Northwest Ohio Quarterly

Volume 16

Issue 3

The President's Page

What Is the Federal Bill of Rights?

A SURVEY recently conducted by the National Opinion Research Center discloses that only twenty-three per cent of the American people know the answer to this question.

Most certainly our members are included in this twenty-three per cent, but we are not at all certain that our members are aware of how securely this Bill of Rights has been affixed to our fundamental law, and the difficulties which would be encountered by those who would deprive us of any of these rights.

In the Convention which adopted the Constitution a motion in favor of a Bill of Rights was voted down. It was argued that the people themselves would possess the power of enacting their own laws and selecting those who would execute them, and that therefore it was unnecessary to incorporate into the Constitution specific guarantees of these rights.

It was argued further that it would be dangerous to attempt to enumerate the rights to be protected; since if some of the rights were omitted from the enumeration, it might thereafter be claimed that there had been delegated to the General Government the power to take away the rights not enumerated, and that any right not expressly mentioned might be presumed to have been purposely omitted.

Mr. Roger Sherman of Connecticut stated in the Convention that the State Declarations of Rights were not repealed by the Constitution, that, being in force, they were sufficient to protect the people, and that the legislature of each of the states may be safely trusted. Mr. George Mason of Virginia replied, that the laws of the General Government, being paramount to the laws and the Constitutions of the several states, the Declaration of Rights in the separate state Constitutions furnished no security.

Mr. Thomas Jefferson, who took no part at all in the proceed-

ings of the Convention, serving as American Minister to France when the Convention met in Philadelphia, was among the leaders of those who insisted on a Bill of Rights being made a part of the Constitution. While Mr. Jefferson *loved* the common people he did not fully trust them or their elected representatives. He once said in speaking of the Virginia Legislature that one hundred and seventy-three despots could be as oppressive as one, and that an elective despotism was not the Government we fought for. Mr. Jefferson wanted a Bill of Rights incorporated so firmly in our fundamental law that no despotic ordinary majority or plurality could deprive the people of any of these Rights.

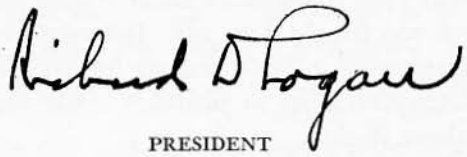
Mr. Alexander Hamilton believed that it was unnecessary to include a Bill of Rights in the Constitution. His main argument was that our Constitution was founded on the power of the people, and that the Federal Government possesses only those powers which are granted to it, all other powers being retained by the people. Therefore, why deny to the Federal Government the exercise of powers which it never possessed? For those who may be interested in learning the additional reasons given by Mr. Hamilton for the omission of the specific guarantee of many of these rights from the Constitution, we refer you to his very interesting argument in No. LXXXIV of the Federalist.

However popular feeling ran so high that a promise that a Bill of Rights would be incorporated in the Constitution in the form of amendments was found necessary to induce some of the principal states to ratify the Constitution. These amendments were proposed at the first session of the Congress.

Assuming that Mr. Hamilton's reasoning was faulty, and that the Federal Government would have the power to deprive us of these rights, none of them can be abrogated, unless the procedure required by Article V of the Federal Constitution is observed. This Article V reads in part as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States shall call a Convention for proposing Amend-

ments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; . . . and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate."



PRESIDENT

News

President Logan called the annual meeting of the SOCIETY for April 28, postponed for various reasons due to war exigencies from January. The regular election of Trustees and officers resulted in the re-election of Walter A. Eversman, Will F. Broer, and Julian H. Tyler for a three-year period. Two new Trustees, Horace E. Allen and Curtis W. Garrison, were elected for a three-year term. The officers were all re-elected, save that on Mr. Black's asking that he be excused from serving further as Treasurer, and Mr. Garrison requesting to be relieved from the duties of Secretary, Mr. Carl B. Spitzer was elected Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. Schunk, Librarian reported on the binding problem, and a resolution was passed that Messers. Schunk, Gosline, and Spitzer form a committee to go into the question of binding needs and recommend binding up to the sum of $100 for 1944. An important gift of fifty-two volumes from Mrs. Walter J. Sherman was reported by Mrs. Mildred Shepherst, of the Local History Room of the Toledo Public Library where our collections are housed. This includes the rare and important *Fireland Pioneer*. Also included was a silver Lorraine or Patriarchal Cross found in 1879 near Grand Rapids, Ohio. It bears the trade mark of Charles Arnoldi, a silversmith of Montreal. Arnoldi emigrated to Boston in 1768 and, being a Royalist, fled to Montreal during the American Revolution.

During our summer vacation, the Anthony Wayne Legislation Committee and the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association have combined business with pleasure and held two very pleasant meetings in which their objectives were materially

advanced. [Readers will find accounts of the first two meetings and the membership in previous issues of the NORTHWEST OHIO QUARTERLY: Editor.] The third meeting was held at Greenville, June 16 and 17. It was decided there to present a joint Senate and House resolution to the next General Assembly "establishing the Anthony Wayne Parkway as an Ohio State Memorial to the achievements of General Anthony Wayne." The Committee also considered a synopsis of a bill prepared by Mr. Ralph Peters of Defiance to create the Anthony Wayne Parkway Authority and to define its powers and duties. This synopsis was tentatively approved, and action will probably be taken at the Piqua meeting which will be held shortly. The fourth meeting of the Legislative Committee with members of the Association, held on Kelley's Island, September 8 and 9, saw no further action on the bill.

In general it provides that the Anthony Wayne Parkway Authority shall have the power, either alone or in cooperation with other state departments or agencies, to plan, construct, maintain, and supervise the Anthony Wayne Parkway in a district comprising the counties traversed by the military expeditions of Wayne, Harmar, and St. Clair. The Authority is to consist of six commissoners appointed by the governor and five state officers, serving ex-officio. Provision is made for cooperation with local authorities in securing and maintaining the Parkway; and municipal, county, and township authorities are requested to cooperate with "The Authority." The members would be appointed from the counties traversed by or adjacent to the old military trails. These counties are Hamilton, Butler, Clermont, Warren, Preble, Montgomery, Greene, Darke, Miami, Clark, Shelby, Mercer, Auglaize, Van Wert, Putnam, Paulding, Defiance, Henry, Wood, and Lucas.

At the Greenville meeting a school essay contest was proposed, and at the Kelley's Island meeting, Chairman Grey (Senator from Piqua) of the Educational Committee reported on developing plans. Director Ray of the State Department of Education outlined a definite plan in a letter, stating his willingness to have the Department sponsor it. Pupils of private and

parochial as well as public schools would participate, and the contestants would be divided into three classes: the first six grades, the next three, and the three upper classes of high school. Senator Grey said that the D.A.R. and the Jr. O.U.A.M. had cordially endorsed the idea.

Dr. M. M. Quaife, President of the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association, gave a scholarly talk at the Greenville meeting on the occasion of the dramatic re-enactment of the lighting of the "council fire," lighted 149 years ago when Wayne negotiated the treaty with the Indians. At the Kelley's Island meeting he presented an important and comprehensive report of a research project, to be completed in five or six years at an estimated cost of $128,000. This would ultimately result in the publication of several volumes, which would be final authorities on the Indian Wars and Wayne's Campaign.

One of the most interesting of published materials during the year has been the authoritative map, prepared by Dr. James H. Rodabaugh, Research Associate of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, showing very clearly the Anthony Wayne campaign, as well as the traces of Generals Harmar and St. Clair. The map clears up several errors and mistakes and includes all the sites of forts. Chairman Ralph W. Peters of the Committee on Publicity and Promotion reported that mats of this map had been widely published by newspapers. This Committee has been publishing a sheaf of Anthony Wayne news regularly in a form adapted for newspaper copy, called the *Trail Blazer*. This has proven popular. They are also planning to prepare booklets for new legislators. Chairman Guy Hawley at the Kelley's Island meeting appointed a Ways and Means Committee to finance the publicity.

Both meetings were well attended. Chairman Hawley in his home town of Greenville provided notable entertainment. The Kelley's Island affair was altogether delightful and informal. For news of these events we are greatly indebted to our associate editor, Mr. Spencer A. Canary, President of the Bowling Green *Daily Sentinel-Tribune,* who evidently enjoyed both occasions hugely, from his accounts in his paper.

Old Fairfield on the Thames

LILLIAN REA BENSON

BURIED from sight for more than a century and a quarter and even its exact location forgotten, the old Moravian mission center of Fairfield on the Thames, seventy miles east of Detroit, has been discovered and excavations carried on which bring it not only to light but almost to life. The discoveries which have been made are of interest to the people of Ohio for from this state came the migration in 1791 of the Moravian missionaries and their Delaware Indian charges which led to the founding of the station in Canada.

In October 1813 the settlement vanished from sight amid smoke and flames following the battle of the Thames, its destruction merely a minor incident in the successful invasion of the province of Upper Canada following upon Perry's victory at Put-in-Bay. At that time Fairfield was, and had been for some years, a prosperous Indian village, a center of trade and a center also of religious influences extending beyond its own confines. The destruction of the place ended twenty-one years of peaceful and happy existence and it might have seemed at that time that never again would Old Fairfield be anything more than a name.

All this has been changed, however, for excavations undertaken in the spring of 1942 and continued through 1943 have revealed not only the physical aspects of the long buried village site but have given many clear indications of the sort of life that was lived therein. Credit for the instigation and carrying on of the work of excavation and proposed restoration (for this also is very much in mind) must go to John R. MacNicol, resident of Toronto and a member of the House of Commons of Canada, who was stirred by the story of the Moravian missions in Ohio and by seeing the fine work that had been done in that state in the way of restoration of earlier scenes of Moravian effort.* Impressed by the importance of the contribution made by the

* Schoenbrun, an Ohio State Memorial, has been restored by the Ohio State Museum.

View of old Fairfield looking along the village street toward the west showing the Moravian Church and the houses of the missionaries and of their Indian charges. This early picture, now preserved in The Public Archives at Ottawa, was painted by Lt. Bainbrigge, a British army officer in Canada.

United Brethren, he stirred the interest of others and the plans which are now being carried out will make Fairfield a center of historic interest not only to the people of Canada but to visitors from the United States as well.

The United Brethren, or Moravians as they are more usually called, first came to America in the 1730's and eventually established their headquarters at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from which place missionaries went out among the Indian tribes seeking to Christianize them and bring them to a more settled life. A number of mission stations were established among the Delawares of the Muskingum River valley, but in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary years there was tragedy for both the missionaries and their Indian charges. The pacifist principles of the United Brethren caused them to be regarded with suspicion by both sides in the border struggles while their Indian converts were constantly being importuned to join the war parties and threatened with death if they would not do so. One settlement after another was destroyed and the inhabitants scattered or killed, some by whites and some by the Indians. Finally, it was recognized that a move must be made to some safer locality, preferably at a distance from hostile white settlements and off the regular Indian trails. To this end application was made to the British authorities for a grant of land and in 1791, under the leadership of David Zeisberger, a move was made from New Salem in Ohio to a location at the mouth of the Detroit River and after a stay of about a year to the banks of the Thames River in the newly-organized province of Upper Canada over which Colonel John Graves Simcoe had recently been appointed lieutenant-governor.

Zeisberger was a voluminous diarist and it is from his daily entries that we chiefly learn of the foundation and life of this little settlement. He remained at Fairfield until 1798 and during that time gave leadership and direction of a high order to the enterprise. Accompanying him in the removal to Upper Canada in April 1792 were his wife, Brother Gottlob Sensemann, and his wife, Brothers William Edwards and Michael Jung and between 140 and 150 Delaware Indians.

Zeisberger was not a young man, having just celebrated his seventy-second birthday. He had suffered hardships and experienced many disappointments during his life as a missionary to the Delawares, but he possessed great fortitude and a sublime faith in divine protection. Thus armed he had set out on the pilgrimage that would take him and his people into a country of which he knew practically nothing.

It was not until May 7 that the village site on the Thames was finally selected, a location with "plantations," as earlier Indian clearings were described, above and below on both sides of the river. Immediately all fell to work. There were trees to cut, land to clear, shelters to be built, and corn to plant. The enthusiasm of the Indians at their tasks cannot be doubted for many times Zeisberger writes in his journal of their zeal and industry. In a surprisingly short time they had built huts for themselves and their leaders and had cleared and planted a goodly acreage.

By the middle of June the Zeisbergers and Sensemanns were able to move into small log houses which were later to be converted into stables when more suitable dwellings could be built. On July 12, 1792 the first religious service was held in the newly completed meeting-house. It was a temporary structure but, nevertheless, was equipped with doors and benches and even had a bell to summon the Indians to worship. The next community building to be erected was the schoolhouse, and before the end of the year the Brethren and their helpers were reported busy cutting timber, squaring it, and splitting it into boards to be used for that purpose. "To the young people," says Zeisberger's diary, "it was joyful news, they went to work gladly, saying: Now is there hope of our again having school." In summing up the year's activities on December 31, just eight months after their arrival at Fairfield, Zeisberger wrote in his diary:

> We still find cause to praise the Saviour; we came here in May and chose this place for a settlement and according to appearance, and so far as the country on this river is known to us, it is the best and fittest for us

> in all respects, for we find everything here which is requisite. It was a perfect wilderness, and the building site thickly grown with heavy timber, and now already nearly thirty good houses stand here, among them many dressed block-houses. More than a hundred acres of land has been cleared and planted, and everyone who comes here wonders how the much labor they see with their eyes could have been performed.

When Zeisberger wrote of "the much labor they see with their eyes" he was perhaps thinking also of a different kind of labor, the results of which were sometimes not so readily discernible. Each day brought its social and spiritual problems. The Indian Brethren were required to practice their religion, not merely to profess it, and their leaders were continually being called upon to explain patiently and carefully some rule of Christian living. Nor was this the task of the missionaries alone, for Indian assistants were appointed by the church whose duty it was to admonish and advise the members.

