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The Migration of the Ottawa Indians from the Maumee Valley to Walpole Island

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1. *How the Maumee Ottawa Became Strangers in Their Native Land*

Today there are 837 Indians living on Walpole Island, in Lake St. Clair, Canada, the majority of whom are descendants of former inhabitants of the United States; and, many of these are from Ohio and the Toledo area of the Maumee Valley. The ancestors of these Indians left their homes and favorite hunting grounds in the Maumee Valley during the first half of the nineteenth century and settled in a new country and under the protection of another "father". In order to understand fully the reason for this migration from the United States to Canada, several factors will have to be taken into consideration, viz., the drastic change in the Indian policy of the American Government about 1830; the almost simultaneous shift in the Indian policy of the British Government; and, the binding friendship of the tribes of the "Lake Confederacy" (Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomi). In addition to these, and most important of all, was the peculiar practice of the British of issuing "presents" to all "visiting" Indians.[1]

About 1700 the Ottawa of the lower Maumee and the Miami of the Wabash moved closer to Detroit in order more easily to carry on trade with the French. The Ottawa of the Maumee could have little realized the fate in store for them when early in the eighteenth century they welcomed the French traders to live with them in their villages. The Indians whole heartedly accepted the opportunity to market their furs and receive the fruits of civilization in return. They hardly thought that their ultimate expulsion would be their reward for befriending their white "brothers". The traders and trappers not only lived in the villages of the Indians but on numerous occasions married into or were adopted into the tribe. With such a relationship as this friction was almost nil.

However, it was not long until the British and Americans appeared to contest the French claims. From that time until their final removal the

Indian became a tool of the various white nations to be used only when needed and discarded when its utility was gone.

During the early years of this struggle for the possession of the Valley, the Indian played his hand shrewdly and proved that he too was capable of using others for personal gain. It must be remembered that the Indian was defending himself, his family and his villages. He was always fighting on his own ground and for his game and fields. Because he was constantly fighting against superior odds, both in equipment and in numbers, he was fighting a losing battle from the very beginning.[2] Only a few of the warriors sensed clearly the dismal future in which they saw the English and the Americans as the two blades of a pair of scissors continually gnashing at each other but only cutting the Indians who unfortunately lay between. They knew that the white man was not fighting for this land in order to give it back to the Indian.

The Battle of Fallen Timbers and the Treaty of Greenville of August 3, 1795 marked the beginning of the end of the Indian days on the Maumee. As a result of this treaty white settlers were able to penetrate certain areas around the Indian territory. They also obtained passage through the Indian country. Nevertheless, at the time of the War of 1812 there were many Ottawa still to be found in the lower Maumee Valley. During this war it is believed that the Ottawa of the Maumee did not join Tecumseh's forces in fighting for the English, but were encouraged to remain neutral by General Harrison who promised neutral Indians exemption from post-war reprisals.[3]

The Ottawa of the Maumee, instead of sharing in the vengeance from which the Indiana tribes suffered in the post-War of 1812 treaties of expulsion that cleared most of the Wabash country of its red inhabitants, were allowed to remain in the Valley. They were protected in this by an additional reservation of thirty-four miles square at the mouth of the Maumee on the south side. Scattered throughout the reservations were numerous villages in which the Ottawa lived, and the surrounding land was characterized by fertile hunting grounds for which, along with fish from the river, they obtained their living. Thus, they had four reservations (three having been given to them in the Treaty of Detroit on November 17, 1807) and in addition an annuity of $4,000 a year. For nearly two decades the Ottawa lived a carefree life enjoying the almost

laissez-faire policy of the Government and living harmoniously with the few whites who had ventured into the Maumee Valley. There was some effort at conversion of the Indians to the white way of life by the Presbyterian Mission of Rev. Isaac Van Tassel. However, this sanctimonious though well intentioned effort was less effectual than the efforts of the traders who sought profit from the Indians so long as they remained in the Valley. The result was a growing indebtedness of the tribesmen which could not possibly be paid except by the receipts from the sale to the United States government of their reservations. The traders deliberately took advantage of the Indians, who were willing to take whiskey (skutawabo) in return for their furs. Disease, drunkenness and death soon resulted and the Ottawa began to feel the effects of the white settlers and civilization.[4]

By 1830 the time was ripe for the expulsion of the Ottawa from their homeland. The Erie Canal was open and the stream of westward moving pioneers was approaching the Maumee Valley. On May 28, 1830, the United States Government sanctioned the policy of the settlers toward the Indians by passing the Removal Act. This provided for the exchange of the Indians' eastern holdings for lands beyond the Mississippi River. On August 2, of that year, several of the prominent citizens of this region sent a petition to Lewis Cass, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the territory of Michigan, which read in part as follows:

> *We the undersigned residing in the southern section of the territory, being naturally affected in our interests and convenience by the possession of the Ottaway tribe of Indians of large tracts of land on both sides of the mouth of the Maumee River, the peculiarity of the situation of their lands is such, that their being held by the Indians keeps other large tracts and important situations from being improved. In short, in relation to the people of the country, it is the key of their river. A law having been passed for the purchasing or exchange of lands with the Indians, and their removal, we have conceived that you are, or probably will be vested with power for the negotiations with the Indians for this purpose.*[5]

For the next ten years the white settlers of the Maumee Valley and the United States Government were one in trying every means possible to wrench the Ottawa Indians from their homes and hunting grounds and

move them to some place beyond the Mississippi strange and unknown to them. The Ottawa Indians had become strangers in their native valley.

2. *Canadian Policy Opens a New Homeland*

Thus, in the 1830's, the Ottawa of the Maumee found that, due to the traders and to the change in the policy of the American Government, they were in a very uncertain state as to the future possession of their lands and villages. About the same time the Canadian policy towards the Indians was greatly altered; and, whereas the American policy became one of expulsion, and, at times, of even more harsh treatment, the new policy of Canada offered land to settle upon, protection and even "presents". Since this proved to be one of the most important factors involved in the movement of the Maumee Valley Indians to Canada in the 1830's and 1840's, it will be valuable to review the early relationships between the American Ottawa and Canada.

Approximately three hundred years ago the Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi were all one tribe, and even now they have no difficulty in understanding each other.[6] They were formally known as the "Lake Confederacy" and, as late as 1790, evidence is found of these tribes being recognized as such by the Canadian Government. At this time a treaty was signed at Detroit by the Ottawa, Pottawatomi, Chippewa and Huron tribes; and E. Gouch-e-ou-a-i (an Ottawa) was the spokesman for the three tribes of the Lake Confederacy.[7] It appears that many of the Chippewa, Pottawatomi and Ottawa Indians living in the United States considered themselves British and, until the time of their removal, kept in touch with Canada, coming every year to Walpole Island or to Manitoulin Island, directly north of Walpole Island in Lake Huron, to participate in the distribution of presents.

The practice of issuing presents to the Indians, both resident and "visiting", was a long established policy of the British Government as is seen from the following excerpt of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada:

> *From the earliest period of the connexion between the Indians and the British Government it has been customary to distribute annually certain presents, consisting chiefly of clothing and ammunition.*

It does not clearly appear how and when this practice arose. In a memorial of the Seven Nations to the Governor of Lower Canada in 1837, *they asserted it was commenced by the French Government. The object at that period was doubtless in the first instance to conciliate the Indians, to insure their services, and to supply their wants as warriors in the field; and, afterwards, in times of peace, to secure their allegiance towards the British Crown, and their good will and peaceful behavior towards white settlers.*[8]

In a dispatch from Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Earl of Gosford, dated the 14th of January 1836, he says as to the annual presents to the Indians:

It appears, that although no formal Obligations can be cited for such Issues, there is yet ample Evidence that on every Occasion when this Country has been engaged in War on the North American Continent the Co-operation of the Indian Tribes has been anxiously sought and has been obtained. This was particularly the Case in the Years of 1777 *and* 1812; *and I am inclined to believe that it is from these Periods respectively that the present annual Supplies date their Commencement. But without attempting to pursue that Inquiry, it is sufficient to observe, that the Custom has now existed during a long Series of Years; that even in the Absence of any original Obligation a prescriptive Title has thus been created; that this Title has been practically admitted by all who have been officially cognizant of the Matter . . .*[9]

That the Indians receiving these presents annually from the Canadian Government (many of whom were Ottawa from the Maumee Valley) should feel more kindly toward them than toward the American Government during the 1830's is quite understandable. In addition to that, the Ottawa Indians were very fond of hunting and fishing and therefore made several trips to Canada yearly for that purpose. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, the following memorial of the Maumee Ottawa to Sir John Colborn, Lt. Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, dated September, 1829:

Father, environed as we are now by the Americans, we would seek again the remote and secluded cover of the forest. As the white

American advances, we would retire; we would retire to hunt in those recluse woods, whither his erring foot dares not ramble. Father, the Americans propose to us lands, west of the Mississippi, in the stead of those we now occupy within their territory. Here, Father, they betray the usual craftiness of their nation. They would not only profit by the actual exchange, but would also eventually become an impervious obstruction to our intercourse with you. A rupture one day must inevitably take place and they are silently and rapidly preparing for such an occurrance. It behooves others to be ready also. Father, estimating your nation more highly that the Americans we would unite ourselves to you in the durable bonds of friendship and affection. Our inclinations lead us to your shore.

Say, Father, will you accept our proposals, or will you spurn the extended hand of your children and drive them into closer compact with the Americans?[10]

Even before this, as early as 1795, the Ottawa of the Maumee, Swan Creek and River Raisin were believed by the Government of Canada to wish to settle on or about Walpole Island to the amount of two or three thousands. Alexander McKee, Deputy Superintendent General, in a letter to Joseph Chew, Secretary of the Indian Department, at this time said:

Some of the Chiefs of the Ottawas accompanied me to view the spot (Walpole Island) which their father's goodness has suggested as a convenient situation for them to set down upon, are extremely happy in having seen a country every way proper and calculated, as well as for hunting as corn fields, and villages and they express an earnest desire to be permitted to plant theron . . .[11]

Thus, the force of Canadian magnetism was working even before the United States adopted a policy of removal west.

3. *Ottawa Claims to Lands in Canada*

The reason that the Ottawa cast their eyes toward Canada was more than just the fact that they loved the advantages of hunting, fishing and "presents"; it was also that they felt they had an ancient claim to the land around Lake St. Clair and Walpole Island. This claim is based, by both the Ottawa and the Pottawatomi, upon the recogniition given them

by the Canadian Government in the various land cessions in which they were allowed to participate. The most important of these surrenders was that of the land southeast of Walpole Island given up in 1790, at which time two tracts were reserved for the Hurons, viz., the Huron Church Lands and the Anderdon Lands along the east side of the Detroit River. It was in these reserves that the Ottawa and the Pottawatomi felt that they still had partial ownership. In order to understand clearly this situation it is necessary to go over the various land surrenders and events that preceeded the Ottawa migrations to Canada.

