travelled to the Holy City, had an audience with Pope Gregory XVI (deliciously described by Willa Cather), returned to Ohio, and finally went west at the request of his friend, now Bishop Lamy, to undertake the great work of his life. The letters here reproduced from Father Howlett's work were all addressed either to his sister Philomene or to his father. We appreciate the privilege of using them.

IN THE beginning of November, 1839, I visited for the first time the Irish laborers working on the National, or macadamized, road, then being built through the Black Swamp from Fremont—at that time Lower Sandusky—to Perrysburg on

the Maumee river. I was at Lower Sandusky, where I received kind hospitality from Mrs. Dickinson and Mrs. Rawson, two very respectable French ladies married to Protestant gentlemen, when I learned that a good number of Canadian farmers had settled on Mud Creek, nine or ten miles down the river. I went there immediately and found over thirty families, mostly from Detroit and Monroe, Mich. During the few days I spent with them I had the consolation of seeing all of them approach the sacraments in the best dispositions. A good widow lady gave a beautiful site for a chapel on the banks of the river, and to make a beginning, I appointed some pious ladies to teach the catechism on Sundays and a few days during the week, and I promised to visit them every month. To facilitate the keeping of my promise I bought a Canadian pony, on credit, and borrowed a saddle. Thus equipped, I returned to Lower Sandusky, where I rested a day and then began the long and tedious journey through the Black Swamp to the Maumee river.

The National Road was graded and partly macadamized. but it was very rough, and I traveled only a few miles a day. The first day I had gone only five or six miles when I came upon a party of good Irishmen working upon the road. They recognized me as a priest, and asked me to go to a large log cabin at some distance to attend a sick man. It was in November, and while I was warming myself, my pony was put in a stable and another cabin was got ready for me. I found that there was no sick man, but that they had perpetrated this pious fraud to keep me for the next day, which was Sunday.

I made no objection to the arrangement, for it suited me very well, so on Sunday I set up my little altar and said mass and ventured to say a few words to them in English. After mass I had four or five children to baptize, and the generous men were so thankful for the privilege of hearing mass in that wild country and of having their children baptized that they gave me almost enough money to pay for my pony. Promising to visit them again on my return, I set out for Perrysburg, rejoicing that I had been stopped on Saturday for the sick (?) man.

At that time Perrysburg was but a poor little village on the east side of the Maumee river. I found there only one Catholic family, poor Canadians, in a little cabin. I said mass for them and then crossed the bridgeless river with great difficulty and went to Maumee City on the other side. There I found two or three Catholics, said mass for them and set out for Toledo.

Toledo was then (1839) a real *mudhole,* on the banks of the Maumee. It consisted of a few frame houses, some log cabins, an extent of swamp and an array of ponds of muddy water. A worse feature was that a large number of persons were sick with the Maumee fever. There were a few Catholic families and five or six single men. I said mass for eight or ten persons in the frame shanty of a poor Canadian. There were a few other families along the river and in the country, so I remained a few days at Toledo to give them a chance to hear mass and go to confession.

As none of the houses of the Catholics was large enough to accommodate our little congregation, we rented a "hall" over a drug store and fitted it up with an altar made of dry goods boxes covered with calico. In my later visits I found a few benches and two brass candlesticks. This was the first church of the good Father Rappe when, in 1841, he was sent from Chillicothe to take charge of Toledo as its first resident pastor.

At Chillicothe Father Rappe lived at the house of Major Anderson, a pious convert who could speak French. It was here that I first met Father Rappe, while he was learning English from the good major.

From Toledo I went back to Maumee, and kept visiting the little towns along the banks of the Maumee river, such as Providence, Napoleon, etc. The most of the Catholics in this section were Irishmen, working on the canal, chiefly near Napoleon. As they all lived in miserable tents, crowded and filthy, there was no corner for me among them. On one occasion when I had engaged what was called the parlor at the village tavern, I came in after a hard day's work just in the mood for a good rest. I had heard confessions and said mass in the mess tent of one of the camps, and had visited several other camps, above

and below the town. This time I was especially tired, and anticipated with pleasure a quiet evening by a comfortable fire.