The Moravians viewed it as of the highest importance to equip the red man so that he would be capable of making a living for himself under such conditions as would prevail when white settlement advanced. They taught the Indians methods of agriculture and also the business of marketing their corn, as much as two thousand bushels being sold in 1794. The Indians made and sold large quantities of maple sugar; they also grew wheat, a new venture and an experiment about which they were enthusiastic. When white people began to settle in the region the Indians' knowledge of carpentry enabled them to assist newcomers to build their homes. They made roads and constructed a needed bridge at the north end of their village, a boon to travellers passing along the trail to and from Detroit. Bees were first introduced into southwestern Ontario by an Indian from Pettquotting (New Salem) who brought a hive with him to Fairfield. The formal education of the children was carefully supervised, and we can imagine how pleased Brother Sensemann would have been could he have seen the remark in Zeisberger's journal that "many of them [the school children] can write a good English hand, better than many clerks with the merchants

in Detroit." How delighted he must have been also when his pupils went in a body to cut wood for him at his sugar hut so that he need not be absent from school any longer than was absolutely necessary.

Fairfield was a pleasant village, with its two rows of evenly spaced houses, each with its garden, the church and school, and the whole surrounded by well cultivated fields. It is not surprising, therefore, that settlers coming into the district found themselves influenced in their choice of location by a desire to be near Fairfield. Indeed, numerous requests by whites for permission to locate in the village itself or on the Moravian lands had to be refused. The Brethren's first duty, it was explained, was to their Indians. They thought it unwise for them to live in too close proximity to the whites and sought to shelter them from the dangers of exploitation or unjust treatment which too often came when the white man had dealings with the Indian. However, to the weary traveller, be he Indian, trader, pioneer, or governor, the Moravians were generous and hospitable and since the village lay directly on the overland route from Niagara to Detroit, they had many visitors. Parties of Indians left their sick to be cared for. Settlers and traders sought shelter there, and sometimes children were placed under the protection of the missionaries while their parents attended to necessary duties.

The little tower-crowned church at Fairfield served a large parish in the period around 1800, for it was the first and for some years the only Protestant church west of Brantford. David Zeisberger makes frequent mention of visitors at the services. Many of the settlers' children were baptized by Gottlobb Sensemann and Brother Michael Jung was in such demand to preach in a nearby settlement that arrangements were made for him to conduct service every second week at the home of one of the pioneers.

Thus year after year the busy life of Fairfield went on. The village grew, new houses were erected, more land was cultivated, and fruit trees planted. In 1798 the Zeisbergers and Brother Edwards with some of the Indians returned to the Muskingum

River; Brother Sensemann died in 1800 and was buried in Hat-Hill cemetery at the southwest corner of the town. Brothers Schnall and Denke arrived later and with Michael Jung they carried on the mission work until once again war between the United States and Great Britian brought suffering and destruction.

It was October 1813 when, with the British forced to withdraw from Detroit and retreat eastward along the Thames River, the final chapter in the story of Old Fairfield was written. For a few days the village was occupied by the retreating British force, church and school being utilized as hospitals. Then, after the defeat of General Procter and the death of Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames, the Americans under General Harrison entered the town. It seemed at first as if the missionaries would remain unmolested but before long soldiers began to pillage the houses at will, carrying away whatever took their fancy and loading their plunder on rafts to be floated down the river. The Brethren were accused of concealing British soldiers and it was claimed, too, that some of their Indians were hostile to the Americans and had joined with Tecumseh. Upon these grounds the torch was put to the village.

The Moravians were driven out. Brother Denke took the Indians to Dundas near the head of Lake Ontario and Brothers Jung and Schnall began a long and wearisome trek back to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. As they left the town behind them Schnall remarked to Michael Jung that "even if the town was destroyed, the flames could not burn up the prayers in behalf of this mission which they had offered in the church, the gardens, the fields and the woods, and the Lord would surely in His own good time re-establish His work here."

The work did go on, for in September 1815 the mission of New Fairfield was established and a town plot laid out on the Moravian lands across the river from the original site. There it remains to this day. The Brethren continued their missionary work until the end of the century, building a new church around 1817, but in 1903 they gave the work over to the missionary society of the Methodist Church of Canada (since 1925

incorporated in the United Church of Canada). Through the years the little spired church and the mission buildings gradually fell into disrepair and eventually were little used. This was the situation when Mr. MacNicol's interest was first aroused. Today, largely as a result of his efforts, the church has been restored and several services of particular interest have been held there, the most notable being that on the first Sunday of May in 1942 which was almost one hundred and fifty years to the day from the time when Zeisberger and his followers arrived at Old Fairfield.

It would have been surprising if many of the visitors at that first service of commemoration had not raised the question as to the location of the original Moravian settlement. At that time no complete answer could have been given. It was known that the site was in the vicinity of Hat-Hill cemetery, mentioned in the early records of the mission and still containing one small broken grave-stone. Local tradition was to the effect that the village lay buried beneath the adjacent highway. Mr. MacNicol and his associates were determined that if possible the whole site should be thoroughly explored and suitably protected. Wilfred Jury, curator of the Museum of Indian Archaeology at the University of Western Ontario, was asked to undertake the excavations and under his direction most interesting finds were soon being made. In the end he was able to uncover practically all that portion of the former settlement save what lay beneath the concrete highway. Happily, only a portion is so buried from view, though unfortunately this portion includes the site of the old church.

Mr. Jury had the benefit of two early maps of Fairfield, one drawn by the surveyor Patrick McNiff and a sketch map made by Captain Robert B. McAfee, an officer in a Kentucky regiment at the time of the Battle of the Thames. Zeisberger's diary and other writings of the Moravians were also of much value while the little Hat-Hill cemetery, standing today in the middle of a ploughed field, and a creek mentioned by Zeisberger roughly set the bounds of the early village. Preliminary probing and digging revealed indications of foundations and by the

time the work had been completed in 1943 almost all the houses indicated on the earliest map had been located.

The care with which the houses and other buildings had been placed was well shown during the course of the excavations. In a preliminary report Mr. Jury says: "It was apparent that the Moravians were careful builders as the stones selected for the foundations [i.e. the corner stones] were of hard granite, flat on both sides and light enough to be carried by a strong man. An exact distance was maintained between them. The most durable timber was selected for bed logs, usually swamp or red oak."

In cellars beneath the houses of the missionaries were found quantities of carbonized corn, beans, squash, and sunflower seeds, and in one place a large earthenware vessel contained the carbonized remains of some maple sugar. The missionaries had fireplaces for heating and cooking but the Indians built their fires in round pits in the center of the house, being lined with clay to a depth of a few inches. Window glass, brought from Detroit, gave some added comfort to the missionaries' homes.

The objects found at the site of the schoolhouse indicate that education was of a vocational character. Needles and awls, a plane blade, an anvil, cold chisels and hoop iron all indicated that the Indian children were taught useful and practical accomplishments. A gun was found that had been repaired by using a bit of an old brass kettle, yet to make a finished job the patch had been decorated to correspond with the original fitting. The most interesting find was the top portion of a pocket sundial of a type later identified as being in common use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was so well preserved that the hour markings were still visible when it was picked up.

Today Old Fairfield is the property of the United Church of Canada, and its affairs are looked after by a Fairfield Trust. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada has prepared plans for the improvement of the grounds and in due time it is expected that replicas of a few of the buildings, the church, the school, Zeisberger's house, etc. will be erected, thus giving

to later generations some idea of what the place looked like before 1813. More than that it will be a monument, as are similar reconstructions in Ohio, to the memory of the humble Moravian Brethren who, at the very beginning of the present province of Ontario, erected this religious foundation which in the 1940's has taken on new life and vigor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

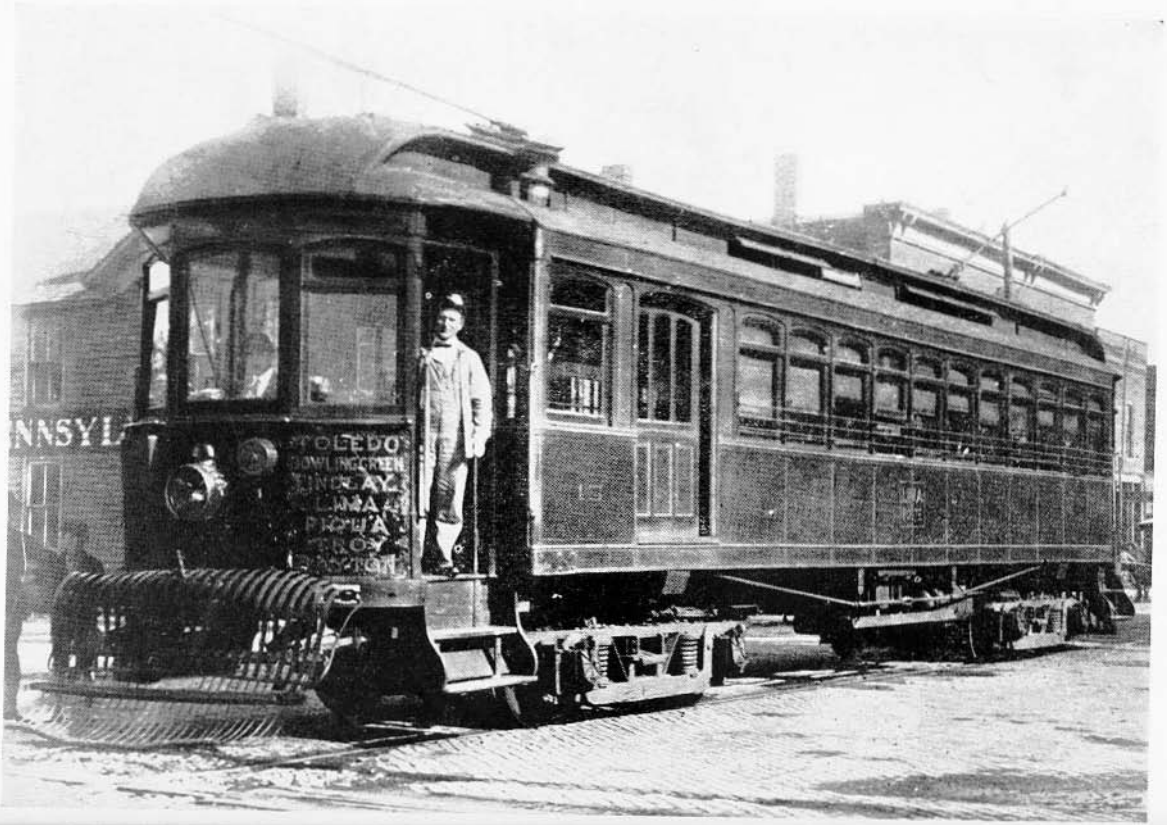
Eugene F. Bliss (ed. and comp.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1885.)

Henry A. Jacobson (comp.), "Dispersion and flight of the missionaries and Indians living at Fairfield, Canada, in October, 1813." Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions*, V, pt. 1, pp. 27-47.

Wilfrid Jury, *Report of the Fairfield excavation, 1942-1943*. (Not yet published.)

Nancy E. Scott, "Lights and shadows of the Moravian mission," *Michigan History Magazine*, XXIII, no. 4, pp. 367-76.

London *Free Press*, Issues of June 30, 1941; April 23, May 4, August 15, 1942; July 17, 1944.


TOLEDO

Findlay's Interurban Golden Spike Ceremony

JOHN KELLER

AN IMPORTANT event in the history of transportation in the United States took place in Findlay, Ohio on December 30, 1905, when a gold spike was driven at the corner of Main Street and Lima Avenue to complete the connecting of the electric railway systems of Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio.

Nearly forty years ago the automobile was a novelty for the very rich, and few improved roads existed. Steam railroads had such a rapidly expanding business that many gave scant attention to local passenger business and little heed to hauling local freight. So it was only natural for most citizens to be enthusiastic about the new electric interurbans. They meant swift, frequent, inexpensive service that would connect not only towns and cities, but would give rural life new meaning.

"It is impossible for anyone who was not living in the rural community where there was no thought or knowledge of automobiles, but where the community had the possibility of getting an electric railway, to realize the vision which such a possibility encouraged."[1]

The first decade of the present century witnessed the building of more than 2,000 miles of electric interurban railways in Ohio. This development came as a direct result of the definite success of electric street railways in most cities in the state after 1890. In 1893 successful interurban service was opened between Sandusky and Norwalk on the Sandusky, Milan and Norwalk Electric Railway. This was followed by the Akron, Bedford and Cleveland in 1895. Soon numerous other interurban roads were projected and several constructed. By 1900 many plans were under consideration to build lines between nearly all Ohio cities. Not least among these was the scheme to connect Toledo and Cincinnati. Many of the roads considered were not to be interurban but were to be strictly rural, fashioned after the street railways of New England which were so successful.

Ohio and Indiana had the physical characteristics of ideal

locations for pioneer electric railways. Numerous cities and suburban areas could furnish the necessary business. At first the roads were built primarily for passenger service and for short distances only. Equipment was very crude and expensive and soon became obsolete. The early lines had to do a great deal of experimenting at immense cost to themselves. However, a few of them made money and enthusiasm for them for several years knew no bounds. Farmers were so anxious to be on the line of an electric railway that they gladly donated land for the right of way. Most cities and towns granted franchises and usually subscribed for stock or made outright grants of money.

Unfortunately dishonest promoters capitalized on the popularity of the electric railway. Roads were promoted which would never be able to secure the necessary business to keep them operating. In some instances competitive lines were built which were ruinous to each other. There seemed to be a lack of careful planning in many of the schemes presented to the public. Nobody could realize the revolution which was to take place in transportation within a few years.

Because of overbuilding, dishonest promoters, too high capitalization in some cases, failure to realize expected earnings, high accident rates, and for other numerous reasons, the credit of electric railways suffered severely. By 1904 it was usually difficult to finance electric railway building. Only when huge banking syndicates entered the field to form the Ohio Electric Railway or the Union Traction Company of Indiana did people have any desire to invest their securities.