In considering their participation in the surrender of 1790 it would be well to review briefly the early tenure of this land. The first Indians, of whom there is any record, in this district were the Neutral Nations who occupied the country between Lake Huron and Lake Erie from Niagara to the Detroit River. They were exterminated or dispersed by the Iroquois, from the south of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, in 1650-51. However, the Iroquois were unable to hold this land against the Chippewa who settled on the River Thames in this district, and the Mississaguas (a sub tribe of the Chippewa) who settled on the eastern part of this tract.[12]

After this time the land appears to have been occupied by the Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomi and Wyandotte. In the Commissioner's report of 1858 the following reference is made to a treaty between the above mentioned four tribes;

> *By this agreement the Otchipwes (Chippewa) obtained that part of the country lying N.E. of a line drawn east and west through the city of Detroit, while the river of that name was taken as the dividing line from north to south. The Yendots (Wyandotte) resumed undisputed possession of part of the tract over which they had held acknowledged Sovereignty among the Native Tribes.*
>
> *The N.W. portion fell to the lot of the Ottawas, while the Pottawatomies occupied the remaining section. The settlement of the Otchipwes on the Thames was not disturbed.*[13]

The Ottawa claim to the land surrendered in 1790 appears to have been more valid than that of the Pottawatomi. Mr. Thomas Smith, who lived at Sandwich in the early part of the last century and who appears to have

had a good knowledge of the circumstances connected with this matter, said in a letter to the Lt. Governor's Secretary:

> *Mr. Superintendent McKee assembled all the Chiefs of the Chippewa, Ottawa and Huron tribes and also connected them with the Pottawatomies, who had no claim to the tract, with a view of preventing jealousy and more firmly to unite them.*[14]

To account for Col. McKee's actions it must be kept in mind that although the treaty of peace between Britain and the United States had been signed at Paris in 1783, the British, owing to the non-fulfilment by the United States of certain treaty stipulations, had not yet evacuated the military posts within the American territory. Detroit was one of these posts. This was a cause of friction and as the Indians, at that time, formed a considerable factor in the strength of the British trade, they were treated with diplomacy. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that the Ottawa had a rightful claim to the land being surrendered since they were one of the signatories to the treaty. As a result of this surrender a reserve of two tracts was given to the Huron, viz., the Huron Church Lands and the Anderdon Lands on the east side of the Detroit River. At the time of the signing of the Treaty of 1790 a council was held by Major Murray with the four tribes at Detroit. E. Gouch-e-ou-a-i, the spokesman for the Lake Confederacy addressing the Huron said:

> *We have not forgotten you. We always remember, Brother, what our ancestors had granted you, that is to say, from the Church to the River Jarvis, as well as a piece of land commencing at the entry of River Canard extending upwards to the line of inhabitants and which reaches downwards beyond the River Canard to the line of the Inhabitants.*[15]

E. Gouche-ou-a-i then obtained the word of Major Murray that the Huron should not be molested in the occupation of the land. There was no mention, however, in the deed itself that the lands were reserved for the use of the Huron only. Therefore, when the Huron surrendered the Church Lands in 1800, the same four tribes took part.

It is clear from this participation by the Ottawa in all land matters dealing with the area surrounding Walpole Island that they felt they right-

fully had claims to some lands in Canada, viz., the reserve which the Huron were still occupying—that is, the Anderdon Lands. Therefore, on July 6, 1829, a Council was held by the Ottawa, Pottawatomi, Chippewa and the Huron concerning the reserve on which the Huron still resided. George Ironside (of Amherstburg) said that:

> *The three tribes wish to sell the reserve to the British or exchange it for River St. Clair lands. They wish to remove to the St. Clair region, being resolved not to go west to the Mississippi as the American Government has directed them. They wish to move to British shore.*[16]

In August, 1829, Charles Eliot, Lieutenant of the 43rd Regiment, said in a letter to the Superintendent:

> *It is positively affirmed that the Ottawas wish to exchange their part only of the reserve for wild lands on Lake Huron. The Americans are, at this moment, strongly urging all the Indian Nations to barter their tracts for others west of the Mississippi; thus a barrier may be offered to their connection with us. An impervious tone is used to them, for which reason they naturally seek the British protection.*[17]

By this we see that the American Ottawa assumed that they had some claim to lands to settle upon in Canada at the time the United States embraced a policy bent on removing them beyond the Mississippi.

Another factor that had a considerable bearing in drawing the Maumee Valley Ottawa to Walpole Island and to Canada was the fact that they felt themselves in some way related to both the Chippewa and Pottawatomi tribes due the old Lake Confederacy. This feeling of kinship was also shared by the other two tribes. This fact appears from evidence of Reverend Andrew Jamieson, missionary on Walpole Island from 1844 to 1884, and, Ebenezer Watson, Indian Superintendent. According to Watson the American Indians on the Island said that "in many cases they were invited to come here by the Chiefs, and in all cases when they came they were made welcome. From time to time they were received into the Band, and have enjoyed for a length of time, all its privileges . . ." Rev. Jamieson said about the American Indians on Walpole Island:

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These Indians had been invited to come to the Island and they gladly accepted the invitation as the Walpole Islanders were relations by consanguinity and as they did not wish to leave this part of the country for the far west whither the American Government was at that time wishing to remove them.[18]

In 1831, the Ottawa of the United States made an application to settle on Walpole Island or on the reserves of the Chippewa, and the Lieutenant Governor stated that the consent of the Chippewa in Council must first be obtained. Therefore, it may be assumed that the Ottawa not only had the permission of the Chippewa to settle on the Island and in Canada, but were in many cases invited and encouraged by their friends and relatives to do so.

There was an additional inducement to encourage migration at this time to the Island. The Indians believed that they owned the land. This belief was based upon an alleged promise by Col. McKee who was supposed to have granted the Island to them as a reward for their participation in the War of 1812. According to I. W. Keating of the Western Superintendency Walpole Island was set apart for the Indians at the "close of the late war". He said that this was done by Col. McKee for the Indians who fought under the British flag. Mr. Keating's statement is misleading. "The close of the late war" would have been 1815, whereas Col. McKee died in 1799. This doubt that it was not Walpole Island that Col. McKee set apart is strengthened by other evidence of the Indian Commissioners Rawson, Davidson and Hepburn in a report of 1884. They said that what was really intended was a tract of land about twelve miles square on the Chenail Ecarte which is separated from Walpole Island by a branch of the St. Clair.[19] Whether Walpole or not, the Indians thought that as long as they had, at some time, fought under the British flag they had a spot set apart for them.

4. *The New Canadian Policy of Presents to Residents Only*

It must be admitted that all the connections mentioned of the United States Indians with Canada, viz., their annual trips for "presents" and game, their claim to lands in Canada, their relation with the Canadian tribes, and their claim to Walpole Island as warriors of the British, presented quite an inducement to migration—especially at a time when the

American Government was demanding their removal from the Maumee Valley area. However, all of these factors become only incidentals when the change in the Canadian policy as to "presents" is considered.

By 1837 the non-Canadian Indians were beginning to become a burden upon the Canadian Government. "Presents" to the "visiting" Indians were no small matter in the 1830's, at the time of the attempt of removal by the United States Government. In a census taken in 1837 the following was reported:

> *In* 1837, *were clothed at Manitowaning* 1370 *British Indians (those being from the British territory), and at Coldwater and the Narrows* 426, *making* 1796, *and visitors from the United States,* 1831. *Total clothed* 3659.[20]

Therefore, over one half of the Indians receiving presents were American Indians coming to Canada only for the issues.

The need for improved Canadian American relations was another factor in restricting the gifts to resident Indians. The presents that were being issued to the Indians every year in Canada were usually English guns, powder and ball. This was an unnecessary strain on relations between the United States and British Governments. At this time the United States Indians were periodically at war with the Americans and the arming of them by the British was frowned upon by the former. In a letter of November 20, 1836, to Lord Glenelg, Sir F. B. Head said that he believed the Americans had good reasons for the jealousy they express at the interference of the British Government by arming their own Indians with whom they are at war.

As for the Ottawa it looked as if their days of sponging on the Canadians were over. Head in his letter to Lord Glenelg said:

> *I am of the opinion that to the visiting Indians of the United States we cannot without a break of faith, directly refuse to continue presents, by the word of our Generals we have promised. It would not be difficult to explain to them that their Great Father was still willing to continue presents to such of his Red Children as lived in his own land. Also, that after the expiration of three years presents*

would only be given to those of our Red Children who actually shall inhabit Canada.

He further made the prediction that the Indians of the United States would not complain of such an arrangement, and that only a few would immigrate to Canada and even these would not remain there long.[21]

The result was the Proclamation of 1837 designed by the English to stop the Ottawa visits and requiring the American Indians to become permanent residents of Canada if they wished to continue to receive presents. This was conveyed by Mr. Jarvis, Indian Superintendent, to the General Council of Assembled Chiefs at the Great Manitowaning Island. His message read in part as follows:

Children:

I am now to communicate to you a matter in which many of you are deeply interested. Listen, with attention and remember well what I say to you.

Children:

Your Great Father the King has determined that Presents shall be continued to be given to all Indians resident in the Canadas.

But Presents will be given to Indians residing in the United States, for three years only, including the present delivery.

Children:

The reason why presents will not be continued to the Indians residing in the United States I will explain to you.

1*st. All our Countrymen who resided in the United States forfeited their claim to protection from the British Government from the moment their Great Father the King lost possession of that Country. Consequently the Indians have no right to expect that their Great Father will continue to them what he does not continue to his own white children.*

2*ndly. The Indians of the United States who served in the late War have already received from the British Government more than*

has been granted to the soldiers of their Great Father who fought for him for Twenty Years.

3rdly. Among the rules which civilized nations are bound to attend to, there is one which forbids your Great Father to give Arms and Ammunition to Indians of the United States who are fighting against the Government under which they live.

4th. The people of England have through their Representatives in the Great Council of the nation uttered great complaints in the expense attendant upon a continuation of the expenditure of so large a sum of money upon Indian Presents.

But Children—Let it be distinctly understood that the British Government has not come to a determination to cease to give presents to the Indians of the United States. On the contrary the Government of your Great Father will be most happy to do so provided they live within the British Empire. Therefore at the same time that your Great Father is willing that his Red Children should all become permanent Settlers on this Island—it matters not to him in what part of the British Empire they reside—They may go across the great Salt Lake to the Country of their Great Father the King and there reside and there receive their presents—or they may remove to any part of the Province of the Upper or Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia or any other British Colony and yet receive them. But they cannot expect to receive them after the end of three years if they continue to reside within the limits of the United States.

Children:

The Long Knives have complained (and with justice too) that your Great Father while he is at peace with them, has supplied his Red Children residing in their country with whom the Long Knives are at War, with guns, and powder and ball.

Children:

This I repeat to you is against the rules of civilized nations and if continued will bring on war between you Great Father and the Long Knives.

Children:

You must therefore come and live under the protection of your Great Father or lose the advantage which you have so long enjoyed of annually receiving valuable presents from him.[22]

It should be emphasized here that this was not an invitation to the Ottawa or to any other tribe of Indians of the United States to settle on Walpole Island. But the Indian naturally thought that it was. The Maumee Ottawa emphasized this fact after their expulsion from the Maumee Valley got under way. It was really the intention of Canada to gather to Manitoulin Island the scattered bands from around the lakes as well as the Indians, then living in the United States, who for various reasons still considered themselves British. Even though the Ottawa were not invited to settle on Walpole Island, the Proclamation of 1837, along with the change in the United States Indian policy, exerted the greatest influence in encouraginig the migration of the Ottawa and Pottawatomi to Canada than any other factor previously considered.

5. *The United States Removal Treaties of* 1831 *and* 1833

Keeping all these factors in mind it is now possible to analyze the turbulent years in the Maumee Valley during the 1830's and readily understand the great magnetism that Canada possessed for the Ottawa. With Canada so near, and because of the circumstances already related, it would seem probable that the policy sanctioned by the United States Government could have been carried out successfully only with the greatest care and with the help of an extremely enlightened personnel. It so happened that in most cases just the reverse was true.

