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President's Page

Protection of the Home and Person Guaranteed

> "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

THE foregoing provisions, constituting the Fourth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, stand guard over our homes and persons against tyrannical trespassing and violence inspired by malicious or more sinister motives of public officials or our personal enemies.

This right, as all other rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights, had its origin in the early life of the English people. It springs from the very nature of government of, by, and for the people, which is in the English tradition.

Before one's person or home or other possession can be legally molested, generally a Warrant for such purpose must issue from some duly constituted public authority. The Warrant must *particularly* describe the place to be searched, and the person or property to be seized; and no legal Warrant will be issued unless the person seeking it shall make oath in writing in support of the grounds upon which he claims the right to have it issued.

The general Warrant was illegalized in England for all time in an action involving an alleged libelous publication in 1763 during the reign of George III.

Lord Halifax, one of the Secretaries of State, issued a general Warrant, which described no person, but which empowered the police to arrest anyone they might believe guilty of the libel. This led to the arrest of many innocent persons and ultimately to the arrest of the guilty person, John Wilkes.

The Warrant, being in effect against the entire English nation, was declared invalid by the courts, and the decision was confirmed by the House of Commons.

Accordingly some twenty-five years later, this principle was written into our fundamental law as the Fourth Amendment to our Federal Constitution.

Lest the foregoing statements lull some of our readers into a false sense of security, the purpose of the amendment is to protect *law abiding* citizens, but not to prevent law enforcement officers from searching for and seizing, in certain circumstances, criminals and the evidence of their crimes.

It will be noted that the general purpose of the Amendment is to prevent *unreasonable* searches and seizures. Thus when the Amendment and the various laws passed pursuant thereto have come before our courts for construction and interpretation, such Amendment and laws have been construed or interpreted in such manner as to permit searches and seizures without a Warrant in certain special circumstances. For example, police officers may stop and search automobiles and other vehicles, the occupants of which may be suspected of any law violation, since otherwise the violator could escape before a Warrant could be issued.

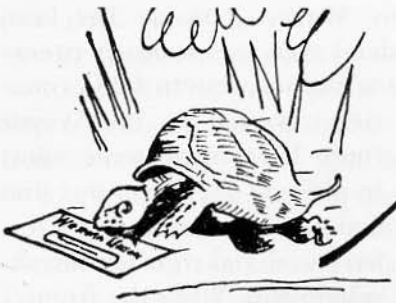
It is interesting to know however that laws authorizing the issuance of search warrants, generally prescribe penalties for those who make arrests and seizures in an unlawful manner.

Consequently very seldom, in this country, is the home, person, or property of an innocent citizen molested.

Under our laws Roving Commissions are not granted to law enforcement officers.

Richard D Logan

PRESIDENT



News

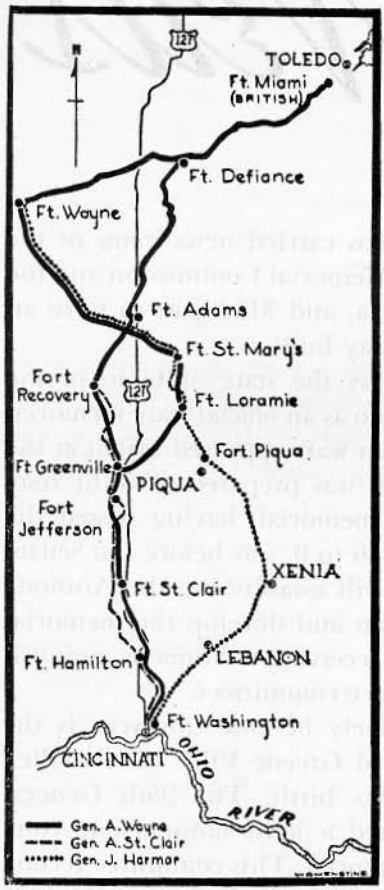
Anthony Wayne Projects

Several times the QUARTERLY has carried news items of the activities of the Anthony Wayne Memorial Commission and the efforts of citizens of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan to have an Anthony Wayne Memorial Parkway built.

The prospect for recognition by the state of Ohio of the Parkway from Cincinnati to Toledo as an official state memorial to the famous general of the Indian wars appeared bright at the time this issue of the QUARTERLY was prepared. A joint resolution establishing the parkway memorial, having passed the Ohio House of Representatives 116 to 0, was before the Senate for consideration. A companion bill establishing the Anthony Wayne Parkway Authority to plan and develop the memorial awaited a vote in the House after receiving unanimous approval of both the highway and the finance committees.

Action to honor Wayne is timely because this year is the 150th anniversary of his Treaty of Greene Ville (Greenville) and the 200th anniversary of his birth. The 95th General Assembly two years ago appointed a joint house-senate committee on an Anthony Wayne memorial. This committee recommended a two-fold memorial project: (1) the Parkway to include the military routes of Wayne and his predecessors Harmar and St. Clair, and (2) a research program covering the Wayne period of the Indian wars, conducted through the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, with ultimate publication of ten volumes. This research program has been consistently advocated by the general Anthony Wayne Memorial Commission and by its various state committees.

Development of the Anthony Wayne Parkway has been under way by local, state, and federal agencies for nearly twenty years. Communities in most of the twenty western Ohio counties traversed by the Wayne route have made some effort to preserve their own fort sites and other shrines. A few have undertaken extension developments. Since the frontier expeditions followed the water courses, there are many miles of historic highway along the large rivers of western Ohio. The Miami and Erie canal was built over the general route of the military expeditions, with the result that the waters impounded for feeders remain as great recreational assets. These include Lake St. Marys, Lake Loramie, and the large slackwater pools in the Maumee river above Grand Rapids and Independence dams. A similar lake was created in the Auglaize river above Defiance by the Toledo Edison power dam. Lucas county through its metropolitan park authority has been a leader in developing riverside recreation areas, while the city of Toledo provided an important section of highway in the Anthony Wayne Trail.



ROUTE OF ANTHONY WAYNE PARKWAY

The name Anthony Wayne Parkway has been accepted informally throughout western Ohio to cover the entire system of historic, scenic, and recreational developments connected with the military expeditions of the Harmar-St. Clair-Wayne

period and the War of 1812. The joint resolution now passed by the Ohio House of Representatives, if the Senate concurs, will give official status to the memorial and authorize all state departments to assist in its further development. The purpose is to co-ordinate all the local and state projects already under way and harmonize the plan and design of future improvements.

Northwestern Ohio will have a large share in this development, with such important sites as Fort Miami, Fallen Timbers, Fort Meigs, and Fort Defiance. There is no thought of building super-highways where not justified by traffic, but rather the proper marking of present state and county roads connecting the twenty fort sites between Cincinnati and Toledo. The Indiana legislature at its last session authorized an Indiana Anthony Wayne Trails Commission, subsequently appointed by the Governor, to fix the trails which make Fort Wayne an important part of the parkway system. It is also hoped that proper action by the state of Michigan will provide for an extension of the parkway from Toledo to Detroit, where Wayne formally took over the British forts in 1796.

The Anthony Wayne Essay Contest, a part of the educational program in support of the memorial proposals, has been mentioned in previous issues of the QUARTERLY. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society prepared materials, and the Ohio Department of Education conducted the contest throughout the state. The winning essays were selected from several thousand submitted in forty-three counties. Glen Dashner of St. Joseph School, Maumee, was the winner of the first prize in the junior division; Miss Kathleen Mierka of Roosevelt High School, Dayton, in the senior division. Besides the cash awards, three girl and three boy winners were entertained in Columbus, visiting the General Assembly in session, the Ohio State Museum, and the Ohio State University. They also attended a luncheon with Gov. Frank J. Lausche as honored guest who presented the monetary prizes to the contest winners.

The rich heritage of historic lore of Western Ohio will be capitalized for the cultural benefit of its own people and the nation by the completion of this project. The commercial value of the Parkway is evident to all, but it will also provide an

object lesson in the creation of memorials that are living and useful.

The Greenville Celebration

The sesquicentennial of the signing of the Treaty of Greene Ville will be held this summer in Greenville. The first ceremonies were held on June 16, with the lighting of the council fire at the Altar of Peace.

The main celebration will be held from July 31 to August 3 with the participation of federal and state officials, the Army and Navy, the Ohio State Guard, and many other important personages. The town will be especially decorated for the occasion. Representative Guy D. Hawley, of Greenville, is the Chairman of the Program Committee. Senators Burton and Taft and Ohio Congressmen met recently in Washington with members of a committee on the Greenville celebration in making plans for the program. A feature of the Greenville celebration will be the unveiling of a large painting depicting the signing of the treaty by Howard Chandler Christy. The first appropriation bill passed by the present General Assembly was for $20,000.00, covering the cost of this painting.

Phi Alpha Theta, National History Fraternity

On May 4, the Alpha Kappa chapter of Phi Alpha Theta was established at the University of Toledo. This is the thirty-third chapter of the fraternity, which is open to superior college students specializing in history and to interested faculty members. The fraternity is a member of the Association of College Honor Societies. Dr. Homer C. Hockett, Professor Emeritus of History at Ohio State University, was the installing officer.

The fraternity was founded at the University of Arkansas in 1921 by Dr. N. Andrew Cleven, an authority on Latin American history, now of the University of Pittsburgh. On June 2 of this year a testimonial dinner was given to Dr. and Mrs. Cleven by the Beta chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (University of Pittsburgh), the Panamerican Club of Pittsburgh, and the Department of History at the University of Pittsburgh.

Report of Committee on Research and Publications Anthony Wayne Sesquicentennial Committee

I. Statement of the Historical Background

IN 1783 we achieved our national independence, with our northern and western boundaries fixed at the middle of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. This meant that Great Britain, in making peace with her former colonies, conceded to them the vast wilderness lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi which she had wrested from France in 1763 and the northern portion of which (all lying north of the Ohio) she had added to the province of Quebec in 1774. In short the colonies now won from England the western country which in an earlier war with English help they had won from France.

But nominal title and actual possession proved to be two very different things. The western country was in fact occupied by numerous Indian tribes, most of which had been allies of Great Britain in the recent war. They had not been parties to the treaty of peace, and they recognized no right of Great Britain to transfer their country to another without their consent. Consequently for them the state of war with the Americans continued. The British encouraged them in their attitude of resistance, for differences at once arose over the carrying out of the peace treaty, whose terms were in fact violated by both parties to it. The Canadian merchants, interested in the fur trade, felt that the transfer of the Northwest to the United States would be ruinous to them and clamored to prevent or delay it. The upshot was that along the Great Lakes from which she controlled the western country and which in the peace treaty she had agreed to evacuate "with all convenient speed," and the tribes, emboldened by her material and moral support, insisted that no American should enter the country northwest of the Ohio.

During the Revolution the colonists had vainly endeavored to conquer this region and had gained what proved to be permanent control of its southern edge adjoining the Ohio border, with the old French towns of Vincennes and Kaskaskia as its

principal centers. The British had retained all of the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi area, comprising perhaps nine-tenths of the entire country between the Ohio and the Lakes.

The close of the Revolution left the colonies (now States) widely separated in space and sentiment, ravaged by eight years of warfare, and confronted by an accumulation of problems which the appallingly weak Confederation government signally failed to solve. Although nominally a nation, we were in fact but an inchoate one, and the question whether we could establish an orderly and respectable government remained still in the balance. Matters progressed rapidly from bad to worse until it became clear that only an heroic effort exerted by the constructive elements of the country could save it from internal anarchy and foreign domination. The Convention of 1787 and the establishment of the present national government with General Washington as President was the magnificent response to this challenge.

The problems the new government faced were appalling, and its ability to endure had still to be demonstrated. One of the most pressing issues concerned the northwestern country. The close of the war had left thousands of soldiers unpaid and unemployed, uprooted from their homes or with their former livelihoods vanished. A movement to colonize some of them in the Northwest was started, and the expiring Confederation Congress had enacted the Ordinance of 1787, providing a legal and governmental organization for the new colony, which was begun at Marietta the following year. Efforts to arrive at a peaceful understanding with the northwestern Indians resulted in the treaties of Fort McIntosh in 1785 and Fort Harmar in 1789. In both, a minority faction of Indians, whose authority to bind the tribes was denied and spurned by the majority, agreed that the Americans might have most of southern and eastern Ohio, while the Indians were to retain the remainder of the country. This arrangement was practically identical with the one embodied in the later treaty of Greenville (1795), but since the northwestern Indians declined to recognize it and made war upon the settlers the Government was compelled to defend them, and thus at the

outset of his administration President Washington found an exceedingly formidable Indian war on his hands.

It lasted five years from 1790 until 1795, exactly the length of time consumed to present date by World War II. Two armies sent against the red men failed to conquer them. Two generals who had won fame in the Revolution now lost it in these unsuccessful campaigns. A third general, Anthony Wayne, was appointed in 1792. As with America in 1941 his first task was to create and equip an army fit to meet the foe, and as in 1941 practically two years were consumed in this task. The camp he established at Greenville may be likened to our recent bases in England and North Africa, where preparations for the actual invasion of Europe were completed.

The summer of 1794 found Wayne in readiness to advance. Meanwhile in Europe the French revolutionary wars had begun, and the British government, while still following an opportunistic policy was more disposed to settle its issues with America. While Wayne was moving upon the western Indians John Jay was haggling with the British ministry to preserve peace on the best terms possible to obtain. The result of Washington's combined military and diplomatic measures was registered on the banks of the Maumee. Advancing northward during the summer weeks, Wayne built his grimly named Fort Defiance. Then, prepared to cope with Indian and British foes alike, he moved down the river and at Fallen Timbers quickly defeated the warriors and their white allies. When they fled back to near-by Fort Miamis for refuge, the gates remained closed against them. The demonstration of the uselessness of their further reliance upon British support was complete.

There followed the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, by which the whites obtained the Indian title to southern and eastern Ohio, and the evacuation by the British of the northwestern posts the following year. From Fort Haldinand in the Thousand Islands to Fort Mackinac at the outlet of Lake Michigan the British soldiery moved out and the followers of General Wayne moved in. The American flag and American rule had come to the Great Lakes; the states, existent or future, of New York,

Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota had been freed from alien occupancy and domination. With beautiful appropriateness the first American vessel on the Lakes was called the *Detroit* and was owned and operated by the U. S. Army. With like appropriateness the name of Wayne was given to a new county embracing practically all of present-day Michigan along with extensive portions of Ohio and Indiana and lesser ones of Illinois and Wisconsin.

II. Importance of the Conquest

But for it the nation as we now know it would never have developed. If the Old Northwest had not been won by Washington and Wayne, the western country south of the Ohio might well have been lost to Spain, with the result that there would have been no Louisiana Purchase by Jefferson in 1803 and no expansion of America westward to the Pacific. Passing such considerations as these, the quarter-million square miles of the Old Northwest plus the areas of western Pennsylvania and northern New York which were won by the conquest is one of the richest regions of comparable extent on earth, embracing such cities as Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Chicago and St. Paul. From it comes most of the iron which today makes possible our participation in the World War, as well as much of the might in skill and men which puts it to use. From it have come 7 of the 13 Presidents of the United States elected since 1860. In it is excelled a general level of wealth, intelligence, and progress nowhere else on earth and equalled only rarely.

III. Records of the Conquest

History is the community memory and written records are the means by which it is preserved and transmitted to succeeding generations. Bereft of memory the individual is a helpless, pitiable object, and the community bereft of its history is no less pitiable. Unlike the memory of the individual, however, the records which comprise the community memory can be preserved and made known only through organized, conscious effort.

Today our State Department takes ample pains to preserve and eventually edit and publish the records of its activities. So, too, our Army and Navy not only fight battles and conduct campaigns, but they spend money and effort without limit to currently preserve and subsequently study and publish the records of their operations.

Far otherwise was it a century and a half ago, when apart from certain official reports promptly buried in the governmental archives, preservation and publication of these records were left to chance or to volunteer interest and enterprise. Moreover, as time passed our national archives were until very recently shamefully neglected, with the result that a large proportion of the records they once contained were destroyed or lost. Meanwhile the contemporary knowledge of the conquest perished with the generation which witnessed it, and succeeding ones tended more and more to forget or to be ignorant of the story.

This is, of course, a story common to all past generations. Although our state and local historical societies and other agencies commonly devote more or less attention to the period in question, no adequate account of it has ever been written *nor ever can be* until the task of seeking out, assembling, and competently editing such documents of the period as still exist shall have been performed.