In spite of all the unfortunate factors which attended their building and operation, the interurbans did bring certain advantages which enhanced their popularity. They made a definite contribution by making educational advantages more accessible to thousands of people. Their frequent service between points also had the advantage of landing passengers in the heart of a city or town without additional cost. County and state fairs took on a new meaning because folks were able to secure the necessary transportation. Activities of religious, military, and fraternal groups were increased. Baseball trolley leagues were or-

ganized. Farmers frequently had to spend less time going to and from town. An electric railway was often the means of marketing produce and milk. Many roads had milk runs. Daily newspapers in the cities were able to increase their circulation greatly and give fresh news to a much larger area. Some roads which had surplus power sold it to communities along the line. Many towns would not have had electric lights until years later had it not been for the interurban. Theatrical groups were able to tour the country much easier, and their patrons were carried swiftly to and from the old opera houses.

Possibly it is difficult for us to realize that pleasure riding developed to an amazing extent. Many interurban companies owned parks or lakes. Groups and organizations chartered cars for excursions and trolley parties. Many an older person can still recall the thrill of riding behind the motorman of an open car on a hot summer night. Low excursion rates were offered frequently by most roads.

At campaign time politicians could secure a special car and visit as many communities as possible in the state. For many years the governors of Ohio frequently used the services of the interurbans out of Columbus. These roads were very proud of being chosen for this duty. It was not unknown for candidates for the presidency of the United States to charter a special car to tour the state. Among the early electric railways in Ohio were the Toledo, Bowling Green and Southern, The Toledo, Fostoria and Findlay and the Western Ohio. By 1905 the Toledo, Bowling Green and Southern operated between Findlay and Toledo. At the latter city it connected with the Detroit, Monroe and Toledo which then was already operating into Detroit and with the Lake Shore Electric which operated to Cleveland. The Western Ohio operated from Lima to Piqua, to Celina and Minster. At Piqua it joined with the Dayton and Troy Electric and the Dayton, Covington and Piqua, both of which entered Dayton. Out of Dayton other roads operated to Columbus, to Cincinnati and to Indiana cities. At Lima the Western Ohio also had a connection with the Ft. Wayne, Van Wert and Lima which had recently been completed.

Plans to close the thirty-one mile gap between Lima and Findlay had been made as early as 1902 when the Western Ohio opened service from St. Marys to Lima. Franchises in cities and towns along the proposed route were secured in 1903. The remainder of the right of way was obtained in 1904. In January 1905 the Cleveland Construction Company began actual construction for the Western Ohio Railway Company. This would have occurred at least two years sooner had the credit of electric railways not fallen to such a low level. The syndicate of Mandelbaum and Pomeroy of Cleveland with the assistance of Cleveland bankers did the financing.[2]

As the work neared completion the importance of this connecting link became increasingly evident. Publicity concerning it became nation wide. The Ohio Interurban Railway Association voted to send a delegation to view the actual joining of the Toledo, Bowling Green and Southern and the Western Ohio.[3] What leaders in the industry were thinking is shown by the gesture of the *Street Railway Journal,* the leading publication in the street and electric railway field, when it presented Mr. F. D. Carpenter, General Manager of the Western Ohio Railway, with a gold spike to be driven in commemoration of the event when the two roads were joined.[4]

It was planned to have the Golden Spike ceremony in Findlay on Saturday, December 30, 1905, at one P. M. at South Main Street and Lima Avenue. The Toledo, Bowling Green and Southern also owned the Findlay city line which extended the length of Main Street in both directions, although their interurban cars did not operate south of the center of the city.

A gang of men worked all night in order to have the track ready for the ceremony on the following day. The weather which had not been pleasant for several days moderated.[5]

On Saturday morning visitors from near and far came into the city for the celebration. Street and electric railway officials from many points in this section of the United States began to gather. A special group from Cleveland came in a magnificent special car of the Cleveland and Southwestern Railway. A group from New York were also on hand. A little later the parlor car

Harriett of the Dayton and Troy line came into the city from Dayton with a party from that section of Ohio. Indiana was represented by a number of men from the roads in the state. Another special car brought a group from Toledo and Michigan cities.[6]

It had been planned to have two Western Ohio cars bring guests from Lima, but at almost the last minute, W. K. Schoepf, general manager for the syndicate which owned the Lima Electric Railway, forbade the use of some new track in the north end of the city of Lima by the interurbans. He excused his conduct by the statement that the track in question was not sufficiently well ballasted. Two cars were immediately sent from Findlay to the north edge of Lima by Mr. Charles Smith, General Manager of the Toledo, Bowling Green and Southern. The first of these operated by Mr. B. W. Murrin arrived in Findlay a little before five o'clock in the afternoon. It took about one hour and thirty minutes to bring the celebrants from Lima.

The ceremony was performed immediately. President A. E. Aikens of the Western Ohio held the spike and in four blows it was driven into the tie prepared for it. A large crowd witnessed the event. In the gathering darkness a short address was delivered by Honorable S. S. Wheeler of Lima. In the meantime, the second car returned from Lima, and after the address the special guests retired to the Phoenix Hotel where a banquet was being served. Mr. F. D. Carpenter served as toastmaster. Mayor C. B. Metcalfe of Findlay welcomed the guests to the city and congratulated the railway officials. Mr. M. J. Blake of New York spoke for the *Street Railway Journal.* Mr. F. L. Pomeroy of the Mandelbaum-Pomeroy Syndicate made a few remarks for the financial backers of the new line. More than a hundred people enjoyed the occasion. Mr. Carpenter had the gold spike before him (removed from the tie for preservation)[7] in a little case on the table. It carried the following inscription: "Last spike in the connecting link of Ohio, Indiana and Michigan electric lines by the Western Ohio Railway. Findlay, Ohio, Dec. 30, 1905. Presented by the *Street Railway Journal.*"

It was several days before the new track in the north section of Lima was ready for service. On January 10, 1906, regular service was begun at two hour intervals between Lima and Findlay. After months of careful planning through limited service between Toledo and Dayton, a distance of 162 miles, was opened. This was one of the earliest long distance electric railway schedules.

The connecting of the systems in Findlay had a greater significance than is usually realized. The service which resulted proved that electric locomotion was adapted for long distances. It definitely showed electric railway operators and others that the industry had outgrown the earlier narrower outlook. Within a short time the quality of service demonstrated that the day of the electric railway as an experiment was over and that it was a definite American institution.

The officials of the various connecting roads soon developed an extensive freight and express service, but only after numerous fights with city officials concerning the right to operate freight cars over city streets.

The Lima-Findlay Division of the Western Ohio joined some seventy interurban lines with a total of 3,700 miles representing an investment of $110,000,000. It was possible to ride by electric car from Bay City, Michigan, to Cincinnati, Ohio, over 300 miles—or from Titusville, Pennsylvania, to Crawfordsville, Indiana, approximately 615 miles. A great impetus was given to other electric railway groups to finish important links. In 1911, after completion of the Fostoria and Fremont Railway through service was opened between Lima and Cleveland.

Early in 1906 the Ohio Interurban Railway Association and its sister organization, the Indiana Association, were merged. Thus the Central Electric Railway Association was created. It had a permanent office and a secretary located in the Traction Terminal Building at Indianapolis. Its Traffic Division drew up uniform schedules and rates. It developed the interchangeable coupon books for passenger traffic. The Association also made a standard book of operating rules and standardized procedures, line clearances, and equipment wherever possible.

At one time, excursions by electric car were widely adver-

tised from Indianapolis to Niagara Falls via the Findlay-Lima connecting link. Early in the 1920's through service between Cleveland and Indianapolis via Findlay also existed.

By 1915 the development of the private automobile definitely made serious inroads upon the interurban railways. World War I gave them more traffic for a few years, but also accentuated several of their problems. The intensified depression years after 1929 caused most of them to be abandoned. The private automobile doomed their passenger business, and the motor truck took their freight traffic which had largely been their support during the last years. The coming of the automobile followed so closely upon the heels of the development of the electric railway that we have usually failed to grasp the significance of electric railway services to our society.

Although little of Ohio's once proud interurban network of over 2,600 miles remain today, the electric railway as such is still important. From Boston to the Pacific coast many of our most important cities have suburban, elevated, interurban, and subway systems without which they could not exist. In cities like Chicago and Cleveland no other form of transportation has been able to take the place of the street car and give adequate service. Chicago also has excellent suburban and interurban roads. To those who have never seen it, the new equipment on street and electric railways will give as much of a thrill as that of forty years ago gave to their parents.

The further extensive electrification projects on steam railroads shortly before World War II was made possible in large part by the experiments of the early interurban line.

Many of the men who built the traction roads helped to tear them up within a generation. In the present transportation crisis we could use the interurban service to advantage.

NOTES

1. Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (Harpers, 1926).
2. *Street Railway Review,* January, 1906.
3. Proceedings of Meeting, Ohio Interurban Railway Association, December 28, 1905, p. 136.
4. Findlay *Morning Republican,* December 29, 1905.
5. Findlay *Daily Courier,* January 1, 1906.
6. Lima *Times Democrat,* December 30, 1905; January 1, 16, 1906.
7. *Street Railway Journal,* January, 1906.

Samuel Crowell's Account of a Seneca Dog Sacrifice: An Introduction

F. M. SETZLER

TO THE ethnologist, especially a student of the Iroquois, this eye-witness account of an important Indian ceremoney is an interesting distributional link of the many aboriginal traits which spread throughout the country due to actual migrations of people and indirect contacts. No doubt many of our present American traits (both good and bad) are being distributed and somewhat assimilated in a worldwide basis at the present time. The review by Dr. William N. Fenton (see p. 158) of this account places it in its proper context so far as one phase of an important Iroquois ceremony is concerned.

To the archeologist all such eye-witness accounts of an illiterate people, their habits, their tools, clothing, and household equipments are completely lacking. Nevertheless from the fragmentary objects of a non-perishable nature such as stone, bone, shell, copper, and the like, a systematic reconstruction of the prehistoric cultural periods have been defined.

For the past 15,000 years our native state appealed to many of the various prehistoric Indian groups. Just prior to the coming of the white pioneers it became a region worth struggling for by the better known historical Indian groups. Even though no specific site has been reported wherein the cultural remains of ancient man have been found in direct association with Pleistocene fauna, numerous characteristic projectile points have been recovered from surface sites to indicate that Folsom man roamed the hills and valleys of Ohio between 15,000 and 20,000 years ago.*

In those sites of New Mexico, Colorado, and adjoining states,

---

* H. C. Shetrone, "The Folsom Phenomena as Seen from Ohio," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly*, July, 1936. Folsom man was one of the stone age people living in North America at the end of the last glacial period (late Pleistocene).

where the tools of Folsom man have been found in direct association with now extinct animals of the Pleistocene fauna, no evidence of the dog has been recovered. Anthropologists have long assumed that the dog accompanied man in his first migration from Asia via Behring Straits to North America. However, our earliest evidence of the dog, not a domesticated wolf, occurs much later. The desiccated remains of two such animals were recovered from White Dog Cave in northeastern Arizona associated with a prehistoric culture known as Basket-maker and dating about 500 A.D. These and other dog remains so widely distributed in both North and South America are true dogs, in no way derived from coyotes or other native dog-like animals of America. Thus far the Old World ancestors of our aboriginal dogs remain to be determined, as well as the time when they reached the New World.†

No doubt prehistoric man was familiar with the dog about the beginning of the Christian Era as a wild camp follower, soon becoming attached to man as a pet, source of food, or an animal of burden.

After 500 A.D. very few archaeological sites of a semi-sedentary and later sedentary peoples have been excavated which did not produce evidence of the Indian dog. Thus for a period of 1,500 years the American Indian was as intimately associated with the dog as our own American culture. Before the European introduction of the horse as a beast of burden the dog played a very vital part in the living habits of the Indians, especially those residing on the Great Plains.

One can readily see from Crowell's description the important role selected dogs played in the ceremony of the Mingos who had associated with the Seneca Indians. As indicated by Dr. Fenton, the White Dog Sacrifice constituted the high point in the mid-winter festival. Just when and how the dog became the important sacrificial element among the Iroquois or Algonquian groups is a fact difficult to discern by archeological methods. Numerous burials of dogs have been recovered among the

† Allen, Glover M., "Dogs of the American Aborigines," *Bull. Mus. Comparative Zoology,* Harvard College, vol. LXIII, No. 9, Cambridge, 1920.

prehistoric ancestors of these people to indicate considerable respect for the animal, either as a pet or respected companion of man. Oftentimes the dog of the deceased was buried with his master. Some ornaments have been found near the neck of the animal, which would indicate that they were attached to the dog during its lifetime or added at the time of burial.

In referring to the modesty and dignity of "Good Hunter," one of the Chiefs participating in the ceremony, Mr. Crowell expresses his reaction as ". . . they were such as became a Priest of one of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel!", which recalls probably the attitude of most people at that period as to the hypothetical origin of the American Indian. Until the beginning of the 20th century, such theories together with many others were quite prevalent. Since then, however, anthropologists have obtained sufficient evidence to show that the American Indian as a group is more closely related to the Mongolian stock than to either Caucasian or Negroid stocks, and whose ancestors migrated from Asia across Behring Straits into what is now Alaska, rather than the oft repeated but entirely unfounded speculation that the Indians were descended from one of the tribes of Israel crossing the mythical Atlantis.

Such eye-witness accounts as given by Mr. Crowell may often lead to the discovery of historical sites, which are invaluable to the student of prehistory if sufficient archaeological traits can be recovered to determine the material aspects of the people within a given historical period.

Rites of the Aborigines

SAMUEL P. CROWELL*

(Readers of this account of a Seneca dog sacrifice will benefit greatly by referring as they proceed to the running commentary by Dr. Fenton which follows this article.—Editor)

ON THE first day of February, some fourteen years since, I witnessed an interesting, and to me, a novel, religious ceremony of the Seneca tribe of Indians, then occupying that portion of territory now comprising a part of the counties of Seneca, and Sandusky, Ohio, familiarly known to the inhabitants of this region, as "the Seneca Reservation."

The fact that this nation had recently ceded this Reserve to the United States, and were now about to commemorate, *for the last time in this country,* this annual festival, previous to their emigration to the Rocky Mountains, contributed not a little, to add to it an unusual degree of interest.