The United States Government and the Indian Agents wasted little time in employing the tool given to them by the Removal Act of 1830. Evidently the United States Indian policy makers were of the opinion that a group of people could be easily induced by money and land grants to give up their beloved hunting grounds and to go far away to a place they had never heard of and where they had no friends or relatives. They failed to realize how deeply attached the Indians were to this their homeland.

The first of the Ottawa to receive the attention of the United States were those living in what was then known as the Ohio Superintendency.

These included the tribesmen living in towns on the Auglaize River and on the Maumee above Toledo. They were known as the Ohio Ottawa. The Ottawa Indians at the mouth of the Maumee River and on the Ottawa River were not included because they came under the Michigan Superintendency. They were known as the Michigan Ottawa.

In answer to the many clamors for immediate removal a treaty was enacted in 1831, in which the Indian Agent James B. Gardiner, in behalf of the Ohio Superintendency, awarded the Ottawa of the Auglaize 34,000 acres in Kansas and the Ottawa of the Maumee 40,000 acres adjoining. The Michigan Ottawa were to receive their share of this 40,000 acres if and when they decided to move west and sell their claims in the Toledo area. No provisions were made for the Ottawa at the mouth of the Maumee and the Ottawa Rivers.[23] The trip to Kansas, which included Shawnee, Seneca and Ottawa, was characterized by quarrelling, drunkenness, sickness and even death. Upon arrival the Indians found that no preparations had been made to receive them, and the Government had produced no provisions nor supplies for their spring ploughing and planting. According to Randolph C. Downes, "Some straggled back to the Maumee, and the misery of the migrants lost nothing of its luridness in the stories that were told."[23]

One would think that by this a lesson would have been learned and a more cautious approach taken as to removing the red inhabitants. However, the cry to wrest the Ottawa of the Michigan Superintendency from their land was even greater and the resistance offered by the Indians was constantly growing. The pressure for removal was partly due to the vital importance of the Toledo area to the plans for building the projected Maumee and Erie Canal.

Almost immediately after the signing of the Treaty of 1831 Major B. F. Stickney, leading land holder in the Toledo area, offered his services to Gardiner in assisting in the removals of the "Ottawa of Michigan". He wanted to "prepare the minds of these Indians for embracing the overtures of the Government" and offered to take "a deputation of the Ottawa of Michigan to the Mississippi, for the purpose of exploration, with a view to removal." His offer was not accepted for fear that over-anxiousness on the part of the Government would result in the Indians demanding a higher price for their land. According to Col. Howard, by

1832 the Valley had been "overrun by speculators more or less" with the exception of the twelve mile tract at the mouth of the river that was reserved for the Indians.[24] It was this element that so clamored for removal that orders were issued on July 4, 1832, to Governor George B. Porter of Michigan to hold a treaty with the Michigan Ottawa preparatory to their removal west. Governor Porter approached his task with some misgivings because he knew of the desire of this section of the Ottawa to remove to Canada. He wrote to the Secretary of War:

> *I have no hesitation in saying, that this tribe are desirous of selling their land, but from all I can learn, they do not wish to remove west to the Mississippi. They are rather inclined to go to Canada, or somewhere in our vicinity. A gentleman from Maumee, in whom both you and I have great confidence, who has intercourse with them, told me this day, that it would be very difficult, if not entirely out of the question, to persuade them to go west of the Mississippi.*[25]

Upon being informed of this the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hubert Herring told Porter that if the Ottawa went to Canada they could have a dollar an acre for their land and if they went to Kansas they would receive fifty cents an acre, subsistence for a year, a supply of blankets, rifles, axes etc., as well as their share of the 40,000 acres in Kansas. To the United States authorities this seemed to be a strong inducement to go to Kansas and a treaty was negotiated accordingly.[26] However, to the Ottawa it proved to be an inducement of cash in the event that they moved to Canada, which all indications proved was their desire.

In the negotiations, however, the Ottawa were able to quibble with the terms in return for going to Kansas. They first wished for more time with which to make a decision as to selling and moving west. Moreover, they asked to have a half-breed act as their interpreter instead of the official one. The Indians had to present some earlier grievences inflicted by previous dealings with agents before they would discuss any land surrender. They also requested that they be permitted to continue traveling to Canada for presents. Agreement was finally reached in which the Ottawa were awarded $29,440 for their land; thus, removal was now inevitable because they owed the traders all of it and they had no further assets. They were also awarded an additional $18,000 for which there

were no outstanding debts. This money was to be divided equally among two groups, viz., those who migrated at this time, and those who remained on the Maumee.[27] This was all on condition that the latter leave their valley.

6. *Kansas, Canada or Starvation*

One of the greatest obstacles to removal was the complete ignorance of the remaining Ottawa of the lands to which they were being sent. They wanted to see the land first. This is brought out in a letter of Lieutenant J. P. Simonton, who had been assigned the job of removal, which reads in part as follows:

> *In reply to me, they refused positively to immigrate at this time, stating it to be their desire to send a delegation of their people to view the country west of the Mississippi previous to immigrating. From this position it was impossible to move them, as they have been much deceived by false reports with regards to their country west, and moreover they possess lands, as they say, in Canada to which they have some idea of removing. They have among them the old story so often repeated by the Indians in this region of the country, that the country west of the Mississippi is hard and flinty, and that it is sickly.*[28]

They further assumed that since their friends, who had removed west, had not returned to inform them of the type of country as they had promised, that the region was not suitable for settlement. The Indians also told Lieutenant Simonton that provided they were willing to remove, they could not do so without sufficient preparation.[29]

Ottokee and his younger brother Wauseon, leaders in opposing the removal, imbedded into the Indians mind even greater fear of the western land when they reported that:

> *Their new homes were on the border near haunts of roving bands of hostile savages of the plains and mountains, the Comamches, Utes and Arapahoes whose bloody hands were raised not only against the paleface, but all the tribes of Red Men as well.*[30]

Furthermore, Chiefs Ottokee and Sheno spoke to the Band informing

them that they may decide for themselves if they wish to go west. The chiefs were very obstinate. They said that they would not go now and most likely never would leave for the land west of the Mississippi. (Chief Sheno is one of the Indians who found his way to Walpole Island).[31] Therefore, the chiefs, who exerted the greatest influence on the members of the tribe, were adverse to going west at any time. Some wished to stay in the valley and others wished to remove to Canada to live under the protection of the British Government.

Another obstacle to removal to Kansas was the influence of petty traders on the Maumee who would lose the Indian trade in the event of their removal. Lieutenant Simonton claimed that there were "hundreds of persons, who make a few dollars a year by their trade, and would see the Indians starved to death in this country rather than lose the few dollars which they would make by their stay."[32] This regretable situation is substantiated by reports of James B. Gardiner, Indian Agent for Northwestern Ohio, and John McElvain, who had been sent to Maumee to supervise the removal of the Ottawa to the far west. Mr. Gardiner said:

> *Among many men who are in the habit of trading with the Indians, cupidity usurps indomitable sway over every feeling of moral obligation, and the destructive use of ardent spirits is brought to bear upon the hapless native, to render him more easily a prey to those who found their fortunes upon his misery and ruin.*

He pledged his "every means and every persuasive" in his power "to counteract the destroying influence which heartless avarice is throwing around our poor savages, for the purpose of filching from them the last dollar for which they have sold their heritage amongst us."[33]

Mr. McElvain sent a letter to the Maumee *Express* to call upon "those who have been in the habit of selling liquor to the Indians, to do so no more, as it will be impossible to remove the dissipated if it is continued." McElvain then asked:

> *What philanthropic, feeling heart can indulge such feelings to-*

wards so poor, degenerated a race of Savage wanderers as the suffering Ottawa.

He pled with those who might "feel interested in the future welfare and happiness of this miserable race of beings . . . the fallen Ottawa of the Maumee" to use their influence to help remove the red man "to a better home, and a more promising land."[34]

The actual removal of the Michigan Ottawa was thus put off for several years. Not until 1837 did the removal to Kansas begin. The poor Ottawa were merely "sitting it out" until they actually had to go. The force which compelled them to do this was the destruction resulting from two factors: their complete lack of lands and second, the Canadian decision not to give presents to United States Indians. These two factors threatened to starve the Ottawa out. The lack of land meant the invasion of their land by farmers and the refusal of the more important traders to sell goods to them. The traders knew that the United States would never again grant them money because the red man no longer had any land to sell. As proof of this sad fact we have the words of Col. Howard and Lieutenant Simonton. The sympathetic Colonel recalls their plight as leading a "wandering life among white men, who had no sympathy for them. The Che-mo-ke-man (Long Knife) had got all their lands here and was ploughing up the graves of their dead, and to stay here and witness it would be more than death on the plains in their new homes . . ."[35] Lt. Simonton tells of the traders:

When they become pressed for subsistence in their present situation, they will be willing to remove. This must happen very soon, as the country is rapidly settling, and game growing scarce. The more important traders who have heretofore credited them extensively, with the expectation of being remunerated when the Indians sold their lands, having both goods and provisions which formally they got whenever asked for. These two resources being cut off, they will beg to be removed. The petty traders finding the Government shew an indifference to the removal of the Indians will lose hope of being rewarded for it, and will drop them too.[36]

It was due to such a situation that other groups of the Ottawa were persuaded to depart for the west. Precisely how many went to Kan-

sas, how many to Canada and how many stayed in Northwestern Ohio can not be definitely stated. According to Col. Dresden W. H. Howard a majority of the Michigan Ottawa went to Kansas in the yearly migrations of 1837, 1838 and 1839.[37]

These were the last of the official migrations of the Maumee Ottawa to the lands west of the Mississippi. It had taken about a decade to carry out the western removal policy, and then it was anything but complete. Many returned to the "lands of their fathers" and many others joined those who went to Walpole Island. When looking at the various reports of and from the Indians who consented to live in Kansas, one wonders if their fears of that strange land were not authentic. Of the two chiefs (Ottokee and Wauseon), who were the leaders in the opposition, Col. Howard says that they "were among the last to remove from this country, having gone west in the spring of 1838. These Chiefs lived but a few years after their removal and died at a comparatively young age." About the other Ottawa who went west he says:

> *Their new homes were seldom accepted with satisfaction, the country was generally a poor hunting country, except for Buffalo, and infested as it was by the wilder Indians of the plains, who were constantly at war with their neighbors and gave the more peacable and quiet tribes much trouble. This created discontent and homesickness, and at times many of them found their way back to their old familiar hunting grounds on the Maumee. Finally, after spending a few seasons among the settlers, who were never friendly, considering them intruders, although they were the original owners and occupied the land, and had never received half the value of it, they quietly went to their friends the 'Soginosh' English of Canada.*[38]

Even some of those who went to Kansas eventually migrated to Canada. In 1864 a petition from the Kansas Ottawa designated as being formally from Swan Creek, to settle on Walpole Island, was refused by the Indians on Walpole because of the swampy condition of the land making it impossible to put more under cultivation. However, in a second petition of 1869 the following results were obtained:

> *We the undersigned principal men of the Chippewa, Pottawatomi and Ottawa Indians of Walpole Island Council assembled unami-*

nously agree to set off a portion of Walpole Island to be considered as a reserved portion for the settlement of the Ottawas in Kansas State who are intending to return to live in Canada. When they will return is not known.[39]

The migrations of the American Indians, especially those from the Maumee Valley, to Canada during this period can now be observed with an understanding as to the reasons and motives behind the movement.