This is obviously the duty of some governmental agency, since private individuals lack both the resources and the incentive to perform it. Many of the documents in question have been printed in such works as the *American State Papers,* the historical collections of the various state historical societies and the historical periodicals of the country. Others, still in manuscript, must be sought in the collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society at Madison, the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia, the Filson Club at Louisville, the Detroit Public Library, the governmental archives at Washington, Ottawa, and London, and other depositories. A determined search will no doubt bring to light many papers whose existence or whereabouts are at present unknown to scholars and govern-

mental agents. Illustrative of these various contingencies may be noted the fact that although Mr. C. M. Burton printed in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections* the Orderly Books of General Wayne, unknown to him were additional orderly books, still uncataloged and generally unknown, in the library of the Filson Club of Louisville; or the other fact that although it has long been common knowledge that the Pennsylvania Historical Society possessed a collection of Anthony Wayne Papers, the existence of thousands of additional Wayne manuscripts in private possession was wholly unknown to scholars until the fact was disclosed by Mr. Harry E. Wildes only a couple of years ago. In the Detroit Public Library are many other records of the early United States Army, and only a systematic canvas will ever disclose how many or what additional ones are being preserved by other institutions or by private individuals. Illustrative of the latter point, the papers of Colonel Hamtramck, Wayne's efficient lieutenant, are supposed still to be in private possession in West Virginia; while a large body of manuscripts dealing with the service of supply of the army in the years of the 1790's were found by a stamp collector quite by chance in an Indiana rural residence a few years since, and by him were transferred to the Detroit Public Library.

There are two sides to every war, of course, and as yet we have taken little heed of the British and Canadian official and private records preserved at Ottawa, London, and elsewhere. A few years since the Ontario Historical Society issued the papers of Lt. Gov. John G. Simcoe in five large volumes. The Detroit River settlements were then the most populous part of Upper Canada and the papers of Governor Simcoe contain hundreds of documents dealing with the British side of the warfare which Wayne waged. Other British officials played their respective roles, and in many instances have left official or private papers behind which are no less important to an understanding of the period than are those left by American participants in the conquest. This statement finds current illustration in the monograph on Fort Miamis near Toledo, to which the last issue of

the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* [April, 1944] is devoted. The author of the article drew his information for it chiefly from British sources.

IV. Tentative Outline of Positive Program

That the task in contemplation is a large one is clear: that only some organized agency such as the Federal or a State government possesses both the means and incentive to undertake it is equally clear; that its cost in terms of money will be insignificant in comparison with the available means and customary scale of expenditure of either the national government or that of a single prosperous State is no less obvious. Although no complete or binding estimate can be presented at this stage of the discussion, a tentative approach to the problem can be made and its showing should prove useful to the Committee.

The entire operation will embrace these aspects:

1. The search for and copying of the pertinent records.
2. The editorial task of organizing and editing them for publication.
3. The further editorial task of seeing them through the press and the cost of printing them.

Some questions whose answers are at this time unknown or awaiting authoritative determination are these:

1. How extensive will the body of material demanding publication prove to be?
2. What will be the cost of searching for it and copying it?
3. How many volumes of size and quality appropriate to such publications (say octavo volumes of 750 pages each) will be required?
4. How large an edition should be printed, and how distributed?
5. What will be the cost of printing such volumes?
6. What editorial, secretarial, and office expenses will be required?

Tentative answers to these questions follow:

1. The material already known to exist is extensive; how

much more deserving publication will be turned up can only be surmised. Quite probably the quantity found will exceed the reasonable bounds of publication.

2. This will be conditioned by No. 1, and will be an organic part of the general editorial task. Perhaps $2,000 annually will be a reasonable estimate to make.
3. Known existing material in diverse and more or less distant places will undoubtedly require six or seven 750-page volumes to contain. [it] It may safely be assumed that additional material to be found will require three or four remaining volumes. Publication of ten such volumes in all should be contemplated.
4. Size of the edition to be printed turns on the question of free distribution, whether to institutions or to individuals. Since this is to be a serious work of reference, expensive to produce, there should be no reckless waste of copies printed. All important reference libraries should be supplied with sets, and 500 will answer for this purpose. If individuals are also to be supplied free, their number and identity (members of Congress, etc.) must be determined in advance. Enough sets should be printed to make them procurable by individuals at a nominal price (say $1.50 or $2 per volume). Since all important libraries are to be supplied, the number of individuals needing the work will be correspondingly limited. Probably 500 sets will suffice (making a total edition of 1000) for this purpose. As many more than 1000 may be printed as policy demands and available means permits.
5. No information has been accumulated on this point. Printing estimates can readily be procured, but to do so definite specifications must first be determined. A tentative and largely uninformed guess would be that printing cost may run to $5000 per volume.
6. Here we may speak more definitely. A competent historian, trained in editorship must be employed. Since the entire success of the enterprise will depend upon his skill and

experience, the best available person should be employed. His professional attainments should be comparable to those of a full professor in our leading universities. A minimum salary of $5000 will be needed to secure such a person.

He will require the help of a high-grade secretarial and office worker, and a second aide of adequate education and training will be needed. Their combined salaries may be tentatively set at $5000.

Office expenses are less definitely determinable. Probably necessary physical quarters can be had gratis from some University or other public agency which may thus be willing to contribute to the work. Postage and stationery, typewriters and other office equipment will have to be provided. A tentative estimate of $1000 annually is suggested.

Final factor to be determined is the length of time the undertaking will require. Obviously this will depend upon certain factors as yet undetermined to which attention has already been called. A tentative estimate of five or six years will probably prove not far amiss. Since the editor in charge will be a man of professional training and outlook, whose scholarly reputation will depend upon his execution of the task, it may be taken for granted he will exert all the zeal and skill he possesses in prosecuting it to the earliest practicable conclusion.

To summarize:

	5 years	*6 years*
Annual salaries at $10,000	$ 50,000	$ 60,000
Search and copying, say $2,000 annually	10,000	12,000
Office expenses, say $1,000 annually	5,000	6,000
Printing cost, 10 vols. at $5,000	50,000	50,000
	$115,000	$128,000

Annual cost (but the printing will not be evenly distributed) on 5-year basis $23,000; 6-year basis $21,444.

It only remains to note that the estimates given are dependent upon so many factors now unknown or undetermined that

in the actual outcome the costs incurred may depart materially from these advance estimates. If we assume for convenience a total cost of $150,000 we will probably be safely above the actual figure needed. Does the objective in view justify such an expenditure?

The answer involves the age old question what is worth while and reasonably necessary in life, and the answer, as always, depends upon the liver. A Zulu chieftain of interior Africa may hold an audience before his hut garbed in an old top hat and little else: King George of England or President Roosevelt cannot. In the instant case we are dealing with about the richest portion of the richest nation on earth. Its people have abundant means, and spend them freely for whatever they deem worth while. A single city high school building may cost $2,000,000 or more; a single mid-western State university may have an annual budget of eight or ten million dollars. Highland Park, a city of 50,000, spends 1½ millions annually on its public schools; Detroit, a larger city, spends more than 30 millions. The State Highway Department of Michigan spends normally over $40,000,000 annually; the city of Detroit has made plans involving an expenditure of over $400,000,000 on post-war roadway and other civic improvements.

These are random illustrations which happen to come to mind. Other and similar ones are known to every intelligent citizen. Coming to more closely comparable objects, the State of Illinois devoted $60,000 a quarter century ago to preparing its centennial history. The proprietor of the New York *Times* gave $500,000 twenty years ago to subsidize publication of the *Dictionary of American Biography;* recently the same newspaper has provided $350,000 to promote the publication of the Jefferson Papers. The Nation twelve years ago spent a large sum (figures not available) to celebrate the bicentennial of Washington's birth. In 1940 it gave $400,000 to commemorate the Coronado expedition of 1540. Nation and states a decade and a half ago spent over 1½ million on the George Rogers Clark Memorial at Vincennes. Ohio spent $50,000 on an evanes-

cent celebration of the battle of Piqua. The centennial celebration of the battle of Lake Erie was marked by the expenditure of large sums of money by New York, Ohio, and other states.

President Washington in the years from 1791-95 put the infant nation on its feet and set it firmly on the pathway to a position of respect and importance in the world. Together with Anthony Wayne he conquered the Old Northwest for America and civilization. It proved a long and bitter struggle. The citizen of today who should soberly suggest that our soldiers who are blasting a pathway to Berlin and Tokio (which many of them, alas, will not live to see) are unworthy of honor and remembrance would be lucky to escape a coat of tar and feathers or a term of imprisonment for disloyalty to his country. Are the deeds of the men who a century and a half ago in the hour of our national weakness bared their breasts to Indian spear and tomahawk in the then wilderness of Ohio and Indiana any less worthy of our grateful remembrance? And how shall we remember them if we continue to neglect to assemble the records through whose study alone we are able to know of their deeds? Briefly stated, this is the simple issue.

M. M. QUAIFE, *Chairman*
LOUIS A. WARREN
HARLOW LINDLEY
Committee on Research and Publication
Anthony Wayne Memorial Association

Immigrant Groups in Northwestern Ohio to 1860

MARY L. ZIEBOLD

FROM the time of the arrival of the first white man on this continent, the so-called "foreigner" has always been a subject of interest. Every European nation contributed something in the customs of its people that has become a part of the American national heritage. Such events as the famine in Ireland, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Revolution of 1848 caused many Irish and Germans to migrate to America.

Those that chose northwestern Ohio as their home had a difficult problem to combat before the area was desirable. The discomfiture of oppressive heat and bitter cold, however, were not entirely without their compensations, as the area became a most productive farming section.[1] In addition to temperature extremes, and even harder to battle, where the unhealthy conditions prevailing due to the Black Swamp region, comparable in size to the state of Connecticut.[2] This brought on malarial fevers that seemed to play more havoc among the foreign born population.[3] Even as late as 1856, the *Toledo Blade* carried an advertisement for "Griswold's Malarian Antidote, The Great Fever and Ague Medicine of the Age."[4]

Most of the Germans who came to America, unlike those of some other nationalities, usually brought their families with them.[5] A prospective settler of this group often chose land with a rich forest growth. Industry and thrift plus the added help of large families enabled him soon to own a fair size tract of land that was to remain in the family for generations. It was not uncommon to build the barn, often a more pretentious structure than the house, first.[6]

Perhaps the industry and thrift of this group of people can best be illustrated by the fact that those that settled Stallostown were able to buy their own farms after four years work on the canal. Formerly they had been members of a stock association.[7]

Bremen, later incorporated as New Bremen, was an example

of a company formed to purchase a site for a town. After having purchased ten acres, at one dollar per acre, the town was divided into lots, each member being entitled to one.[8]

The principles of Jacksonian democracy appealed to many of these people.[9] Catholics and Protestants alike, were to exert their influence here. There were so many of the former in the region by 1847 that the Pope established the diocese of Cleveland.[10]

The stories of the development of the various parishes of the Catholic Church have striking similarities. The priest usually held his first mass in a private home. In earlier years, the Sundays for services were often few and far apart, but as the population increased, definite Sundays were agreed upon, and the community undertook the task of erecting a church. At first, these had mission status, but later became known as parishes. Often parochial schools were established at the same time.[11] By 1847, only five towns in the area had resident pastors, so considering the bad roads of the period, a priest had a difficult circuit to cover. As it was easier for one man to cover such distances, rather than provide transportation for larger groups, many congregations were established.[12]

Delphos, which is the corrupted Anglicized form of the word meaning Brother-Love, has a rather unusual history.[13] Both the town of East and West Bredeick had been settled by Germans. They later united with Section Ten and Howard Town, settled by English-speaking people, to form Delphos.[14] Probably quinine was the item that made the settlement possible as that drug was used to combat malaria in this swamp country.[15]

Father Bredeick had furnished the money to purchase Section Ten in the government sales at Upper Sandusky. To reach the site of the town in Allen County, the people had traveled through the Erie Canal and taken a lake vessel to Toledo. After traveling by packet to Defiance, it was necessary for them to walk for two days and sleep in straw stacks at night before reaching their destination. As this town became a collection port during the canal period, people came directly from London, Berlin, and Paris to its docks. Likewise rails from

England were shipped here to be used on the Ohio and Indiana Railroad. This became part of the Pennsylvania system.[16]

Land speculators, too, tried their hand in this section of the Northwest Territory. After the survey of the Miami and Erie Canal was made, an eastern Jew plotted a site for a city and placed lots on the market valued at over thirty thousand dollars ($30,000). Changing of the proposed route, caused his plans to be another vision that never materialized.[17]

Some of the Germans had isolationist tendencies. They intermarried among their own people and left so few records that little information is available. The case of Michael Newschwander of Richland Township, Allen County, shows the difficulties that arise in trying to trace names. In the list of land buyers in Township 1 South, Range 8 East of Richland Township, the name of Michael Neiswander appears, as having purchased land in Section 34, in 1833.[18] A map of Townships 1 and 2 South, Range 8 East, bears the name of Michael Neuenschwander as holding two hundred and forty acres in Section 34.[19] There is little doubt that these names refer to the same man, although the various accounts spell the name differently.

Early days in the region faced by the Newschwanders were characteristic of those faced by many other families. They camped out for three weeks until a cabin was erected. To frighten away wolves at night, a fire was kindled. Fortunately the remaining Indians were friendly.[20] Flour for bread had to be purchased at Sandusky, which was reached by traveling over a mere cowpath. When a mill was established at Lima, people felt that progress was being made.[21]

Some of the Germans who were members of various religious sects came in large enough numbers that it is impossible to ignore them in a history of the area. Among these were the Mennonites, who usually conducted their services in German. Preachers were selected by lot, the number varying from two to four. Eventually the members formed four divisions of the faith, each having only slight variations in practices and beliefs.[22] The church forbade quarrels and law suits, so that we seldom find tne names of these people in legal records.[23]

The Reformed Church also attracted a number of the German population. In 1850, this group helped to establish Heidelberg College at Tiffin. As so many people spoke in the foreign tongue, a professorship in German was created at the school.[24] At this time seven students started to attend classes.[25] Within four years the student body of this co-educational school had increased to two hundred and twenty-two members.[26]

Salaries of teachers were quite low. In Tiffin, a Miss E. Augspurger was hired for the German school at the sum of twenty dollars per month. For this amount she was required to furnish her own room.[27]

One of the most active members of the Evangelical Church was Jacob Altstetter of Monroe Township, Allen County. Although originally a cabinet-maker, he tried to make his living here by farming. In order to get his team work done, he exchanged work with his neighbors as he was too poor to purchase a horse. Even as late as 1846 at Delphos, his corn and oats brought only ten cents and six cents per bushel respectively. Later he entered the nursery business and was one of the first to import fruit trees, hedges, and seed from Germany.[28]

The Bucyrus Community became the home of both Lutherans and Methodists. In the earlier days, services were conducted in the German language. Dr. William Nast, the first German Methodist minister here, could visit the town only once in five weeks, as his circuit was so large.[29]

The fact that the land was swampy did not keep these people from acquiring more of it. Purchases were made with cash secured by working on the turnpike or the Miami Canal. Although able only to clear three acres of a forty acre tract his first year, Jacob Shaffer walked sixty miles to secure work on the canal that he might acquire more land. Another farmer, namely William Kalb, because of his inadequate equipment, had to harvest his crops with a butcher knife.[30]

Land purchased sight unseen sometimes proved to be disappointing. It was not unusual for the tract to be under water. Some of these adventurers had very meager supplies on their arrival here. Henry Geiger and his wife, who walked from Stark

County, had an axe, fifty pounds of flour, and one dollar in cash as their only possessions.[31]

It is always interesting to note prices of earlier days. The following were taken from receipt books of this period.

