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The President's Page

RICHARD DOUGHERTY LOGAN, president of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, died at the Toledo Hospital on December 13, 1949. He had been under treatment for a heart ailment for several weeks. Funeral services were held on December 15 at the Bennett Funeral Home followed by interment at Woodlawn Cemetery.

We of the Historical Society will miss Richard Logan. He has presided over our affairs in a time when our work has reached the point of its greatest effectiveness. He became president in the spring of 1942. That was the same Spring in which Dr. Curtis W. Garrison assumed the duties of secretary and editor. Together the two made a splendid team. The format of the QUARTERLY was improved, its size enlarged and its articles made more scholarly. The membership of the Society grew and members took a more active part in its activities. Eventually in 1947 the Society was enabled to undertake a larger research program through annual appropriations from the Board of County Commissioners of Lucas County.

In all these good works Richard Logan was the guiding spirit and counsellor. His office became the record headquarters of the Society and he himself an active participating president. He was always generous with his time even though the burden of business and legal affairs fell increasingly upon him. He contributed articles to the QUARTERLY and inaugurated the President's Page, a series of essays on the history and interpretation of the United States Constitution of which he was a keen student. In the negotiations leading to the appropriations by the County Commissioners his influence and activity was of vital importance.

Behind Richard Logan's interest in our Society was a fine knowledge and understanding of American History. This interest dated back to his days at Ohio State University from which he graduated in 1904 with the honor of membership in Phi Beta Kappa. At Ohio State he majored in history studying under such scholars as George Wells Knight and Wilbur Siebert. It was the knowledge of the value of scientific historical scholarship resulting from this college training that made him an ideal person to guide the Society into the status of a nationally recognized research organization in local history.

Richard Logan was an excellent liaison person between the Society and the Community. He was always transmitting his enthusiasm for the Society to others and bringing in new members. His reputation for probity and sound progress made as an outstanding member of the Toledo bar was a great asset to the Society. Above all was his habit of thoroughness and industry which he applied unstintingly to his own business affairs and which led him to recognize the same quality in others. Those who worked with him to promote the Society's activities were always heartened by his appreciation of the pains taken to keep its productions up to the highest standards.

This is not the last of Richard Logan's pages. His signature may no longer appear at the end of his President's Page but a signature not written with his hand will be recognized for years to come in the history of northwestern Ohio. He was one of those of whom the poet Spender wrote:

> *Born of the sun they travelled a short while toward the sun*
> *And left the vivid air signed with their honor.*

The President's Page

In his first President's Page (April, 1942) Richard Logan wrote:

> *No citizen can be considered well educated who does not possess a fairly accurate knowledge of history, and especially of the historical background of the community in which he lives. Let us keep our knowledge in repair.*

We of northwestern Ohio should never forget these words. Vistas which Richard Logan caught of the splendid past of our valley—which many of us felt as we stood with him before his high-powered telescope in his office high in the Toledo Trust Building looking out over the opening gateway of Maumee Bay, must never be lost. Our history is important—local as well as national—local because through it we can see beyond the horizon on the Bay on into the great expanse that is our nation and our world.

Yes, Richard Logan, we will keep our knowledge in repair.

RANDOLPH C. DOWNES.

The War of 1812 In Northwestern Ohio
Background and Causes

By W. M. Heflinger

1. *Northwestern Ohio in* 1812

The term "Northwestern Ohio", as used in this essay, means that portion of the State west of the "Firelands" and the "Congress Lands" of 1799-1804 and north of the fortieth parallel. This includes approximately one fourth of the area of Ohio. The Greenville Treaty line divided this region, setting off as Indian territory that portion lying north of the line.[1]