To those acquainted with the characteristic trait of the Red Men, it is unnecessary to remark, that there is a reservedness attached to them—peculiarly their own; but, especially, when about to celebrate their annual festival, they seem, so far at least as the pale-faces are concerned, to shroud their designs in impenetrable secrecy.

And the festival of which I now speak, might have been, as many others of a similar character were, observed by themselves with due solemnity, and without the knowledge or interference of their white neighbors, but that the general poverty and reckless improvidence of the Senecas were proverbial. And those were the causes which aroused the suspicions of the inquisitive Yankee.

---

* In 1827, Samuel P. Crowell came to Fremont, Ohio, from Jefferson County, Virginia. Crowell was a school teacher and was apparently well educated. He was elected sheriff of Sandusky County in 1829 and held the office two terms. The success of the early Presbyterian Church of Fremont was due in great part to his ardent interest and active participation. Some of Crowell's descendants are living in Fremont at this time.

In order, therefore, that the approaching festival, as it was intended to be the *last* of those observances here, should not lack in any thing necessary to make it imposing, and impress a permanent recollection of Sandusky, on the mind of their rising race, no effort was spared, and no fatigue regarded, that would tend to promote this object. Thus for some time previous to the period of which I am now speaking, by the unerring aim of the Seneca rifle, the antlers, with the body of many a tall and stately buck, fell prostrate; and in crowds the Indians now came into Lower Sandusky with their venison, and their skins; and the squaws, with their painted baskets and moccasins, not as heretofore, to barter for *necessaries,* but chiefly for *ornaments!*

To the penetrating mind of the merchant, they thus betrayed their object; to-wit: that they were preparing to celebrate their annual festival, or in the vulgar parlance of the day, "to burn their dogs."

Inquiry was now on the alert to ascertain the precise period; and to the often repeated interrogatory put by the boys of our village, "Indian, *when* will you burn your dogs?"—an evasive reply would be given; sometimes saying, "maybe," (a very common expression with them), "two days,"—"maybe, three days,"—"maybe, one week." Their object being to baffle the inquirer; so that the further off the intended period was, they would give the shortest time—and vice versa.

The principal Head-men, or Chiefs of the Senecas, were "GOOD HUNTER," "HARD HICKORY," and "TALL CHIEF"; There were also some sub or *half* Chiefs; among those of the latter rank, *Benjamin F. Warner,* a white or half-breed, had considerable influence.

In this, as in other nations, civilized as well as savage, though there may be several men of apparent equal rank, yet there usually is *one,* who either by artificial, or universally acknowledged talent, directs in a great measure, the destinies of the nation; and such among the Senecas, was "HARD HICKORY."

To a mind of no ordinary grade, he added, from his intercourse with the whites, *a polish of manner,* seldom seen in an

Indian. The French language he spoke fluently, and the English, intelligibly. Scrupulously adhering to the costume of his people, and retaining many of their habits, this Chief was much endeared to them; while on the other hand, his urbanity, and for an Indian, he possessed, as already observed, a large share of the *suaviter in modo*—his intelligence, his ardent attachment to the whites, and above all, his strict integrity in business transactions, obtained for him, and deservedly, the respect and confidence of all with whom he traded. Such was the trust the merchants of Lower Sandusky reposed in this Chief, that when an indigent Indian came to ask for goods on a credit, if Hard Hickory would say he would see the sum paid, no more was required. Thus his word passed current with, and current for, the whole nation.

And as in the mind of man there is something intuitive, better known than defined, by which instinctively, as it were, we find in the bosom of another, a response to our own feelings; so in the present case, this noble Indian soon discovered in the late OBED DICKINSON, a merchant of Lower Sandusky, a generous, confiding and elevated mind, whose honorable vibrations beat in unison with his own.

To Mr. D. therefore, he made known the time *when* they would celebrate their festival, by sacrificing their dogs, etc., etc., and cordially invited him to attend as a *guest,* and if so disposed, he might bring a friend with him.

Correctly supposing that I never had an opportunity of witnessing this religious rite, Mr. D. kindly requested me to accompany him to their Council-House, on Green Creek, in that part of this county, included in the present township of Green Creek. On giving me the invitation, Mr. D. remarked, that by taking a present in our hand, we would, probably, be made the more welcome. In accordance, therefore, with this suggestion, we took with us a quantity of loaf sugar and tobacco.

It was sometime in the afternoon when we arrived, and immediately thereafter, we were ushered into the Council-House with demonstrations of public joy and marked respect.

As soon as seated, we gave our presents to Hard Hickory,

who, raising, held one of them up, and pointing to Mr. D. addressed the Indians in an audible voice, in their own tongue; then holding up the other, he pointed to me; repeating to them what he had before said—this done, he turned to us, and said:

"You stay here long as you want, nobody hurt you." Confiding in the assurances of this Chief, I hung up my valise, in which were some important papers, for I was then on my way further East, attending to my official duties as Sheriff of this county, and felt perfectly at home.

To the inhabitants of this section of Ohio, a minute description of the Council House, would be deemed unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that its dimensions were, perhaps, sixty by twenty-five feet; a place in the centre for the fire, and corresponding therewith, an aperture was left on the roof for the smoke to ascend. Contiguous to the fire place were two upright posts, four or five feet apart; between these posts, a board, twelve or fifteen inches broad, was firmly fastened; and over this board the skin of a deer was stretched very tight. On a seat near this board, sat a blind Indian with a gourd in his hand, in which were beans or corn—with this he beat time for the dancers. Such was the musician and such the music.

The dancing had commenced previous to our arrival; and was continued with little intermission, for several successive days and nights. An effort by me to describe their *manner* of dancing would be fruitless. I have witnessed dancing assembles in the populous cities of the east, among the refined classes of society—but having seen nothing like this, I must, therefore, pronounce it *sui generis.* I was strongly solicited by some of the Chiefs to unite with them in the dance: I, however, declined the intended honor—but gave to one of them my cane, as a *proxy,* with which he seemed much delighted. Several of their white neighbors, both male and female, entered the ring.

There was on this occasion a splendid display of ornament. Those who have seen the members of a certain society, in their most prosperous days, march in procession, in honor of their Patron saint, decorated with the badges and insignia of their *Order,* may have some conception of the dress and ornamental

decorations of those Head-men, while engaged in the dance.

I will select "Unum e Pluribus." Their "Doctor," as he was called, wore very long hair, and from the nape of his neck, to the termination of his cue, there was a continuous line of *pieces of silver*—the upper one being larger than a dollar, and the lower one less than a half dime.

Some of the more inferior Indians were "stuck o'er with baubles, and hung round with strings." Many of them wore small bells tied round their ancles; and those who could not afford bells, had deer hoofs in place thereof; these made a jingling sound as they put down their feet in the dance.

The *squaws* also exhibited themselves to the best advantage. Several of them were splendidly attired and decorated. Their dresses were chiefly of *silk,* of various colors, and some of them were of good old fashioned *Queen's gray.* These dresses were not "cut," as our fair belles would say, *a la mode*—but they were cut and made after their own fashion: that is; not so long as to conceal the scarlet hose covering of their ancles, their small feet, or their moccasins, which were so ingeniously beaded, and manufactured by their own *olive* hands.

Nor must I omit saying, that the sobriety and correct demeanor of the Indians, and the modest deportment of the squaws, merited the highest commendation.

At the commencement of each dance, or, to borrow our own phraseology, each "set dance," a chief first arose, and began to sing the word, "YA-WO-HAH!" with a slow, sonorous, and strong *syllabic* emphasis, keeping time with his feet, and advancing round the house; directly, another arose, and then in regular succession, one after the other, rising, and singing the same word, and falling in the rear, until all the *Indians* had joined in the dance; next the *Squaws* at a respectable distance in the rear, in the same manner, by seniority, arose, and united in the dance and song. Now the step was quicker and the pronunciation more rapid, all singing and all dancing, while *Jim,* the blind musician, struck harder and faster with his gourd, on the undressed deer-skin; thus they continued the same dance for more than one hour, without cessation!

The Indian boys, who did not join in the dance amused

themselves the meanwhile discharging heavy loaded muskets through the aperture in the roof the reverberations of which were almost deafening. Taken altogether, to the eye and ear of the stranger, it seemed like *frantic* festivity.

Tall Chief, who was confined to his bed, by indisposition, felt it so much his duty to join in the dance with his people, that he actually left his bed, notwithstanding it was mid-winter, came to the Council House, and took part in the dance as long as he was able to stand.

About the "noon of night," Hard Hickory invited Mr. D. and myself to accept a bed at his residence; to this proposition we readily assented. Here we were not only hospitably provided for, but entertained in a style which I little anticipated. Even among many of our white inhabitants, at this early day, a *curtained* bed was a species of luxury not often enjoyed—such was the bed we occupied.

Shortly after our arrival at the house of this Chief, Mr. D. retired; not so with our friendly host and myself—while sitting near a clean, brick hearth, before a cheerful fire, Hard Hickory unbosomed himself to me unreservedly—Mr. D. was asleep and the chief and I were the only persons then in the house.

Hard Hickory told me, among other things, that it was chiefly owing to him, that this feast was now celebrated: that it was in part to appease the anger of the *Good Spirit,* in consequence of a *dream* he lately had; and as an explanation he gave me the following narration:

"He dreamed he was fleeing from an enemy, it was, he supposed, something *supernatural;* perhaps, an *evil spirit;* that, after it had pursued him a long time, and for a great distance, and every effort to escape from it seemed impossible as it was just at his heels, and he was almost exhausted; at this perilous juncture, he saw a large water, towards which he made with all his remaining strength, and at the very instant when he expected each bound to be his last, he beheld, to his joy a *canoe* near the shore; this appeared as his last hope; breathless and faint, he threw himself into it, and, *of its own accord,* quick as

an arrow from the bow, it shot from the shore leaving his pursuer on the beach!"

While relating this circumstance to me, which he did with earnestness, trepidation and alarm, strongly expressed in his countenance, he took from his bosom something neatly and very carefully enclosed, in several distinct folds of buckskin. This he began to unrol, laying each piece by itself, and on opening the last, there was enclosed therein, a Canoe in Miniature!

On handing it to me to look at, he remarked, that no other person save himself and me, had ever seen it, and that, as a memento, he would wear it, "as long as he lived."

It was a piece of light wood, resembling cork, about six inches long, and, as intended, so it was, a perfect model of a canoe.

This chief, being now in a communicative mood, I took the liberty to inquire of him "when they intended to burn their dogs?" for I began to fear I should miss the express object which I came to witness.

After giving me to understand that "the Red men did not care about the pale faces, being present at, nor, if they chose, join in the dance, but burning their dogs was another thing—this was offering sacrifice to, and worshipping the Great Spirit; and while engaged in their *devotions* they objected to the presence and interference of the whites: yet, as I had never been present, and coming as the friend of Mr. D., who was a good man, he would tell me they would burn their dogs *soon* tomorrow morning."

The night being now far advanced, he pointed to the bed and told me to sleep there; but that he must go to the Council House, to the dance, for his people would not like it, if he would stay away, and wishing me, goodnight, he withdrew.

Anxiety to witness the burnt offering almost deprived me of sleep. Mr. D. and I, therefore, rose early and proceeded directly to the Council House, and though we supposed we were early, the Indians were already in advance of us.

The first object which arrested our attention, was a pair of the

canine species, one of each gender suspended on a *cross!* one on either side thereof. These animals had been recently *strangled—not a bone was broken,* nor could a distorted hair be seen! They were of a beautiful *cream* color, except a few dark spots on one, naturally, which same spots were put on the other, artificially, by the devotees. The Indians are very partial in the selection of dogs entirely *white,* for this occasion; and for which they will give almost any price.

Now for part of the decorations to which I have already alluded, and a description of one will suffice for both, for they were *par similes.*

First—A scarlet ribband was tastefully tied just above the nose; and near the eyes another; next around the neck was a white ribband, to which was attached something bulbous, concealed in another white ribband; this was placed directly under the right ear, and I suppose it was intended as an *amulet,* or charm. Then ribbands were bound round the forelegs, at the knees, and near the feet—these were red and white alternately. Round the body was a profuse decoration—then the hind legs were decorated as the fore ones. Thus were the victims prepared and thus ornamented for the burnt offering.

While minutely making this examination, I was almost unconscious of the collection of a large number of Indians who were there assembled to offer their sacrifices.

Adjacent to the cross, was a large fire built on a few logs; and though the snow was several inches deep, they had prepared a sufficient quantity of combustible material, removed the snow from the logs, and placed thereon their fire. I have often regretted that I did not see them light this pile. My own opinion is, they did not use the fire from their Council House; because I think they would have considered that as *common,* and as this was intended to be a holy service, they, no doubt, for this purpose, struck fire from a flint, this being deemed *sacred.*

It was a clear, beautiful morning, and just as the first rays of the sun were seen in the tops of the towering forest, and its reflections from the snowy surface, the Indians simultaneously

formed a semicircle enclosing the cross, each flank resting on the aforesaid pile of logs.

Good Hunter who officiated as High Priest, now appeared, and approached the cross; arrayed in his *pontifical* robes, he looked quite respectable.

The Indians being all assembled—I say *Indians* (for there was not a *Squaw* present during all this ceremony—I saw two or three pass outside of the semi-circle, but they moved as if desirous of being unobserved), at a private signal given by the High Priest, two young chiefs sprang up the cross, and each taking off one of the victims, brought it down, and presented it on his arms to the High Priest, who receiving it with great reverence, in like manner advanced to the fire, and with a very grave and solemn air, laid it thereon—and this he did with the other—but to which, whether male or female, he gave the preference, I did not learn. This done, he retired to the cross.

In a devout manner, he now commenced an oration. The tone of his voice was audible and somewhat *chaunting*. At every pause in his discourse, he took from a white cloth he held in his left hand, a portion of dried, odoriferous herbs, which he threw on the fire; this was intended as incense. In the meanwhile his auditory, their eyes on the ground, with grave aspect, and in solemn silence, stood motionless, listening attentively, to every word he uttered.