"Sept. 3, 1835—Received of John Kraft

"Six Wooden buckets at 62½¢	$ 3.75
"Two Wooden buckets at 50¢	1.00
"To be sold or returned & paid for when sold	$4.75

"Michael Ruhl." [32]

The Germans at Tiffin, as was characteristic of their people elsewhere, organized a singing society known as *"Der Bruderbund,"* in 1853, under the directorship of a Mr. Kunold, a German music teacher. Three years later it had grown so proficient that it joined the "North American *Saengerbund*" and participated in musical festivals in such cities as Cincinnati and Detroit. "Tiffinites" also formed the *"Die Deutsche Theatergesellshaft"* to give amateur stage productions.[33]

Sometimes some of the citizens found it difficult to abandon various customs of the mother country. Such was the case of the father of William Lang, a prominent lawyer in Seneca County. The father had been an officer in the forestry department of the King and always retained that dress, which was of dark green broadcloth with a hat to match.[34]

The Democratic party realized that these citizens could be a strong factor in an election. In Seneca County alone, there were possibly eight hundred German Democratic voters. Consequently, to furnish them political information, a German newspaper began publication.[35]

Newspapers were not lax in their efforts to expose attempts of political parties to secure the immigrant vote. For instance, in Wood County, in 1854, the Clerk of the Common Pleas Court opened the naturalization office and issued papers to nearly one hundred applicants, although the court was adjourned. As the granting of naturalization papers was an act of the court that could not be delegated and it had not taken such action anyway, the newspapers declared these papers to be void.[36]

James B. Steedman, a convention delegate from Lucas County, employed other methods to get votes for his uncle, who was a Senatorial candidate on the Democratic ticket for the State Legislature in 1854. Three wagons were sent to transport "Dutch," Irish, and Swiss immigrants, at work on a state project, to the convention site where Steedman himself declared them to be true Democrats and Delegates for Wood County. In reality, only one of them could speak English, and most of them did not have papers or even live in Wood County.[37]

Although the Germans comprised the largest immigrant group, a true story of the region brings in a vivid account of the Irish. Not all of them were adherents of the Catholic faith, and we find that a Mr. Wilson was a circuit preacher for the Methodist Episcopal Church as early as 1834.[38]

Any history of the canal building program in Ohio is closely allied with the Irish. For the first four months of employment, each worker was to get a "jiggerful" of whiskey as part of his compensation.[39] This probably did not help these individuals in combating the dreaded fever. The mortality rate was very high among the families of the employees of one contractor, who operated a liquor store. In contrast to this, another contractor lodged his men in the upper room of a large frame house, where they had straw beds. Whether his orders of "early to bed" and "total abstinence" were repsonsible or not, few of his men suffered from the disease.[40]

Although the usual tendency of the Irish was to congregate in cities, some became farmers or proprietors of businesses in small towns. Agriculture, of course, promoted such industries as sawing and flour mills. These were operated by power obtained by the flow of water through the locks. Prices for freight in early years were quite low, as the rate was only eight cents a bushel for corn carried a medium distance and that of wheat slightly higher. Packet boats charged three cents per mile, while the freighters charged two and one-half cents.[41]

Conditions in the area delayed settlement. In 1838, a long drouth increased the number of cases of the dreaded "Maumee fever." Wild animals approached the towns, while frogs were reported to have migrated from the dry bed of Swan Creek

through the Toledo streets to the Maumee river.[42] However, once in the territory it was difficult to leave. The Black Swamp Road was renowned for its wretched condition. Six horses were scarcely able to draw a two-wheeled vehicle fifteen miles in three days. Congress had made grants of land for the road, but labor was lacking to improve it.[43]

Perhaps the following will best show conditions in Toledo, the largest city in Northwestern Ohio as late as 1850:

". . . Toledo is built upon the junction of the Miami and Mad River Canal with Lake Erie. This canal gathers an immense country of agricultural produce in its winding journeys and junctions from the interior of Indiana down to the lake. Good farms may be had in this region, at twenty-five dollars an acre. Toledo is not a very healthy place. Fevers and ague prevail; and even the most careful of the inhabitants cannot avoid these maladies. The population is about five thousand. Many good Irishmen are thriving here in business; the canal packet arrives every day in time for the steam boats. . . ."[44]

The story of the immigrant in northwestern Ohio is not complete without mentioning several smaller groups that were of importance in their local areas. Among these are the Welsh, the French, the English, and the Scotch.

Gomer, a Welsh settlement in Allen County, was eighty miles from a market. Its inhabitants preserved some of their customs such as occasionally hearing a sermon delivered in the Welsh tongue and having their children study the Welsh Bible.[45] Love of music led the Welsh in the Calvanistic Congregational Church in Cambria to have an organ, although they had only a log church in which to house it. A brown earthen jug, two tin cups, and two queensware plates were used for communion.[46]

The Scots, too, some of whom settled in Wood County, retained many of their customs. One of these was the marriage ceremony. The service was performed in the bride's home, after which it was customary for the couple to walk to their new abode. In one instance, this proved to be a distance of twelve miles. Following the ceremony drinking and dancing usually prevailed until the following morning.

Bad weather causing icy paths forced hardships upon these sturdy people. Potatoes constituted the sole article of diet during one winter, when they were unable to reach the mill. Another time corn meal ground from frost-bitten corn warded off hunger, until a member of the community purchased a hand mill.[47]

The strain of a frontier community was too much for many of the Scots and a large number of them soon passed away. Primitive coffins, made by splitting slabs of newly felled trees, were used for burial. Many of this nationality were members of the Presbyterian Church.[48]

There were many English scattered throughout this part of the state; Marion County, particularly, had a number from the United Kingdom.[49] Possibly an outstanding event to these people of northwestern Ohio was the trip of Charles Dickens in 1842. En route he stopped for a night at the log cabin inn at Upper Sandusky.[50]

The French of the territory were often descendants of hunters and trappers who came from Canada.[51] When Napoleon was incorporated some trouble ensued over the name, possibly because of the large number of Germans there. Demonstrations occurred, when the French opposed the name of Henry. Finally, when another petition for incorporating was presented, the name of Napoleon was retained.[52]

Although the immigrants of northwestern Ohio contributed much to our cultural development, probably their descendants are more grateful to them for making a swampy, unhealthy, forest area a region in which it is fit to live. The fact that the area has become a leading farming section closely united by canals, in the earlier days, and later by railroads and highways, proves that the immigrants have contributed their share to the progress of American civilization.

NOTES

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Memoirs of Edwin Phelps[1]

Edited by his grandson, FRANCIS PHELPS WEISENBURGER, *Associate Professor of History, The Ohio State University*

I WAS born on the 30th day of December, A.D. 1815, in the Village of Old DeKalb, so-called now, as there is an East DeKalb and DeKalb Junction, besides DeKalb post-office proper.

My father, the last time I was with him at Old DeKalb, showed me the exact spot, which is just a hole in the ground where the cellar caved in after the removal of the stone wall, as he informed me that the house was burned after he left it and never rebuilt, and the cellar wall removed.

The house was two story, about 16 x 24 feet, and the lower story divided into two rooms, the back part used for a kitchen and living room, and the front room for a shoe shop; as my father was a shoemaker and my mother a tailoress, they used the front room together.

I was the third son. The first one, Dorvill, died when about two years old, and the second one when only one day old and the next succeeding one were all girls, five in number; Mary Snow Phelps, born November 24, 1817; Fidelia Phelps, December 29, 1819; Harriet Richardson Phelps, February 7, 1822; Dorothy Phelps May 14, 1824, and Betsey Bigelow, January 1, 1826.

My grandfather on my father's side was Abishi Phelps, who lived with father and died at our house in February 1817, and my grandmother also lived at our house and died there.

Soon after my birth, my father and his brother, Samuel Wright Phelps, Senior, purchased 100 acres of land on what has since been known as Gimlet Street from its crookedness, having to wind around ledges of rock and across black-ash swails, although it has been considerably straightened in later years.

This was near Rich's Settlement, then called, but afterwards Richville, St. Lawrence County, New York.

My father built a small log house on his share and a log shop about 12 x 14 in size, which he occupied with his father, who was a tailor.

My earliest recollections are when Grandfather died and was laid out in that shop upon the table he used for cutting garments.

This seems incredible as I was only about 14 months old, but as nothing like it occurred later I am sure that I cannot be mistaken as I distinctly remember their taking the coffin away on a sled and remember crying because they would not take me along.

I think we lived for four or five years at this place when my father sold the whole or a part of his land to his brother-in-law Amos Stoddard who had married his sister Theodora. He may have sold only a part and bought some of Uncle Samuel. I know after the sale he had about 30 acres of land.

On his new purchase he built a plank house, I think about 16 x 20 or 24. The plank instead of being placed upright were horizontal and dove-tailed at the corners. It was divided into a kitchen or living room and two bed-rooms. In this we lived about two years when he built a two story front about the same size and divided in about the same manner, which served to accommodate us after we became a family of eleven persons.

This house was built close to a ledge of lime rock and enough stone were taken out of the cellar to wall it up and make the foundation.

I think that he must have moved his log shop, as I have no recollection of it standing near Uncle Stoddard's after we moved, and the shop was about the same size. The heating of this shop was original, at least I have never seen anything like it before or since. It was a potash kettle about 3 or 3½ feet in diameter, turned bottom up on a foundation about a foot high. The kettle was one which had given out at the bottom and father had enlarged the hole and built a chimney from that up through the roof.

This shop father used for several years and did a good business, but when it was slack the woods were handy and he used

to take the axe and cut down the trees around us, but the most of the clearing he hired done, the chopping especially. Although I was a small boy I did a considerable portion of the burning which was fun for me then and I have always liked it.

The thinness of the walls of our house made it cold, but wood was plenty and the fireplace piled full, and the more burnt the more land was cleared.

The two story part of our house was a frame with two inch plank pinned on with wooden pins and it was plastered inside and out and on the outside while the mortar was soft small pebbles and gravel were imbedded in the mortar. . . .

The year after I was born was the year without a summer, when there was frost every month in the year and all that they raised of anything was potatoes. I have heard my father say that but for the cows they could not have lived; roast potatoes and milk was the best food they had. The potatoes were a poor crop, only in favorable localities did they mature. In the valleys in close proximity to the limestone ridges they did very well and were not much affected by frost.

In 1818, about the last of July I should think, my father and mother and Aunt Sophia, afterward the wife of John Cheney Rich, went in a lumber wagon back to Massachusetts. My sister Mary, was a baby some six months old and I was about 2½ years old. I have a distinct recollection of 3 circumstances which occurred during that trip. The first was a tree across the road in such a position that we could not go around it and father had to go to a farm house some distance from the road to obtain an axe with which to clear the obstruction and left us sitting in the wagon and I remember crying for fear he would not return and that a small boy came with him to take the axe back. Another occurrence was going out with a couple of boys to get grapes and there climbing up and picking them and having me hold my apron to catch them and their laughing to see them jerk the apron out of my hands and the grapes fall on the ground. Another was a gentleman giving me a large pear, the only one I saw until I was about 17 year old. I commenced going to school the summer after I was three years old and had

to go about a mile and a part of the way was through a sugar camp or bush as they called it then.

Father's brother and his three sisters settled along in a row, as it were. His sister Sophia, Uncle John Cheney Rich's wife, settled in the village, Uncle Stoddard nearly a mile from there, father next, Uncle Samuel Phelps next and Uncle Keyes next, he married Aunt Abigail. The last four were all adjoining and the children went to the same school I did.

Alfred Phelps, Wright Phelps and Lorinda Phelps were older than I, as was Luther Keyes. Josiah Keyes and Betsy Keyes and Wm. B. Phelps and Everett Keyes were about my age. They all lived beyond me and went to the same school and Leander Stoddard and Eliza Ann Stoddard lived nearer and we eleven generally went to school together and formed a goodly portion of the scholars attending the school. I remember in the summer carrying a gourd full of thickened milk, of which I was very fond, for my dinner.

In the winter the larger boys frequently drew us smaller ones to school on their hand sleds.

We lived at that place on Gimlet Street about eight years, or until I was about 13 years old, and in the meantime the old log school house was abandoned and a stone one built which was about a half mile further to go, and after I was eight years old I only went to school in the winter. As I was the oldest in the family I had to help my mother take care of the other children and in other ways about the house and do all the outdoor chores, as father worked constantly at his trade and my mother did a good deal of tailoring.

My father kept a horse, two cows and some sheep, enough to furnish the wool for all the cloth to make our own clothing, as I never had a suit of any other clothes but homespun until I came to Ohio.

A portion of the time my father kept bees and the honey brought money, the most of which he disposed of at "general muster" which was held at Gouverneur, which we took out in two large wash tubs, together with a supply of home made gengerbread and that was the only time I had any money. I

helped father peddle it and he generally gave me a quarter of a dollar to spend, which was about all I would have to spend for a year.

During this time while we had the horse I used to take the children to school in a sleigh in the winter. The school house was also used as a church and there was a shed under which I could keep the horse quite comfortable. We all took our dinners, of course.

My youngest sister, Betsey, was born January 1, 1826, and my mother was so smart that she up and dressed and ate breakfast with us and on the morning of the 7th she was a corpse.

She left six children, of whom I was the oldest. . . . This was a severe blow upon my father and in fact upon all of us children, but we did not realize it then. Miss Jerusha Bozworth was at work for us when mother died and was then engaged to be married to my cousin Alfred Phelps. My father hired a woman to nurse my sister Betsey, she having just lost a baby, and I shall never forget how bad she felt when she gave my sister up. One little circumstance I well remember. This woman had sandy hair and so had my sister Betsey and a great many thought she nursed it from her, but although my mother had very black hair some of the Snows had sandy hair.

It was a sorry time for all of us at home and as hard for me as any one except father. He was poor and had to work hard and his expenses very much increased.

On the — day of May, A.D. 1826, my father married again to a widow, Rebecca Slosson, who had buried three husbands and had three children, the oldest about 3 years older than I was, Almira Farr, Louisa Maria Smith about a year older and Stephen Slosson about two or three years younger than I was.

Many of father's friends blamed him for being as they thought rather hasty in marriage so soon, but I did not then, and having passed through similar experience, do not now, but think it would have been better if he had married some one with less children.

Miss Bozworth had put off her marriage for father's accomodation.Father had but little acquaintance with the woman he

married but was well acquainted with her brother, Asa Sprague, who was once one of the best men in that part of the country and his sister had a good reputation. But it was an unfortunate match for him as it afterwards proved, but probably a good one for me, as she, by her abuse of my sisters, virtually drove me from home or I might never have come West.

It was a hard matter to leave my father and sisters and go so far from home, but I was somewhat broken down in health with hard work, as I had worked very hard the winter before, of which I will write later. I had been going to school about 3 months in the summer and about the same time in the winter up to the time of my father's marriage and was a good scholar of my age, but after that I only went winters. Soon after father's marriage my sister Mary went to live with my step-mother's sister Mrs. Elijah Farr about 8 or 10 miles from home. I recollect it well. She rode behind me on the old mare and all her clothes tied up in a small bundle which I carried before me on the horse. It was a sad parting when I lift her there.

Father's hard work at the shoe-maker's bench affected his health and he had to give it up in a measure and he built a small store building on the road near our house and tried selling goods on a small scale, but I don't think he made much at it.

He and I managed to work his farm with hiring a little plowing done and some work in haying, a good deal of the work was done with one horse, such as plowing corn and potatoes and hauling hay and wood. From our sheep we made our clothes and got our stocking yarn. The yarn was all spun at home but the weaving we hired done. Linsey woolsey for the females and fulled cloth for the males. In hoeing corn and potatoes my uncle's three boys and myself would take tasks and when done would play ball, which was about the extent of our recreation in summer. In the winter season we sometimes had a natural toboggan slide. There was quite a high hill on my father's farm with a fence close to the foot of the hill and towards spring the snow would get drifted in higher than the fence and beyond lay the meadow, and the snow freezing and thawing became so hard that we could ride over the top of the fence and across the

meadow and from the top of the hill across the meadow was 100 rods or more. We frequently enjoyed it moonlight nights and sometimes the old folks would enjoy it with the youngsters if they would draw back the sled, and as the hill was some 20 rods in extent there 3 or 4 families could enjoy it at once. When the surface was especially favorable this was quite a rare treat when not too cold.

After my step-mother came the whole family arrangement was changed. Father, step-mother, Almira Farr, Louisa M. Smith and Stephen Slosson ate at the first table and myself and the other children ate at the second table and took what was left or bread and milk or milk porridge. When the milk was scarce the porridge was made about ⅔ water and ⅓ milk, thickened with corn meal to about the consistency of ordinary gruel, and we crummed in crusts of bread, or, if they were scarce, a Johnny cake made of corn meal and water and salt and baked very thin was used as a substitute.

The winter I was thirteen I went to school 3 months and that was the last I went to school until the winter I was seventeen. I studied surveying 3 months under the tuition of Dr. Morton, who was an excellent teacher.