When I returned to the tavern I noticed that a great many teams and saddle horses were hitched to the fences, and that the tavern was crowded with men. I was obliged to go in by the back door, and was told by the landlord that court was being held in the house.

Napoleon was the county seat, the tavern was the largest house in the town, and my room was the largest convenient room in the tavern. This, then, had been appropriated by the judge, who sat in my chair, the jury was sitting on benches and boxes, the prisoner was in one corner of the room, and the witnesses and spectators were in all the remaining space.

I went to an old log cabin, which answered for a dining room, and there I took my supper and said my office. When it began to grow late, and as I was very tired, I resolved to go to bed in spite of the fact that the court was still in session. I pushed my way through the crowd and found my bed occupied by three men sitting crossways. I whispered to them that this was my bed, and I would be obliged to them if they would move, as I wished to retire. They rather hesitated, but as I insisted they got out. Fortunately, the bed had curtains, and these I closed carefully, and behind them I proceeded to undress and prepare for bed. The situation caused a little merriment, but I did not mind that and was soon fast asleep.

Some hours later I was awakened by the adjournment of the court and the loud voices and heavy boots of the men. The prisoner came to my bed and asked me how I got along. I told him, very well, and asked him what was the decision of the court. He informed me that he got clear. He then left, and for the rest of the night I had a quiet and undisturbed sleep. The next day I continued my journey, going as far as Independence, where I found a few Catholic families.

Well pleased with my first visit to the public works, I returned slowly to Tiffin, where I remained until the end of December.

About that time I heard that Bishop Purcell was expected

at a small town south of Tiffin, and I went there to meet him. The good Bishop received me very kindly and kept me with him a few days to help him in his visitation. Before returning he told me that as I was able to get along fairly well in English, he would appoint me pastor of Sandusky. Here there was neither church nor house, and only a few Catholic families, whose acquaintance I had first made whilst attending a sick call there from Tiffin.

Tiffin, February 14, 1840.

Very Dear Sister:

At last I have received your letter of Sept. 20. A fortnight ago as I was passing the postoffice I went in to see if there might not be some letters for me, and you can imagine how agreeably surprised I was to find there the letter for which I was so long waiting. It must have met a good many storms while crossing the sea, for I saw by the postmark that it left France on the 27th of September and did not reach New York until the 17th of January. It gave me the more pleasure because I had waited so long for it. I was very much moved by the affection which so many persons wished to testify for me, and I have read and re-read it with an almost infinite pleasure, and each time the tears would come as I saw it signed by so many who are dear to me.

In order to give you a just idea of our missions I am going to tell you in detail what has occurred since I wrote to my father.

The 1st of February, a Saturday, I spent part of the day trying to prepare an instruction in English for the feast of the Purification. In order to get it done the sooner, I pillaged, as we used to say it at the Seminary, all the English books I could find, yet in spite of this precaution I had it only about half finished when night came. I was obliged to leave it so, and as I was about to put some closing touches on this masterpiece of English literature, I was interrupted by the arrival of a young Lutheran, who came to be instructed in the Catholic religion. You may be sure that I laid aside my sermon in a hurry and hastened to give him all the necessary explanations the best way I could. I was pleased to find that he was well instructed upon

many points, for he was well educated, and had seen my confrere several times, and, besides, he had been reading some Catholic books very carefully by himself. He stayed until half-past nine, but the conversation was so interesting that the time did not seem so long. He was very friendly, and before going he said that he wished to make his retractation the following day. I put him off for another week to try him further, and also for the reason that I did not yet dare undertake to hear his general confession. After he went away I let my sermon go, but said my office and prayers and went to bed "right straight," as the Abbé Onzon used to say.