Thus he proceeded until the victims were entirely consumed, and the incense exhausted, when he concluded his service; their oblation now made, and the *wrath* of the Great Spirit, as they believed, appeased, they again assembled in the Council House, for the purpose of performing a part in their festival, different from any I yet had witnessed. Each Indian as he entered, seated himself on the floor, thus forming a large circle; when one of the old chiefs rose, and with that native dignity which some Indians possess in a great degree, recounted his exploits as a Warrior; told in how many fights he had been the victor; the number of scalps he had taken from his enemies; and what, at the head of his braves, he yet intended to do at the "Rocky Mountains"; accompanying his narration with warmth, energy,

and strong gesticulation; when he ended, he received the unanimous applause of the assembled tribe.

This meed of praise was awarded to the chief by "three times three," articulations, which were properly neither nasal, oral, nor guttural, but rather *abdominal.* Indeed I am as unable to describe this kind of utterance, as I am, the step in the dance.

I have seen some whites attempt to imitate the step, and heard them affect the groan or grunt, but it was a mere aping thereof. Thus many others in the circle, old and young, rose in order, and *proforma,* delivered themselves of a speech. Among those was Good Hunter; but he

> "Had laid his robes away,
> His mitre and his vest."

His remarks were not filled with such bombast as some others; but brief, modest, and appropriate: in fine, they were such as became a Priest of one of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel!

After all had spoken who wished to speak, the floor was cleared, and the dance renewed, in which Indian and squaw united, with their wonted hilarity and zeal.

Just as this dance ended, an Indian boy ran to me, and with fear strongly depicted in his countenance, caught me by the arm, and drew me to the door, pointing with his other hand towards something he wished me to observe.

I looked in that direction, and saw the *appearance* of an Indian running at full speed to the Council House; in an instant he was in the house, and *literally in the fire,* which he took in his hands, and threw fire coals and hot ashes in various directions, through the house, and apparently all over himself! At his entrance, the young Indians, much alarmed, had all fled to the further end of the house, where they remained crowded, in great dread of this *personification* of the Evil Spirit! After diverting himself with the fire a few moments, at the expense of the young ones, to their no small joy he disappeared. This was an Indian disguised with an hideous false face, having horns on his head, and his hands and feet protected from the effects of the fire. And though not a professed "Fire King," he certainly performed his part to admiration.

During the continuance of this festival, the hospitality of the Senecas was unbounded. In the Council House, and at the residence of Tall Chief, were a number of large fat bucks, and fat hogs hanging up, and neatly dressed. Bread also, of both corn and wheat in great abundance.

Large kettles of soup ready prepared, in which maple sugar, profusely added, made a prominent ingredient, thus forming a very agreeable saccharine coalescence. And what contributed still more to heighten the zest—it was all *impune* (Scot free).

All were invited, and all were made welcome; indeed, a refusal to partake of their bounty, was deemed disrespectful, if not unfriendly.

This afternoon, (Feb. 2d,) I left them enjoying themselves to the fullest extent: and so far as I could preceive, their pleasure was without alloy. They were eating and drinking: but on this occasion, no ardent spirits were permitted—dancing and rejoicing—caring not, and probably, thinking not of tomorrow.

As I rode from the Council House, I could not but ejaculate with Pope:

> "Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,
> Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind;
> His soul proud science never taught to stray,
> Far as the solar walk or milky way;
> Yet simple nature TO HIS HOPE has given,
> Behind the cloud-topt hill an humbler heaven,
> Some safer world in depth of woods embrace'd
> Some happier island in the wat'ry waste.
>
> * * *
>
> And thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog, shall bear him company."

Samuel Crowell's Account of a Seneca Dog Sacrifice near Lower Sandusky, Ohio, in 1830: A Commentary*

WILLIAM N. FENTON

THE Dog Sacrifice of the Senecas" by Samuel Crowell of Lower Sandusky, Ohio, was evidently first transmitted for publication in 1844 to the *Sidney* [Ohio] *Aurora,* for it is ascribed to that journal by Charles Cist, editor of the *Cincinnati Miscellany* for February, 1845 (pp. 137-140), where it bears the general title "Rites of the Aborigines." The account was subsequently republished in substantially similar form, excepting certain poetic quotes in W. W. Beach, *The Indian Miscellany* (Albany, 1887, pp. 322-332).

This brief paper conveys the first-hand observations of an Indian ceremony as seen through the eyes of a contemporary who was at the time sheriff of Sandusky county (see ante, p. 147). What he observed was part of the Midwinter Festival as celebrated by a band of so-called Seneca who were in all probability Mingos, that is, subjugated Erie and Conestoga remnants and odd ends of other Iroquois tribes then settled in northern Ohio. In February of 1830, the date of the observation, this band "occupied the Seneca reservation, now comprising part of Seneca and Sandusky counties, Ohio." A chief named Hard Hickory seems to have been recognized as leader of the band by Crowell and the trader, Obed Dickinson, Crowell's guest for this occasion. His colleagues were Good Hunter and Tall Chief. The latter had connections with Buffalo Creek and Cattaraugus Seneca reserves in western New York where his name is still carried by descendants. Older Senecas, recently deceased, have related to the writer since 1933 that Sandusky County, Ohio, was the western limit of Seneca jurisdiction; that they had heard their grandfathers say that the Chiefs, Cornplanter, Farmer's Brother, and others, travelled between the settlements in New

* Published by permission of the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

York and those in Ohio; that the antecedents of present Cattaraugus families had made the trek west to Kansas in the 1830's from whence, following a year of starvation, they were happy to return to their ancestral fireplaces in New York. Contacts between New York and the Sandusky settlements were more or less continuous between 1751 and the date of the ceremony under discussion.

It is particularly significant and fortunate for ethnology that the dog sacrifices at the Midwinter Festival in 1830 have been described. This sacrifice marked the removal of the Mingos from the Sandusky-Seneca reservation. Therefore it marks a terminal date of a socio-ceremonial pattern that may be considered typical of that generation of Mingos who had been living in Sandusky county during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, and possibly earlier. This is consistent with what Lewis H. Morgan, pioneer American ethnologist, and others of us since his time have learned of the ceremony among the Iroquois of New York and Ontario. Certain similarities between the accounts have been noted below. Some items have been interpreted and strengthened. Differences from customary behavior elsewhere are indicated as possibly representing older ceremonial patterns of the Erie and Conestoga, or they may reflect influence from other Iroquois tribes whom the Mingo comprised.

Midwinter marks the beginning of the Seneca new year, as among all the Iroquois. The date falls on the fifth day of that new moon called *Nisgawakneh* which is either the first, but usually the second, moon following the winter solstice. At this season all life is renewed. All obligations to the supernatural world as revealed in dreams must be fulfilled lest winter, the season of sleep and death, be prolonged, postponing the return of longer days and holding back the waxing sun which warms the mother earth preparing her for women's planting of the "three sisters"—corn, beans, and squash—that have lain dormant in winter cachepits.[1] It is patent to all students of the Iroquois that the Midwinter Festival is the lineal descendant of an ancestral cousin to the Huron Dream Feast, *Onnonhwaroria,* "An

addled Mind," first described for us by Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century. This requires no elaboration here save to indicate the whole of which the Sandusky dog sacrifice is a part. The main enigma in its history is that dog sacrifice seems to have usurped the principal place in the Seneca Midwinter Festival from the middle of the eighteenth century, after which it became progressively ritualized. Before that time dogs were more frequently partially roasted and then eaten. There is no record to our knowledge of ceremonial disposal of the bones of unburnt animals but if such a practice did exist it might account for the graves of dogs that occur in prehistoric village sites in the area. In the past dogs were consumed on such occasions as war feasts, and the practice was common among central Algonquian tribes, with whom the Seneca were in contact after the close of the seventeenth century.

Whites who have been admitted to Iroquois ceremonies have made a great point of secrecy. Apparently Crowell was taken in to witness the festival on the credit of his friend Obed Dickinson, a trader of Lower Sandusky. Keeping on friendly terms with the trader was always important to the Indians who were probably eager to acquire the good will of the sheriff. Nevertheless, a shroud of secrecy veiling Indian proceedings of a religious nature characterized late Seneca resistance to Christian missionary teaching at this time among Red Jacket's followers on Buffalo Creek, New York. We may suppose the Sandusky Senecas to have been harder case pagans, and secrecy was insulation from white ridicule. Whites were prone to misunderstand. Considering the teaching of the Old Testament, no wonder that the few observers like Crowell who were admitted to see a white dog sacrificed stressed the mosaic character of the sacrifice in their observations.

The Midwinter Festival to the Indians marked the end of the winter hunt. Hunters were delegated equally from each half of the tribe to go out all abreast until they had brought down a specified number of deer. This was a time of feasting. The kettles boiled with venison and maize and beans that had been stored away since fall. It was the season of homecoming, village

life, and celebration. The tribe and the individual returned thanks to their maker.

The whites naturally seized on the burning of dogs, quite the most conspicuous event on the ritual program of the nine days' festival, but to the Indians this act of sacrifice represented the Creator's fulfillment of his own dream rite. It crowned a period of five days when personal sacrifices were made and gifts were received—usually miniature talismen—from the guesser of one's dream in the other half of the tribe. One of these talismen in the shape of a miniature canoe is what Hard Hickory showed to Crowell. This also, is what the dogs represent—one being presented to the Creator by each half of the tribe via the fire and the smoke of burning tobacco which is believed to rise straightway to the skyworld where *Tharonhiawagon,* "Holder of the heavens," resides. The people are renewing the Creator's dream that he needed a dog, and they pray that his blessings will continue as always to rain upon them.

Crowell and Dickinson receive the customary introductions that are still accorded to strangers in an Iroquois gathering.

The board fastened between house posts over which a deerskin was stretched to absorb the shock of pounding rattles has since been supplanted by a singers bench protected by a rubber pad in modern Iroquois long houses. In this context the use of a gourd rattle seems odd because the snapping turtle rattle with extended neck handle is ordinarily employed to accompany the Great Feather Dance, whereas the gourd rattle belongs to the Medicine Lodge. But the blind singer is genuine enough. Inasmuch as the Chiefs urged all to join in the dance, further suggests the Great Feather Dance therefore we must ascribe the use of the gourd rattle, which is twice mentioned, as a localism of the Sandusky band or an idiosyncrasy of the singer, which is less likely.

We may infer from Crowell's observation that silversmithy flourished in this period. Their art is well represented in museums having old Iroquois collections. Deer hoof rattles on knee garters antedated silver sleigh bells worn on ankles of richer tribesmen. The women's costume—queen's gray silk and red

hose—resembles the Seneca costumes illustrated in Morgan.

The cries of the callers and dancers can still be reproduced. "Ya-wo-ha" of the Chiefs suggests the cries that announce the Feather Dance or the opening of the Personal Chant. (See Fenton, 1942, p. 18 and records.) However Crowell seems to have confused, perhaps in memory, the pacing of the chief in the Personal Chant with the Warrior's or Standing Quiver Dance. The beating of the gourd on the deer skin covered board is still something else, more like the Great Feather Dance.

The white dogs that were strangled at dawn have been extinct among the Iroquois since about 1912. What Crowell says of their strangling bears out other accounts, as well as dressing the dog which is called *ganiyóndon,* "a decorated thing."

If women were excluded from the ceremony it is probably because of a prevalent Iroquois belief that should a woman in her menstrual period attend, she might contaminate a holy rite.

The priest who makes the invocation over the burning white dog punctuates his chant with pinches of sacred tobacco, *Nicotiana rustica L.,* which the Iroquois still raise for ceremonial purposes. Unquestionably the "oderiferous herbs" mentioned by Crowell were tobacco. The two young chiefs who took the dogs down from the gibbet are appointed for the occasion. The recounting of war records on returning to the long house suggests the Personal Chant that still accompanies the sacrifice that is now made with tobacco only. It is greeted by ceremonial cries of approval: *djiwaganyee . . .* ; wa', wa . . . ; or *higonyee . . .* ; wa . . . , that are plainly evident to those who have heard them.

Finally, at the other end of the account we meet our old friend, the False-face impersonator who bursts into the council house on the day that the dog is burned. The mention of horns on his head interests us for we had not known that horns appeared on masks as early as 1830.[2]

As always a terminal feast ends each day's rites. Samuel Crowell emerges as a fairly faithful observer. His account is not unknown to students of ethnology, Beach having reprinted it, but those who have cited it have not adequately identified the account with the Sandusky Band of Senecas who in reality were

not Senecas at all. The writer is grateful for the opportunity to review the account and pen these notes.

NOTES

1. See J. N. B. Hewitt, "White Dog Sacrifice" (*The Handbook of American Indians,* II, 939-944, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, 1912); Lewis H. Morgan, "The League of the . . . Iroquois" (Rochester, 1851); A. C. Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet" (New York State Museum, Bull. 163, Albany, 1913, pp. 85-94); and W. N. Fenton, "An outline of Seneca ceremonies at Coldspring Longhouse (Yale University Pubs. in Anthropology, No. 9, 1936), "Tonawanda Longhouse Ceremonies: ninety years after Lewis Henry Morgan" (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. No. 128, pp. 143, and esp. 155-156), and "Songs from the Iroquois Longhouse: program notes for an album of American Indian Music from the Eastern Woodlands (Smithsonian Institution and Library of Congress, 1942, pp. 16-18).
2. Fenton, "Masked medicine societies of the Iroquois," Smithsonian Report, 1940, pp. 397-430, 1941, p. 410.

President Hayes: The Opponent of Prohibition

CURTIS W. GARRISON

"When I became President I was fully convinced that whatever might be true in Europe and of Europeans, in our climate and with the excitable temperaments of the Americans, the habitual use of intoxicating drinks was not safe. I regarded the danger of the habit as especially great in political and official life. It seemed to me that the example of excluding liquors from the White House would be wise and useful, and would be approved by good people generally. I knew it would be particularly gratifying to Mrs. Hayes to have it done. We had never been in the habit of using liquors in our own house, and we determined to continue our home custom in this respect in our official residence in Washington. Mrs. Hayes has been from childhood a total abstainer. I was not a total abstainer when I became President. But the discussions which arose over the change at the President's house soon satisfied me that in this matter, if our example was to be useful, there was no half-way house for me. During the greater part of my term and at least for the last three years, I have been in practice and in theory a consistent total-abstinence man, and I shall continue to be so. All statements inconsistent with the foregoing are without foundation."—PRESIDENT HAYES, Statement to the press just before leaving White House, 1881.