The surface of this region varies gradually from low and flat along Lake Erie to gently rolling in the southern part. The low watershed, scarcely discernible, that separates the basins of Lake Erie and the Ohio River runs an irregular course north of the Greenville line. To the south of the divide the Scioto, Mad, and Great Miami rivers and their tributaries rise and start their courses toward the Ohio. The northern section is crossed by two large rivers, the Sandusky and Maumee, with the shallow Portage about midway between them. The Maumee in 1812 was navigable to ships of any size to the foot of the rapids, some twelve miles above its mouth—opposite the present villages of Perrysburg and Maumee. These rapids continue for about nine miles, above which the river is again navigable for small craft. The Maumee and its principal tributary, the Auglaize, formed one of the principal routes of travel. Thus the portage around the rapids became a place of strategic value.[2]

The Sandusky was navigable to the foot of the lower rapids, the present site of Fremont. Above the rapids small boats could continue without interruption to the upper rapids, where Upper Sandusky is now located. With portages at the two sets of rapids canoes could travel the Sandusky and Little Sandusky to within three-fourths of a mile of the headwaters of the Scioto. Since the Sandusky reaches farther south than any other river in the entire Great Lakes system, and since the portage between the Sandusky and Scioto was the shortest and easiest, this route was the principal one used by the Indians and French.[3]

Waterways are always valuable as means of travel in a frontier country, but in this region they assumed an additional importance, because a part of northwestern Ohio was then swampy. There were many of these boggy places, but the most noted of all was the "Black Swamp" which lay between the Sandusky and Maumee. It was about thirty-five to forty miles wide and from a hundred to one hundred twenty miles long. These swamps were passable with reasonable ease only late in dry summers before the autumn rains set in or in mid-winter when frozen over. Thus most travel was, of necessity, by water.[4]

When the War of 1812 opened there was not a single mile of road in northwestern Ohio. The nearest approach to roads were the Indian trails, of which there were a number. Wherever possible these trails followed such high ground as there was, for the higher places were less boggy in summertime and less likely to have deep drifted snow in wintertime. Thus the north-south trails followed the river courses along the low ridges that usually formed the rims of the flood plains. Near Lake Erie the east-west trails followed the low, sandy ridges roughly paralleling the shore line. These ridges had been left by the retreat of the ancient glacial lake of that region. The principal east-west route was the "Great Trail" from Pittsburgh to Detroit via the lower rapids of the Sandusky and the Maumee rapids. The Sandusky-Scioto trail from Lake Erie to the Ohio River was the most important north-south route. It followed the courses of the rivers indicated by its name.[5]

Northwestern Ohio was almost wholly uninhabited by white people in 1812. There were a few scattered settlements south of the Greenville line. North of this line there were only two centers of settlement. One was about the mouth of the Maumee, the present site of Toledo. This was described as a flourishing settlement of perhaps three score families, who were mostly French. The other settlement was at Sandusky, now Fremont, at the foot of the lower rapids of the Sandusky River and at the intersection of the Sandusky-Scioto and "Great" trails. This settlement consisted of a French Catholic mission with two priests, a United States Government fur trading post, and a few cabins. Scattered survivors of the earlier French settlement there occupied various places along the lower Sandusky valley. There were also a few white traders around Defiance and at other points along the Maumee and Auglaize. These few white people residing north of the Greenville line were within Indian territory and hence had no representation in the State Legislature.[6]

The Indian population of the territory north of the Greenville line was estimated at about three thousand, capable of raising about six or seven hundred warriors. They belonged to many tribes, chiefly of Algonquin stock except the Wyandots and Senecas who were Iroquoyan. Practically all of them were comparative newcomers to this region, having been dislodged from their original homes by inter-tribal wars or by pressure from white settlement. The one exception to this were the Miamis who inhabited a portion of their ancestral hunting grounds about the Maumee and Wabash in Ohio and Indiana. Some of the fierce Shawnees were settled about the headwaters of the St. Mary's and Auglaize. Their principal village was Wapakoneta. Harrison characterized them as honest and upright. Tecumseh and his brother, The Prophet, belonged to this group, although the principal scene of their activities was in the Wabash country. Ottawas lived near the lower stretches of the Auglaize and Blanchard rivers. Delawares were located about the upper Scioto and Olentangy. A part of the Seneca Nation had moved from western New York to the Sandusky valley a few years previous to the War. Their principal village, Seneca Town, was on the present site of the village of Old Fort. They settled on lands belonging to the Wyandots.[7]