7. *The Trek to Walpole Island*

As a result of the circumstances previously mentioned the British Government found themselves in the situation of being the recipients of numerous American Indians yearly, who were immigrating with the purpose of making a home. This movement was not peculiar to the Maumee Valley Indians nor even to those of Ohio and Michigan. Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatomi, Shawnee and others were sifting into Canada from several Great Lakes States.

The main concern here is with those Indians who originally inhabited the Maumee Valley region. In many cases, due to the roaming character of the Ottawa, it becomes difficult to distinguish between those from Ohio and those from Michigan. This is also due, to some extent, to the fact that at the time that many of them migrated the northern part of Ohio was considered as part of Michigan. Aside from these difficulties, there are many evidences to substantiate a considerable movement of Maumee Valley Ottawa and Toledo Indians to Walpole Island. Due to differences on the Island between the "American" Indians and the Canadian Chippewa, an investigation was held on the Island in 1879. At this time the Indians of Walpole Island were examined, under oath, as to their antecedents, viz., their former place of residence, their parents' names and tribal affiliations, the date of their arrival to the Island, etc. With the aid of these testimonies, along with information from contemporary agents and missionaries, and interviews with the present day Indians on Walpole Island, an authentic account of the Ottawa migration from the Maumee Valley to Walpole Island has been obtained.

As has been previously mentioned, the desire on the part of the many of the American Ottawa to abide in Canada was existent as early as 1795.

However, it was only during the years of the strenuous efforts of the Americans to move them west of the Mississippi, that any actual migrations to Canada were realized. It is notable that throughout the entire period of migrating none of the Indians went to Canada in a body but in straggling parties. The movement started as early as 1827 and continued well into the 1840's; and in a few cases even later. This is substantiated by Ebenezer Watson, Indian Superintendent, when he said in a letter to the Minister of the Interior at Ottawa in 1879:

> *About the year* 1827 *or* '28 *and for several years afterwards, a considerable number of Indians* (*Ottawas*) *came from the neighborhood of Toledo, Ohio, and settled on Walpole Island—later—in the years* 1837 *to* 1840 *quite a number came to Walpole Island and also to the Sarnia Reserve.*[40]

There is little doubt that although a few made their way to Canada before the 1830's a greater influx commenced with the morbid news of the unsuccessful trip to Kansas as a result of the Treaty of 1831. The effects of such news upon the Ottawa was brought out by I. W. Keating, Acting Superintendent, when he said that:

> *The policy of the government in compelling them to remove to a strange country the climate of which has already destroyed the greater part of the first division of them, which I have been informed was marched to the place of exile under "Military Escort", is most keenly felt by them, and they have in consequence made repeated applications, sometimes in person and sometimes through their friends residing in this Province to be allowed to seek an asylum in Canada and enjoy the protection of the British Government.*[41]

The majority of the Ottawa of the Maumee did not migrate to Canada in the early 1830's, partly because the Government of the United States was at that time embracing somewhat of a laissezfaire policy as to the remaining Indians, and also due to the fact that the Indians of the Valley were at that time "sitting it out" in hopes that they had "missed the boat" west and would be allowed to remain on their river. The largest flow of the Toledo and Maumee Valley Ottawa into Canada commenced in 1837, at the time the British Government announced the Proclamation concerning "presents" to "visiting" Indians. This factor along with the press-

ing conditions in the Valley at that period sustained the "great wave" to Walpole Island. An additional inducement to migration during the late 1830's was the influence of Peteweegeeshig, the Chief of the Indians on the Island, who was inviting the Indians to the Island. According to Rev. Andrew Jamieson, resident missionary on the Island for forty years, in a statement in 1879, "of the Indians on the Island at the present time, a large proportion are of American descent.—Indians from the United States who have been domiciled here for 40 or 50 years." This would also indicate that they arrived in Canada between the years of 1829 to 1839. During the year of 1836 only thirty Indians came to the River St. Clair and Walpole Island to obtain land and settle; in 1837 about three hundred Indians and their chiefs came from the United States with the view of settling; and, from 1839 to 1840 even larger numbers arrived. "For many years after this Indians continued to come over in small parties, and settled on the River St. Clair or on Walpole Island."[42]

There are numerous such references to various migrations to Walpole Island of the Ottawa Indians and they all lead to the same general conclusions, viz., a few began migrating in the late 1820's, numerous others followed in the early 1830's, the greatest influx was realized after 1837 and before 1840, some continued to migrate through the forties and even later, and no Indians came to the Island in a large body but only in straggling parties.

To produce evidence that specific Ottawa Indians from Toledo and the Maumee Valley found their way to Walpole Island is not difficult. On January 31, 1880 Eber Yax (under oath) testified that "Pash-geesh-quash-king has repeatedly told me that he originally came from the Maumee River in the State of Ohio and that he was an Ottawa." In 1888 Wahbegoosh, after being sworn, said, "Peter Gray came from Toledo in Ohio, a place called by the Indians Nah-me-see-beeng. I know that he came from there with those who came from that place. Peter Gray came to Walpole Island with his brother-in-law Shahwahnoo, and an old man called Shahgum, and an old woman called Petah. These all came from Toledo. They were all Tahwahs." In 1879 Petwigeesheeg, Chief of the tribe on the Island, said that he came from Swan Creek. At the same time Kewhabegna maintained that he was born at Presque Isle, Ohio, and came to Walpole Island when the other Indians went west.[43]

Last of all, there are several cases in which Indians referred to in the Maumee Valley and Toledo area by contemporaries are also mentioned later on Walpole Island. Among the more prominent are the Chiefs Shaw-wan-no and She-no. Shaw-wan-no was one of the most influential Indians in the Toledo and Maumee Valley region. Colonel Howard mentions this Chief several times in his writings. Shaw-wan-no was a signator to treaties signed at the Maumee Valley prior to removal. Most important of these is the Treaty of February 15, 1833, in which his signature is found along with seventeen other Chiefs and important men of the Ottawa tribe. There is also ample evidence to show his presence on Walpole Island. One of these is the testimony of Wahbegoosh, who said that Shahwahnoo came from Toledo and was a Tawah. Tooskeneg, during the 1879 investigation, said that Shawano was his father, that he came from Ohio about 1840, that he made numerous trips to Canada to receive presents as did the other United States Chiefs, and that he was an Ottawa. And, most important of all, in 1864 Shaw-wa-noo was one of the signatories to a paper drawn up in Council on Walpole Island rejecting the application of the Ottawa in Kansas to come to the Island to live.[44]

She-no was also one of the more prominent Ottawa in the Maumee Valley. He was a Chief in that region, was mentioned on several occasions by various contemporaries, and was also a signer to the Treaty of 1833.[45] In the investigation of 1879 on the Island, Cheega said that he was born in Ohio, that he came to the Island in 1834, that his father was She-no, and that he was a Tawa.[46]

Thus, there can be no doubt that the descendants of the Maumee Valley Ottawa are today living on Walpole Island. The exact number is difficult to determine. However, they are today, along with the descendants of other American Indians, in the majority.[47]

FOOTNOTES

1. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Census of Indians in Canada, 1944 (Ottawa, Canada: Edmond Clouter, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1945), p. 23; Diamond Jenness, *Indians of Canada,* Bulletin No. 65, Department of Mines, National Museum of Canada (Ottawa Canada: F. A. Acland, Printer to the King, 1923), p. 390.
2. Gerard Fowke, *Archaeological History of Ohio: The Mound Builders and Later Indians* (Columbus, Ohio: Published by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Press of J. H. Heer, 1902), p. 487.

3. Randolph C. Downes, *The Conquest* (Toledo, Ohio: Lucas County Historical Series, Vol. I, 1948), p. 64; Randolph C. Downes, *Canal Days* (Toledo, Ohio; Lucas County Historical Series, Vol. II, 1949), p. 42.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 48.
5. Senate Document 512 (23rd Congress, 1st Session), *Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of Indians between the 30th November,* 1831, *and 27th December,* 1833, *with Abstracts of Expenditures by Disbursing Agents, in the Removal and Subsistence of Indians, &c., & c., Furnished in Answer to a Resolution of the Senate, of 27th December,* 1833, *by the Commissary General of Subsistence,* Vol. II, August 2, 1830, pp. 87-88.
6. Diamond Jenness, *op. cit.*, p. 390.
7. Manuscript Treaty signed by Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatomi and Huron Tribes at Detroit, May 19, 1790, in the Papers Relating to Walpole Island in the Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Canada. These papers include treaties, letters, Indian testimonials, memorials, memoranda, etc. This collection will be referred to subsequently as the Walpole Island Papers.
8. *Excerpt of Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada,* Vol. 6, Session 1847 (Ottawa, Canada: Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch), pp. 5-6.
9. Letters of Lord Glenelg to the Earl of Gosford, January 14, 1836 as quoted in a Memorandum on Indian Presents, September 23, 1943 (Ottawa, Canada: Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch).
10. Memorial of Ottawas Respecting the Amherstburg Reservation to Sir John Colborn, September, 1829, found in Walpole Island Papers.
11. Letter of Alexander McKee to Joseph Chew, Detroit, Michigan, October 24, 1795, found in the Walpole Island Papers.
12. Diamond Jenness, *op. cit.*, p. 97, pp. 344-345; *Report of Commissioners Pennefather, Talfourd, and Worthington* (Ottawa, Canada: Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, 1858), p. 577.
13. *Report of Commissioners Pennefather, Talfourd and Worthington, op. cit.*, pp. 15-17 and 51-52.
14. Letter of Mr. Thomas Smith to the Lieutenant Governor's Secretary, exact date unknown, found in Walpole Island Papers.
15. Memorandum Concerning Pottawatomies' Claim to Walpole Island, date unknown, prepared for and in the possession of Mr. A.E. St. Louis, Archivist, Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Canada; Manuscript of Speech of E. Gouch-e-ou-a-i made at Council of Indians held by Major Murray at time of Treaty of 1790, Detroit, found in the Walpole Island Papers.
16. Letter of George Ironside to Lieutenant Mudge, Secretary to Sir John Colborne, July 6, 1829, found in Walpole Island Papers.
17. Letter of Charles Eliot to Lieutenant Mudge, August, 1829, found in Walpole Island Papers.
18. Letter of Superintendent Ebenezer Watson to the Minister of the Interior, March 15, 1879, Found in the Walpole Island Papers; Rev. Andrew Jamieson, Excerpt from the Letters and Reports concerning His Life Work on Walpole Island (unpublished papers in the possession of Rev. William Hall, St. Marks Episcopal Church, Marine City, Michigan, as copied by Annie A. Gray, Toronto, Canada).
19. Memorandum concerning Pottawatomies' Claim to Walpole Island, *op. cit.*
20. Memorandum Concerning Indian Presents, September 23, 1943, mimeograph circular from the Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada.
21. Letter of Sir F. B. Head to Lord Glenelg, November 20, 1836, found in the Walpole Island Papers.