The next morning, as it was known that I had begun to hear confessions in English, I saw a number of persons waiting at the door of the church. I began at eight o'clock and was kept busy until eleven, when I began the high mass. First came the blessing of the candles—not such candles as you have, but candles made here by the Catholics themselves. So far everything was easy and continued so as long as I had the book to read from, but when it came to speaking English without a book—that was another affair. However, I pulled through better than I expected. I said about all I had written, and then I reached out right and left for something more, and scolded them for not teaching their children their prayers, and finally, when I could find no more to say, I did as the Abbé Faure did when he was at the Seminary. He was preaching to us on the crosses and miseries of life, and losing himself in the middle of his sermon, he ended by saying: "My brethren, to shorten your miseries and my own, I will now close by wishing you everlasting life." I had one almost infinite pleasure, however, and that was to give communion to about a dozen persons whose confessions I had heard in English. This was the first time that I heard confessions in English in our home church.

The music was very well rendered at the mass, but the choir outdid itself at vespers. The only music teacher in the town is a German Catholic. He plays upon almost every instrument and his daughter sings for us with several others of the young people of the place. Such was my Sunday work.

Monday morning I took our little wagon and started to visit a new congregation of twelve French and Irish families and two or three Germans. I discovered them by chance about a month ago. They had not seen a priest for eight years, and there was one young French girl among them who had never seen a priest before.

In the evening when I came near the place where the family lives with whom I was going to stay, I did not know the way any farther, so I left the main road and drove to the house of a German Lutheran to inquire the road. He directed me to a little road running through the woods, which I followed until it became so little that it disappeared altogether. There I found myself in the midst of trees and brush without the possibility of going any farther. I then tied my horse to a tree and started on foot to find a way out of my difficulty. I had been at the house before, but I had come in by another road, and now I was at a loss to locate it exactly. I first went to the right and then to the left, but without success. Finally I saw a light in the distance, and I thought I would go and make further inquiries. To reach it I was obliged to climb several fences and cross fields, and when I came to it, it was the house of the German who had given me my first directions. This time his son came with me to show me the way, but another difficulty arose here, for in the darkness I did not know where to find my horse. At last, with the help of the light from the snow, we found him, and my kind guide did not leave me until he brought me to the house for which I had been searching. This is a sample of our little adventures, and they furnish us good subjects of conversation in our recreations at home.

On Tuesday I heard confessions and said mass at the house of a lady whose husband had died a short time before. After mass I heard her speak of removing the body of her husband to a Catholic cemetery, and I remarked that it would be better to build a chapel for the little congregation and have a cemetery of their own. She was so pleased with the suggestion that she offered to donate the ground and furnish all the timber for the chapel. I took her at her word, and calling together all those

who had not gone away, I drew up a subscription paper which everyone generously signed, and arrangements were made for beginning the chapel next week. I myself chose the best location I could find for it—a place on a little knoll near the high road.

After dinner I went eight miles farther to visit an Irish settlement, and they all went to confession, men, women and children, except one man, and I hope to have him the next time.

Wednesday I said mass in a house which poverty made a good representation of the Stable of Bethlehem. There I blessed the union of a French couple who had been married civilly two years before and had not been able to find a priest since that time.

In the evening I left there to go to Sandusky City, and this is the way I took. Between the Irish congregation and the town there is a lake about four miles wide. The ice was so strong that one could drive over it the same as upon land. I know you will say that I was imprudent, but I was not the only one. Ahead of me there were three men in a wagon drawn by two big horses, and this was the second time for them to make the trip that same day. I never had such a pleasant drive in my life. In the middle of the lake I had the pleasure of seeing a boat going upon the ice faster than ever it could go upon water. It had triangular sails and was set upon three skates, or iron runners, about a foot long, and it went by the force of the wind.