There were two branches or divisions of the Wyandots, one in Michigan inhabiting a series of villages stretching some twenty miles between Detroit and Brownstown on the Huron River. Walk-in-the-Water was their principal chief, and Roundhead was their war leader. The other, or "neutral", branch inhabited the Sandusky valley. This tribe was not numerous, but it was the most powerful and influential of the Ohio Indians. They were described as the boldest, strongest, and most intelligent of all the northern Indians. They were fierce in war; in fact it was frequently stated that they were the only Indians of the Northwest who considered it a disgrace to retreat from battle. Yet they were merciful and humane to prisoners. They kept the grand calumet which was the symbol of authority throughout the Northwest. Their principal village was at "Sandusky", now Fremont. They carried on a flourishing agriculture, partly by the use of Negro slaves. The principal chief of the Sandusky Wyandots was Tarhe, "The Crane", "a venerable, intelligent, and upright man." Shetrone, an authority on the subject, rates Tarhe as the greatest chieftain of Ohio. This is indeed an outstanding tribute, for the list of Ohio Indians includes the Delaware Prophet, Pontiac, Leatherlips, Logan, Little Turtle, Corn Planter, the Half-King, Tecumseh, the

Shawnee Prophet, Seneca John, and numerous others well known to white men.[8]

There were also a few scattered remnants of other tribes. A group of Muncies, relatives of the Delawares, lived along the Sandusky below the principal Wyandot village, and the site of their settlement is still known locally as "Muncie Hollow". Small bands of Mohawks, Mohicans, Mingoes, and Cayugas were present also. Eventually they attached themselves to the Senecas, and this group was known collectively as the "Sandusky Senecas."

2. *Public Opinion in Ohio*

In order to understand the frontiersmen's reactions to the events that led to the War of 1812, it is necessary to examine briefly the background of public opinion and some of the factors molding it. Since northwestern Ohio was almost uninhabited by white settlers, it is necessary to look to the more settled parts of the State for these reactions.

The first wave of migration into the Ohio country followed the Revolutionary War. These first settlers were generally men who had spent their prime in the Revolution, or were the sons of Revolutionary patriots whose fortunes were crushed in that struggle. They retired to the wilderness to conceal their poverty—to get a new start in the hope of improving their conditions. To these were added a number of adventure seekers. Economic difficulties, instead of being removed, were multiplied, once these people became established on the frontier. At first the government sold land in large blocks to land companies who in turn sold it to the settlers, usually on credit. Increasing difficulties rendered many of the buyers unable to meet the payments. Burnet estimated that fully ninety per cent of those who bought land on credit stood to lose their holdings. This caused fear that a system of landlordism, instead of individual holdings, would result, and this condition was intolerable to these independent frontiersmen. A violent wave of dissatisfaction with the government spread rapidly. A new land policy was demanded. While Harrison served as territorial delegate to Congress he successfully urged the sale of land to actual settlers in smaller parcels on easy terms. Although the cause was removed, the fear, insecurity, and bitterness had to wear off gradually.[9]

The Mississippi was the natural outlet for saleable products from the

Ohio country. The solicitude over closing the Mississippi—which further increased their economic problems—caused anger not only against Spain but also against the East. In addition to the problem of the navigation of the Mississippi, Spain was charged with inciting the Indians to attacks on the frontier. Immediate war was urged in the West. When the National Government attempted to untangle the problem by diplomatic means rather than by force and restrained the proposed expedition against New Orleans, it was charged that the East had entered into a conspiracy to deprive the West of its rights. The West felt isolated, abandoned, and thwarted. Secession was threatened. Then the difficulties with France following the ratification of Jay's Treaty made France temporarily assume the role of villain. A new enemy appeared on the scene, and more excitement stirred the frontier. The cessation of hostilities with France and the subsequent purchase of Louisiana removed these sources of irritation, but the bitterness and suspicion were not assuaged immediately.[10]