In the fall of 1827 or 1828 my father moved his little store down to the village and went down there and tended it day time and I was there some of the time, and best recollection is that there was a small library kept there of about 50 books, and father was librarian and I read every book. Some were novels and some religious books, among which I recollect Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Baxter's Saints Rest, Milton Works Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, I think the Scottish Chiefs, Thaddeus of Warsaw and Jane Eyre, I am not so sure about Jane Eyre—Life of Mary Queen of Scots and Children of the Abbey.

I was not at the store much until the winter of 1828 and 1829 when father kept a small eating establishment as there was considerable ship timbering done and the teamsters used to stop and get something in the middle of the day. Pies and ginger bread were the principal, although bread and cold pork were among the eatables kept.

About the first money I ever earned was that winter figuring the contents of ship timber, some of which were difficult as they were in shape of a truncated pyramid,—larger at the butt and smaller at the top. There were but few who could figure the contents correctly and my father got quite a little sum for my services that winter.

In the spring of 1829 I was taken with the mumps and when the snow was going off it was very slushy and going down to the store I got my feet wet and came very near dying and the final result was that I became entirely deaf in my left ear, which has been an annoyance to me all my life and as I grow older and the hearing of the other ear is not so acute the annoyance is much greater.

During the summer of 1829 father bought about 6 acres of land, having sold his farm to a man from Massachusetts by the name of Childs. The land adjoined the old cemetery across the creek from Richville and he built him a low 1½ story house and also an ashery just below the grist mill, and we moved into our house late in the fall and I was in the little store most of the time and engaged in figuring the contents of ship timber hauled to the Oswegatchie River about a mile from Richville. The timber consisted of white oak and rock elm, some of the elm growing very large in the limestone ridges. The snow was generally pretty deep and I recollect that as high as ten yoke of oxen were taken to haul a stick out of the woods on to the travelled road, when 5 or 6 yoke would take it down the river.

I recollect one elm stick was hauled past the store which was over two foot square at the butt and the cubic contents over 300 feet which was said to be the largest ever hauled to the Oskegatchie River.

After we moved to the Village I farmed the 6 acres owned by my father in the summer and chopped wood at the ashery and measured ashes when they were hurried and did odd jobs for the neighbors, and did a great deal of work about the house as all the girls went to school. Monday was washday and I had to do the brunt of the washing. My oldest sister went to live with Elijah Farr and the next oldest worked out most of the time.

Although she was neither old enough nor strong enough to do a woman's work but it was fashionable then to have from 6 to 10 children and she could take care of them.

Louisa Maria Smith went to school until I left home.

Father bought his wood sled length and I chopped it, split and piled it in the wood house, and one thing my father always insisted on my doing was when I came in the house to bring an armful of wood if the wood box was not already full, and I have frequently been sent back when I came in empty handed and the habit clings to me to this day. We kept two cows and I always had to take care of them, milk them and churn when they gave milk and they seldom went dry over a month in a year. In the summer season I worked a great deal for uncle Cheney Rich (William B. Rich's father) and I was in special demand during haying, which generally lasted about three months and there were no mowing machines nor horse rakes,—all was mown with the scythe and had to be spread and raked by hand. I was a good hand in the hayfield, the only drawback was that ivy poisoned me dreadfully and I would sometimes get poisoned so badly that I would be unable to work for three or four weeks. But for all the work I did I never recollect of ever seeing one cent of money for my earnings nor did I have any money to spend. I think $1 per year would cover all my personal expenses from the time I was 10 until I was 17 years old. I had some good times. I used to go and visit my sister Mary at Elijah Farr's about once a year and then I would go up on the road from Old DeKalb to East DeKalb and play with the Pooler and Spaulding boys, who were nephews of my step-mother.

My step-sister, Almira Farr, married John W. Moore, of Canton, St. Lawrence County, N.Y. and they lived at Canton some time and I visited them once and there first became acquainted with Mary Woodward, who was afterwards my first wife. They afterwards moved to Russell and kept a hotel there and I used to go from Richville through Teal's Settlement (now Kent's Corners) and sometimes through Hermon and sometimes through Marshville. It was then an almost unbroken wilderness but I went there several times alone. My first wife was then

living with John W. Moore who was her uncle, and as I spent several weeks there at different times I became quite well acquainted with her. I also became acquainted [with] Mrs. Lyman Langdon, who was about 19 and teaching school there, and there I also became acquainted with Charles Volney Royce, a nephew of John W. Moore, who followed me to Defiance and with whom I spent many happy hours.

In the winter of 1832 and 1833 when I was 17 years old Dr. Morton taught the school at Richville and father thought I was too small and slender to do much hard work requiring physical strength and that I ought to study surveying and I studied that 3 months and surveyed a little after I came to Defiance, but afterwards a good opportunity offered to study law and I embraced it and became a lawyer. The summer of 1833 I worked our little farm and helped father in the ashery, which was pretty hard work but I stood it very well and I think I made father as good a hand as he could have hired. The ashery was about 40 rods from the house and about the same from the corn and potatoes and I recollect that I did the work in the ashery and hoed the corn and potatoes at odd spells when I could leave the ashery. A great deal of work at the ashery was measuring the ashes as they came in being brought by those who were clearing up their farms, and after I got the fires started in the morning I could have a while before the ashes began to come in. Father ran his little store during the day and would go to the ashery after supper and run it until 10 or 11 o'clock and build a good fire and leave. In the morning I would get up early and go down and get the fires started and the water on the leaches before breakfast. After breakfast I would milk the two cows and then go to the ashery, where I would find father and take my instructions for the day. The ashery was between the house and store, although a little off of a direct line, and father always went there on the way to the store.

After supper I had to milk the two cows and then went to bed a tired boy. This was the routine during the summer of 1833 until cold weather set in and then the ashery had to be run night and day to keep from freezing up and I commenced work

at one o'clock and worked until supper time and father went to the ashery after supper and worked until midnight and called me. On my 18th birthday he told me that his father gave him his time when he was 18 years old and he would give me mine and hire me for 3 months. He did not give me a dollar in money. My birthday was Dec. 30th and I made arrangements to attend a ball on New Years. I did not ask him for any money but borrowed $3 to pay the expenses of the ball so that I commenced running in debt soon after I commenced doing business and kept it up pretty well since, until I returned from Granville on the 1st day of April, 1886, since which time I have paid as I went, which is the best way.

I don't recollect what pay I got per day of 18 hours and Saturdays we always metter off as it was called and it took us until 10 o'clock and sometimes until midnight and I recollect that I got so tired Saturday nights that I had to sit down and rest in going to the house. I attended the ball on New Year's of 1834 and as I was one of the managers it was my duty to see that all the girls were there. W. A. Brown was another manager and I had five girls and he had three and we had to dance pretty lively to keep our numerous partners in good humor. The ball commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon and closed at 9 o'clock the next morning and I was pretty sore the next day but commenced my work in the ashery all the same after I had my girls all disposed of. The sleighing was excellent that winter and there were a great many balls, parties and spelling schools, and of course I had to attend and many a night I came home and changed my clothes and went into the ashery without going to bed at all and I wonder I did not break down before the first of April when my time was out and it was not necessary to run the ashery night and day. On the 1st of April or at the expiration of my three months I hired out to John Lake to work on a farm and the season was so bad that he kept me most of the time chopping firewood and I got a pain in my breast so that I could not do much hard work but worked for Uncle Cheney Rich about the hotel waiting on travellers and about that time Uncle Stoddard took a notion to go west as far as Michigan City,

Indiana. A man by the name of Teal owed him some money and he learned that he was in Michigan City making money and he had the western fever and thought he could make his expenses out of Teal and I thought I would go with him. I had no clothes to take such a trip and I hired Julia Holt to come to father's and make a coat and vest, a pair of pants and 6 shirts.

The coat was homemade black cloth and vest of the same and the pants were corduroy. The shirts were common cotton shirts and not a particle of linen about them. I had received several letters from an uncle of mine, brother of my mother, Mark Snow, to come to him in Auburn, Miss., and I thought I could go with Uncle Stoddard as far as he went and then work my way down the Wabash and Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to Vicksburg. I had no more idea of the Western country than I now have of the unexplored regions of the Hudson Bay country. I had never been out of St. Lawrence County except when a small boy once I crossed the St. Lawrence from Ogdensburg to Prescott.[2]

I had been to Ogdensburg, Canton and Russell and once carried the mail from Russell through Edwards to Governeur and once tended store a month or so for Wm. E. Sterling in Governeur, but thought I could make my way in the world. I could not bear to be about home and see my sisters abused by my step-mother without resenting it and that made trouble.

Harlow Goddard, the principal man at Richville, had a brother Lewis in Detroit and another brother Abel Goddard in Ypsilanti, Michigan., and I got a recommendation from Harlow Goddard to his brother Lewis and I was acquainted with his brother Abel as he had lived in Richville and kept company with and I think promised to marry my cousin Lorinda Phelps and I made up my mind I would go with Uncle Stoddard as far as Detroit and get work there at something. After I had my clothes made and paid for I had only $6 or $7 left. I told Uncle Stoddard the state of my finances but he did not want to go entirely alone and said he would furnish me with money enough to get to Detroit and I could repay it when I earned it. My father did not like to have me go but thought I would get homesick and come back as soon as I earned money and that six months would

find me home again. We left Richville on the 18th day of June 1834, and father went with us to Ogdensburg, where we took the side-wheel steamer "Coburg," a new Canada boat, it being about her first trip. I was his only son and he told me many times afterward that he never expected to see me again and I felt as though I was launching out into the Unknown with some cumpunctions of conscience at leaving father alone as it were, but thanks to a kind Providence I was permitted to visit him a great many times afterwards and stood by his bedside more than 33 years afterwards and heard his last words. After his eyes were darkened with the film of Death, he said, "It is all dark below but bright above." May my last days be as peaceful as his!

On the steamer there were three classes of passengers,—the first and second and steerage. In the first class they had staterooms and the officers of the boat ate with them and they had waiters. The second class had berths off of the cabin and their table was like an old-fashioned country hotel. The eatables were all placed on the table and at each end of the table was placed the meat to be carved and the passengers carved for themselves. The first morning we were on board I was a bashful boy and the balance of the passengers made a rush for the tables and when I went in all of the seats at the table were filled except the one at the head of the table and I was to take that. I was for backing out but a dozen voices told me to take that seat and I did and carved to the satisfaction of all, I think, and I found it a good lesson. I have never shirked from carving since.

On the lower Lake we had very pleasant weather and landed at Queenstown all right and went to the top of Brock's Monument on Queenstown Heights, 175 feet, where we had a fine view of the lake and surrounding country, which was then almost an unbroken wilderness.

We took stage at Queenstown for Niagara Falls, then in all their natural grandeur,—before they fell into the hands of sharpers. We stayed all night at the Clifton House standing where the Clifton House now stands. We were ferried across the river in a canoe, which cost 25 cents. We went up to the fall and behind the sheet of water without any extra expense. We visited

Lundy's Lane and saw a Scotch regiment parade there in their plaid uniforms. There were nearly, or quite, a thousand men and not one less than six feet in height.

We took the stage from the Falls to Black Rock, where we crossed the river on a ferry boat and took the horse cars to Buffalo. The cars were about the size of a common omnibus and ran upon wooden rails. They were seated like an omnibus and ran drawn by horses hitched one after the other.

At Buffalo we took a large steamer, the "New York," which was crowded with passengers,—over 700 on board. We stopped at all the ports and took wood as no coal was used then. At Dunkirk and Erie we took large quantities of wood and after we left Erie the wind blew a gale and every passenger I saw but Uncle Stoddard and myself and one other was seasick and vomited all over the boat, so that there wasn't a decent place to sit down. The boat was a good one and took us through safely. We stopped at Cleveland about half a day and we went up in the City and got dinner at a hotel on Superior Street kept by the Scovilles and we got a good dinner. It was a small wooden building not much larger than the Central House[3] in this city. I stopped there several times afterward. The old gentlemen was in the legislature the time the act passed for the Ohio Canal from Cleveland to Portsmouth.

We left Cleveland and proceeded to Detroit and when we landed there we looked up Lewis Goddard, a brother of Harlow Goddard of Richville, who was then quite a wealthy man at Detroit. We learned from him that the cholera was raging at Detroit and all business but the undertaker's suspended and as we did not wish to engage in that we took the first stage west, I to go to Ypsilanti and Uncle Stoddard to go to Michigan City. We settled up and I gave him my note for about $15 which he had advanced to me.

The only communication between Detroit and Chicago by land was by stage through Ypsilanti and the road about two-thirds the way from Detroit to Ypsilanti was through what was known as the Black Swamp and the roads in the spring of the year were just terrible. For about 12 or 15 miles it was one con-

tinuous mudhole, and in June, when we went through, or rather the 1st of July, it had dried out, and everybody who could left the city and went back into the country. We go to Ypsilanti which was tolerably well settled on the stage road to Chicago and the citizens of Detroit stopped at the farm houses wherever they could, but while I was at Ypsilanti several died on the road and were left at the first opportunity. It was just terrible. A person dying in the coach, the passengers would get out and walk until an opportunity occurred to leave the corpse and several were left at Ypsilanti while I was there. I was engaged clerking in a hat store and a butcher shop was kept in the rear end of the store, or rather a back room.

My employer's name was Post and his store on the East side of the Huron River and two or three times I think there were corpses left there and the butcher, whose name I have forgotten, and I buried them. They were just nailed up in a rough box and put in the butcher's wagon and taken to the Potter's field and buried there. Afterwards the butcher had an attack of the cholera and I took care of him and he got well. I had no fears of the cholera, the thought never entered my mind that I could have it.

I stayed at Ypsilanti until the 18th day of August, 1834. I received a letter from Uncle Stoddard at Defiance that he was there and wanted that I should come to Defiance. I had started from Richville with my clothes packed in a pair of saddle bags, which I had traded for a peddler's tin trunk, as I thought I could keep them in better shape in that.

I had no money to pay expenses from Ysilanti to Defiance and I borrowed $3 of the butcher, for which I gave my note. I packed all my belongings in my tin trunk and started from Ypsilanti on the morning of the 18th of August, 1834. There was a trail down the Huron River to Monroe and a wilderness all the way. There were a few French settlers along the bank of the river and I had not gone far before I was overtaken by two men who had a horse between them and took turns in riding. They kindly took my trunk, which was rather unhandy to carry, and carried it on the horse a part of the time and insisted on my riding once

three or four miles. The distance was 35 miles from Ypsilanti to Monroe and we got there about 6 o'clock, and while we were at supper I heard a couple of men talking of going to the Bay Settlement and upon inquiry found that they had a two horse wagon and I engaged passage with them, for which I paid them 18¾ cents.

As we drove up to the hotel at the Bay settlement which was about ten or twelve miles I found a man with a one-horse rig going to 10 Mile Creek, and I engaged passage with him, and he took me to Ten Mile Creek, for which he made no charge.

I took lodging at the hotel at Ten Mile Creek, which was so called from its being ten miles from Vistula (now Toledo), and the same from Maumee City, now called South Toledo.

I paid for my lodging 12½ cents and told the landlord I wanted to start early and go to Port Miami[4] for breakfast, which I did, getting there just as breakfast was ready, about half past six o'clock. After breakfast I went down to the warehouse kept by Smith and Hubbell and left my trunk to be sent to Defiance. Hubbell kept the hotel and Smith the warehouse.

I think that Smith was a brother of Dennison B. Smith, now secretary of the Board of Trade at Toledo, Ohio. In this connection some may wonder how I made change, 18¾ and 12½ cents, and for their information that there were no dimes or half dimes at that time and all the change we had was Spanish currency and was 1/8 and 1/16 of a dollar and called shilling and sixpence.

I then footed it to Providence where I took dinner at Peter Manier's a Frenchman who had married a squaw and in a treaty made by the United States and the Indians he obtained a mile square there. From there I went to Prairie Du Masque[5] where I stayed all night with Samuel Vana ,whose wife I thought was part Indian, making me 35 miles walk that day. I had an early breakfast and came through the woods to Napoleon and just before I got there I came upon some Indians, camped in the bottom on a creek just below Napoleon. They were the first wild Indians I had seen. They had some venison drying on some sticks over a small fire and smoke. I stopped by their

camp and found an old man and the rest squaws and papooses. The hunters were all away. One of the squaws gave me a piece of venison which tasted real good, although it was minus salt. Napoleon had been laid out as a town and a shanty built and some underbrushing done. I did not know it was Napoleon until some time afterwards. From there I followed a trail through the woods to Florida, or as it was then called, Camp No. 4. Florida was not then laid out and Camp No. 4 was a little below the present town of Florida. From there I followed the bank of the river all the way to Defiance and found plenty of farm houses but did not stay for dinner. I thought then and I think so yet that the bank of the Maumee from Florida to Defiance is as pleasant as any place I ever saw. Trees were growing all along the bank and a hot day in August made the shade very agreeable, as I was tired and footsore.