22. Memorandum Concerning Indian Presents in Walpole Island Papers.
23. Senate Document 512, Vol. II, pp. 359-363: Randolph C. Downes, *Canal Days,* p. 50.
24. Letter to J. B. Gardiner to the Commission of Indian Affairs, September 26, 1831, in Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Col. Dresden W. H. Howard "The Removal of the Indians from the Maumee Valley." (Unpublished manuscript in Howard papers, in possession of Mrs. Agnes McClarren, Winameg, Ohio, date unknown as copied by Mr. Davis B. Johnson, Wauseon, Ohio).
25. Senate Document 512, Vol. II, p. 401.
26. Senate Document 512, Vol. II, p. 594.
27. Senate Document 512, Vol. II, pp. 472-475.
28. Letter of Lieutenant J. P. Simonton to General George Gibson, September 2, 1834 in Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Howard Papers, "The Removal of the Indians from the Maumee Valley", *op. cit.*
31. Letter of J. P. Simonton to General George Gibson, February 18, 1834, in Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Randolph C. Downes, *Canal Days,* p. 52.
34. *Maumee Express,* August 19, 1837.
35. Colonel Dresden W. H. Howard, "Wauseon or Wa-se-on and Otokee or Ot-to-kee". (Unpublished Manuscript in Howard Papers, in possession of Mrs. Agnes McClarren, Winameg, Ohio, date unknown, as copied by Mr. Davis B. Johnson, Wauseon, Ohio).
36. Letter of J. P. Simonton to General George Gibson, February 18, 1835, in Records of Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
37. Howard Papers, "Removal of the Maumee Valley Indians." *op. cit.*
38. Howard Papers, "Wauseon and Ottokee", *op. cit.*
39. Letters written by Indians in Council, Walpole Island Canada, 1864 and 1869, found in Walpole Island Papers.
40. Letter of Alexander McKee to Joseph Chew, October 24, 1795 in Walpole Island Papers; Testimonial of Kakoos, October 31, 1878, Walpole Island, Canada, found in Walpole Island Papers, Report of Ebenezer Watson, Indian Agent at Walpole Island, to the Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, Canada, March 15, 1879, found in Walpole Island Papers.
41. Letter of S. P. Jarvis to S. B. Harrison, September 25, 1840, found in Walpole Island Papers.
42. Testimonial of Kakoos, *op. cit.;* Andrew Jamieson, Excerpts from Letters, *op. cit.;* Letter of Ebenezer Watson to the Minister of the Interior, March 15, 1879, *op. cit.*
43. Testimonial of Eber Yax, January 31, 1880, Walpole Island, Canada, in Walpole Island Papers; Testimonial of Wahbegoosh, 1888, Walpole Island, in Walpole Island Papers; Minutes of Investigation of Walpole Island Indians as to connection with "1827 Treaty", November to December, 1879, Testimonial of Petwigeesheeg, in Walpole Island Papers; Testimonial of Kewhabegna in *ibid.*
44. Howard Papers, "Wauseon and Ottokee", *op. cit.;* Letter of Governor G. B. Porter, February 18, 1833 in Records of Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Testimonial of Wahbegoosh, *op. cit.;* Minutes of Investigation of Walpole Island Indians as to Connection with "1827 Treaty", November to December, 1879, Testimonial of Tooskeneg, in Walpole Island Papers; Letter written in Council, Walpole Island, July 16, 1864, in Walpole Island Papers.

45. Treaty of February 15, 1833 found in Letter of Governor G. B. Porter, February 18, 1833; in Records of Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Minutes of Investigation of Walpole Island Indians as to Connection with "1827 Treaty", November to December, 1879, Testimonial of Cheega, in Walpole Island Papers.
46. Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Census of Indians in Canada, 1944 (Ottawa, Canada: Edmond Clouter, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1845), p. 23: Testimonial of Kakoos, *op. cit.*
48. Andrew Jamieson, Excerpts from Letters, *op. cit.*

Latin Farmers in Northwestern Ohio [1]

From the Autobiography of Mrs. Karl Tafel[2]
Translated and edited by Leonard Koester[3]

One day in the summer of 1850 a young man appeared at our home in Cincinnati and wanted to purchase a book which father had advertised for sale, namely Schluepf's *Veterinary Medicine*. We soon found out that he, too, was from Stuttgart, Germany and, to be sure, the son of Court Councillor Tafel, whom father knew. He was glad to have found a family with which he could have social contact.

The year 1848 had also driven him from his homeland. He had been a student at Tuebingen University and belonged to the ringleaders of the Revolution of 1848.[4] Since his father wore the king's colors, he dispatched his son to America. At that time, in general, only people of the upper class came over from Germany. Mr. Tafel felt at home with us. Soon our hearts found each other and we decided to make the journey through life together.

My Karl was a trained apothecary, but insisted on making a change and becoming a farmer, as my father also had intended. Karl had been on a well managed farm in New York for two months and believed he had acquired sufficient knowledge to be able to operate one. By reading he wanted to round out his knowledge. So he and his friend, the theologian Schuman, son of the vicar of Esslingen, bought a forest. Both places lay side by side. Each had only one to two acres of cleared land. Mr. Schuman had on his a little house, ours was to be built according to my wishes. It was thought out beautifully, but it turned out differently.

The wedding, at which were present members of our family (Ferdinand Autenrieth), Albert, Gustav and Hugo Tafel, as well as Mrs. Pickering and her son, took place on the 24th of February, 1851. We could not depart from my parents without leaving our pictures behind. However, we wanted to surprise them with the photographs and therefore did not say where we were going. It was a nasty, rainy day. Because of that we were detained by the photographer exceptionally long. When we finally came home, all had been present a long time for the marriage ceremony; only the bridal couple had been missing. I was scarcely given time

to catch my breath; hat and coat were quickly removed from me, some flowers were stuck in my hair, then we were pushed into the room and married. The haste and hurry on my wedding day became the pattern for my entire later life.

Our farm—I am going to call it a farm—lay about ten to twelve miles from Sandusky, Ohio, on a small stream called *Portage* River.[5] At twelve o'clock at night we departed and toward morning arrived in Sandusky. My Karl had ordered a carriage which should bring us to the house. I was curious to see our home, for I had no idea what a farm looked like. How often would I ask: "Is my house like this one?—or like that one?" Early in the morning a thaw set in and the road was bottomless. Then our driver declared he would not go a step farther. What was to be done?

We were just half way and stopped in front of a little house where we hoped to find shelter until the next day. The woman, however, explained that they were not in a position to receive us. Then she went out and blew a tin horn. Soon her husband appeared, who promised to drive us home after he had unloaded the manure. That was well and good, if we could only get home. The manure wagon was now swept out and used as a vehicle for travel. It was, of course, out of the question that there could be any comforts.

The journey was, nevertheless, great sport. Since the wagen bed consisted only of loose planks and the load was too light, the driver had a hard time keeping us on board. Uphill we held fast to the driver and he to the horses. Downhill the driver had to suffer many a thump from us. We landed against the tails of the horses, but they put up with everything. Mother had provided us sufficiently with food, but the trip offered so much variety, that we didn't think of hunger at all.

Having arrived at our destination I was lifted from the wagon with all ceremony and invited to inspect the palace while Karl paid the driver. Smoke was pouring forth from all the cracks. At the place of entrance to the only room of the dwelling, which was built several steps high, hogs had taken a stand. Karl drove them down with the help of a *fence rail*[6] and opened the door which only leaned to. In spite of the fact that the room was filled with smoke, a flock of chickens had settled down in it which, frightened, tried to reach the open over our heads. The wind had slammed shut the door of the hen house, so that the chickens had come through a broken window into the cabin.

Karl's best friend, Mr. Schuman, who had been at our wedding and had made the way on foot, had arrived before us and built a strong fire in the fireplace in front of which he had laid logs to dry. Thus it happened that the logs had begun to smoulder and smoke was coming out through all the cracks. He himself was no longer there when we came, because our arrival had been delayed and he had to lodge with acquaintances on the other side of the river.

As already stated, this one room made up the entire dwelling; one small window gave it light. The curtains which were brought along we did not need to hang for the time being. Karl got busy right away putting the room somewhat in order. He placed a chair by the fire for me, then looked for a broom in order to sweep. While he was occupied with that, I looked around a bit. The chair on which I sat inclined hazardously to one side and the floor became my seat. Karl laughed and said: "Tomorrow I'll show you why you can't scoot around on your chair." It was really something when on the next morning I beheld the gift bestowed upon me. Scarcely a square foot of flooring was undamaged. The table had to stand where it was; likewise the chairs could not be placed differently, for muskrats had gnawed to pieces the whole floor. All that we accepted in good humor. I for my part was glad that this was not my house and that I had the pleasure before me of building our home according to my fancy.

On the next morning Mr. Schuman came very late, because a Mr. Georgie had gotten into a reed swamp during the night and died from exposure. That Mr. Schuman should turn over his house to us did not suit me. Therefore, a few days later the chicken house, which consisted of a part of the porch, was converted into an emergency sleeping room. The chickens, to be sure, could sleep by roosting on the trees. Mr. Schuman felt quite contented in his cubby-hole, but one morning he was highly embarrassed because rats had completely chewed up his pants during the night in order to make nests. Mr. Schuman was six feet, three inches tall; Karl, a much smaller man, couldn't help him out with his pants. Therefore, the good man had to stay in bed until Karl had fetched him a pair out of his own trunk across the river.

On the same evening, it was the 28th of February, we were invited to a wedding in the vicinity. We did not like it at all, so we didn't stay long. We went there only out of consideration for our neighbors. These

need each other very much frequently. When we came out of the house, it had snowed. Neither the wagon tracks nor the blazed trees which marked the way could be recognized. We lost our way and after wandering about for three hours came home dead tired. On the way I begged my Karl to let me sit down just a wee bit, but he would not permit it for fear of falling asleep. Mr. Schuman came home soon after us. He had a torch, however, and by its glow could easily follow the trail of the blazed trees.

In this sparsely settled region we had, it is true, good social life. Our neighbors were three Georgie families, the children of rich merchants from Esslingen, who had settled shortly before us. Also a Herr von Degenfeld, owner of an entailed estate,[7] belonged to our circle of acquaintances for several weeks.

We whiled away much of our time making plans. How beautiful we imagined our future home! Here the house should be located, there a little bridge and over there should stand a little summer-house. An orchard and a vineyard we wanted to have like nobody else! They were beautiful castles in the air.

On Sundays we played cards. This went against my moral sense, but for better or for worse I had to participate. That was the first cause for differences of opinion in religious views between Karl and me. Mr. Schuman taught me to seek God in nature.[8] That gave rise to a discord lasting years. The doubt was hard to bear. Not until many years later did I become acquainted with Dr. Jones, pastor of the Unitarian church in Louisville,[9] who convinced me that I was a Unitarian. This subject was inexhaustible, and it was a long time before I had ease of mind and conviction.

We had a small field on which Karl wanted to plant corn. One morning he came down from the loft in dress-coat and stove-pipe hat. This suit he intended to wear out at work. First, however, he beat some dents into the hat, and then he hitched the oxen to the plow. Horses could not be used on account of the many tree roots. To make it easier for Karl I wanted to drive the oxen. Anyhow it was too lonesome in the house. One time around I did quite well. However, when on the second round I got gee and haw mixed up, the beast stepped on my foot. I yelled in its ear so hard that the animals ran away like mad. Karl had to let

them go and carry me home, for I couldn't walk. I had terrible pains, and Karl had to cut the shoe from my foot. Besides he was very angry. He had to leave me to myself and look for his oxen which had disappeared. The one had pulled itself loose from its yoke and was not found until several days later. The other was still at the plow.