The British held a group of American posts in violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris and even constructed a new fort at the Maumee rapids. This was not only evidence of unfriendliness on the part of the British, but it put them in a position of influence with the Indians and permitted British traders to dominate the valuable for trade. The restlessness of the Indians and their determination to resist further encroachments of the Americans was thus laid at the door of the British. It was far easier to blame the British for this trouble than to see it as the inevitable result of their own expansion and the activities of "unprincipled, wandering traders, wholly unconnected with the pioneer settlers" who sold liquor to the Indians and systematically robbed them. It is certain, however, that the British were in sympathy with the Indians' determination to resist the "designs of this persevering rapacious and ambitious people", and there is evidence that the British supplied not only arms and ammunition but also white auxiliaries who participated in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. It was charged that the British did not intend to give up the Northwest. Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers and Jay's Treaty temporarily removed the British and Indian threat, but again the fear and hatred remained.[11]

The Republican party—that is, the then Republican or Jeffersonian party—found warm support in the West. The Federalists were considered aristocrats. The frontiersmen, with their democratic spirit and economic difficulties, could brook no pretensions of aristocracy. The

opposition to the Federalists was increased by the dissatisfaction with the government. The members of the territorial administration were Federalists, appointees of Washington and Adams. The Republicans, unable to secure control of the territorial government, and further irritated by Governor St. Clair's arbitrary acts, launched a demand for statehood. This was vigorously opposed by the members of the territorial administration, their friends, and political satellites. Political differences were brought to fever heat; prejudices, passions, suspicions, and enmity were aroused that continued for years.[12]

Still another factor was the activity of Aaron Burr. The general public did not know definitely what Burr's plans and objects were, but the Ohio settler believed he intended to detach a portion of the Mississippi Valley,

> *. . . wickedly devising and intending the peace and tranquility of the said United States to disturb and stir, move, and excite insurrec-. . . .tion, rebellion and war against the said United States . . .*

The suspicion that Burr was connected with British agents increased the resentments. Contemporary travelers reported that Burr was the chief topic of conversation in the West. The reaction of the frontier to the Burr episode was additional anger against Great Britain and the spread of a wave of blatant nationalism.[13]

From the foregoing it is evident that the people of Ohio were in a chronic state of excitement, difficulty, fear, irritation, anger, frustration and resentment. This explains the violence of their reaction to the Indian—Canadian situation.

3. *The Indian Problem*

The Indian problem in the Northwest during the decade preceding the War of 1812 was neither new nor difficult to account for. The War was the final chapter in a long history of conflict in the Northwest that was the inevitable result of the impact of two races so different in mode of life, economy, culture, tradition, and conception of land tenure.

The Indian population of the Northwest at this time was perhaps less than fifteen thousand, capable of raising somewhat less than three thousand warriors. They belonged to several tribes, among the more important of which were Kickapoos, Delawares, Shawnees, Pottawottamies,

Wyandots, Ottawas, Sacs and Foxes, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and Miamis. There were also Weas, Eel Rivers, and Piankeshaws, who were really branches of the Miamis.[14]

Those Indians closest to the white settlements and most accessible to the traders were in a sorry plight. They were crowded, especially in Indiana, and that meant less hunting ground. As the wave of white settlement advanced the supply of game decreased rapidly, for "one white hunter will destroy more game than five of the common Indians." As game became scarce hunger and even starvation became prevalent. Unprincipled, greedy traders found these Indians easy prey, especially when a plentiful supply of liquor was at hand, for . . .