I arrived at the river opposite the foot of Jefferson Street about 3 o'clock P.M. on the 20th day of August, 1834, and David Hull, the father of Mrs. Jonas Colby and Mrs. E. F. Lindenberger,[6] ferried me across and I went into a grocery kept a little east of where Charles B. Squire[7] now lives and found I had five franc piece and seven cents left, and the seven cents I spent for crackers. I had no dinner except the small piece of venison the squaw gave me and I soon found my uncle, who had the job of laying the floor in the new hotel at the corner of Front and Clinton streets where Wm. Hoffman's furniture store now is.

I made a bargain to go to work for Payne C. Parker, the landlord of the hotel, the next morning at $8 per month and board.

The next morning he told me he wanted me to go with a Frenchman named Thomas Carr up to the farm where Thomas Warren then lived, better known since as the Dunning Farm, after a load of oats. We were to go with a large *pirogue* 60 or 70 feet long and I had never been in one in my life, but we got up there and got back with the oats notwithstanding the *sacres* of the Frenchman at my awkwardness, but we had to wade a good part of the way as the water was low and a good many riffles. I worked for him until the 3rd day of September when I was taken sick with the bilious fever, which confined me to the

bed until the 3rd day of October and during all that time I had not seen a looking glass and when I got up and looked in the glass I did not know myself, I was so thin and my beard had grown a fuzz all over my face. In the commencement of my sickness Dr. Jonas Colby attended me, but he soon took sick and a young Doctor by the name of Smith, who was then boarding at the hotel where I was sick attended upon me and would have killed me had Dr. Colby not got better so that he came to see me and found me in a terrible condition. My bowels were constipated,—no passage for several days, and my stomach was so coated that medicine took no effect. He immediately gave me vomits of blue vitriol which vomited me every few minutes so that my stomach soon had some action and he soon got me in better shape. This Dr. Smith charged me a big bill,—I do not now recollect but between 30 or 40 dollars and as I had no money to pay he sued me and obtained judgment and put me in jail. As the laws then were there was imprisonment for debt. Sylvester Blackman bailed me out of jail and I think I was on the limits about a year. The jail limits at that time were co-extensive with the county. Smith sold the judgment for a small sum and took the money and ran away and never heard of him afterwards.

The bed on which I was sick was a straw tick with no cotton sheets on the bed, only two Mackinaw blankets, and I laid there with no attention from morning to noon and from noon to night, when the men, including Uncle Stoddard, who were at work finishing off the house came in to see me, and when I was unable to brush the flies off they cut bushes and piled over me. I was in this condition for about three or four weeks when a man by the name of Jacob G. Wilden, his wife, and wife's sister, came to the hotel to board and after that I fared better. As soon as I was able to walk about the house I commenced tending store, as the store adjoined the room in which I was sick. You will ask what the landlady was doing all the time. The truth was she had no time. She was one of the hardest working women I ever saw. She had several children and had to do most of the work herself and many a time after I got able to be in

the store I have split oven wood for her after ten o'clock at night, and she would bake after ten o'clock at night. She seldom went to bed before 11 or 12 o'clock and was generally up the first one in the morning and had breakfast ready at six o'clock or before.

After I got strong enough I got up and made the fires for her in the morning, as all the cooking was then done over the fire in the fireplace. Stoves were unknown in Defiance at that day.

In the month of July before my arrival there was the highest water in the river which had ever been known and as all the farms were located along the Maumee and Auglaize River bottoms everything had been drowned out, and the only thing left for us to eat was pork and beans. Beans had generally been planted on the highest ground and escaped the flood. After the cool weather comenced, wild meat was abundant but a person soon tires of all fresh meat, especially when there is no butter to cook it with, and butter was then extremely scarce. There were no pastures and the cows ran in the woods and few milked them more than enough to furnish them milk, and the cows often strayed and were gone two and three days at a time.

The corn was nearly all destroyed and such as would make meal suitable for bread was $1.25 per bushel in the ear. I got $10 per month and board after I got able to go into the store, and as the postage on a letter from St. Lawrence County was 25 cents and I had sisters, cousins and sweethearts there and paid the postage both ways it took full one half to pay my postage. During that fall a brother of Mrs. Payne C. Parker who had been piroguing on the river was taken sick with the cholera and brought to the hotel and died there. Uncle Stoddard helped bury him and shortly after Uncle Stoddard was taken with the cholera and was very sick with it and I tended to him from Monday morning to Saturday night without going to bed or taking off my clothes. He finally got better but was so poor that no one would have known him. He would drink boiling hot chicken brother and complain of its being cold. While in the employ of Payne C. Parker a little incident occurred showing

the foolhardiness of a boy. In some manner Mr. Parker learned that a man living in a little cabin on a small island about ten miles up the Auglaize River, in Paulding County, had killed one of his cattle then running at large in the woods as all cattle did at that time,—the cattle being marked with some kind of a mark in the ear,—and he wanted me to go up and see about it. I started on an Indian pony one afternoon and as it was only an Indian trail it was nearly night when I got there and the man was not at home and I waited until he came and looking about I found the hide of an animal upon a pole behind the cabin, with Mr. Parker's mark on it. I made known my business and he admitted that he killed the animal but claimed that he and his family had been sick and had nothing to eat and the animal had been running about there all the fall and if it was Mr. Parker's he would pay for it, and as it looked to me that the pay would be a long time coming I proposed to take the two hind quarters and he could bring the hide down, and pay for the other two quarters, to which he assented. I tied the two quarters together and hung them over my saddle and led my pony home and arrived about midnight. In about two months afterwards the man came down and brought the hide and coon-skins enough to pay for the meat.

Sylvester Blackman and a man by the name of Wheeler carried on a harness shop over the store in the hotel building and boarded at the hotel. Wheeler got dissatisfied and went farther west and Sylvester and Uncle Stoddard rented the hotel of Mr. Parker and I hired out to them at $10 per month and board. I was the man of all work about the house, tended bar and sold whiskey, 3 cents a drink or two drinks 6¼ cents, which was the smallest silver coin in circulation, there being at that time no silver coined in the United States less than the 25 cent, and the 6¼, 12½ and 18¾ and in fact the 25 cent pieces were all Spanish coins.

Mr. Blackman's family were then living at Dexter, St. Lawrence County, N.Y. and there was no way of getting to Defiance until navigation opened in the spring. They hired two German girls to do the work, one name Barbara Speker and the

only name I ever knew for the other was Dutch Maria. Barbara Speker was then a young girl about 18 or 19 who afterwards married John Dowe and is still living at Brunersburg and the mother of John Dowe, late treasurer of Defiance County, Ohio. Neither of these girls could speak any English but Barbara soon learned. Maria was an old girl, 30 or more, and did not learn much.

Uncle Stoddard was a widower and at the opening of navigation in the spring of 1835 he went East for the purpose of arranging some business at Richville and to bring Blackman's family and while at Richville he married Sophronia Daggett, daughter of Gardner Daggett and sister of Mrs. Wm. Carter[8] and Mrs. E. H. Gleason. And Uncle and his wife and Blackman's family arrived at Defiance on the 5th day of June, 1835, accompanied by William A. Brown. Blackman's family consisted of his wife and three children, one son, DeWitt, and two daughters, Pamelia and Delia. Pamelia afterwards married Austin Hauser and Delia married Wm. D. Haymaker, father of Kidder V. Haymaker.[9] I was taken sick in 1835 with the bilious fever and was sick about three weeks and was just able to sit up when W. A. Brown and the others came and I was very glad to see an old schoolmate. He brought in his trunk five nice large potatoes sent by Aunt Sophia Rich. Owing to the high water in the summer of 1834 potatoes were very scarce, so much so that seed potatoes sold in Ft. Wayne at 38 cents per dozen and at Defiance there were none. I cut the eyes off the five potatoes and planted the eyes and from them raised a half bushel of potatoes. They were very scarce for two years as there was scarcely and seed here to plant in 1835.

Sidney S. Sprague had comenced building a new house where Enos Blair now lives[10] and W. A. Brown got work scoring timber for the hewers and blistered his hands badly and did not work long at it.

There was another hotel at the corner of Front and Jefferson Streets and the only ferry across the river was at the foot of where the canal now is and the river could be forded there in the summer. Uncle Stoddard thought it would be a good plan

to have a ferry at the foot of Clinton Street and he went to Detroit and bought a two inch cable long enough to reach across the river and at that time there were a plenty of large trees standing along the bank of the river on both sides and to which he fastened his cable and stretched it across the river. I tended the ferry most of the time up to the time that W. A. Brown and I took a contract of grubbing for John E. Hunt, part of the time for wages and part of the time for a share of the receipts. In the summer time it was pleasant enough but when ice commenced running it was pretty laborious work.

In September, 1835, W. A. Brown and I took a job of underbrushing 100 acres of land for John E. Hunt[11] just west of the original town of Defiance where Warren and others and Phelps and others additions to Defiance now are, and we hired F. F. Stevens to help us and when we had about 30 acres underbrushed the land changed hands and the purchaser did not want to exchange any money that way. John E. Hunt wrote us that he had sold the land and he wanted to pay us for what we had done and if we could come to his residence at Maumee City he would give us a better job and we went and commenced clearing and grubbing the streets for turnpiking. Maumee City was then the head of steamboat navigation and two towns had been laid out where Toledo now is, the one called Vistula and the other Port Lawrence, but little improvement had been made. A town had been laid out also at Manhattan 3 miles below Toledo and piles driven and a platform laid out to the center of the river and steamboats stopped there. Maumee City on the West side and Perrysburgh on the East side were rival towns and both claimed to be at the head of navigation. The steamers were owned at Perrysburg and they laid up there, which gave Perrysburg the advantage.

We commenced work on the 22nd day of October, 1835. It was beautiful weather and continued so up to the first day of December with the exception of one afternoon when it rained and Brown and I lathed a small office that General Hunt was building. We lost a half day raising the First Presbyterian Church there and which I think was the first Presbyterian

Church raised on the Maumee River. Our job was for cutting out the streets, 28 feet wide close to the ground and six feet in width each side of that. The trees were all grubbed out so that it could be plowed and turnpiked. No brush or roots left on the ground. It was flat and even land and we got 75¢ per rod. We hired a widow lady to board us and bargained with her to have our breakfast so that we could be on the ground and go to work as soon as we could see to chop and she faithfully kept her promise. We took our dinner (pork and corn bread) and at night we worked as long as we could see to chop and then put up our fires. We sold everything we could for wood and the large elm trees we sold for docktimber and it was hewn and taken away as fast as we could cut the trees down and we kept the fires going and with considerable favorable dry weather we had everything burnt up or nearly so every morning. The worst to get rid of were the large roots we grubbed up but with constant attention we got them burned up.

On the last day of November it began to freeze some and a man who had a job alongside of us made us a proposition and we saw General Hunt and he agreed to let us off and take the other man and we sold out just right and took our money and started after dark and came up as far as Waterville and stayed all night there. It snowed about two inches that night and we were up bright and early when we got to Roche de Boute[12] the saw mill there was on fire and nearly consumed.

It was very hard walking but we reached Defiance a little after dark and it was pretty hard work to get across the river, but we were awful glad to get home and would have waded the river through the slush and ice if there had been no other way, as the water was only about 2 feet deep. We had worked about 34 days and each had a little over $76 in his pocket, which was big wages for those days. Then men could be hired for 50¢ a day and board. Out of my money I paid the judgment for my Smith doctor bill and got my release from prison as by going out of the country my bail bond was forfeited and suit could be commenced against my bail, and I was a free man once more.

It was several years after that before imprisonment for debt was abolished.

There were no licensed saloons in those days and none but the hotel keepers were authorized to sell liquor to be drunk upon the premises, and there was not so much drunkenness in proportion to the population as there is now. Nearly every family had its jug of whiskey in the house and most of the farmers along the river owning anything like large farms kept a barrel of whiskey in the house, and no large gathering like a raising or anything like that was thought of without whiskey. There were no breweries near here then and whiskey and wine were the only drinks and the wine was all imported. Eggnog, milk-punch and black-strap (molasses and whiskey) were the favorite drinks of those who did not wish to take their whiskey straight. Of course there was brandy and rum but they, like the wines, were imported and came high.

When W. A. Brown and I returned to Defiance we found that John W. Moore and family and his half-brother Erskine S. Perkins had rented the hotel and had put in a store of goods. Soon after our return I hired out to Mr. Moore to work about the hotel and in the store, if necessary. But I did not do much in the store as E. S. Perkins had the management of that and he was not much good at anything else. Every hotel had a bar then at which whiskey and wines were sold to be drunk at the bar and I tended bar and waited on the tables and helped the girls in the kitchen when necessary and looked after the provisions, wood, etc. Mrs. Moore looked to me more to provide such things than to her husband.

In the fall of the year Mr. Moore had some groceries shipped to Perrysburg on a steamboat and in the winter he wanted me to take his team and go to Perrysburg after them and I went. It was cold freezing weather without much snow. I drove on the river most of the way, only going off around mill dams. There was only one dam then before I got to Roche de Bout where there was one and another about a mile and a half below at Waterville. There was a saw mill at Roche de Bout which was

burned when we were returning from Maumee City. At Waterville was a flouring mill and the only one on the river except the Hedges mill, which I think was corn cracker attached to a saw mill. There was very little wheat to grind in those days but the Waterville mill had the reputation of making the best flour.

I arrived at Perrysburg all right and got my load, which consisted of a hogshead of sugar weighing 1200# or over and the balance of the load was coffee and tea. In going down I stayed at Scribner's all night and four bloods from Perrysburg were there drinking and playing cards and were very anxious that I should join them, but I declined with thanks and left in the morning before they were up. In returning I got as far as Patrick's where I stayed all night. At Patrick's they discouraged me about driving on the river between there and where Napoleon now is, as it was springy and the ice not very safe and told me that I better go on the other side of the river. There were three islands in the river and they told me that the most danger was among those islands, but as I had had no difficulty so far and the ice was clear and smooth and I drove along pretty briskly and just as I passed the last island the hind wheels of the wagon cut through the ice so that the hubs rested on the ice. I saw the danger and whipped up my horses and they pulled the wagon up on to solid ice but the wheels had cut the ice about ten rods before we struck ice solid enogh to bear. I rejoiced that my wagon was not on the bottom of the river and nothing saved me but a keen eye to danger and prompt action.

On the 1st day of November, 1836, W. A. Brown and I formed a partnership in the grocery business and fixed up a room under Benj. B. Brubaker's store on Jefferson Street between Front Street and the river, fronting on the river and Jefferson Street, and I went to Maumee and purchased a lot of groceries, including wines and liquors, and we continued in the business together until about the 1st of May, 1837, when I bought him out and ran the business alone until 6th day of September, 1837, when I closed out to Benj. B. Brubaker. My stock at that time amounted to about $300. Upon the whole I lost money in the operation and Brown did not get much for his time.

Lyman Langdon bought out the interest of Mr. Moore in the

hotel in Jan. 1837, and Mr. Moore sent his goods to Brunersburg, then a flourishing town doing as much business as Defiance, as there was a saw and grist mill there. Mr. Brown tended the grocery and I went to Brunersburg to tend store for Mr. Moore, where I had a pretty good time. . . . In the spring of 1837 one of the customers of J. W. Moore who was owing him quite a little was arrested in Fort Wayne, Indiana, for passing counterfeit money and was in jail there and Mr. Moore sent me up there to see if anything could be collected of him. I went on foot on the North Side of the river to Hicksville and stayed all night at Ransom Osborn's and left early in the morning to see a couple of customers on the little St. Joseph River and went down toward Ft. Wayne. It was soon after the ice went out and the river was very high and there were no bridges and I had to go up the small streams some distance to get across and it was nine o'clock at night when I got to the Feeder dam across the Little St. Joseph River and I stayed in a shanty kept by a Frenchman who was boarding the hands at work on the dam and the cook had to give up her bed in the kitchen to me and find some other place to sleep. I slept soundly and breakfast was already cooking in the fireplace when I awoke and a Johnny cake was baking on the hearth but the lid had not been put on and a hen and chickens came out from under my bed and ate out of the bake kettle on the hearth. Afternoon on the day before I stopped at every house I came to get something to eat, but did not find a house where they had anything cooked, and as it would take too long to cook it I pushed on and I did not get anything until I got to the Feeder dam at 9 o'clock, nearly starved, but I got ham, eggs and cold Johnny cake, which never tasted better.