At Sandusky City I put up with an American, a Protestant, but one who has great respect for the Catholic priests. He keeps the best hotel by far in the place. The first time that I stayed at his house with my confrere he would not take anything from us, but told us always to come and stay with him. The second time he received me, not like a stranger, but like a son, and the next day, when I had not finished my work at noon, he kept the whole family waiting for dinner until one o'clock. I was really embarrassed by all the attentions he showed me. I made him a present of a book of controversy between Bishop Purcell and a Protestant minister, and he was enchanted with it.

Thursday morning I was kept busy with confessions, mass, etc., and in the afternoon with baptisms and visits. On Friday

I set out for the other Sandusky, thirty miles away, where I found my confrere faithful to the rendezvous for which we had arranged. He was coming from a trip of three weeks on a mission a hundred miles from Tiffin.

On Saturday morning he went home so as to be at Tiffin for mass on Sunday, and I went to a parish about thirty miles away where the priest, a German, had left the diocese. There they were anxiously expecting the priest, and when I arrived I found the table set and an excellent supper ready for me. I did honor to the cook, who, I may say by way of parenthesis, is to come and be our cook.

On Sunday morning I heard confessions in English, and also in German by means of an interpreter, for I have not yet the gift of tongues. Perhaps you did not pray hard for me, as I asked you to do when I wrote to you.

As most of the people there understand English I thought I would preach to them, so I brought out my miserable little instruction of the previous Sunday, after having given it again at Sandusky City. It is a great help for us to be able to give the same instruction at different places.

On Monday I went to the house of a German about half way on the road to Tiffin, where I said mass the following morning in a chapel which they had built in the middle of the woods, after which I continued my journey and arrived at Tiffin in perfect health.

The next day, Wednesday, the young Lutheran made his retractation in the presence of several persons, and I baptized him conditionally. We were all greatly edified at his faith, piety and recollection. The same evening I started again for a little town ten miles away in an adjoining county. I returned yesterday feeling quite well, but after another little adventure which I must relate to you.

On the way my feet were cold, and I thought I would get off my horse and walk a while to warm them. I do not know whether it was the umbrella they gave me against the snow that frightened him, or that he took a notion to warm his own feet, but anyway, he kicked up his heels and started off at a gallop. I could not hold him, and there I was, then, running after my

horse, and he disappearing over a hill. My feet were warm long before I had any other news of him than his tracks in the snow, but finally, as I came to the top of a hill, I saw a young man leading him back to me by the bridle. I rewarded the young man for the service he had rendered me, and remounting, I continued my journey with my body and feet thoroughly warmed up.

Today, I have no need to tell you, after my necessary work all my time is employed in writing this letter. You will not complain that I do not give you plenty of details. I have chosen the largest sheet of paper that I could find, and I shall not stop as long as I have any space to fill.

Sunday there will be no mass here, as I start tomorrow to go and say mass at Lower Sandusky. That is my particular parish, for there are a great many French in the town and around about it. I expect to be gone about eight days.

A short time ago I went out to see a farm of eighty acres which belongs to Bishop Purcell. It is five miles from here on a good road, but in the middle of the woods. We have the benefit of it, and get some hay, corn, etc., from it, but it does not produce much because it is not well tilled.

Before long we shall go to the retreat, and after my return I shall write a long letter to Mr. Molhon. In the meanwhile pray for me, as I do every day for you and the whole family. Many kind things to our dear Papa, our aunt and our little brother. Tell them not to worry about me. I am surrounded by friends, not only among the Catholics, but also among the Protestants.

* * * *

Lower Sandusky, March 10, 1841.

My Very Dear Sister:

It is now more than a month since I received your two letters —one of the 4th of October, and the other of November 14th, but when I tell you of the change in my position, and the long journey I have just made, you will pardon my delay in answering them. I am pleased to know that my letters have interested you.