The next day Karl thought he saw his ox lying the woods. Short-sighted as he was, he approached it and poked it with his foot. However, the supposed ox sprang away in the form of a deer. Such mistakes happened often. The wild ducks and geese, partridges, and so forth were exceedingly tame; yet we never had any because Karl could not see on account of his near-sightedness and also because he did not possess a gun.—When the plow was again put into order, it was too late for planting. Also, there appeared in both of us symptoms of fever.

Because of the many rains the river overflowed its banks. That created difficulties everywhere. The mill could no longer grind. As a result flour and everything was scant. This did not trouble us, however; we were always in fine spirits. I still remember how we lay in bed with an open umbrella over us because it rained in.[8] Once Karl had the light in his one hand and the students' song book in his other; I held the umbrella, and thus we sang the whole book through, from cover to cover. The next day he had to teach me how to make candles, for we didn't have any more. Mr. Schuman made a picture of us and sent it to his father. Thereupon the latter wrote me a nice letter and was of the opinion that all the world should be as happy as we were.

The virulent fever got worse and worse and we swallowed heaps of quinine and ipecac. The young Georgie couple had a little baby three weeks old which was racked with fever. It was pitiful to behold. They left their place in spring without taking along their piano and many other beautiful things because they could not be transported.

With great effort our little field was plowed and planted in buckwheat. It really came up quite nice and thick. One morning Karl and Mr. Schuman took me along. I had to see how beautiful the little field looked in full bloom. We rejoiced like children over our first success. The next morning—we both shook with fever—Mr. Schuman came and reported that during the night deer had totally eaten up the field. We were too sick to be irritated by it, but we were firmly determined to

sell our land. It came to the point where we were too weak to fetch our drinking water. We couldn't visit our neighbors any longer, and we also had nothing new to read.

In October the fever went down, but I was afflicted with a severe toothache. So Karl set me on the horse—it was my birthday—and sent me to the doctor, who lived four to five miles distant from us. He put the horse on the right road—I had never been there before—and figured that the horse would find the way all right. We got there, fortunately, and the tooth was pulled. My face was so swollen, that I could scarcely see out of my eyes. Upon leaving, the doctor also gave me a sack of potatoes which he laid across my lap. I lengthened the journey home through the fact that I did not trust my horse and wanted to direct it, till I found myself on the same spot again; then my horse didn't obey me any longer. It now took another way and went over the tree trunks and stumps. It was growing dark. Mr. Schuman had gone to meet me. He missed me, but came just in time to help lift me from the horse. I could not stand on my feet any more.

It was on the twentieth of October when we sold the place on which we had experienced such happy and distressing days. We received almost nothing for the farm. The material for our house lay there and may be lying there yet. Mr. Schuman also wanted to leave on the same evening without having sold. Our buyer then acquired his cattle too.

Mr. Schuman also provided for a gay departure. We wanted to have the pleasure of inspecting our livestock once more. I had a beautiful young calf, and so did Mr. Schuman. Mine was tame, whereas his "Mike" was shy. I patted my "Kate", he wanted to do the same; but "Mike" misunderstood and turned around abruptly, so that Schuman grabbed it by the tail. Thus they ran down the road, the little calf and big Schuman, till the animal gave a sudden twist and, because he couldn't hold on any longer, threw him into a fence corner. To this very day I am sorry that we laughed so hard, for the poor man could scarcely get to his feet and kept cursing "Mike". If the calf hadn't been sold, he would certainly have butchered it. Karl had to rub his friend and bandage his wounds. Of course, we could not leave him behind sick. However, on the next day he was quite well again. We were already sitting on the wagon, when he came out of the house and said: "Hey, Karl, here is still an ipecac powder, you don't leave that lying around." With that he put it in his mouth, gulped it down, and shook hands with us in farewell.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The epithet, 'Latin farmers', has commonly been applied to the scholarly German settlers, who became quite numerous about the revolutionary periods of 1830 and 1848, a class of cultivated men, yet frequently unpractical, for whom manual labor proved a hard school of experience." From A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States,* Vol. 1, page 442 (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1909).
2. Mrs. Karl Tafel was the daughter of Ferdinand Frederich Autenreith, of Stuttgart, Germany, who migrated to Cincinnati in 1849 with his wife and their family of ten children. Three of Autenreith's sons were of age for compulsory military service. The migration was part of the protest against the suppression of the liberal Revolution of 1848 by autocratic forces in Germany.
3. The original of this article was privately printed in German in a 49 page pamphlet. The leather binding bears the title *Aus Meinen Leben.* On a flyleaf is a motto of five lines by Goethe. On the next page is an inscription reading, "I want to give my children the pleasure of having a record of the events of my life as far as I can recall them." Newport, Ky., March 14, 1907. The earlier pages of this autobiography are published in Leonard Koester, "Early Cincinnati and the Farmers, From Mrs. Karl Tafel's Autobiography" in *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,* January 1949, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 18-22.
4. A centennial in honor of the Forty-Eighters was observed in 1948 in the United States and in Germany. A recent article about these refugees was written by the Ohioan Carl Wittke, entitled *The German Forty-Eighters in America* (The American Historical Review, Vol. LIII, No. 4, July, 1948).
5. The original has Portridge River.
6. The original has *Feneeriegel;* is this a typographical error plus an Americanism? The autobiography is otherwise written in good German with relatively few errors.
7. "When Mr. Jefferson struck the blow that destroyed the privilege of entail, he swept away the only ground upon which wealth can be secured to one family for a long period." Funk and Wagnalls, *New Standard Dictionary,* quoting J. G. Blaine, under *entail.*
8. Mrs. Tafel was probably also influenced strongly by Goethe.
9. After a second attempt at farming in Indiana, Mrs. Tafel moved to Louisville during the Civil War. Here her husband became a successful pharmacist and she the mother of a large and very outstanding family.
10. This scene calls to mind the picture by the Munich biedermeier painter Karl Spitzweg, *Der arme Poet* (1839).

The Beginnings of the Presbyterian Church in Toledo

By Harold J. Sherman

To go back to the beginnings of the Presbyterian Church in Toledo is to go back in the history of this community for more than a hundred years. Indeed it is to go back to the time when Toledo was just coming into being. There were three communities scattered along the clay ridge lying betwen the Maumee River and the marsh lands that comprised much of the area now occupied by the older sections of the city. These three communities, Port Lawrence, Vistula and Manhattan, consolidated, became Toledo and came to be known as Upper, Middle and Lower Town. It was in 1833, the same year that the first Presbyterian Society was organized, that Port Lawrence and Vistula united, adopting the name "Toledo".

When the Presbyterians first sought to organize in Toledo, Andrew Jackson was President of the United States. The Miami and Erie Canal was being projected. The first store in the community was in a log warehouse at the mouth of Swan Creek, opened ten years previously by John Baldwin and Cyrus Fisher. The surrounding territory was still wilderness, although Maumee and Perrysburg were thriving villages, and had been for a dozen years or more. Indians still occupied the east bank of the Maumee near the bay, and prowled around outlying cabins. Game was still plentiful in the forests where Collingwood Presbyterian Church now stands.

As early as 1822 there had been a Presbyterian Mission working among the Indians at a Mission house about two miles above Waterville on the opposite side of the river. The Rev. Joseph Badger was in charge of Presbyterian mission work in the west and his son-in-law, Isaac Van Tassel, was chosen to supervise the mission on the Maumee.

In the 1820's Presbyterian Churches were established in both Maumee and Perrysburg, which were then larger, more thriving, than the settlements along the lower river banks. Farther down the river in what is now Toledo the Presbyterians were also pioneering. Although the

Methodists had conducted services as early as 1822 or 1823 and had started the movement which led to the organization of what is now Monroe Street Methodist Church, most historians, Van Tassel, Waggoner, Killits, and all but Nevin O. Winter, himself a Methodist, give Presbyterians the distinction of organizing the first church society for the holding of protestant religious services within the original limits of Toledo. Indeed, except for early missionary efforts among the Indians, the Catholics had not yet entered the field with an organized parish.

In 1833, then, a handful of Toledo's earliest settlers gathered and organized the First Presbyterian Church. Historian Winters says that these families met in the home of Samuel I. Keeler, and that seven members were enrolled by the Rev. Warriner of Monroe, Mich. He names the first Elders as Samuel Keeler, Merriam Fox and Sylvester Brown. Historian Van Tassel says the meeting was held in the house of Coleman Keeler. Scribner, another historian, credits the Rev. Warren Isham as having effected the organization. The congregation secured a lot at the southwest corner of Superior and Cherry Streets, and there the first edifice was erected. This building was largely financed by two of Toledo's early pioneers, Edward Bissell and Herman Walbridge, and it is questionable whether the congregation ever really held title to the building. Edward Bissell owned a farm which is now part of Forest Cemetery, and had built the first steam saw mill in 1834 in Summit St., between Elm and Chestnut. It is possible that the timber for the church structure came from his land and was sawn in his mill. The church was dedicated May 3, 1838. The Rev. D. C. Bloodgood of Tecumseh, Mich., preached the dedicatory sermon.

However the financial depression of 1837 had sadly affected the struggling congregation of pioneers, and they were unable to meet their obligations, so the building was sold at a sheriff's sale. The purchaser was the newly organized Catholic congregation of St. Francis de Sales. The building, moved from its original site at the corner to a lot at the rear and facing on Superior Street, was converted into a parochial school, and continued in use as such until the summer of 1843 when it was torn down.

Before we leave the story of the old landmark it should be noted that this building, in the brief period during which it housed the First Presbyterian Church, also served as the first meeting place for the Protestant Episcopalians, their Society being organized in 1838. Records show that

Episcopal services were held in this edifice by Bishop MacIlvain in 1840. Five years later the Episcopalians erected their first house of worship on the site at Adams and St. Clair Streets, which is the site of the present Trinity Church. In the meantime the Universalists also held their first services in this structure. Actually this historic old building served in its first few years as the cradle for at least five great religious organizations: Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Universalists and Catholics.

Whether or not the financial crisis and the loss of their building had any bearing on the situation historians do not indicate, but in 1841 under the pastorate of the Rev. George R. Haswell, the Presbyterian Congregation changed its form of government, and the Congregational form was adopted. A portion of the membership was opposed to the change and continued to worship as Presbyterians for three more years. In 1844 the two groups then united and formed the First Congregational Church, the great mother church for this denomination in Toledo which still carries on under that name.

Evidently, however, these Presbyterian Congregationalists could not bring themselves to break completely with the old form, for in 1845 under what was known as the "Plan of Union", the First Congregational Church of Toledo was admitted to Maumee Presbytery, keeping their Congregational form of government, but having representations in the judicatories of the Presbyterian Church. The membership at this time numbered 33.

The Rev. Wm. H. Beecher acted as Pastor from 1844 to 1847 although he never was formally installed. He was a member of the famous Beecher family, the son of Lyman Beecher, who gained great fame as one of the outstanding preachers of his day when he delivered the funeral sermon for Alexander Hamilton, killed in a duel with Aaron Burr. Lyman Beecher's three marriages resulted in 13 children. All his sons, seven in number became clergymen. One was Wm. H. Beecher, already mentioned as acting Pastor of First Congregational Church, Toledo. Another was Henry Ward Beecher, one of the most famous preachers of the ninteenth century. A daughter, Harriet Beecher Stowe, wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin".

Because of the relationship of the First Congregational Church with

Maumee Presbytery, it cannot be said that the Presbyterian denomination was not represented in Toledo for the next few years, yet there was, strictly speaking, no congregation under this form of government in Toledo for nearly ten years.