IN APRIL, 1877, President and Mrs. Hayes decided to ban wine from the White House table during their residence, and American history has never forgotten this unprecedented action. The titles of "Sunday School Superintendent President" and "Lemonade Lucy" were among the mild opprobrium visited upon their head by every generation since. This courageous action has strangely enough colored and distorted many people's impression of our nineteenth President, so that today a large number do not know him for the live, personable man he was. "The exclusion of wine from the White House is at the bottom of three-fourths of all the lies that are now told about me," was Hayes' own opinion in 1885.[1] Our recent ex-

periences with prohibition cause us to associate President and Mrs. Hayes with the moral guardians of our conscience, and regulators of our conduct. As a matter of fact they opposed Prohibition, so it is surprising to read in the last published biography of R. B. Hayes, by H. J. Eckenrode (1930), "His moral enthusiasm was evoked by such reforms as prohibition, of which he was the first protagonist of national note. He was the forerunner of many years of Bryan and his grape juice; prohibition as a presidential issue would have appealed to him," (p. 343). Mr. Eckenrode is not consistent for on page 335 he notes that Hayes was a temperance man, and even believed in teetotalism, but did not believe in harsh probitory legislation.

It is inconceivable that the American people will again wish upon themselves this erroneous method of government, in spite of the strong tendency in this direction today. This essay may be considered an attempt to help us preserve our sanity.

The temperance cause has been suffused in emotion. It has always been preached and combatted intemperately. Ridiculous exaggeration is often the style of its protagonists: unbridled sarcasm and mocking abuse, the weapons of its deriders. Few men in public life have dared to enter that arena. The problem, of course, arises in a confusion of cause and effect. No one can ever reasonably contend that pouring one glass of alcoholic beverage into one's stomach is a crime or even a misdemeanor. If one refuses to be content with one glass, however, and then performs anti-social acts against one's self, one's family or society, then it is a problem of which society is bound to take cognizance in some way. The individual may run afoul of the law and be locked up. In this instance, is drinking the crime? The differing answers to this question registers the profound gulf which separates the wets and the drys.

President Hayes appreciated life. He could remark about his uncle Sardis Birchard, who was somewhat of a humorist, that he called Spiegel Grove, his Fremont home, the home of "good spirits," because, said Uncle, "I always keep for those who can safely use it the best of *spirits* to warm the inner man."[2] He had no kinship with the fanatics on the temperance question. One

Sunday, in 1888, he walked with Fanny, his daughter, to church and a temperance evangelist preached. "Too much stress on 'mint, anise, and cumin'; and omitting the weightier matters." He writes in his diary that it was an example of

> "Compounding for the sins we are inclined to
> By damning those we have no mind to."

The evangelist "was severe—a chronic, a crank—against theater-going, cardplaying, and dancing. Not five per cent of his audience were addicted to either. But covetousness, avarice, envy, hatred and malice, slander and scandal, stingy giving to the church, and all uncharitableness, he let bravely alone. The sins of himself and others before him—he never gave to them even 'the cold respect of a passing glance.' "

Yet President Hayes was a total abstinence man when he wrote these words. He felt deeply that intemperance was an evil of great national magnitude. I doubt very much whether the drinking of today drags the evil in its train which Hayes saw in his time. It would take a great deal of study to make such a comparison and statistics of Hayes' time are not reliable. Our change in attitude today is surely not due to a greater callousness of American character and social degradation. Rather, we feel that intemperance is the evil—not the simple act of drinking. There may be more drinking, but are there more crimes resulting therefrom? Hayes and other statesmen and publicists of his time had legitimate fears. The temperance movement was founded on fact and not bigotry.

Temperance has always held its own in every decent society. One of the bitter grievances of the Indians against the white man was the scourge he wrought with his fire-water. Before tasting his liquor, the Indian was a very temperate being. When once he imbibed, it began to consume him. He could not resist it, and many became degraded. The Federal Government tried to impose prohibition on the tribes, with the help of the chiefs, but without success.

The famous Bible passage, the motto of all temperance people, is of universal application. Thousands who have looked on

the wine when it was red, have been mocked and stung throughout the ages. But society for centuries was content to issue warnings. Then, in our modern age arose temperance crusades with mass movements which attempt to change people's habits.

As early as 1800, America was characterized as a land of hard drinkers. Travelers noted "a general passion for ardent spirits that frequently resulted in horrible excesses."[3] The frontier life and commercial advantage of converting grain into whiskey rather than ship it in bulk contributed to this state. In 1784, Dr. Benjamin Rush had published a pamphlet entitled *An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors on the Human Body and Mind.*[4] In this work Rush cited cases from his own experience of disease, nervous affection, and mental derangement caused by excessive use of alcoholic beverages. This pamphlet has had a profound effect on temperance literature. It was Rev. Lyman Beecher, however, who wrote what might be called the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of the temperance movement, just twenty-six years before his daughter's work, in the form of six sermons published in 1826. In them we find the first modern emphasis on abstinence. The argument set forth is the bedrock of the whole American temperance movement. It was essentially President Hayes' philosophy, and served our country until we became of age. "So long as men suppose," said Beecher, "that there is neither crime nor danger in drinking, short of what they denominate drunkenness, they will cast off fear and move onward to ruin by a silent, certain course, until destruction comes upon them and they cannot escape. . . . Let it therefore be engraven upon the heart of every man, that the daily use of ardent spirits, in any form, or in any degree, is intemperance."[5] As we shall see later, President Hayes probably would have eradicated the idea of "crime" in the above argument.

During the next three decades, the reformers grew strong. They allied themselves to the church and to business and professional groups. They were reinforced by the atmosphere of reform resulting in physical culture, ethical societies, various religious groups, communistic experiments, and abolition. In 1834, the first outstanding study linking intemperance and re-

sulting crime was published. It was a *Report of an Examination of Poor-houses, Jails, etc., in the State of New York,* by Samuel Chipman. He found that in every county at least 60% of the men and women held on criminal charges were habitually intemperate. With few exceptions, at least 50% of the inmates of each county poorhouse testified that the use of spirituous liquors was the cause of their poverty. His conclusions were carefully documented.[6] Arguments of this sort, however, need to be used with care. It was the habit of the temperance reformers to assign all crime and misery to their particular devil. One day, in 1884, Hayes read in the paper that the great preacher, Talmage, cited the drink evil as costing a billion a year—to support 350,000 criminals, 30,000 idiots, 800,000 paupers, and bury 75,000 drunkards. "Where does Mr. Talmage get his facts?" he inquired. "Are there trustworthy statistics showing the above? No doubt the truth on all points is bad enough, but it is hardly credible that seventy-five thousand drunkards die yearly in this country."[7]

The intensive growth of industrialism just before and particularly after the Civil War, which brought the slums and increased drinking by its victims in their attempt to blot out their surroundings, redoubled the efforts of the reform groups. We begin to see the inroads and ravages of the drink evil on the working classes. No longer was drinking mainly a social accomplishment. We laugh today at the idea of the women's crusade, with their praying and singing in saloons, the melodrama of "The Drunkard," which drew sincere tears, the "Face on the Barroom Floor," and the nostalgia of our times for the gay nineties. But to the women and men of those days, the drink evil was no laughing matter. In 1881, the last year of President Hayes' administration, Mr. Carroll D. Wright published a study in the Twelfth Annual Report, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, entitled "Influence of Intemperance upon Crime." It was a study of court cases of a criminal nature docketed for a year in Suffolk County. The thoroughness of this investigation, and the checking of the results puts it in a class by itself. Offenses due to liquor, such as "drunkenness," "liquor

Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes and Staff around the convivial bottle in Western Virginia, 1862.

selling," "liquor nuisances," constituted 72% of the total. Of nearly all the remainder, or 27%, a large share of the offenders were in liquor at the time of commission of the crime, or were in liquor at the time of the planning of the crime, or had intemperate habits.[8]

This was the situation when the Hayes moved into the White House, and the background for their sincere viewpoint and subsequent action.

Lucy Webb Hayes had been brought up in temperance principles and had never used liquor. Her husband had not been adverse to a social drink in its proper time, and, as noted in our prefatory statement, did not become a total abstainer until after he reached the Presidency. His grandfather was an innkeeper who said of his trade that it was a black business which brought in white money. He turned to total abstinence at the age of seventy. His mother was an earnest temperance advocate, and wrote him discourses and sent him documents. "Mother's temperance documents were 'thankfully received' as country merchants say of 'small favors' "; the young lawyer writes his sister from Fremont in 1847, "but Pease was afraid to read them lest they should make him *dry* and thereby place him in the path of temptation. But you can assure Mother that all of her friends here will vote right whenever they have an opportunity to vote at all; not that we consider it a matter of great moment whether spirituous liquor is sold *legally* in consequence of *lax* laws, as is now the case, or *illegally* in consequence of *lax* officers as would probably be the case (at least hereabouts) if no licenses were granted. But we should vote 'anti' for the looks and name of the thing."[9] Schoolboy funning like this is characteristic of his callow days. In another letter, he jests in the usual timeworn style about drinking, so frequently done by those who seldom indulged.[10] It flashes out during his later years when he appeared before an audience with a suspiciously ruddy countenance, and hastily assured them that he had not forsaken his principles, that it was not whiskey but poison ivy.[11]

Good humor, a mild wittiness, an entire absence of censure implied or direct characterized his every speech and action.

Never could he become so straightened and case-hardened in his opinions of right as to realize that these were his own interpretations of the right, and that others had theirs. Very few have been so utterly adjusted to life, so free from the perplexing shadows of the mind which thwart our penetrating thought and color direct action. "I was never of a melancholy turn of thought or feeling."[12] His temperance activities came *au naturel.* "During the last month I have dabbled a little in law, a little in politics, and a little in temperance reform," he writes his sister in 1848. After settling in Cincinnati in 1850, he apportions his evenings, reserving one a week for the Sons of Temperance brethren, but "Saturdays, the best of all, to the (Literary) Club."[13]

The jest about voting for the "looks of the thing" in spite of its futility did not long remain in his creed. In 1851, he was for the "anti-license" clause in the new Ohio Constitution, which was inspired by the same national sentiment as the Maine (Dow) dry law passed only a few days before the Ohio Constitution came to a vote. (He was to change later as we shall see.) But on the question of temperance in politics, his record is consistent from the start. The same year he argued at a county temperance convention against the organizing of a temperance party. When the question came to a vote, it was decided against him, as the "political temperance men" had "packed the convention 'to order.' " Politics abhors a moral issue as nature abhors a vacuum. This is a natural law, and a good one. No one can accuse Hayes of ever abandoning his temperance principles, but he saw clearly from the first that temperance and politics would mix only to the detriment of both. After the Civil War, we scan his political speeches and messages as Governor in vain for temperance. At the time, he privately was much concerned as to how "our Germans, brewers, and others would behave." This concern lasted the rest of his life. He feared the Sylla of the Democratic Party and the Charybdis of the Prohibition Party, both of which might rob Republicans of votes. But the Germans did not run into the arms of Democracy, though the Prohibitionists sometimes took

a toll. During the Presidential election of 1876, Hayes was more than ever disturbed because the head of the state ticket was mixed up with the temperance crusade "which was so hateful to all Germans." "I can bear defeat in November far more philosophically than I could have borne the loss of Ohio in October."[14] This is very far indeed from being the voice of fanaticism.

Then came the White House, and the dinner to the Grand Duke Alexis. Barnacles of rumor and misconception have clustered all over this event. The affair was held on April 19, 1877, and was the first official dinner given by the President and Mrs. Hayes after the inauguration. It was the only time that they served liquor, and they served Punch au Kirsch, made from the morello cherry in Germany and Switzerland. It was a brilliant affair. The seating and menu are pictured here from the social record prepared by one of the secretaries. The most remarkable story arising from this event was the supposed colloquoy between Mrs. Hayes and Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, the one who said that during this administration water flowed like champagne. She is supposed to have been beseeched by the maintainer of diplomatic decorum on the grounds of the terrible affront a dry board would present to foreign visitors, their inability to understand, etc., while she stands Juno like with an unrelenting flinty face and braves his diplomatic wiles with her womanly courage, only to compromise on this one event with the understanding that henceforth liquor would be banned. There never was an Evarts in history like this picture, nor a woman like this travesty of Lucy Webb Hayes. And the President made his own rules. We can expect the usual malicious slander to follow President and Mrs. Hayes' action. All Presidents are fair game. Mrs. Hayes is supposed to have stopped a card game at the White House, dubbed by the President as utterly untrue, and their action was said to be due principally to parsimony. "We spent in hospitality, charities and generous living the whole amount of salary and expense money. My belief is that no others ever spent as much in the White House as we did. Many old congressmen (Mr. Stevens, Fernando

Wood, and, I think, S. S. Cox) said repeatedly that they had known and heard of no one who entertained as much."[15] One "lovely" story, not malicious, was in regard to the flavored oranges. We will let Hayes tell his little joke in his own words: "The joke of the Roman punch oranges was not on us but on the drinking people. My orders were to flavor them *rather strongly* with the same flavor that is found in Jamaica rum, viz.——. This took! There was not a drop of spirits in them! This was certainly the case after the facts alluded to reached our ears. It was refreshing to hear the drinkers say with a smack of the lips, would they were hot!"[16]

Press comment on the Grand Duke Alexis dinner seems to us today to be relatively mild. The argument revolved around proper etiquette to foreign guests and as to whether the President should be asked to compromise his principles. "A truly, courteous host," said one scribe, "however strong may be his convictions on the matter of temperance, does not make his guests uncomfortable and does not attempt to regulate their conduct."[17] And against this social dictum we have from *The Philadelphia Times,* "If the President and his wife believe that the use of wine or other liquors at public dinners in the White House is a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance, why should they not obey their convictions as do other people?"[18] There can be no judgment made on this episode. People will always judge it according to their moods and tenses, and probably very few will trouble to see justice. President Hayes himself has recorded: "When we came here we banished liquors from the house,—1. Because it was right, wise, and necessary. 2. Because it was due to the large support given me by the sincere friends of the temperance reform. 3. Because I believed that it would strengthen the Republican Party by detaching from the political Temperance party many good people who would join the Republican party (and) would save to the Republican party many who would otherwise leave it to join the Temperance party. If General Garfield rejects the practice I have inaugurated, he will offend thousands, and drive them into the hands of the temperance demagogues. . . . His

State dinner given in honor of the Grand Duke Alexis Alexandrovitch at which the Punch au Kirsch was served. This is taken from a "Record of the social events at the Executive Mansion during the administration of President Hayes" executed with pen and pencil by Mr. O. L. Pruden, assistant secretary to the President.

course will be taken as evidence that he lacks the grit to face fashionable ridicule."[19]

There is a strange deprecatory and superficially critical attitude to our statesmen in this country. Incidents such as this are viewed in a totally different light by our neighbors. Thus Lord Bryce, in his *The American Commonwealth* (1888), makes a rather interesting comparison to Europe: "[Washington] is a place where a court might be created, did any one wish to create it. No President has made the attempt; and as the earlier career of the chief magistrate and his wife has seldom qualified them to lead the world of fashion none is likely to make it. However, the action of the wife of President Hayes, an estimable and energetic lady, whose ardent advocacy of temperance caused the formation of a great many total abstinence societies, called by her name (Lucy Webb), showed that there may be fields in which a President's consort can turn her exalted position to good account, while of course such graces or charms as she possesses will tend to increase his popularity" (I, 71). Lord Bryce looks at the action in a simple straightforward way. He perceives no undershadows of bigotry in President and Mrs. Hayes.