I think I told you that Father Lamy came to see me at Tiffin

in September, and as Bishop Purcell told me in one of his letters that he would be at Danville, Father Lamy's parish, on the 15th of November, I chose that moment to return Father Lamy's visit and have at the same time the consolation of finding him there whom I regard as a veritable father. I was lucky enough to find the Bishop there, and also a German priest with whom I am very well acquainted. All of them, including the family with whom Father Lamy stays, received me most kindly and gave me a hearty welcome.

During my stay I was delighted to see all the good that my confrere has done. He has converted a number of Protestants, and among them a distinguished family from London. They were once wealthy, but lost their fortune, and are now following the humble calling of the farmer. The Bishop pleased the Protestants so greatly, and so thoroughly disabused them on the subject of the Catholic religion, that several of them have been converted and others are about to follow their example. Nearly all of them call him *their* bishop. I was witness to a controversy which he had with a Protestant minister who was the terror of the whole country round. We had the pleasure of seeing this man humble himself before the Bishop and ask his pardon like a little child.

When I rendered to the Bishop an account of our missions, and told him that a Protestant had given us a beautiful site for a church at Lower Sandusky, he advised me to attend particularly to that place, and visit it oftener than usual so as to oversee the building of the church. I told him that this arrangement would oblige us to give up the Irish who were working on the canal from fifty to a hundred miles west of Tiffin. He then decided that he would send a priest to the other side of the Maumee where the Irish are, that Father McNamee would stay at Tiffin and that I would have charge of Lower Sandusky and Sandusky City, the capital of Erie county. In consequence of these arrangements I have been pastor of Lower Sandusky since the 1st of January, 1841.

Lower Sandusky is eighteen miles north of Tiffin. It is built on the Sandusky river, but in a narrow valley, and the plan of the town extends considerably back upon the hills on each side

of the river. All the public buildings and a large number of other houses are already built. A magnificent paved road runs through the town from east to west, and steamboats and other vessels afford easy facilities of communication with Sandusky City on the shores of Lake Erie. A railroad, also, upon which they are now actively engaged, will soon connect us with the lake.

As we have no church yet I have rented a large store building and given it, as much as possible, the appearance of a church. I have had an altar made, also a confessional and benches with backs to them, as is customary here, and I have rented all of them in order to meet my expenses. What will astonish you is that several Protestant families have rented some of them. Every Sunday a certain number of Protestants, drawn by curiosity, come to mass, and they seem to listen with interest to the instructions. There are no more than ten Catholic families in the town, and five of them are of mixed marriages.

Eight miles from here, on the river, there are about twenty French Canadian families. Among them there is a man whose father was a negro, and he is not a bad image of one himself, but he has given sixty acres of land to the church. For the present, however, he retains the use of it. On it they have built a little chapel, which will be plastered as soon as fine weather comes.

Four miles south of the town there are a dozen families of Germans, who live with such innocence and simplicity as might mark the first Christians. It is in the midst of these that I am living. The family where I stay is quite patriarchal. The good old father, whose long and ample coat with its immense buttons must date from the time of Henry IV, sings mass for me every Sunday, and in this he is assisted by his three sons and three daughters. He himself serves my mass during the week every day where I say it in my room, and he says that he would feel happy to serve it as long as he lived. He began when he was ten years old by becoming a server, then he became sacristan, afterwards chanter, etc. Every evening after supper he gives me a lesson in German, but I think it will be a long time before I shall be able to read or speak it with any fluency. Besides

the families I have mentioned there are many others scattered through the country, and some of them I do not know yet. I have counted about sixty families that come to mass.

I shall not say much to you about our church, as there is nothing certain yet about its location or size. I am counting upon a gentleman who, although of no religion himself, will alone assist us more than half of the parish. He is very rich, and his wife is a Canadian and a good Catholic. He himself has no confidence in any but the Catholic religion. I stop at his place when I am in town, and I am writing this from his house. Locations for the church are offered to us in different places, and I am embarrassed only in the choice. I am in charge of Sandusky City in addition to this place, and probably I shall go there sooner or later to live. We are going to build a church there soon.