In the meantime Toledo was growing. From a hamlet of less than 100 souls in 1833 it had increased to nearly 2000 in 1846. In 1850 it claimed a population of 3000.

In 1854, on March 2nd, Maumee Presbytery appointed the Rev. I. M. Crabb and the Rev. D. S. Anderson to organize a congregation in Toledo. Later the Rev. J. M. Baird was added to the committee. On January 27, 1855 a meeting was held in Bethel Mission on Vine (now Lynn) Street.

Bethel Mission was such a uniquely interesting institution that we might well pause for a moment and briefly review its history. In 1830 an organization was formed in Cleveland and began work among the seamen of the lakes, canals and waterways of the middle west. These men were a rough lot, much in need of missions. The work spread to other cities as far west as St. Louis. The organization was active in Toledo as early as 1847. In 1853 Bethel Chapel, a brick structure with Gothic lines, was dedicated in Vine Street, just back of Summit Street. This building stood until shortly after the turn of the century. In its latter days it served as a livery stable and veterinary's office.

In the days of its religious activity it served a lawless community of squatters as well as seamen. These squatters lived in the blocks bounded by Oak (now Jackson), Orange, Superior and Erie Streets. They had come into Toledo as workers on the Canal, and had remained after its completion in 1845. The Chapel frequently required police protection for its religious services, and stories of fist fights and brawls in which its director had to defend his life would read like fiction.

The Presbyterian meeting in Bethel Chapel on January 27, 1855 saw the organization of the First Presbyterian Church of Toledo, actually the second group to bear that name. The new church had 27 members. Eight were from the First Congregational Church—once First Presbyterian. Were these the eight die-hards who had struggled along in the small group during 1841 to 1844? We do not know. One member came from Ames Methodist Episcopal Chapel, Toledo, five from other Ohio churches, nine from Presbyterian churches in Pennsylvania, and one from a New York church. Toledo was drawing its population from a wide area.

But still the road was not smooth. Services were suspended when the Rev. J. M. Baird, supply pastor, left Toledo late in 1855 because of ill health, not to be resumed until the Rev. Edwin B. Raffensperger came to Toledo on April 24, 1859. Appointed by the Board of Domestic Missions, he began his pastoral duties in Stickney Hall on Summit Street. He had 20 members in his reorganized congregation. On October 12, 1859 trustees were elected, one of whom was Emery D. Potter, Sr., one of Toledo's first lawyers, who had started practice in the community in 1835. The meeting was clerked by J. M. Cooke, and the minutes of this meeting are the first entry in record books still extant. On April 26, 1860 Bethel Chapel again was leased as a place of worship for the congregation; and was so occupied until 1869. During part of this time the chapel also was shared with the Universalist Congregation.

The old records contain frequent references to necessary cleaning, repairs of windows, purchases of hickory cord wood, etc. Indeed during those first few years there seems to have been a change of sextons about every six months, the compensation for the job was at the rate of $50.00 per annum. In 1862, for a short period during the summer, the pulpit was supplied by the Rev. Harry Mitchell MacCracken, while Mr. Raffensperger, the pastor, served the 14th Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry as chaplain.

Although the congregation was still a mission, receiving $325.00 a year from the Board of Domestic Missions toward the pastor's salary, and indeed had difficulty in maintaining a balance in its treasury, a building fund was established. Funds had been secured by subscriptions from the members and other interested citizens. On several trips back east, Mr. Raffensperger had secured other contributions in New York, Brooklyn and Boston. So on June 5, 1865, meeting on the steps of Bethel Chapel, the trustees instructed Mr. Robert Cummings to purchase lots at the northwest corner of Orange and Huron Sts. for $3500.00. Funds being low, they could not proceed at once with a building so the first step was to get in the foundation. The cornerstone was laid on April 28, 1868.

Conditions in Bethel Chapel must have been exceedingly trying and difficult. Before leaving for his vacation during the summer of 1868, Mr. Raffensperger warned the congregation in a sermon that he would not continue as their pastor if they renewed their lease for another year. He urged that the basement of the new structure be completed to the point

where it could be used, or that services be held in White's Hall on Summit Street.

The lease expired on September 30th and was renewed for another year. Coincidental with the renewal of the lease, Mr. Raffensperger withdrew from the pastorate. He was succeeded on February 1, 1869 by Mr. MacCracken, who had served as supply the previous summer, and who became the first regularly installed pastor of the congregation. In November, 1869, the basement of the new building was occupied. Actual construction of the main auditorium was delayed and did not begin until in 1871. It was completed late in 1873. The dedication took place February 1, 1874. The cost, exclusive of the lot was $44,749.00. In 1878 the remaining bonded indebtedness of $16,000 was paid off by concerted effort. In 1883 a pipe organ was installed at a cost of $4,500.00.

Just when First Church undertook to sponsor a mission on Allen Street (now Canton Street) is not shown in the records. But in spite of all its problems, its difficulty in financing its own building program, and while yet a mission receiving aid from the Board, it saw the need for work in what was then, and has remained, a problem neighborhood. At the congregational meeting held November 9, 1866 John McKee was elected superintendent of the Mission Sunday School. In 1871, as every effort was being put forth to finance and build their own new house of worship, the Trustees of First Church received a committee appointed by the teachers of the Allen St. Mission School, and at their request authorized the purchase of a lot for $1,000.00. The Trustees agreed to hold title, and to guarantee payments of $100.00 annually, on condition that the Mission and its friends erect a suitable building on the lot, plans for which called for an outlay of $3,000.00. On October 28, 1872, the Trustees assumed responsibility for payments to the contractor for the mission building at $500 a year for six years, in case the mission could not meet its obligations. Average attendance at the Sunday afternoon services in the Mission in 1872 was reported as 111. By June 1875 the officers of the Mission, the Superintendent of which was elected by First Church at its annual meeting, had fallen behind in making payments as agreed, and the Trustees advanced at least two payments of $500.00 each. Then the Trustees, Deacons and Session of First Church, meeting jointly, agreed to a plan which disposed of the property to the First German Evangelical Reformed Church of Toledo, then being organized. Provision was made, by a twenty-year lease, to continue the work of the mission in its

old quarters on Sunday afternoon, and with prayer meetings on Monday nights.

For the next ten years or longer, records of the annual congregational meetings of old First Church carry the significant line: "There was no report from officers of the Allen Street Mission". After that even that reference appears no more.

In 1865 the same year that the relatively young and certainly struggling First Church purchased the site for its future home, and just as the great struggle between the North and the South drew to its close, a movement was started, so church historians explain, to improve church facilities in Lower Town, Toledo's finest residential area, just north of Cherry Street. Under the advice, and with the blessing of the First Congregational Church—once First Presbyterian—Westminster Presbyterian Church was organized, and was received by Maumee Presbytery on November 7, 1865.

Again one wonders at this old strain of Presbyterianism lingering on in the group of Congregationalists. One wonders why they sought to set up their own church society instead of joining in with those of their own persuasion in First Presbyterian Church, which was located much closer to the residential area to be served than was the new Congregational Church on St. Clair St., between Madison and Jefferson.

Clark Waggoner, once editor of the Toledo *Blade,* who was a charter member of Westminster Presbyterian Church, lists the names of 41 members in the new congregation, 38 of them from the First Congregational Church. Many were persons of unusual prominence in the life of the city.

The first Elders, elected at the organization meeting in 1865 were John R. Osborn, Charles Cochran, David E. Merrill, George W. Bliss, and Calvin Bullock. Trustees were Matthew Brown, Charles Pratt, David Smith, Wm. A. Ewing, Lyman T. Thayer, and Hudson B. Hall. The treasurer was Nehemiah Waterman, the secretary was Ralph H. Waggoner, son of historian Clark Waggoner. The first prayer meeting of the newly organized Westminster Congregation was held October 19, 1865, the first preaching services, on October 22, 1865. The first pastor was the Rev. Henry M. Bacon. On the first Sunday of the new year, 1866, the first Communion Service was held in the Central Mission Schoolroom, on

Superior St., between Adams and Oak (now Jackson). A Sunday School was organized the same Sunday in White's Hall on Summit St., with David Smith as its first Superintendent. These records are from Clark Waggoner, since the earliest record books of Westminster Church were destroyed in a fire on April 2, 1867 when the office of Dr. Charles Cochran was burned.

And now comes another strange move which had a vital bearing on the history of the Presbyterian Church in Toledo. In September 1865, the same year that First Presbyterian Congregation chose the site for its future home at Orange and Huron Streets, Westminster Presbyterian Congregation purchased a lot at the corner of Superior and Locust Streets—just three blocks north and one block east of the site purchased by First Church. The lot cost $5,000.00. It was just at the southeast corner of Toledo's then choicest residential district, for Lower Town, in the third quarter of the last century had many fine homes. A large number of these, in various states of repair, still stand. A chapel, small, but with dignified churchly lines, built of rough limestone, was constructed immediately at a cost of $8,485.00. At the rear of the lot, the chapel faced on Superior Street. It was dedicated on April 14, 1866, two years before the cornerstone was laid for First Church, just four blocks away.

In 1870, a year before actual construction was started on the main edifice by First Church, Westminster let the contract for its main building to Luther Whitney. This was to be a fine large brick structure along Gothic lines. It was completed May 1st, 1873 at a cost of $47,000 including a pipe organ. One cannot but take note of the evident rivalry which existed between First and Westminster Congregations, which led to what appears to have been a race to see which should have its new church house first!

It is a matter of record that in the first ten years of its existence Westminster Church increased its membership from the original 41 to 339, and raised a total for all purposes of $100,000. And this period included those years of depression with two days of disaster, each known in history as Black Friday, one on September 24, 1869, and the second on September 19, 1873, which precipitated the panic of that year. In 1880 the Rev. Henry M. Bacon, who had been pastor of Westminster Church from its organization in 1865, resigned, to accept a call to the First Congregational Church of Terre Haute, Indiana.

This was a crucial time in the history of Westminster Congregation, for again there was a new congregation in the making, and again there was a swing from Presbyterian to Congregational. In 1881 Central Congregational Church was organized, drawing its membership largely from Westminster which dismissed 79 of its members to the new congregation. Others were to follow later. On the first Board of Deacons at Central Congregational, for example, one finds the name of David E. Merrill who, years before, had served on the first Session at Westminister as an Elder. Whether to be Presbyterian or Congregational, that, through the years seemed to be the constantly recurring question!

Central Congregational Church occupied an older building at the corner of Adams and 10th Streets, formerly a Unitarian Church. It remained in this building for a little more than twenty years. Then selling its property to the Wabash Railroad for the cross-town project which never materialized, it moved out to Collingwood Avenue and built a new edifice, where it was joined a few years later by First Congregational—once First Presbyterian. It is evident that the Congregational bretheran owe much to the Presbyterians, both for their early and later position among Toledo's churches.

To return to both First and Westminster Presbyterian Churches, we must next consider the trend which had already set in, away from Lower Town to a new, fine residential section which was developing in what is now known as the Old West End. Already fine homes were being built out Madison, Jefferson, Monroe Streets, and along Collingwood and Parkwood Avenues. As residential areas shift, and neighborhoods change and decline, so, often, there come changes in the churches which have drawn their membership from the immediate neighborhood. And definitely the residential trend was to the West End.