I went to Fort Wayne and succeeded in getting $10 and came home on the South side of the River as far as New Rochester and crossed there and came to Brunersburg, at which time I bought out W. A. Brown.

I left Defiance about the 1st of May, 1837, in company with Mrs. J. W. Moore and Mrs. Amos Stoddard for St. Lawrence County, N. Y., and while in St. Lawrence Co. met Wm. B. Phelps, a cousin of mine, who had been living near Boston,

Mass., having left St. Lawrence [county] before I did. We had a pretty good time together. Were pretty wild. Managed to get five suppers in one night and had the last one cooked specially for us. During my absence Uncle Stoddard tended grocery for me.

Since I wrote the above I have found an old memorandum book of expenses of myself, Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Stoddard. Mine $20, Mrs. Stoddard $22.19, Mrs. Moore the same. That included everything from Defiance to Richville. My expenses back from R to Defiance $22.00.

On the 12th day of September, 1837, I commenced work for Charles V. Royce in a hotel at the corner of Front and Jefferson Streets and worked for him until the 20th day of October, 1837. During this time the canal was let from the Junction to Toledo and it was a very busy time in the hotel as there were a great many contractors in attendance.

On the 20th October, 1837, I commenced tending store for Wm. and J. B. Semans at the rate of $16 per month and board and I worked for them until the 29th day of April, 1838, when I left their employ, for which they paid me $100.

On the 18th day of November, 1837, I commenced the study of law with Wm. Semans and paid him $50 for the two years tuition and use of library. During the time I worked for W. & J. B. Semans I earned $10.49 writing for W. A. Brown, County Auditor, this writing I did nights.

After leaving W. & J. B. Semans I commenced tending the Post Office and wrote for W. A. Brown, Auditor, and during the summer I taught school three months for which I received $75, and for the writing I did for W. A. Brown I received $90, and on the 20th day of November, 1838, I commenced tending store for J. & A. G. Evans and tended for them until the 20th day of November, 1838, for which they paid me $16.50. I then commenced writing for W. A. Brown in the Auditor's office and tended post-office and posted books and did any other job of writing I found to do. I was elected township clerk in the spring of 1838, which office paid about $10 per year. I also did some collecting for J. A. G. Evans and W. & J. B. Semans. I stayed

in the post office up to about the 1st day of April, 1839. Jonas Colby was post-master but W. A. Brown kept his office as Auditor of Williams County in the post-office. He taught school and I did the work in the Post-office and Auditor's office too.

W. A. Brown liked teaching school better than writing in the office, as he did not have to put in so much time, and it suited me. I made good wages and was willing to work early and late. W. A. Brown did not like to get up early, always laid until breakfast was ready, and sometimes got up just in time to reach school. On the 8th day of April, 1839, I was appointed by the Court of Common Pleas of Williams County, Ohio, Clerk of Courts of said County, which was the 1st day of the term of Court, and I immediately took charge of the office. I had hardly ever been in the Court room until that morning,—had served once as a juror and that was all. And I was somewhat awkward but the attorneys seemed to like me and rendered me all the assistance they could and I soon had the reputation of being a first rate clerk.

From that time on the clerk's office was my principal business. I still pursued the study of law and the little I saw of the practice was a help to me and at the fall election of 1839 I was elected justice of the peace of Defiance Township.

At that Brunersburg was larger than Defiance and the election was held there. I ran against William Carter and had 59 votes to his 25 votes. He was then a Whig, and I, as now, a Democrat.

The canal was being constructed at that time, which made considerable legal business. In the month of September William Semans, my preceptor, at the instigation of his client had three stalwart Irishmen arrested for riot and for some reason they employed me to defend them, which I did and got them clear, for which they paid me $10, which rather nettled Mr. Semans as his client failed to pay him anything or very little. I think he got $1 or perhaps $2. I was proud of earning this $10.

On the 7th day of December, 1839, I went before the Supreme Court of Ohio and applied for admission to the bar to practice in Ohio, and they appointed P. B. Wilcox, John W. Andrews, Peter Hitchcock, Henry Stanbery and George Smith a com-

mittee to examine me and they made what I thought was a pretty thorough examination and they made a report in my favor and I was admitted and purchased a few law books in Columbus, more than I had money to pay for and gave my note for the balance and John E. Hunt, then a Senator from this district, went my security by signing the note with me but he did not have to pay it.

This wound up my operations for 1839.

In the winter of 1840 John B. Semans, a Whig, and myself entered into an arrangement by which we published a newspaper called "The Barometer", a neutral paper to which we both contributed. The exact time we started the paper I do not now recollect, nor the time we abandoned it. It was a small sheet. . . . It was not a paying institution, although I do not think we lost much. We occupied a small office then on the lot where John H. Kiser now lives and the building forms the wing part of Mrs. Downs house on the corner of Second and Wayne Streets.

On the 24th day of April, 1840, W. A. Brown and I left Defiance on the stage and went to St. Lawrence County, N.Y. We went to Perrysburg expecting to take the steamboat Oliver H. Perry for Buffalo, but she was disabled and we took a small steamer running to Detroit and this was the only trip she made to Cleveland. From there we took a large Detroit steamer for Buffalo and we both had the ague going down on the boat. It rained on the trip from Defiance to Perrysburg and we were in an open wagon and got wet, which probably brought on the fever and ague. When we were within 30 miles of Buffalo the harbor was blocked with ice and we were more than a half day getting up to the dock.

It was then the 1st day of May and the snow was about 1½ or 2 inches deep, and we stayed in Buffalo that day and passed a church where there was a May party and they had swept away the snow and young ladies dressed in white were dancing around a May Pole, each of whom held in her hand a colored or white ribbon and when the dance was closed the ribbons were woven around the pole from top to bottom and before the close of the party they danced the reverse and unwound the ribbons. It was

really a beautiful dance but pretty cold watching it from the sidewalk.

From Buffalo we went to Lewiston and took the Ogdensburg steamer to Oswego, as Brown wanted to stop at Sandy Creek in Oswego County to see his girl. We took stage from Oswego to Union Square, where we had to change stages for Sandy Creek and Watertown. At Union Square we met Winchell, a great Ventriloquist, on his way to Watertown to perform and were very much interested in his singing as he was a splendid singer and one of the songs he sung was the Old Oaken Bucket, which he rendered better than I ever heard it sung before or since. On the way to Watertown, which we did not reach until after dark, he played several tricks on the landlords, such as children crying in the stage and dogs biting their heels. During my ride that night the snow fell six inches deep and we suffered a good deal in the stage. I think we stayed in Richville until about the 20th of May when George R. Brown and Manda Brown, W. A. and myself, went out to W. A.'s wedding and we had a common three-seated spring wagon, which was about the best the country afforded at that time. I acted as groomsman and Miss Mary Stowe as bridesmaid and we had a very pleasant wedding.

But to go back to the 22nd of February, 1840. There was a small town with two hotels, three stores and two or three groceries at New Rochester about 14 miles up the river and there was to be a ball there and Calvin S. Noble and my step sister Louisa Maria Smith, W. A. Brown and Mary Hull, afterward Mrs. Lindenberger, myself and Mary Woodward, hired a two-horse lumber wagon of Lyman Langdon went and we had a jolly time. I returned from the state of New York in June 1840 and my sister Harriet came with me and soon after we went to keeping house in a one-story recently torn down by S. T. Sutphen standing between his house[13] and J. P. Buffington's.

During the September term of Court in that year my sister took sick and I had no one to stay with her nights and from Monday morning until Saturday night I did not take off my clothes or go to sleep, watched with her every night and attended to my court duties during the day, but Saturday night I gave up and laid down before the fire on the floor and the

fire snapped onto the comforter and my sister could not rouse me by her voice and got off the bed and rolled me over, which awakened me and I found her lying on the floor insensible.

During that fall I made three trips to the North line of Florence township, Williams County, Ohio, to attend lawsuits before VanFassen, Justice of the Peace of said Township, in a case between a man by the name of Martin and E. & J. Depuy. It was about 40 miles and took three days for which I only charged $35 for the three trips and took my pay in flour at $4.25 per barrel. This flour was very acceptable at that time as there was very little wheat raised in the county at that time and they had a pretty good country mill and made pretty good flour for the times. Their mill was a few miles above the town of Denmark. The mills were afterwards purchased by William Semans but I don't think he made any money out of it.

The county seat of Williams County was removed to Bryan in February, 1841, and I had to go there with the Clerk's office but did not move there, employing Nathan M. Landis to attend the office.

On the 23rd day of February, 1841, I was married to Mary A. Woodward at the residence of her sister Mrs. Orlando Evans by a minister by the name of H. W. Hill. I took my wife home directly after the marriage and the next night had a big reception. Nearly everybody in the village was there.

This was a marriage of love. We had been intimately acquainted for a number of years and I had long wanted her but I did not feel that I was able to support a wife. For some cause which I never learned my step-sister, Mrs. Moore, did not like my attention to Mary and tried to find other company for her and did have her engaged to John Hilton, brother of Brice Hilton, who was killed raising a bridge at three mile creek just South of Defiance. She also tried to get her married to Albert G. Evans an old bachelor residing at Defiance, but she did not succeed.

This was a very eventful year for me. I built the house on Jackson Street at this writing (1893) owned by Henry Newbegin. It was a big undertaking and as evidence will say that lumber was so scarce that I had to go to 14 different sawmills to obtain the

requisite lumber. The house when finished cost me over $2000, leaving me considerably in debt. It was finished with the exception of some inside papering and we moved in on the 8th day of November and my wife was in a delicate condition and was never upstairs but once. She was taken sick with the bilious fever in December and was delivered of a boy who lived about a day but died and we buried him in the garden before my wife died. She died on the 20th day of December, 1841, and we took up the boy and buried him in the coffin with her. I cannot look back to the day she died without severe pangs. She knew that she could not live and a short time before she died she put her arms around my neck and kissed me and said "Oh, Edwin, how can I leave you," which were the last words she said. We had just commenced to live and to have wife and child taken away made me almost crazy.

My sister Harriet was still living with me but the light of the house was gone. The weather was bitter cold and the snow deep. We kept house a while and then I rented my house to W. A. Brown and my sister and I boarded with them. It was a very pleasant home for us but not like one of my own. One drawback of having to board at Brown's was that I had several men at work for me and it was inconvenient boarding them at Brown's and also expensive and I hired some boarded at Orlando Evans. I had to frequently go to Bryan to see about court matters and traveling was not so easily accomplished as now.

I also practiced law and earned about a hundred dollars attending petty cases in the vicinity of Defiance. I was farming and raised over two hundred bushels of potatoes which I sold at 37½ cents per bushel. I was also a contractor on the Wabash & Erie Canal, Section 103, which was opposite Townsend Newton's farm, and did several hundred dollars worth of work at a great disadvantage as Ohio State checks were worth only 50 cents on the dollar. The contract commenced about six miles from Defiance and I was up there considerably and frequently left there after the men quit work and came home. I was justice of the peace which required considerable time and I had quite a large collection of canal claims. Together with my law practice I was a pretty busy man.

I finished up my contract on the canal during this year and got the checks but it was a pretty hard time to get the money. Checks sold as low as 45 cents on the dollar the last of this year. I had to go to Bryan quite often to attend to court business and generally came home from there after dark.

I attended to my justice business and my law practice was considerable for the times. I kept a team hauling wood to town and did some farming, principally raising potatoes, and the clerk's office at Bryan required some attention from me. Although Nathan M. Landis was my deputy I still had to go there during court and sometimes stayed during the week.

I had a pretty large collection to do for J. & A. G. Evans, who had sold out and left here with money due them all over the county, amounting to several thousand dollars, much of which was worthless. The collection of claims against canal contractors who were about failing or finishing their contracts was considerable and the most of it had to be taken in State checks which were worth only fifty cents on the dollar.

I find that I must have farmed considerable as I find about 200 bushels of potatoes charged in each of the years 1841 and 1842, besides considerable corn. Potatoes in 1841 were 37½ cents a bushel and in 1842 were 25 cents. Corn was worth 25 and wood $1 per cord.

The winter of 1842 and 1843 was one of the hardest winters ever known in this county and a great many hogs and cattle were frozen to death. The snow was about two feet deep and the rivers frozen solid. I drove up the river as far as Mr. Eaton's on the ice over the riffles,—did not have to go off, and the ice did not go out of the river until the 8th day of April and was than 2 feet 4 inches thick. W. A. Brown moved out of my house in March and my sister Harriet and Catharine Stoddard kept house. On the 15th day of February, 1843, I started on horseback for Columbus. I see from my memoranda that I went to Kalida and from there across to Upper Sandusky and Marion and Delaware, and that I left Columbus about the 2nd of March and came back by way of Pleasant Valley and Roundhead and Lima. I went to Columbus to get pay for extra work on the canal and principally for Mooney, Wair & Sturgess.

While there I saw James B. Steedman[14] and Horace S. Knapp,[15] who had purchased a press and type and were bringing it to Defiance and H. S. Knapp was to be the editor and Steedman furnished the money. There was no direct transportation line from Columbus to Defiance and they hired a man with two yoke to haul it from Columbus to Defiance. I overtook the team at Lima and I purchased in King's store there 50 lbs. of feathers for $9.37 and they hauled them to Defiance on the wagon. Eggs were then worth 3 cents per dozen and chickens 5 cents a piece. My entire expenses going and returning and at Columbus were $39.32.

During the year 1843 my practice as attorney increased and I had one important case at Perrysburg, another at Lima and one at Tiffin and another at Lower Sandusky (now Fremont) and I felt the need of a wife very much and my sister Harriet was soon to be married and I would soon be without a housekeeper and I had formed the acquaintance of Emily R. Eaton and on the 7th day of June we were married. It was a very rainy time and we were married at her father's house in Paulding County. George R. Brown, myself and sister Harriet and cousin Catharine Stoddard rode up horseback and had to swim our horses across Gordon Creek. I undertook to ford and my horse had to swim and I had my clothes in a pair of saddle bags and they all got wet. I finally found a tree fallen across the creek on which the other crossed and I drove their horses through. The water was over the bottom belly deep to the horses and they had to ride out to the log and I had got across and took them on my horse from the log to the shore. Rev. E. R. Tucker married us and we went up on this side of the river to New Rochester and went across the river in a canoe.

We left our horses there and got a large pirogue of William Gordon and all came down in about three hours and it was about two weeks before we got our horses. In the evening Dr. Colby and my sister Harriet were married at my house where Newbegin now lives and nearly everybody was invited and we had a very nice time.

After my marriage H. S. Knapp and family boarded with us about five weeks until they could get a house and during the

time they boarded with us there was an excursion to Fort Wayne on a canal boat to celebrate the completion of the Wabash & Erie canal to that place. Lewis S. Cass of Detroit made the speech and in it made a statement that while Indian agent he made the trip from Detroit to Terre Haute, Indiana, in a birch bark canoe without having to walk at all. At that time you could go up the Maumee and St. Mary's and across through a wet prairie to Little River and down the Wabash. I have a list of those who went on the boat with me and out of the 31 six are now living.

In August, 1843, I went to Bryan and married Erastus H. Leland to ———— Gibbs. They were married at Dr. Paul's, with whom she was living at the time. It was the 23rd day of August when I married them and I had some business in the clerk's office and stopped at Longley's Hotel. Before I was ready to start home I was taken down with bilious fever. Dr. Paul tried hard to break it up but without avail and told me I would have a regular run. I could not bear the idea of laying in bed two or three weeks at a hotel in Bryan and told my wife, who was with me, that I must go home and to pay the bill and get two men to take me to the buggy and we would go home, and I was carried to the buggy and went by Evansport and Edward F. Lindenberger was keeping hotel there. Whenever the buggy was moving I felt pretty well and could sit up, but as soon as it stopped I would faint away. I was carried into the hotel and laid upon a lounge at Evansport and my wife had the horse fed and got her dinner and drove me home. I laid in bed about three weeks and it was another week before I was able to go to the justice office. During this year as well as 1842 I had charge of a toll bridge at the foot of Clinton Street where the present bridge now stands and during some of the time Adam Wilhelm kept the gate. I still had charge of the toll bridge across the river and I think Adam Wilhelm tended up to August of this year, when John C. Woodward, brother of my first wife, commenced tending it.