> *whiskey was an all important factor in the fur trade. Not only did a drunken Indian lose all sense of value but once reduced to a stupor it was easy to short-weight him.*

Harrison stated that six thousand gallons of whiskey were brought annually to the Indians of the Wabash Valley, who numbered probably six hundred warriors. White men's diseases, once introduced among the Indians, took a terrific toll.[15]

The Indians of the more distant tribes of the Northwest had not yet been contaminated by the march of "civilization". They were "generally well clothed, healthy and vigorous." But those close to the borders of settlement were "half-naked, filthy and enfeebled with Intoxication." They were abused and plundered with impunity. Their health and birth rate declined. Above all, they lost their self-respect and dignity.[16]

President Jefferson was as land-hungry as any frontiersman. Throughout his administration he pursued a policy of extinguishing Indian claims as rapidly as possible. Harrison, ever anxious to please his patron, executed the policy with avidity. Within a period of two and a half years eight distinct treaties were made with the Northwestern Indians.[17]

Despite Harrison's conscientious efforts to ameliorate the Indians' condition by prohibiting the sale or gift of liquor to them, by forbidding traders to follow the Indians on hunting expeditions, and by long reports deploring conditions; despite Jefferson's rosy outlook that

> *they are becoming sensible that the earth yields subsistence with less labor and more certainty than the forest, and find it to their in-*

terest from time to time to dispose of parts of their surplus and waste lands for the means of improving those they occupy and of subsisting their families while they are preparing their farms

this land policy and the manifestation of it in the series of treaties caused a growing restlessness that was apparent by 1805 or 1806.[18]

It has been said that the War of 1812 centers around three Indians: Tecumseh, the Prophet, and Tarhe. Certainly all played important parts. Tecumseh and Elskwatawa, his brother, better known as "The Prophet", were Shawnees born about 1768-70 near the present site of Springfield, Ohio. Tecumseh was ten or twelve years old when his village was destroyed by an expedition led by George Rogers Clark. Randall stated that this act, which Tecumseh witnessed, made an indelible impression on the youth, and that he vowed eternal opposition to the further advance of white settlers.[19]

The Prophet came into prominence earlier (about 1804) than did Tecumseh. The Prophet's aims originally were neither political nor military, but were religious, ethical, and economic and grew out of the realization of the bad influence of the impact of the whites on the Indians. The policy sounded simple. It was to stop drinking liquor, forsake the ways of the white man, and re-adopt their ancestral mode of life. This is strongly reminiscent of the doctrines of the Delaware Prophet of the period 1760-63. This is not strange, for the Indians were superstitious, and "prophets" appeared among them from time to time. The Shawnee Prophet gained many adherents, and they actually practiced at least a part of his teachings.[20]

But Tecumseh, smarting under the land sessions of 1803-05, decided that more direct action was necessary. He planned a general confederacy of all Indians to stop forever the encroachments of the white race. He proposed to establish the Ohio River as a permanent boundary between the races and that land sales must be made by the consent of all Indians rather than by Individual tribes. Tecumseh traveled from the Great Lakes to Florida urging the Indians to join the proposed confederacy.[21]

Throughout the period 1805-1811 Tecumseh and Harrison played a game of diplomatic tag. Harrison was alternately alarmed and reassured; he was striving conscientiously to avert a break when he received instructions to acquire more land. It is doubtful whether Jefferson real-

ized the consequences of such a step at that time, for he was apparently sincere in his professions of a desire for peace. Harrison, striving to please, negotiated a treaty at Fort Wayne by which Indian claims were extinguished to two million nine hundred thousand acres. Another with the Kickapoos followed shortly. Meanwhile Governor Hull negotiated treaties at Detroit and Brownstown.[22]

This new series of land acquisitions was considered by Tecumseh to be a direct challenge, and he accepted it as such. His cause was strengthened considerably. Some of the younger braves demanded war at once, but Tecumseh held them in check. He wanted to wait until his confederacy could be completed. Meanwhile he was indefatigable in collecting warriors, perfecting this confederacy scheme, and generally preparing for war. A great drought and premature frost in 1811 made crops short and game scarce. Hunger increased the restlessness of the Indians.[23]

While Tecumseh was on a mission to the southern Indians the impending conflict materialized at Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811. In so far as Indian relations were concerned, this was really the first battle of the War of 1812. It was the immediate and direct result of the land acquisitions of Harrison and Hull. While usually regarded as an American victory, Tippecanoe was not an overwhelming one. It did not crush the Indian opposition. It did, however, seriously interfere with Tecumseh's plans. From his point of view the conflict had been premature. The Prophet's influence was greatly weakened by his part in the battle.[24]