* * * *

Lower Sandusky, March 26, 1841.

Very Dear Papa:

Although all the letters that I write to my sister are surely communicated to you, I think that you would perhaps be pleased to receive news from me in a manner more direct and official. I am going, then, to give you today greater details of my present position and work than I did in my last letter to you in February. I suppose that before this reaches you, you will have heard of the pleasure I enjoyed on my trip to Cincinnati, visiting Father Gacon and his inseparable companion, Father Cheymol, and all of that in the company of my dear confrere, Father Lamy, whom I call my neighbor, although he is at least a hundred miles from here.

But let me here express to you again my grateful thanks for the 500 francs you sent me at Paris. It was the last of that sum which enabled me to pay one-half the cost of the little equipage which has served me in such good stead.

You are aware that I am no longer in charge of Tiffin, but of Lower Sandusky, where I am living at present, and of Sandusky City, where I am going to take up my residence pretty soon.

What has determined me to leave Lower Sandusky is that

the town is built in a hollow on both sides of the river, and the atmosphere is not healthy in summer. From August until October a good part of the inhabitants are down sick with the fever. As I think I paid my contribution in that line last year at Tiffin, I do not care to be laid under obligations again this year. Sandusky City, on the contrary, is extremely healthy the whole year, as it is built on the shore of Lake Erie, which is like a little ocean. Its position is rather elevated and its soil is gravelly, so that the air is never tainted with unhealthy exhalations, and the wind, which has a clear sweep, keeps the atmosphere pure and wholesome.

Besides this, the city is destined to become a commercial point of great importance. Everything seems to contribute to the fact. From the north vessels and steamboats of all sizes arrive from almost every part of the United States, and if I wished to pay you a visit, I would only have to board one of these steamboats which would take me to New York by means of the lake, and streams and rivers which are very numerous here and nearly all navigable. From New York, no sailing vessel, but a steamer would take me to Liverpool in fourteen days. From Liverpool to Paris by railroad and the Straits of Dover, two days would be enough. Then from Paris to Riom is but a hop-step-and-a-jump for an American. That is the way Father Lamy and I have fixed up our plan, but we cannot carry it out until we have each of us built two churches. He must build at Mount Vernon and Newark, and I at my two Sanduskys. If, then, you can find some good generous Catholic who will send us 80,000 francs for each church we will both start within a year.

But perhaps I am annoying you by speaking of a project which must seem to you impracticable. Nevertheless, I assure you that it is a project definitely fixed, only we shall have to wait a few years before carrying it out. You will pardon this digression—"out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." Means of travel appear so easy, and the voyage nation, of the happiness of finding myself once more in your arms.

To the south of Sandusky City there is a railroad finished to within eight miles of Tiffin, and it will be completed to Cin-

cinnati in less than two years. This will give travelers the advantage of crossing the entire state of Ohio in a day and a night. It took me six days to make the trip in my buggy.

To the southeast there is another railroad that has fifteen miles in operation, and in a few years will reach Columbus, the capital of Ohio. Besides these two railroads another one will run along the lake shore, and will, I judge, be over 300 miles long. It will go through Sandusky City and connect directly with one which comes from New York. Then another one will cross the state from north to south. With such means of communication, you can judge if hopes for growth are well founded or not.

But, just at this time, everybody is complaining that the times are bad, that money is scarce and business languishing.