I still kept my teams and hauled a great deal of wood to town. I furnished Downs brick yard, all at $1 per cord. I also farmed my beeswax farm (so-called from the tenacity of the

soil) just west of the B & O depot[16] and sold considerable hay and some corn and potatoes and kept a good many men at work but as I could not be with them I don't think I made much. But I could not be idle and liked to see work go on. I had a great deal of hauling done about town but my principal business was the justice office and I still held the clerk's office at Bryan but Levi Colby was acting as my deputy and the office did not require much of my attention except at Court time. I still practiced law in Paulding and Henry Counties, but could not practice in Williams. My justice office paid me about $200 or $250 per year and I got some from the clerk's office but it did not pay me much more than the expenses.

The most notable event during the year was the birth of a daughter May 14, 1844, which was named Adelaide Victoria and made a happy home for us. She grew up to be a nice girl but died young with consumption.

In June of this year David Harley of Florida, Henry Co., brought up a boat load of lumber and unloaded it at the foot of Jackson Street on the river. This lumber found a ready sale as there were no saw mills in Defiance. The only one in the vicinity was at Brunersburg, which was not able to supply the demand. I had charge of the sales and made a few dollars out of it besides accommodating the community.

This was an eventful year for Defiance. Its citizens tired of going to Bryan for all their legal business and started a movement for the formation of a new county to be called Defiance and petitions were circulated to the legislature for its erection and still there were some here who opposed it. One of the strongest opposers was William A. Brown, who feared it would make a Whig county.

The legislature at that time were Whig, and in February, Pierce Evans, William C. Holgate and myself went to Columbus. They were both Whigs and I was then as now a Democrat, and I operated with the democratic members and they with the Whig members and we succeeded in getting the bill passed for its erection on the 4th day of March, 1845, and as soon as the bill was signed and became a law we left for home by the way of Delaware, Marion, Upper Sandusky and Findlay.

It was a rainy, bad time and the roads were just horrible, but we all had good horses and felt good over our success in getting the new county, but it was pretty tough. The streams were high and we had to swim our horses and it was pretty rough riding all day with wet feet and legs, but I fared better than the others. I had a splendid, large horse who was a good swimmer and as it was not my first experience on horseback I managed to keep entirely dry. While Pierce Evans had a fine horse and a tolerably fair swimmer he weighed over 200 pounds and his horse could not carry him out of the water. Holgate had a small horse who swam low and Holgate was too timid to get up on the saddle as I did and consequently got pretty wet.

In coming home we intended to stop at Harshberger's, just this side of the 12 mile woods, and we got there just after dark and found that they had nothing to eat for man or beast and that Mr. Harshberger left that morning at four o'clock for Defiance to get supplies and they would have nothing until he returned, probably about midnight. Mrs. Harshberger and three or four children had been without anything to eat since breakfast. We came on about 3 or 4 miles to Chris. Desgrange's and stayed all night. I was put in bed over a barrel of sauer kraut and it was so strong that I could not sleep and got up and went to the barn and wrapped myself in my saddle blanket and crawled into the hay and slept rather late and there was considerable excitement until I was found when it was learned I was not in bed. We got home about three o'clock P.M. on the 4th day, a pretty tired, hardlooking trio. It was raining the day we arrived at Defiance and we were very muddy, covered with mud and wet through, but we all felt well that we had succeeded in our undertaking although none of us expected to reap much personal advantage except W. C. Holgate.

The legislature of Ohio appointed William O. Ensign, James S. Greer and Andrew C. Biglow, associate judges of the new county of Defiance and they met under and by authority of the act creating the county of Defiance and appointed Darius Allen, Lyman Langdon, and Jonas Colby, commissioners to serve until their successors were elected and qualified, but Darius Allen never met with the board and Colby and Langdon did

all the business. I was appointed Auditor of the county and acted as such until the fall election when W. A. Brown was elected and I turned the office over to him.

The judges by authority of the act creating the new county met on the 4th day of April and ordered an election to be held on Tuesday, the 18th day of April, 1845, for Auditor, Treasurer, Recorder, Sheriff, Coroner, Prosecuting Atttorney and Surveyor, and there were no votes cast for Auditor except for William A. Brown and he claimed the office and I did not think him entitled to it under the provisions of the act and made out an agreed statement of the facts to be submitted to the Supreme Court, but he did not have confidence enough in his position to submit it and I held the office until the general election in October when he was regularly elected, commissioned and qualified.

The court also appointed Orlando Evans clerk of the courts and he appointed me deputy but I never did much in the office and he soon after appointed Charles V. Royce his deputy, who performed the duties of the office until William Richards was elected under the new constitution.

The court also appointed Calvin S. Noble, sheriff, and he was elected at the October election, as was the whole Democratic ticket. The court in regular session on the 29th day of May, 1845, appointed George W. B. Evans, Horace Sessions and Edwin Phelps school examiners for the term of three years from that date. There was considerable business connected with the organization of the new county. All the taxable property of the county had to be obtained from Williams, Henry and Paulding Counties, and settlements made with the commissioners of the several counties as they were all in debt and Defiance had to pay its proportion of the debt. I attended to all that and made out the duplicate for the year 1845 and received less than $200 for my fees, not half what it was worth. Dr. John Paul was appointed clerk of Williams County to succeed me and he was pretty careless about his books and I lost about a thousand dollars which was due me in the clerk's office when I went out of office.

I was still justice of the peace in 1846 and also township

clerk and school examiner. Justice office was pretty good but the others did not pay the trouble. I still kept a team and hauled wood to town but it hardly brought money enough to pay the cash expense of getting it there.

In the summer about the middle of July my wife and I concluded to go East and we took the packet for Toledo and steam boat for Buffalo and from there took passage on the canal to Utica. The New York Central railroad was only completed to Utica. There we took the railroad to Troy, where we were hauled through the city by horses, as the city would not let engines run through the city. From Troy we went down the river to what was then Greenbush, now East Albany, and from there took the Boston & Albany railroad to Framingham, where an aunt of my wife lived and we stayed there two weeks visiting friends and from there went to Boston and from there by rail and steamboat on the sound to New York City. From there we took a steamboat to Troy and the Whitehall Canal to Whitehall and thence by steamboat across Lake Champlain, which was a very nice trip, and I think the neatest, cleanest steamboat I ever rode upon.

We landed at Rouse's Point and then we had to take stage to St. Lawrence County and arrived at DeKalb at my youngest sister's about midnight. The most I recollect about that ride is that it was very rough and we suffered with the cold. There was a stretch of 12 miles of woods through the Chateguay Woods without a house.

We stayed in St. Lawrence County about two weeks and came to Buffalo, or rather Lewiston, on a steamboat and by railroad to Buffalo. A part of the way the cars were drawn by horses. We spent a day at Niagara Falls and took steamboat from Buffalo to Toledo. When we got to Toledo the packet had just left and we took a line boat, which was very slow traveling and poor sleeping accommodations, but we were anxious to get home and in 4 or 5 days Emma was born, on the 6th of September.

We left our house in charge of Juliet Bouton and while we were gone she and Henry C. Bouton were married there. During the year I got considerable collecting to do, one claim against

Sidney S. Sprague for something over $2500 in favor of Holbrock, Carter & Co. This caused me considerable trouble as I took notes of Sprague to apply on it and they were slow to collect and some I did not get. I had considerable practice in Henry County, so that I was not idle.

I went to Bryan to pay taxes for non-resident landowners and also to Henry County to pay there, which was quite a business, as there were a great many of the non-resident proprietors.

In the forepart of winter just before Christmas Luther Eaton brought us a wild turkey that weighed over 30# and as we had no family that winter but Adelaide and Emma, a baby, we broiled slices of the turkey as we would beef steak and thought it delicious.

The year 1847 was another important year for me. My wife and I, one or the other of us, had the ague about every day nearly all winter but came out all right in the spring, and on the first of April I commenced building a saw-mill where Peter Kuhn's factory now is, and completed it and started it on the 7th of July, just about three months. H. B. Hall did the millwright work and put in an old-fashioned flutter wheel and it did not work right and I replaced it with a reaction wheel which I bought in Detroit, called a Lamb wheel, which did pretty well but used a great deal of water.

On January 6, 1847, the toll bridge over the river at Clinton Street was taken away by a freshet. The water was higher than ever known before. I lost about $1300 by the toll bridge going away. Myself, W. A. Brown and two others were on the bridge when it went off and were taken off at Napoleon. The bridge lodged about six miles below Napoleon and we got a little for the timber and iron.

Wheat in February, 1847, sold at Defiance for 50¢ a bushel and in May, 1847, for 75¢.

I forgot to mention in the winter of 1847 and 1848 I was living where Newbegin now lives and we took up our carpets in front and back parlor and Oliver Shead taught dancing school there and there were about 20 couples attended, for which their bill was $4.44 each.

I ran the saw mill until the 1st day of December, 1848, when

I sold it to William A. Stevens for $2700. It had been a constant annoyance to me although I had a large trade, work for it to do all the time. But it was difficult at that time to get competent sawyers and I failed to do that and I had to run it myself although I did not pretend to be a sawyer. I was pretty quick to learn and could run it better than most men I could hire. During that time I built a house for J. M. Stillwell which is a part of the house where Alfred Ayers now lives. Horace Sessions bought it of Stillwell. It was originally a story and a half house with a one story wing and Mr. Sessions raised it to two stories and Alfred A. Ayers further enlarged and changed it.

I also built a store room for Moore Brothers where the Schultz Bros. lately kept grocery adjoining Hatry's, which was a nice store when finished. I think it was 23 x 60 feet, two stories, built in 1848, but I did not finish the store until the summer of 1849. William Semans commenced building the Defiance Mills about the time I commenced building the saw mill and I see that about the first lumber I sawed was for that mill, and Sidney S. Sprague was building a bridge across the Maumee River at the foot of Clinton Street and I sawed the plank and street sills and railing for that and during the years 1847 and 1848 I employed from 25 to 30 men on my own account, besides the men employed by Phelps & Bouton who had the Phillips farm rented and Frazee farm across the river, and had in about 150 acres of wheat.

On September 6, 1847, I traded my house where Newbegin now lives with Abram Davis for his farm in Paulding County adjoining Mr. Eaton. I made a good trade but rather than have a lawsuit I finally lost the farm. . . . I bought lots 147 and 148 in the Old Plat of Defiance where Peter Kuhn now lives and had an office built there, 13 x 17, one story, and when I moved out of the Newbegin house I put a shed back of that to use for a kitchen and lived in there about a year.

In 1848 I sold the building I was living in to J. W. Phillips who moved it onto Harrison Street, and commenced the building of a story and a half plank house where Peter Kuhn now lives and employed Henry A. Townsend to do the work. . . .

I built a barn and wood house on the premises and as I was out of the sawmill I attended to my justice business and law practice, both of which I had neglected. While I was very busy with the sawmill Bouton & I were in company in farming and running a blacksmith shop. He made money out of it and I did not. In fact I never had a partner in business but what made more money than I did. I occupied considerable of my time looking after the building of the store room for Moore Bros. and house for J. M. Stillwell. I was also building a sawmill at Hudson's lock where the paper mill now is.

On the 7th of February, 1849, my daughter Ida Rosalia was born, who afterward married J. W. Gensheimer and went to Erie, Penn., to live and has lived ever since. Our new house was comfortable though small, and I had made arrangements to enlarge it.

During the year 1849 I rented the Shirley farm across the Auglaize and hired Albert Webster to work for $200 per year and I found his team to haul his wood and a house to live in. He worked for me 7 months and five days and concluded to go on his own land in Williams County and we settled and he bought a yoke of oxen of me and moved to Williams County.

I don't think now in looking back upon my farming and other operations that they paid me for the worry and trouble and that it would have been a great deal better for me if I had just stuck to my profession of law and let other things alone. But I liked to see work go ahead and kept a good many men at work, not many of whom earned the money I paid them. I had the justice office and could not be with them and the old maxim that he that by the plough would thrive must either hold or drive is not only true in farming but all other business.

By an old memorandum book I kept in 1850 I find that I had on hand at the beginning of the year $73.45 worth of groceries and provisions, including hay and corn for my cow and horse, and I think I never had as much at the beginning of the year since. I kept this memorandum quite well for about three months, when I went to Columbus to see about leasing the water for a sawmill at the 6th lock above Defiance where

the paper mill now is and while absent I did not keep the memoranda and after I got home I did not resume it as I should and as I now wish I had.

Maria Welles, daughter of Woolsey Welles, went with me to visit Alfred Kelley, one of the canal commissioners. I see it cost them to go to Columbus $8.12½ and took about three days. We went by canal to Dayton, R. R. Dayton to Xenia and by rail from there to Columbus. I had taken a contract to saw the timber to rebuild locks 5 & 6 at Defiance. Although they were originally built in 1840 they had to be rebuilt in the winter of 1850 & 1851 and I built the sawmill and sawed the timber and plank for the locks and I had to get out most of the logs myself and I went into the woods above the Junction on the Miami canal between the canal and river and got most of the logs working with the men until I got enough to raft, then rafted them and a boy and I brought them down to the mill. I got the mill in operation and sawed the timber and plank before the close of navigation, as the water had to be drawn off the canal to put in the locks. It kept me pretty busy all the summer and fall getting the logs and attending to the sawing of them. I built a basin at the mill in which to run the logs and I had considerable trouble to get the banks to stand and had a good many breaks which caused me considerable hard work.

In the winter of 1850 & 1851 I went to Columbus and I spent considerable time there trying to get appointed collector of canal tolls at the Junction, a pretty important office the salary of which was $800 per year with an allowance of $600 for clerk hire, making $1400 per year of about 8 months. I succeeded in getting the appointment and at the opening of navigation in the spring of 1851 I took charge of the office and went to the junction.

While in charge of the collector's office I dabbled considerably in other matters. I had to keep a clerk and in company with Dana Columbia, who kept a hotel at the Junction and with whom I boarded, I made a contract with R. R. Dickey of Dayton, Ohio, to furnish stone on the bank of the canal. Dickey had his own boats and we quarried the stone during low water

in the bed of the Auglaize River and worked quite a number of men and made a little money. . . .

The Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad was in process of construction during this year and I purchased of Taylor Webster, near Springdale in Butler County, an eighth interest in what was then called the Beeswax farm and agreed to pay him in ties delivered at Hamilton, Ohio. They were to be sawed ties, 7½ feet long and six inches square, and I sawed them at the mill at what was called the Jones lock. I had purchased 229 acres of what was called the Beeswax farm and in sawing the ties I took off a good many inch boards, 6 inches wide and 15 feet long, as I sawed the ties all 15 feet long and then sawed them in two, and in about every log there were four three-cornered pieces and these I sawed in two and used for fence posts and although the fence posts were all sap and not considered lasting timber in the ground the fence remained standing pretty good for fifteen years and it was a very cheap fence for me.

I shipped these ties to Hamilton to Doolittle & Chamberlain for which I got 26 cents per tie. I furnished them 6,157 ties amounting to $1600.82. I paid freight amounting to $473.98, leaving $1126.84, a net of about 18¢ per tie. I sold the mill to Weisenburger & ———— about July 15/51 for $2800.

This was a very good year for the canal, the receipts at the Junction office amounting to about $105,000. I cleared boats in the fall of 1851 up to the 4th day of December, 1851, and was glad when the season was over. It was slavish work, as I was compelled to get up at all times in the night to clear boats and sometimes in case of a break in the canal west of Junction I would have to be up all night. On the 20th day of November, 1851, I had on hand $13,000 and my bond was only $10,000. Still it was no temptation to me to run away.

In the winter of 1852 & 1853 I spent some time in Columbus and while there I got a contract with R. R. Dickey, of Dayton, to furnish stone on the bank of the canal near the Junction in Paulding County, Ohio. Dana Columbia who claimed to own some land on the Auglaize River just below the present bridge across the Auglaize and I got out the stone in partnership. He

furnished the stone and during the summer of 1852 we expended over a thousand dollars; wages were 50¢ per day and board for men and $2 per day for men and teams and board.