4. *The Hand of Great Britain*

During these troubled relations with the Indians of the Northwest the pioneer saw or suspected the hand of Great Britain behind the scenes. Great Britain was naturally a villain to the frontiersmen and the experiences of the 1790's had not been forgotten. Harrison's correspondence is full of charges that British agents were fomenting trouble, and that the Prophet was in constant communication with the British at Fort Malden. William Wells wrote to him in 1807:

> *It is my opinion that the British are at the bottom of all this Business and depend on it that if we have war with them that many of the Indian tribes will take an active part against us . . .*[25]

In the spring of 1808 Harrison reported that the Delawares had received a communication from the British stating that hostilities against

the United States were anticipated and asking the Delawares to join with them. The Delawares refused. In the autumn of the same year Harrison reported the presence of British traders, who were without licenses. They were insolent and were well supplied with whiskey. By 1810 Harrison stated that no frontiersman

> *will hesitate to believe that the Prophet is a tool of British fears or British avarice, designed for the purpose of forming a combination of the Indians, which in case of war between that power and the United States may assist them in the defense of Canada, or as a means of keeping back our settlements . . .*[26]

Harrison was not alone in attributing the Indians' unrest to the British. Governors Hull and Clark were sending in similar reports from Michigan and Missouri. Soon not only the whole frontier, but also official Washington was stirred by these statements.[27]

5. *The Demand for Canada*

As early as 1807 war with Great Britain was anticipated, but defensive measures only were then considered. But when the Twelfth Congress convened in the late fall of 1811, a new note was struck. The conquest of Canada was boldly and insistently demanded.[28]

The demand for Canada was a complex matter of long, slow growth. In 1778 Washington said of the acquisition of Canada:

> *It is much to be wished . . . Because of its intercourse and connexion with the numerous tribes of western Indians, its communion with them by water and other local advantages, it will be at least a troublesome if not a dangerous neighbor to us; and ought, at all events, to be in the same interest and politics, as the other States.*

The belief in the ultimate annexation of Canada had a continuous existence from the Revolution to the War of 1812, but until about 1810 such annexation was thought of as a matter for the indefinite future, the United States having neither the strength nor motive for immediate conquest.[29]

The crystallization of sentiment for the immediate conquest of Canada about 1810-1812 was the result of the interaction of several factors. First the trouble with Spain over the West Florida question made war with that power imminent. Because of the alliance between Spain and Great Britain, it was generally felt that war with the former would in-

volve the latter also.[60] A second factor was the jealousy by Americans of the British for their domination of the Indian fur trade.[31]

A third factor was manifest destiny. This is usually supposed to have had its origin some two decades later. This belief and activating principle that the American people were ordained to acquire and occupy more and more of North America was itself a complex matter resulting from the interaction of many factors: social, economic, patriotic, political, psychological, philosophical, and perhaps evangelical. To touch briefly on only some of these factors, let us look first at certain economic forces. The steadily increasing population of the United States plus its expanding economy demanded an abundance of cheap land. Also the wasteful, unscientific use of land along the Atlantic seaboard and the Piedmont regions soon exhausted the fertility of the soil and added increased pressure for cheap virgin acres. Then, too, the typical pioneer was a restless fellow, driven by hunger, ever on the move and ever searching for new and more productive fields. In short, the people of the United States wanted more land, and in as advantageous locations as possible. The frontiersman of that period was accustomed to build his cabin of logs, to fence his clearings with rails split from logs, and to use wood for fuel. Hence the sparsely timbered prairies to the west did not appeal to him. Also, the prairie region was then too far from established markets to provide feasible outlets for his produce. The East was already settled and over-crowded in the point of view of the pioneer. The western prairies did not appeal to him. Therefore expansion at that time necessarily meant going north or south. To the north lay Canada, and south lay Florida.[32]