By 1890 both Westminster and First Churches were keenly aware of the significance of the changes that were taking place. Both, in a sense, were down-town churches. Both had suffered losses and both faced further losses. To clear the way for removal to the West End, or for union with Westminster, which because of its location and the strength of its membership was thought to have the better chance of survival, in 1892 First Church offered its building and property for sale to the Scottish Rite Masonic Order for $20,000. The offer was not accepted, and the overture for merger with Westminster came to naught.

In the meantime a strong movement for the organization of a Presbyterian Church in the West End was under way. This was recognized in the records of a meeting of the Session, First Presbyterian Church, on April 24, 1892, when a congregational meeting was called to discuss the possibilities. It was pointed out that 75% of First Church membership then resided in the Seventh Ward, west of 10th Street, and that more than 80% of its financial support was contributed from that section. On April 28 a resolution inviting Westminster Church to appoint a committee to meet with a committee from First Church to work out a plan of operation was approved. Westminster Church took no action, but the committee from First Church investigated possible sites in the West End. On January 26, 1893 the committee reported so little interest in possible contributors that they asked to be discharged. Instead the committee was continued.

The West End church was inevitable. In 1893, in the summer, a Sunday School was organized, meeting in a vacant storeroom on Ashland Ave. Later, regular religious services were held, and a church Society was formally organized in October 1894, with about 150 members. The Rev. A. W. Ringland became the first pastor of Collingwood Presbyterian Church. A chapel was built on Prescott Street, at a cost of $3,000. The main auditorium at Collingwood and Prescott was built in 1902 at a cost of $90,000. The Parish House was not built until later, and was completed in 1926. When Collingwood was organized it drew heavily on both First and Westminster Presbyterian Churches. First Church gave 120 of its membership to Collingwood on December 29, 1893. From 1893 through 1904 Westminster dismissed about 70 of its membership to Collingwood.

The two older downtown churches were in the same plight. Several changes in pastorates took place within a short time. With the resignation of the Rev. Robert S. Young as pastor of Westminster on June 21, 1904, First and Westminster joined for public worship during the summer months. This was continued at First Church in October, and at Westminster in November. On February 13, 1905 First-Westminster was organized by action of Maumee Presbytery at old First Church. The Rev. Wm. A. Powell became pastor of the merged church on March 30, 1905. The Committee on membership reported 277 active members and 92 on the reserve roll from First Church, and 158 active, with 46 on the reserve roll from Westminster. On December 6, 1908 George E.

Pomeroy, President of the Board of Trustees of First-Westminster, reported the sale of the Westminster property at Locust and Superior Streets for $12,000, of this $2,000 was in cash, to liquidate debts, the balance was a $10,000 mortgage. The purchaser was a Catholic institution, St. John's College. With the pews and interior furnishings removed, old Westminster become a gymnasium and basketball floor. Damaged by fire, a few years later, it was repaired. It still stands, its cornerstone and other identifying marks removed, and is now used as a social center by the Catholic Youth Organization. First-Westminster continued at Orange and Huron Streets until July 15, 1937 when the building was destroyed by fire.

In the meantime, however, Presbyterians had been on the move in Toledo. The year 1866 records the establishment of Second Presbyterian Church in East Toledo by a group from First Church. 1870 seems to have been a particularly active year. First Church was planning its new building, and Westminster had let the contract for its main edifice. Yet in that year another Presbyterian Congregation was organized, this time in the South End. On June 26, 1870, Third Presbyterian Church came into being, with the Rev. Robert Edgar as its pastor. Shortly a lot was rented at Broadway and Knower, where a building was erected and dedicated on January 1st, 1871. In 1873 under the Rev. J. E. Vance, an edifice was built on Knower Street near Broadway, and the building previously erected at the corner was moved to this site. In 1875 the Rev. W. J. Trimble became pastor, and in four years the membership grew from 25 to 125. He was followed in 1879 by the Rev. Joseph W. Torrence, and in 1886 by the Rev.Benjamin F. Ormond. The present church structure was built in 1889 at the corner of Broadway and Crittenden.

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow in detail the history of Third Church, or of other later congregations which were organized. But one event should be recorded, since it brings to a close the story of the first two or "mother" churches. Following the fire which destroyed First-Westminister's building at Huron and Orange Street in July 1937, it became evident that the struggle to continue as a downtown church could not be successful. In April 1938, by action of Toledo Presbytery, First-Westminster and Third, and Beverly Community Presbyterian Congregations were merged. The name of the newly merged organization in keeping with tradition was changed to Westminster Presbyterian, and the Third Church edifice became its home.

However since we are dealing with beginnings, we cannot overlook the organization of other congregations of the denomination before the turn of the century. Reference has already been made to the organization of Second Church in East Toledo. Through eight years the congregation struggled on, until it was dissolved by Maumee Presbytery in 1874, when First Church was instructed to enroll its remaining members. But in 1894 on February 11, the East Side Presbyterian Church had its inception. Later through fire and merger, this became Eastminster Presbyterian Church.

Fifth Presbyterian Church drew both from First and Westminster when it started in a chapel in the point where Bancroft and Monroe Streets cross. Earliest dismissals to Fifth date back to 1889. When, after the turn of the century, a new building was built at Bancroft and Rosewood, the name was changed to Rosewood Ave. Presbyterian Church.

The story of the Presbyterian Church in Toledo closely parallels the story of the city itself. It is a story of change, of growth, of shifting centers, and of achievement.

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The President's Page

The Trial Of All Crimes, Except In Cases Of Impeachment, Shall Be By Jury

TRIAL BY jury was one of the important questions under consideration by the Founding Fathers in the Constitutional Convention. On September 12, 1787 during the deliberations of the Convention, a clause, preserving jury trials in criminal cases was adopted without debate, reading as follows:

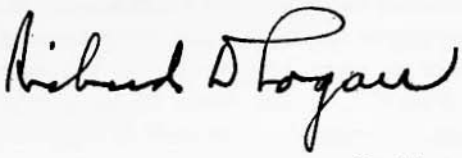
> "The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be in such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed."

There was much dissatisfaction expressed later in the Convention because jury trial had not been provided for in civil cases. This omission was one of several causes for attack upon the Constitution in the debates before the conventions in the several states later called and held for the purpose of considering and acting upon the question of the ratification of the Constitution.

To meet this objection the Seventh Amendment was included in the Federal Bill of Rights as follows:

> "In suits at common law, where the value of controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law."

To those who would seek additional information concerning the origin and development of the jury system, reference is made to this Page in the July, 1947 number of the QUARTERLY.



President

Annual Meeting of the Society

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Historical Society of the Northwestern Ohio was held June 2, 1949, at the staff room of the Toledo Public Library. President Richard D. Logan presided. The following officers were re-elected: Richard D. Logan, President; Carl B. Spitzer, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. Max Shephurst, Librarian; and Randolph C. Downes, Executive Director. John H. Taylor was elected Vice-President. The following trustees for the term expiring in 1951 were elected: Edmund T. Collins, Mark H. Mennel, Dr. H. W. H. Nelles, Carl B. Spitzer, Rev. John J. Vogel. Richard R. Johnston was elected a trustee for the term expiring in 1950 to fill the vacancy created by the death of George D. Welles.

The President reported that the Board of County Commissioners of Lucas County had appropriated $4,900 for the promotion of local historical research by the Society during the year 1949. It was voted to accept the appropriation, and the director was instructed to send a resolution of thanks to the Board.

The Librarian reported 56 new volumes added to the Society's collections during the year as well as the binding of 48 books and periodicals. The Treasurer's report showed that the Society continued to be in excellent financial condition.

The Executive Director reported the membership to include 180 individuals and 70 institutions. Attention was called to the Award of Merit conferred on the Society by the American Association for State and Local History at its annual meeting at Raleigh, North Carolina on October 29, 1948. The Award was for a "distinct contribution to American Local History." It was pointed out that all copies of *The Conquest,* Volume I of the Lucas County Historical Series, had been sold and that over 300 copies of *Canal Days,* Volume II of the Lucas County Historical Series, had been sold. It was decided not to print second editions of these vol-

umes of the Lucas County Historical Series. The offer of the Spitzer Book Shop to sell our books for a nominal fee was accepted with thanks. The director explained that research on Volume III, to be called *Lake Port,* was under way and that the book would be published early in 1950. The results of the Society's annual essay contest in the High Schools of Lucas County were reported. The topic this year was A Century of Progress in the Schools of Lucas County. It was agreed that next year's contest on Mid-Twentieth Century Life in Lucas County be conducted in such a way as to relieve the strain on the facilities of the Toledo Public Library.

A resolution of thanks was voted to Mr. Herbert Sewell and the staff of the Toledo Publiic Library for their cooperation with the Society in providing quarters for the spring meeting, in making available window space for a display of *Canal Days,* in selling copies of *Canal Days* at the return desk of the Library, and in the aid given the Society in the conduct of research on our publications.

The President was authorized to make arrangements for the handling of the Society's finances with such agency as he deemed desirable.

The Annual Historical Essay Contest

The second annual Lucas County Historical Essay Contest was conducted in all the high schools of the county during the winter and spring. The subject was A Century of Progress in the Schools of Lucas County. The judges were: Mary H. Hutchison of the staff of the Toledo Board of Education; Reverend Anthony J. Dougherty, O.S.F.S., of Central Catholic High School, and Kathryn Miller Keller, of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio. Prizes ranged from $15 to $2 for the twelve best essays in each of the three upper high school classes.

The following names were announced:

Sophomores

Prize	*Student*	*School*
1.	Jacquelyn Smith	DeVilbiss
2.	Geneva Klickman	Waite
3.	Jane Fenn	DeVilbiss
4.	Ramona Knopf	Libbey
5.	Tom Mills	DeVilbiss
6.	Oxanna Sprynsky	Scott

7.	Marjorie Jeter	Waite
8.	Barbara Ann Toth	DeVilbiss
9.	Sue Kanney	Libbey
10.	Marjorie Halpin	Notre Dame
11.	Carolyn Arndt	Waite
12.	Janice Hedden	DeVilbiss

Juniors

Prize	*Student*	*School*
1.	Julie Ehret	Notre Dame
2.	William Pierson	Scott
3.	Nancy Hirschy	Libbey
4.	Janet Smith	DeVilbiss
5.	Irma Hobberchalk	Scott
6.	Elliot Teitlebaum	Libbey
7.	Shirley Giles	DeVilbiss
8.	Joanne Lickendorf	DeVilbiss
9.	Harriet Blakesley	Libbey
10.	Bruce Bacon	Scott
11.	Betty Bowersock	DeVilbiss
12.	Patricia Calef	DeVilbiss

Seniors

Prize	*Student*	*School*
1.	Elaine Bylow	Waite
2.	Mary Catherine Guyton	St. Ursula
3.	Martha Hibbert	Scott
4.	Ruth Dodd	Scott
5.	Lila Ward	Scott
6.	Jean Ward	DeVilbiss
7.	Goldie Bonis	Waite
8.	Mary Ellen Barry	St. Ursula
9.	Patricia Wagner	Whitney
10.	Patsy Harrison	Waite
11.	Joan Claire Kwapich	St. Ursula
12.	Darlene Pettigrew	Scott

A certificate of excellence went to the writer of the best essay in each of the above schools. In addition certificates were awarded to:

James Pfeiffer, Senior, Central Catholic High School.
Dorothy Landet, Junior, Whitmer High School.
Richard E. Augustiniak, Junior, Holland High School.