How does Hayes' attitude compare with that of our other presidents? As far as the White House is concerned, their action (as we said) was unprecedented. It had never occurred before, and it has never occurred since.

Abraham Lincoln who was a hero to Hayes, was also a teetotaler. He was, of course, too astute to ally himself to any group on the liquor question. He would maintain a reserve with committees who pressed him for support. "Wine was never on [his] table at the White House, except when visitors, other than familiar friends were present. The President's glass was always filled, and he usually touched it to his lips. Sometimes he drank a few swallows, but never a whole glass, probably."[20] The much maligned Andrew Johnson was a temperate man. Said Parson Brownlow, "Nobody in Tennessee ever regarded him as addicted to the excessive use of whiskey." Secretary of Treasury McCulloch declared, "For nearly four years I had

daily intercourse with him, frequently at night, and I never saw him when under the influence of liquor." Johnson sometimes took a drink but was not ashamed to be temperate.[21]

Ulysses S. Grant, who was sometimes dubbed "whiskey Grant" by enemies, was a temperate president. Despite Democrats and reformers who constantly raised the accusation of drunkenness against the President, there is not a single reliable witness that Grant drank while President. His letter books of White House days show an occasional order for sherry or port, but the quantities were small, and could barely have sufficed for the White House table."[22] It is true that Grant developed a thirst during his early scrubby army days, but he had abandoned this habit by the time he entered the White House.

So we see that though accusations have been made, one can not point to any President who was not a temperate man. Probably all of them drank on occasion. Hayes, himself, took an occasional drink before he became President, then feeling so deeply the unquestioned national evil of intemperance, decided to try to set an example. The general method of his time among temperance people was "the pledge." Hayes' expressed this attitude. In the meantime, temperance people were becoming impatient and veered off into Prohibition. The transition was well expressed by Theodore Roosevelt, in 1897, about four years after Hayes' death. In an *Atlantic Monthly* article of September, 1897, he writes, "Any man who studies the social condition of the poor knows that liquor works more ruin than any other one cause. He knows also, however, that it is simply impracticable to extirpate the habit entirely, and that to attempt too much often merely results in accomplishing too little; and he knows, moreover, that for a man alone to drink whiskey in a barroom is one thing, and for men with their families to drink light wines or beer in respectable restaurants is quite a different thing."[23] Theodore Roosevelt fought the Prohibitionists in almost the same words as President Hayes. It is improbable that he or other real protagonists of temperance had heard of Hayes' views on this subject. It is therefore all the more fitting that we present Hayes' contribution at this

time. The sentiments which follow were all written after his retirement from the White House in his diary or privately to friends. They represent the essence of what he thought, though he wrote a great deal more than is here set forth.

HAYES' STATEMENTS AGAINST PROHIBITION

"A generation ago, I had hope and faith in the Maine Law. I was as zealous in its behalf as you are now. But mark my words. It is in the long run the demand that brings the supply. Where there are no buyers there will be no sellers. Where there are many buyers there will be many sellers in spite of your laws. To the vice and crimes of drink, you will add the crimes of lawbreaking, of perjury, of hypocrisy, of meanness.[24]

"Presiding Elder Barnes preached a partisan prohibition sermon. We hear no more appeals to individual judgment and conscience —no character building. Temperance is to be promoted by law, by party action, and all the blame is laid upon the saloon-keeper! The pulpit is losing its place; it is becoming a merely partisan platform, and that too for the most inefficient and imbecile party every known in our politics. Anti-Masonry, Know-nothingism, Woman's Rights, Farmers' party have carried counties, congressional districts, and States, but Prohibition, after twenty-five years of activity, has done nothing, has carried nothing, has been condemned by nineteen-twentieths of the people, and yet our Methodist Episcopal Church seems to be drifting from religion into partisan Prohibition. No wonder there is difficulty in paying church expenses. We have done better, far better, in our finances than ever before. Mr. Albritton has put soul into the work; but deadness, indifference, and penuriousness are far too prevalent."[25]

"The time and zeal and labor and money wasted in political efforts by sincere but mistaken temperance men and women would, if devoted to better methods—to religious and educational methods, and to persuasion and example—have carried the reform forward to points which it now seems not likely to reach in many years."[26]

"A friend of the Presbyterian Church, wishing to promote its interests, if he is a wise man would as soon think of organizing a Presbyterian army as a Presbyterian political party for the purpose of bringing in members to his church. To invoke the spirit of party and to adopt the methods of practical politics in behalf of religion or temperance tends to increase and spread the evils of intemperance and to weaken and destroy the power and influence of religion."[27]

"Political ambition and party spirit are not the forces which will promote any moral reform in individual character and life. Education, example, religion, which reach the judgment and the conscience—that which convinces and persuades—these are the true agencies which can be most successfully employed to promote the temperance reform."[28]

"No political party can ever make prohibition effective. A political party implies an adverse, an oposing, political party. To enforce criminal statutes implies substantial unanimity in the community. This is the result of the jury system. Hence the futility of *party prohibition*."[29]

It was sport to badger Hayes for his principles, just as we harass our leaders in this generation. There was great glee among newspapers when it was discovered, in 1885, that a saloon had been erected on property owned by him in Omaha, Nebraska. Of course, he knew nothing of it.[30] We appreciate our leaders who stand for moral principles but we like to grin at the devil we have put behind them. The adulation of fanatics and prohibitionists claiming President and Mrs. Hayes for their own have probably done more damage to their reputation than his enemies. Therefore, it seems most fitting to close with this estimate of his beloved Lucy, written in his diary a few days after her death.

"She was free from bigotry, never uncharitable, nor 'aggressive' in behalf of her opinions. She would never disparage anyone from whom she differed, but always spoke kindly of all who with good motives tried to promote a good cause by legitimate means. For example, she did not agree with the third-party prohibitionists. She was firm in the conviction that in the large cities, in the present state of public sentiment, it was a serious mistake; that high license and wise regulation was to be preferred; but she retained the fullest respect and warmest regard for Miss [Frances E.] Willard and for others who conscientiously differed from her."[31]

NOTES

1. Charles R. Williams, ed., *The Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Columbus, 1922-26), IV, 242. Hereafter cited as *Diary and Letters.*
2. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 505.
3. John Allen Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (N.Y., 1925), 98.

4. Krout, 73.
5. Quoted in Krout, 106. The development of the growth of Temperance movement is taken from Krout's admirable book.
6. Krout, 235.
7. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 169-70.
8. Study described in Ellen E. Guillot, *Social Factors in Crime* (Phila., 1943), 151-154. See also, Krout, 302: and Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (N.Y., 1938), 353-5.
9. *Diary and Letters,* I, 201.
10. *Diary and Letters,* I, 191.
11. *Diary and Letters,* V, 72.
12. *Diary and Letters,* I, 368.
13. *Diary and Letters,* I, 330.
14. *Diary and Letters,* I, 366, 393: III, 201, 369.
15. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 640.
16. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 309.
17. *Christian Intelligencer,* n.p., n.d. Hayes Scrapbook 111, p. 37.
18. Reprinted in the *Daily Times,* n.p., n.d. Hayes Scrapbook 111, p. 26.
19. *Diary and Letters,* III, 638. Entry dated January 16, 1881.
20. Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (N.Y., 1939), II, 232-3.
21. Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson: Plebeian and Patriot* (N.Y., 1928), 104, 266.
22. William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant: Politician* (N.Y., 1935), 301.
23. *Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia* (N.Y., 1941), 315.
24. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 521-2.
25. *Diary and Letters,* V, 25.
26. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 46.
27. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 32-33.
28. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 31.
29. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 299.
30. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 213-17.
31. *Diary and Letters,* IV, 477-8.

Where Our Heroes Are Buried: A Revolutionary and War of 1812 Tour

ETHEL L. POUND

WHEN our ancestors fought the Revolution and War of 1812 they gained for Americans what our present service people are fighting to preserve for us. Would it not be well then for us to pause and ask ourselves how much we have done to preserve the memories of these brave sacrificing men and women—our ancestors? Many historic spots have been preserved and some restored, many graves properly cared for, but so many of them have been completely obliterated. Some one is surely going to ask what can be done now with gas rationed, travel restricted and supplies scarce. This recalls to my mind one locality in New England which realized that these restrictions had given them a wonderful opportunity. They now have time to work on their own much neglected cemeteries, which they would not consider doing when gas was plentiful and machines available to go "touring." True, the necessary war work keeps them busy during week days, but they have organized neighborhood "picnic-work" parties for after services on Sundays. The results they have accomplished are outstanding. Some of them have searched records for the location of the graves of Revolutionary War and War of 1812 soldiers. They go to these cemeteries and with many willing hands in a short time they transform a neglected plot into one which shows loving care.

Northwestern Ohio has many historic spots—long since neglected or forgotten—linked closely with the Revolution and especially with the War of 1812. Even though we cannot follow the example of our New England friends we can plan now for work that we can do in the future. Everyone on the home front must conserve, but even with the paper shortage we can review the conditions in a few of our cemeteries where soldiers are buried. Lucas County with Toledo as a starting point can offer some interesting facts. In Mt. Carmel Cemetery located on Lagrange Street is the grave of a famous scout of the War of

1812, Peter Navarre. The grave had been definitely in what was at the time a much neglected cemetery, one which they had considered abandoning. Plans were changed, and this is now a well-kept burial ground. The Peter Navarre Chapter, United States Daughters of 1812, marked this grave with a bronze marker which was afterwards stolen by vandals. They then decided that a suitable memorial should be erected. Inasmuch as the grave was not in a spot adaptable to a monument, the Catholic Bishop gave this group of patriotic women an appropriate plot in another part of the cemetery. In October, 1922, this monument was dedicated, and the Peter Navarre Chapter have cared for it since that time.

The records show that Reverend William Bailey, William Bennett, John Flint, John Granger, Peter Lewis, and Thomas Levi are buried in Collingwood Cemetery, located on Sylvania Avenue. Some of the markers are gone, and some are in such a condition it has been impossible to locate the graves. On the contrary the graves in Haughton Cemetery are well kept, and there we find the graves of Joel Marsh and Christopher Gunn, veterans of the War of 1812.

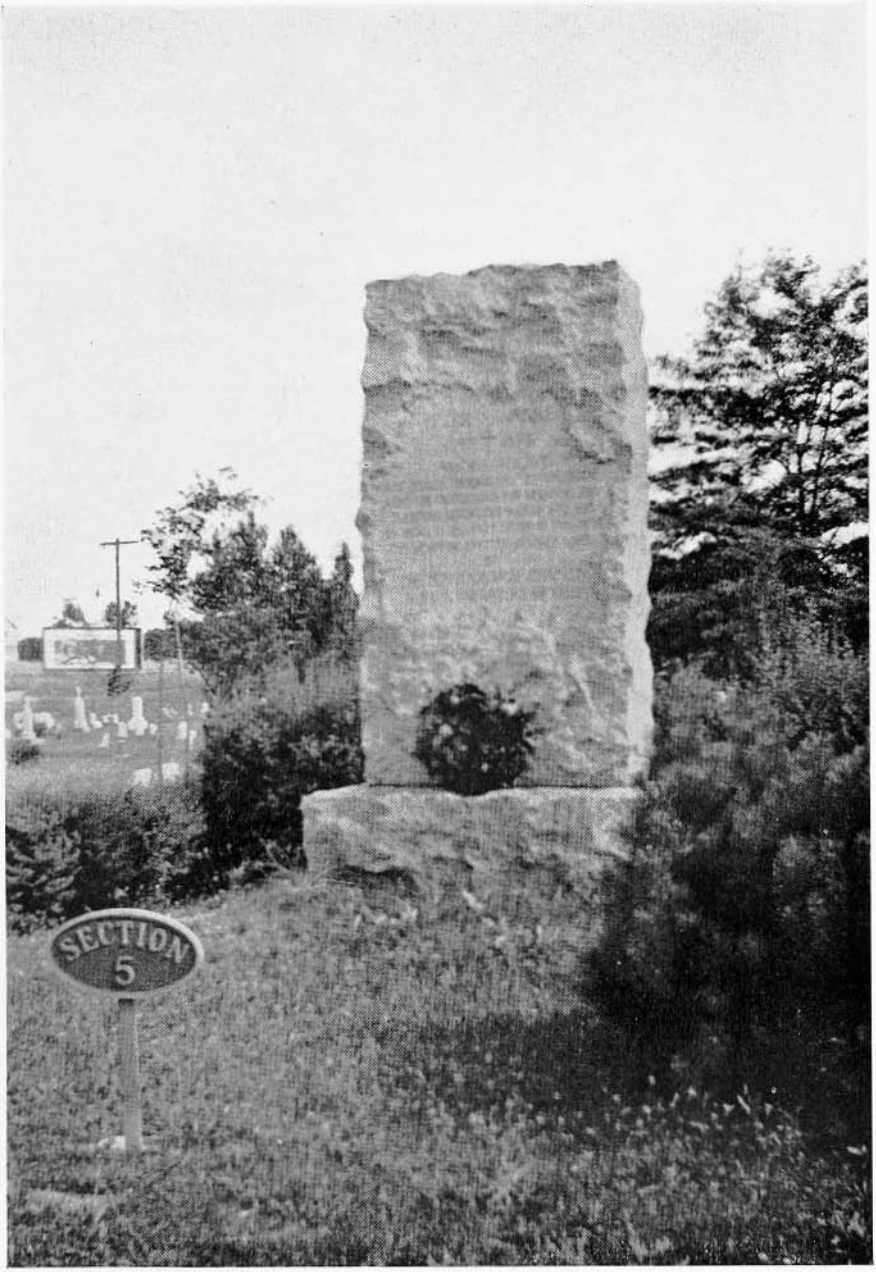
Leaving Toledo now we go to East Swanton Cemetery west on the old Chicago pike. Joel Scott is buried there, while in the Mennonite Cemetery near Whitehouse lies Ranatus Demuth and Wilson S. Davis, soldiers in the War of 1812. Eben Bradley, who is buried in Rupp Cemetery between Whitehouse and Waterville was a soldier of the Revolution. Records show that Waterville Cemetery contains the graves of the following men of the War of 1812: Solomon Cross, Jr., John Brainard, Ariel Bradley, John Pary, Joseph White, and Norman Brainard. One or two of these could not be found, but most of them have been marked by the Daughters of the American Revolution or the United States Daughters of 1812. Joshua St. Clair, a soldier of the Revolution, is buried in Riverside Cemetery at Maumee. East of Toledo in Oregon Cemetery is the grave of Anthony Monony of the War of 1812.