Before speaking to you of my Catholics, I want to give you an idea of a bridge they are building for the railroad at Lower Sandusky. As the town lies between two hills they are obliged to make this bridge high enough so that the railroad can pass on a level from one hill to the other. They say that it will be fifty feet high and perhaps a thousand feet long. It will pass higher than the houses, only a little to the north of the town. It will be entirely of wood, but extremely solid. There are already upon the ground about 500 timbers, some of which are from 40 to 50 feet long and a foot square. Perhaps this will astonish you, but you must not forget that here timber is superabundant and covers about three-fourths of the continent, although people are doing their utmost to clear it off the land. What a sight it will be to see a train of eight, ten or twelve enormous cars passing fifty feet above your head! They talk a good deal about the railroad from Brassac to Clermont, but I doubt very much that there is a bridge on it over the Cendre that is equal to this one.*

My congregation at Sandusky City is composed of fifty or sixty families, the greater part of whom are Irish and the rest are German. The most of them are poor, with no resources other than their day's wages. Some few are in honest medi-

* This was the ill-fated Ohio Railroad, never completed.

ocrity, but, thank God, there are no rich, for if the rich of other parts of the world have so many difficulties to overcome in order to save their souls, I do not know how the rich people in this country could win their case before the Supreme Judge.

The Catholics are delighted at having a priest to attend them regularly, especially as they have had up to the present time only very short visits from a priest three or four times a year. There are many evils to reform, and I am glad to say that I have already noticed quite a change, and particularly among the drinkers. The women, however, are about the same all over the world. If you want to publish anything you have only to tell it to one of them in a secret. But everybody shows good will and has great respect for the priest. One thing that will astonish you is that the very Protestants have more respect for us than one-half, I should rather say three-fourths, of the Catholics in France have for their pastors.

Last week I was busy getting up a subscription to build a church, and although most of them have subscribed more liberally than I expected, it amounts to only $1,400 or $1,500, to be paid in the course of a year.

* * * *

St. Alphonsus', Peru, October 4, 1842.

Very Dear Papa:

Finding myself again pastor of the Germans for a few days, I profit by a leisure hour to give you some news of myself. You will excuse my paper—it was the best that I could find. I have written several letters without receiving any answer, but I shall not return the reproaches I received for my supposed neglect. I will simply say that whether you receive news from me directly or only indirectly, be perfectly easy in your mind, and resigned to that good Providence which treats me here as a spoiled child. In order to reassure you upon a point which your affection for me makes of special interest to you, I will begin by telling you that my health is all that could be desired. The air of Sandusky agrees with me perfectly.

Now, what news of America? If I had come here to make my fortune I would say that things could not be in a more sad

condition. Business is almost dead and work is suspended upon all large enterprises. Grain is at such a low figure that it will hardly pay the cost of cultivation. Wheat, which should bring a dollar a bushel, and has brought that price, has gone down to 50 cents, and even to 35 and 40 cents in the interior of the state. It has been sold in Indiana for 25 cents. All other provisions are cheap in proportion. The best meat costs 4 cents a pound, chickens 12½ cents a pair, and an 18-pound turkey may be had for 25 cents. As for fruit, it is not sold except in the towns. In the country you can go into an orchard and eat and carry away as many apples as you want. Butter is 5 cents a pound, N. O. sugar 3 cents, and so on down the list.

You see, then, that no one need starve here. There is hardly any money in circulation, and as the majority of the population is composed of farmers, they are greatly embarrassed to pay their debts and procure clothing, which is much dearer here than in Europe.

But if I were to answer the question as a priest engaged in procuring the glory of God, the salvation of souls and the advancement of religion, I would not hesitate to answer that everything is most flourishing. Just as the holy religion to which we have the happiness to belong was established by Our Saviour only in the midst of poverty, humiliations and sufferings, and nevertheless spread through the whole universe in spite of the bloody persecutions, in the same way this divine religion ought to be established in this new world in poverty, in contradictions, and in the most atrocious calumnies on the part of Protestants. But it is a consolation for me to announce that while I am writing, there are more than fifteen churches being built to the glory of God in the State of Ohio, and I am not speaking of a large number of chapels which the Germans, the Irish and the French are putting up in the country and in the woods, and that, too, when the times are the hardest. All of the French priests who came to America when I did are busy with a church or a chapel. Father Lamy has two churches almost finished—one of brick and the other of wood. Father Rappe, whom I mentioned to you before, has two churches almost ready to be blessed, one of which he bought from the Protestants two years ago. Father