Myself and family boarded at Columbia's Hotel during the summer until July 15, when my wife and children went to her father's and stayed awhile. Board was 25¢ a day, $1.75 a week. Everything very low, flour $3 per barrel. In that year I sold my nice white Siberian wheat to W. A. Brown & Co. at the mill now the Wilhelm mill for 44 cents a bushell, the lowest I have ever known since. In the month of September of that year I had the cholera and in 24 hours I lost 37 pounds of flesh. This looks like a big story but I had the scales right there and recollect well of weighing myself. John M. Palmer had commenced the building of the Palamo Mills and had bought the carding machine building of W. B. Barnham and had put in two run of stone and a machine for grinding corn, cob and all, and in November of that year I traded my beeswax farm for it and was to pay $10,000 to boot, running for eight years. The large mill was only partly finished and I had to finish it ,which I did during that fall and winter. It took considerable money to complete it.

Benjamin Myers, an old Pennsylvania German, oversaw the work and it progressed pretty slowly and I was a good deal disappointed in the expense and the length of time it took to complete the work, but it was a pretty good mill when done. It was a good ways out of town and it was slow getting up a custom trade. Palmer had put two run of stones in the Barnham carding machine and a corn and cob grinder and I ran that until the large mill was completed.

On the 26th day of February, 1853, I made a contract with the Findlay, Gilboa & Defiance Plank Road Company to build a plank road for them from the corner of Fifth street and Clinton street in the town of Defiance to Ayersville, 5 miles and 134 rods, at $1600 per mile, or $5 per rod. I received $5000 Defiance Township bonds at 75¢ on the dollar and the balance was to be received when it was collected of the stockholders. I bought about 250 acres of timber land of James Cheney in Paulding County and contracted with Nick Guiot to out the logs and raft them up to my sawmill at the 6th lock

from the river, where I sawed the plank and stringers and I would have made pretty well on the contract if I had received my pay, but the soil from here to Ayersville was a clay soil and when wet was very slippery and it was hard work to keep the planks in place and there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the road and the stockholders refused to pay and I lost about $2500. I had a little stock in the Defiance & Denmark Plank Road which was built out about 7 or 8 miles and the Company undertook to collect toll and did collect some but there was the same trouble with that road only much worse. The farmers along the line of the road piled up the planks in piles and burned them and there was a great deal of litigation in reference to it, and the road finally had to be abandoned, or the collecting of tolls on the road, although the company had graded the road and built bridges and spent a large amount of money thereon. But that did not seem to count anything with the farmers along the line of the road.

In the year 1853 the contract for building the Wabash Railroad, then called the Toledo & Illinois Railroad, was let and R. H. Gilson, John Paul & J. B. Steadman, partners as R. H. Gilson & Co., took the contract of tieing and grading the road from the Maumee river to the Indiana State line, and they sublet two miles from the Maumee river to Timothy Fitzpatrick, and to Freeman & Gardner five miles west of Fitzpatrick's, and in the fall of 1853 I purchased the interest of Moses Gardner and Freeman and I worked through the winter of 1853 and 1854, and finally my cousin Edward H. Phelps bought out Freeman and in the fall of 1854 the company failed to raise money to pay their contractors and gave the contractors the privilege of quitting or going on with the understanding that if they went the railroad company would pay whenever they were able to raise the money. We concluded that we had the shanties built and tools and bedding, etc., all of which would be a total loss if we abandoned the work and the men needed the work as they would have nothing to do through the winter, and we went on with the work, paying the men 75¢ per day and charging them $2.25 per week for board, which if they put in full time left them $2.25 per week for their work or 37½ cents

per day. We had pay as high as 3% a month interest for money and when the work was completed there was due us about $20,000 and we completed the work so far as to get the engine over our work and to the state line of Indiana.

On Sunday the 18th day of July, 1855, there was considerable work still to be done, fencing, clearing up the old logs and stumps. I finished up the work and the fall was appointed agent for the railroad at Defiance and commenced work for them in October. I afterwards took the contract for furnishing the poles for them from the river to the State line. There was no depot, not even a freight car, and I boxed up a little place under the water tank and kept my office there. It was nearly a year before the telegraph line was completed. I tended the office night and day, with only one man to pump the water.

I had during the building of the railroad a store at the mill and Alonzo M. Shead tended the store for me. I afterwards moved down town into a building where Wm. A. Kehnast's hardware store now is and after I was appointed as station agent I sold out the goods to J. D. Graper but never realized much for them. . . .

These goods I mostly bought in New York about September, 1855. I was there and went from there to see my father in St. Lawrence County. I then, and have since, wore whiskers and when I went into the store where my father was he didn't know me. I had a hard time getting there as the train I went on only run to Watertown and I had to hire a conveyance to take me to my sisters near Antwerp and it cost me more than fare from New York.

In October, 1855, I was appointed by George H. Burrows as station agent of the Wabash Railroad, which was the reason of my selling to Graper. I boxed up a little place under the west water tank and kept my office there until the freight house was built and then moved into that and kept my office there all the time I was agent. I contracted with the R. R. Co. to furnish the telegraph poles from the Maumee River to the Indiana State line. The first poles were either white or burr oak and had to have the bark taken off and were to be 30 feet long and not less than 6 inches at the top. I got them delivered at 25¢ a

piece and received 30. My wages were $50 per month and I managed by trading one way and another to get about $75 per month.

While engaged in the building of a railroad, I first bought out Moses Gardner, who, in company with Ira Freeman took the contract of R. H. Gilson and Co. I paid him about $400.00 for money advanced and for benefit of his contract and Freeman and I carried it on through the winter of 1853 and 1854. I had just completed my contract for a plank road from Gorman's corner, 5th and Clinton Sts. to Ayersville, a distance of 5 miles and 134 rods, and the company were unable to pay me and I lost nearly $3000. . . . In every shanty along the line we had to keep a barrel of whiskey, as the man would not work without it. . . .

Our first contract was for five miles commencing two miles from the Maumee River, Timothy Fitzpatrick having that two miles. Thomas McGushen had the next three miles west of us and A. V. Simpson wanted the contract on the railroad and I went in with him and we took the three miles west of McGushen. Simpson took charge of that three miles but I went up occasionally and had to bear the brunt of furnishing the means to carry on the work. Simpson was a good worker. . . .

After the grading was done on the railroad I took the contract of furnishing and distributing the ties from the Maumee river to the Indiana State line at 30 cents each and did not lose anything in that contract if I had got my pay, but when the road was finished there was about $20,000 due me and I got about $7,000 in stock in the road, which I turned out to my creditors at 50¢ on the dollar. The railroad contracts cost me altogether about $20,000 and I had to or did borrow the money and paid every hand, although I had to pay as high as 3% a month for some of the money. $1200 I borrowed of William Sheffield and paid him $36 every month for about 18 months for it and I suppose that in after years his conscience troubled him or he was disappointed to think he could not loan money that way any more and he shot himself.

At this time I was insolvent but worked away and finally got out of these drags. I shut right down and did not make any

more debts and as fast as I got a few dollars ahead I paid it on my old debts. I also had the contract of fencing the road over the most of my contract for grading, which I hired done and on which I did not lose anything as it was all woods and a common Virginia worm fence was all the company required. In Paulding County the most of the settlers were darkies and the worst trouble was to keep them from getting ahead of me. They liked to eat better than work and the white settlers, with few exceptions, were not much better.

All the time I was station agent I worked very hard. I strained every nerve to make money to pay debts and did lots of extra work for the R. R. Co. for which I never got so much as a thankee. I will here one experience insert which I had which shows what pluck will do.

The passenger trains passed this station about noon, the one going west at one o'clock P.M. The treasurer of the R. R. Co. sent me a mortgage which they wanted put on record in Paulding Co. that day. I had no one to send and dared not trust them if I had. They ran a passenger train each way a day and the freight and accomodation which met here at 3:40 in the morning. I took the train west to Emerald at 1 o'clock and walked to Paulding. The recorder had gone to Dixon,—carried the mail, would not be back until night. The mortgage contained about 5,000 words. I sat down and recorded the mortgage and finished just as the recorder returned and we compared it and he certified the recording of it and charged $6.00 which I paid him for the work I had done and all he gave me was my supper. I started on foot back and reached the canal just as a canal boat was coming down the canal. I got on that and rode to the Schooley lock and took it afoot again and reached the depot just in time for the 3:40 trains and switched them all right, as I had to tend switches as well as office. It seems as if such work ought to shorten a man's life, but how long would I have lived if I had not indulged in such extra feats.

By reference to accounts kept in 1856 flour was $9 per barrel and corn meal 80 cents per bushel, on Jan. 1, 1856. This was caused by a frost the forepart of June, 1855, which cut the wheat and corn badly and many sent to Michigan and got flint

corn to plant. I purchased about 100 bushels in the ear and sold for seed.

I still owned the mills called the Palamo Mills and I hired a miller by the name of Nelson Stone to work for me and take charge of the mill. He was a good, honest man but the mills did not pay expenses. For some reason I could never understand we did not get the custom work, the Defiance Mills got it. Although we did good work and gave honest yields the roads from town up there were very bad. The most we got was from Delaware township. They left their grists as they went to town and called for them on their return.

This year was a good year for me. In the winter I made arrangements with Toledo men to buy and ship dressed hogs, clover seed and corn, oats and anything the market required there and did quite a large business. The corn trade did not become brisk until May and June after planting time and through these months I averaged about 100 dollars a day on corn alone. I bought for Howe & Kraus, distillers in Toledo, and we loaded one car and sometimes two a day, and although I bought for a small commission it made me pretty good wages inasmuch as it cost me nothing but my own hard work to handle it. The railroad paid for handling it but to make it more lively I had to take hold and help load myself. I also did a pretty large trade in oats, which I shipped to C. A. King & Co. Although I had no capital my prompt way of doing business brought my money and as all the produce was shipped to Toledo where I deposited all the money I received at the station I could use that and draw on Toledo parties to make my remittances.

I also bought supplies for the wood train on the railroad. I was running the mill and furnished from that flour, cornmeal and anything else they wanted in that line and bought for them pork, beef, butter, eggs, potatoes, which was a convenience to them and a little help to me. C. P. Fletcher was running the train and his headquarters were at Ft. Wayne, but the depot was someways out from the city and I bought everything right at the depot so that he had no trouble. The railroad agents don't try now to get freight for the railroad as I did then and the superintendents I don't think encourage it as they did then.

At the Democratic Convention in 1857 I was without any effort on my part nominated for the office of county clerk and elected by about 1200 majority. This was a pretty good office and I was glad to get it as I was willing to work all I could to get out of the delemma I was in by reason of the failure of the railroad to pay me and it was not then as now (1895) the rule for a man to go out and ask voters to vote for him. I stayed at home and attended to my work and the voters voted for me without solicitation. I had formed a partnership with Ansel Stephens (?) in the milling business and he ran the mill so that I had nothing to do with the work there but had to look out for the financial end of it. He proved to be not very reliable and in the end I lost money by him as I did by all the parties I ever went in partnership with.

I find from my old accounts that Nelson Stone worked for me 190 days and Peter Grieman, a Frenchman, about the same time, ending May 1, 1857, Stone at $1128 and Grieman at $1.15 per day.

It took all the mill earned to pay their wages. The custom work was not very much and I did not have means to run it as a merchant miller.

The first Monday in February, 1858, I took the clerk's office, having been elected for 3 years. I hired J. W. Phillips to assist me at the depot and I managed to run both concerns, but I could not do as much buying and shipping at the depot. I managed to keep the clerk's office in pretty good shape. I did most the recording for the clerk's office at my house nights, frequently working until 11 o'clock at night. I managed to be at the passenger trains generally so that there was no fault found with my work, . . .

Stamp was still running the mill and flour got down to a reasonable price, about $5 per barrel, of course fluctuating some with the price of wheat.

1860. Still agent at the Toledo & Illinois railroad and still running the clerk's office. The year commenced pretty cold,—16 degrees below zero. Adelaide doing some recording for me in the clerk's office. On the 4th day of January 1860 I bought

the first gallon of kerosene oil, for which I paid one dollar and a quarter and fifty cents for a can to put it in.

On the first day of January I put up ice a foot thick and very clear. Paid the December taxes for the railroad company in Defiance County, Ohio, $643.41. Telegraph operator on a bum, broke both lamps and on the tenth he left. Ordered of Vandenbroek a suit of grey clothes at $22 and got them on the 14th. Still building fence on the railroad.

On Sunday the 15th Jany, Mrs. Orlando Evans, daughter Mary, and Edward and Hattie Phelps took dinner at our house, —had turkey.

On the 15th of March I commenced gardening a little by setting out onions. Pie plant just coming out of the ground. Potatoes in the spring 25¢ per bushel and flour $6 per barrel. I was buying corn, wheat and oats during the summer. Bo't 481-34/56 bu. corn and 208 bu. wheat of Nathan Eaton. On the 9th of June my wife and I and the children and father went to Coldwater, Mich., to visit Dorothy Welch and family, my sister. We stayed there several days. . . .

1861. This year I ran the mill and clerk's office and the Wabash depot. At the railroad J. W. Phillips had charge of the depot and I was there generally at train time. I bought some corn and oats which I shipped to Toledo . . . I retailed considerable flour in the winter and spring. Wheat was $1.05 per bu. and flour $5.75 per bbl. After harvest wheat got down to 80¢ and flour to $5.00 but wheat did not stay long at 80¢ but raised to 90¢ and finally to $1 per bushel and flour to $6 per barrel. I had as miller a man by the name of Adams and another by the name of Rowe. . . .

I got $50 at the depot and the Clerk's office paid about $1000 a year, but when I quit the railroad building I was about $20,000 in debt and had some property, but was paying a high interest of 3% a month on money and none less than 1% a month. I left the depot and was appointed wood agent at $75 per month but it took me away from home considerable and my expenses were considerable but I held that position about a year and paid out about $50,000.

My wife was taken sick the fall of 1861 and would not have a doctor although I importuned her often. I did not know nor did she but I think from what I have since learned that she had a tumor, and she was sick, sometimes better and sometimes worse, all the fall and winter.[17]

NOTES

1. These reminiscences were jotted down from time to time in a blank book, and then rewritten in final form on December 22, 1892, and thereafter. Some rather extended recollections of Edwin Phelps had previously been published in Defiance *Express* in 1887 and later were reprinted in the Defiance *Crescent-News* beginning November 20, 1934. For a brief sketch of his life see *Commemorative Biographical Record of Northwestern Ohio Including the Counties of Defiance, Henry, Williams and Fulton* (Chicago, 1899), 11-13.
2. Apparently he was not thinking when he wrote this of his boyhood journey to Massachusetts.
3. The site of the present Masonic Temple in Defiance (1945).
4. Located at the present site of the village of Maumee.
5. The first settlement of white people in the present Henry County at what is now Damascus.
6. Prominent residents of Defiance in 1892.
7. Near the foot of the present Jefferson Ave. not far from the present Defiance Public Library.
8. Mother of Elbert E. Carter, until his death in 1934, president of the State Bank of Defiance.
9. Miss Mildred Haymaker of Defiance is a daughter of K. V. Haymaker.
10. The second house below First St. on the east side of Wayne Ave., Defiance.
11. A son of one of Anthony Wayne's officers and a leading pioneer.
12. A point of rock in the Maumee River above the present Waterville.
13. At Jefferson Avenue and First Streets, on the site where T. T. Shaw now resides (1945).
14. Later he was Major-General in the Civil War and afterwards editor of the Toledo *Democrat*.
15. Later he was author of *History of the Maumee Valley* (Toledo, 1872).
16. The old depot near the junction of the B. & O. and Wabash Railroads.
17. Mr. Phelps was married again the next year (September 25, 1862), his new bride being Miss Evaline Richardson of Defiance. To this union six children were born, two of whom died in infancy. The other children included three daughters, all living (1945): Mary Alice (Mrs. J. W. Ackley) of Granville, Ohio; Miss Helen Dorothy Phelps of Defiance; and Cornelia Abbie (Mrs. Francis P. Weisenburger, Sr.) of Defiance. An only son, Edwin James, who became a lawyer and mayor of Muskogee, Okla., died in 1940.

    Mr. Phelps was active in Democratic politics, running for Congress (1862) against Morrison R. Waite, later Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and James M. Ashley. The last mentioned won the race and became a prominent leader of the House. Phelps continued in the county clerk's office in Defiance with other "irons in the fire" for many years. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1864. From 1879 to 1886 he lived in Granville, Ohio, where he operated a flour mill. The last years of his life until his death in Sept., 1897, were spent as deputy clerk of the courts of Defiance county.