There are many others in this county, and while some of them have been located and marked by patriotic societies others

have not as yet been found. It is the seemingly abandoned cemetery which has been neglected for years where we will find the graves of our Revolutionary War and War of 1812 heroes. Of course, there are some beautiful monuments in Lucas County, such as the Anthony Wayne Monument located on Anthony Wayne Trail between Maumee and Waterville. However, we must be interested, too, in the burial places of individuals. In the neighboring county of Wood we have some beautiful and imposing monuments. Two of the outstanding ones are at Ft. Meigs on the Maumee River near Perrysburg. The Ft. Meigs Monument was erected in honor of the soldiers of the War of 1812, and close by is one in honor of the Kentucky men who fell in that seige.

In the cemetery at Perrysburg is the grave of Reverend Joseph Badger who served in both the Revolution and the War of 1812. His grave was marked by Ft. Industry Chapter D.A.R. of Toledo at a very impressive service. This great pioneer deserves more than a passing word. Born in Massachusetts, he fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill and served in Arnold's ill-fated Canadian expedition. He acted as nurse, physician, cook, and mechanic, all of which, no doubt, helped to prepare him for pioneering later on the Sandusky and Maumee Rivers. Even though honorably discharged, after two years of service, he re-enlisted from Connecticut for a year. He then went to Yale, graduated in 1785, and was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in Blandford, Massachusetts, two years later. After thirteen years of service he became a missionary to the Western Reserve. Badger travelled widely over northern Ohio founding churches and schools. During the War of 1812 he was appointed brigade chaplain by General Harrison. In his seventieth year he organized a church at Gustavus (Trumbull County), Ohio. He was ninety years of age when he died at Perrysburg.

The remains of Whitmore Knaggs of the War of 1812 are in a vault in the Perrysburg Cemetery. Thomas Howard, listed as a Revolutionary soldier, was buried in a plot on the edge of Grand Rapids. Until recently this would never have been



Monument of Peter Navarre erected in 1922 and unveiled on October 6th of that year.

recognized as a burial place, it had become so covered and engulfed with weeds, briars, and underbrush. Through the efforts of various patriotic societies the town officials have endeavored to make it more presentable.

Gladding Waterman who served in the Revolution is buried in Wood County, but the exact location is not kown. Robert Dunlap, also of the Revolution, is buried in what is known to local people as the Miltonville Cemetery, which is located within the grounds of the Riverby Golf Club. Here at one time was a thriving little village with river ferry service to Waterville just across the Maumee River. Now there is nothing but a few stones of the foundation of "Taylor House" (the one time busy tavern) left to tell the sad story. Golfers have destroyed many of the graves in this cemetery; markers and headstones have been overthrown and pushed out of their way; and finally, what remained of the fence has been torn down. The writer's maternal grandmother is buried there. It is sad to see such thoughtless disrespect and destruction of what should be sacred property.

While I was investigating what might be done about it, some interesting sections of the General Code of Ohio have been brought to my attention. Section No. 3454 says, "A Township trustee who neglects or refuses to perform the duties required of him under Sec. 3447, 3453, and 3454 shall be fined not less than five nor more than twenty-five dollars." The other sections mentioned say in part that Township trustees shall be responsible for the care of such cemeteries, seeing that grass is cut at least twice a year, and that they shall maintain a fence or hedge around it. Also, if it is desirable in their estimation to abandon such cemetery, they must at their expense remove all bodies and headstones to a suitable place. From the condition of many of the cemeteries visited in connection with the work of locating and marking graves for the United States Daughters of 1812, it would seem many of our township trustees of Ohio do not know about these state laws.

In Portage Cemetery a soldier of the War of 1812, John Brown, is buried, and the records show a Revolutionary soldier,

name unknown, is also buried there. Just above the Old Indian Mission near Haskins, Wood County, is a small plot known to natives as the Indian Burying Grounds. This is high on the banks between Tontogany Creek and the Maumee River. While it was an Indian Cemetery, it was also used by the white settlers when weather conditions were such they could not use the other cemeteries. One of the daughters of the David Whitney family was buried there.

This has been a long journey so we will return to Toledo for a fresh start. Ottawa County seems to hold much interest, therefore we will journey in that direction next. On the shore road beyond the Sandusky Bridge Road we find a monument of more than passing interest. It was erected in 1858 by Honorable Joshua Giddings. The inscription reads: "In honor of Simons, Mason, and Mingus who fell near this place in the battle with Indians September 29, 1812. Erected by Hon. J. R. Giddings, Jan. 1858." Marblehead is the village nearby. The land here was at one time owned by the Kelley Island Lime & Stone Company. Some years ago they deeded the monument together with a parcel of land twenty by twenty, and right of way thereto to the Ohio Society of the National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812. After this property was deeded to the society they enclosed the plot within an iron fence and erected a signpost at the road side. A State Chairmanship was created and it has been the responsibility of that person to see that constant care is given to the monument and property, and to have it decorated continuously with an American Flag.

Joshua Reed Giddings, abolitionist, was for twenty years a militant anti-slavery congressman from the Western Reserve of Ohio. In the War of 1812 he enlisted as a substitute for his brother and saw a short service against the Indians in northwestern Ohio. Admitted to the bar in 1821, Gidding's greatest influence upon the course of American history was exerted in the evolution of Lincoln's ideas, or at least in the preparation of public opinion for Lincoln's leadership. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him consul-general to Canada, at which post he served the remainder of his life.

In 1934 Mrs. Ross Cherry of Monroeville published *Blockhouses and Military Posts of The Firelands* in which is an interesting article on "The Battle of the Peninsula." It describes the battle in which Mr. Giddings participated at the age of sixteen. This article also gives the names of additional soldiers who lost their lives at that time. It mentions the fact that it is small wonder Mr. Giddings did not remember them for he was but a boy at the time. Because of the fact that some of these soldiers had served in the Revolution, the Martha Pitkin Chapter D.A.R. of Sandusky wished to place a marker for them. With fitting ceremonies in 1935 this marker was placed by the D.A.R. assisted by the Ohio Society United States Daughters of 1812. The new marker added the names of Aquolla Puntney, Matthew Guym, Simon Blackman, Abraham Simon, James S. Bills, and Valentine Ramsdell. Undoubtedly others gave their lives at the same time, but this is the only verified record to date. We find also in the records that John Green, a Revolutionary Soldier, is buried in Ottawa County, exact location not given. Sandusky County is very near here, but this is beautiful country and the day is well spent so we will again return home until another time.

This day let us start for a trip along the beautiful Maumee River and continue until we come to Defiance County. The records show we have a number of soldiers of the War of 1812 there:

Andrew Wilson, Ayersville Cemetery, Highland Township;
Reuben Martin, Farmer Cemetery, Farmer Township;
Martin Lloyd, Tamarack Cemetery, Milford Township;
Joseph Wickerham, Tamarack Cemetery, Milford Township;
John Wisler, McCauly Cemetery, Tiffin Township;
Edward Todd, Moats Cemetery, Delaware Township;
Thomas Churchman, Evansport Cemetery, Tiffin Township (old);
Adam Sullinger, Evansport Cemetery, Tiffin Township;
Bauzil Colwell, Hires Cemetery, Highland Township;

Samuel Kepler, Hires Cemetery, Highland Township;
James Black, Brunersburg Cemetery, Noble Township;
Frederick Bridenbaugh, Riverside Cemetery, (old) City of Defiance.

Mr. Ralph Peters of the Defiance *Crescent-News* writes that the cemetery of Camp No. 3 of Fort Winchester has not as yet been located, but there are hopes that this may be done when work of this type can again be promoted. Many who served in the Revolution are buried in Defiance County, but to date the proper records have not been verified and they have not been registered in the *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the American Revolution Buried in Ohio*. Perhaps we can spend some of our time today trying to locate these records and graves.

It might be well for us to try checking in Williams County next. There are so very many here in this county. Starting near the town of Montpelier we will find so many places to search that we will have to have patience and fortitude to see it through. Even though it is a long and tiring trip it is well worth the effort. First we will go to their beautifully kept Riverside Cemetery where funds and care are lavished. Here rests but one of the early heroes, John Silver who served in the War of 1812, moved here by relatives because of the conditions in the cemetery where he had been originally buried. Northeast of Montpelier on Route #127 in Shiffler Cemetery, very neatly kept, we find the remains of Jacob Beavers, John Altaffer, William Peeple, William Degroff, John Hester—all soldiers of the War of 1812. These graves have 1812 grave markers. The grave of William Martin is in West Bethesda Cemetery southeast of Montpelier. Elijah Crawford and Henry Joice are buried in Hermitage, a cemetery northwest of Montpelier which had been well kept at some time in the past. John Rainey's grave is also here. At Eagle Creek four miles east of Montpelier, will be found the graves of William Ogle, John Maukaman, John Stevenson, and Christopher Lutes. Three miles east in Louden Cemetery are the graves of Joseph Hawkins, Jacob Sheets, and John Cummins. John Kaufman, Joseph

Fulton, Jabez Jones, Michael McGafferty (no other name given), and Charles Richards are buried in Jefferson Cemetery north of Bryan. In Boyton Cemetery east of Bryan may be found the grave of "Grandfather Knipe." Fountain Grove Cemetery in Bryan has three—D. Fickle, William D. Cowlick, and William Watson. The soldiers mentioned served in the War of 1812 with the exception of William Watson who is listed as a veteran of the Indian Wars. In the village of Williams in Center Cemetery lie Jesse Fisher, John Saul, and Samuel Crocker.

At or near Edgerton, Edon, West Unity, Stryker, Pulaski, Evansport, and Pioneer we have twenty-two listed as having served in the War of 1812, but these records have not as yet been verified. We find on our way back to Toledo that it is far too late to get into the court house in Fulton County to examine records there, so we will have to make that trip some other time.

Now we will make the trip to Sandusky County which we have anticipated for so long a time. The first stop will be in Fremont. We will start at the grave of Alanson Carpenter, a soldier of the War of 1812. This has had loving care by his descendants in Fremont. Mr. Carpenter was married late in life. Mrs. Lulu Carpenter White, one of his daughters by that marriage, is still living and is now in Los Angeles—a Real Daughter member of the Peter Navarre Chapter United States Daughters of 1812, Toledo. James Justice of the War of 1812 is buried there too. Revolutionary Soldiers listed as buried in Sandusky County are Jacob Disler in Jackson Township, George Armstrong, John Burkhart, David Dalyrimple, William McBurney, Phinehas Stevens, John Waggoner, Allen Watrons, and Joel or Joab Wright. In Huron County we have but one soldier of 1812 listed in our files, David Gibbs, but there are forty-six of the Revolutionary veterans buried there according to the Roster of Ohio.

Erie County has two Soldiers of the War of 1812, Frederick William Fowler and John Wheeler, but twenty-five Revolutionary Veterans are listed for that county.

David Shaull, a veteran of the War of 1812, is buried in

Seneca County, Clinton Township. Twenty Revolutionary graves are in the Roster of Ohio for that county.

Only fourteen Revolutionary War graves are listed for Hancock County, and one for the War of 1812, Joshua Brown. Strange to say we have none listed for either war in Henry County. There must be some buried there and this will be a splendid place to start our location work when we again become actively engaged in it.

In many instances these graves have been marked by some patriotic society, but distance will not permit the care such graves need. That is where the neighborhood-plan has been of inestimable value. The American Legion has spent much time and thought in looking after the graves of the soldiers of World War I and of other veterans, too, where they have been informed, but they cannot do the work alone. The Women's Relief Corps take care of the Civil War graves, but it seems it must develop into a civic duty to care for the graves of the veterans of other wars. The ancestral patriotic societies feel it is a privilege to preserve historic sites and locate the graves of the soldiers, but sometimes the many miles of travel prohibit them doing all they would like. Let each of us pledge ourselves to do just a little of this work each year! In that way much can be accomplished without hardship to any one person or organization.