De Goesbriand, a Breton educated at St. Sulpice, has added 25 feet to a church which he found already built. As for me, I have two in the principal county towns and a chapel for my French people in the bargain. The one at Sandusky City is entirely of stone, with windows, front and corners trimmed with cut stone. It is 40x70 and is under roof. The church at Lower Sandusky is up to the roof, but it is of frame and is extremely simple. I shall send you a plan of them when they are finished. I know you will like the one at Sandusky City. It is in the pure Gothic style. The first story of the belfry is 40 feet high, and the steeple will come later and rise 30 feet higher, so that the gilded cross will be seen shining far out upon the lake. I have a good portion of the stone ready for my presbytery, but when will I build it? I have not a single dollar to pay the rent of my house where I have lived since May, and I think that I shall be obliged to get a cheaper one.

I think that you will approve of the choice that I have made of the patron saints of my churches. My intention was to put the church at Sandusky City under the protection of the Blessed Virgin, but as there was one already dedicated to her on Lake Erie, the Bishop wanted me to give it to the Holy Angels. I did so choosing St. Michael, your own particular patron, as the principal patron, hoping that he would now protect the father in a more special manner while guarding the interests of the parish confided to the son. In the Seminary chapel at Cincinnati there was a fine picture of St. Michael, six feet high, that drew my attention. I asked the Bishop for it and he gave it to me. Since then I got two beautiful pictures four feet high, representing the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, and this was the plan I used to pay for them. I had them placed on each side of the altar in the large hall that we were using for a church. The following Sunday my people were greatly surprised at seeing these fine paintings and wondered how and where I got them. They dazzled the good Irish especially, some of whom had never seen brass crucifixes, medals or paintings. After mass I said to them: "These pictures are ours if we can collect the price of them, otherwise they must be sent back to Buffalo." At the words "sent back" I heard a faint murmur that promised well. I told

them that the young ladies of the parish had bought the artificial flowers, the vases, laces, etc., and now it was the turn of the gentlemen to make their little presents to the church, and that I was ready to take the names of those who would contribute towards paying for the pictures. The most of them came up eagerly to subscribe, and those who did not come I went to see, so that in less than three days our pictures were paid for, and even some Protestant ladies helped us in paying for them.

After this digression, already too long, I should tell you that the church at Lower Sandusky will be dedicated to St. Anne, that I may pray with greater confidence for my dear Aunt Anne.

Now, I think I hear Sister Marie Philomene ask if I have forgotten her patron. How could I forget her patron when it was I who gave her that patron? Her chapel is built by the Sandusky river on an elevated spot surrounded by trees where the scenery is most picturesque. It was consecrated to St. Philomena by the Bishop last year, and now my sister has permission to scold me for forgetting to tell her this piece of agreeable news. If my brother had a name which was more common in America I would have given it to my French chapel twenty-five miles farther away, but I found there were so many by the name of Louis that we dedicated it to St. Louis, King of France.

Apropos of the retreat, I must tell you of the joy and consolation which we all felt at being together again with our holy Bishop, and especially of the good we derived from our retreat. I felt my old impressions at Mont-ferrand revive, but I am afraid that the wild life we lead here, and, above all, the levity and inconstancy of my character, will cause me soon to lose the fruit of it. It was preached to us by the Rev. Father Timon, Superior of the Lazarists in the United States. There were thirty of us. What a difference from the Diocese of Clermont. Forty priests in a diocese as large as one-third of France, and 600 priests in the Diocese of Clermont! Forty priests in my parish would have plenty to do.

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Forty priests would have plenty to do. We leave Father Machebeuf with that word, as he works among the pioneers.