It is notable that in practically all cases the project of the annexation of Canada was inseparably linked with that of the acquisition of the Floridas. Sectionalism was a strong force, and the principle of a balance of power between the North and South was already well established. There is some evidence that the expansionists made a "deal" whereby each section was to gain in approximately equal proportion and thus not disturb the balance of power. In other words, the annexation of the Floridas—potential slave territory and eventual slave state or states—was to be balanced by the acquisition of Canada—potential free territory and eventual free state or states with their representation in Congress and particularly in the United States Senate where each State regardless of size or population is entitled to two Senators. Henry Clay of Kentucky was prob-

ably the most influential advocate and certainly the most articulate and eloquent in promoting this dual expansion. He declared

> *But I must be permitted to conclude by declaring my hope to see, ere long, the new United States—if you will allow me the expression —embracing not only the old thirteen States, but the entire country east of the Mississippi, including East Florida, and some of the tertories to the north of us also.*[33]

When the Twelfth Congress convened just three days before Tippecanoe a group of new, relatively young members principally from the Carolinas, Kentucky and Tennessee gained control of the House of Representatives and elected Clay Speaker. This group soon came to be known as the "War Hawks"; they wanted war against Great Britain and boldly demanded immediate conquest of Canada.[34]

Probably most important factor of all promoting the desire for Canada was the strong conviction that the British had entered into an unholy alliance with the savages and that the British were responsible for all the Indian difficulties in the Northwest, and more particularly the activities of Tecumseh and the Prophet. The belief became strong that the only way to pacify the frontier and to permit unrestrained expansion into the Northwest was to strike a decisive blow at Canada—to paralyze the nerve center of Indian opposition.

The following quotation from the Democratic *Press* as printed in *The War*, a New York weekly, for July 18, 1812 seems to express the general sentiment:

> *"We do not want Canada" say some . . . Granted . . . A man might not want to cudgel that which was uplifted to strike him . . . but would he not therefore endeavor to wrest it from his adversary? Liston, the British minister, once declared, in an official dispatch, that Britain "held Canada as a rod over the United States".*

Expressions of similar sentiments are numerous. An editorial in the same issue of *The War* stated that "evidence of British activities among the Indians is so presumptive, that even the advocates of Britain do not venture longer to deny it" and that possession of Canada was necessary to our peace. The issue of July 4 contained an editorial stating that "a peace that would leave Britain in possession of Canada would be worse than war." *The National Intelligencer,* (Washington) carried an account of Canada in the issue of November 23, 1811, and stated that the account would be continued, the next installment dealing with "water,

soil, and production of Canadas—the population and character of the inhabitants—their military strength, and their importance to the United States." The same paper carried a contribution, in the issue of February 22, 1812, by someone signing himself "Common Sense" reading, "All agree that Canada must be ours; and it is, perhaps, essential to the future security and happiness of the United States that Canada should become a part of them." The *Fredonian,* a newspaper published at Circleville, Ohio, stated in the issue of May 2, 1812, "They (the British) must be for ever driven from all their possessions in America, and their good and faithful allies must be limited to the country beyond the Mississippi, before we can expect to enjoy the blessings of peace."

Finally, it was believed that the conquest of Canada would be easy at that time, as Britain was involved in the Napoleonic wars. Little resistance from the Canadians was anticipated. In fact, it was confidently hoped that many Canadians would flock to the American standard once the invasion were started. The Americans overlooked the fact that a considerable portion of the English-speaking Canadians were Loyalists or their descendants—refugees from the American Revolution with small love for the United States.[36]

Into this explosive sentiment on the frontier and in Congress came the news of Tippecanoe. The whole country was agitated. Committees of public safety were organized along the frontier sentlements, and Congress was petitioned for protection. The British were blamed for the outbreak, and war fever rose to a critical point.[37]

FOOTNOTES

1. There were certain exceptions to this—specified tracts were reserved for various purposes by the Treaty of Greenville and subsequent treaties. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I,* 562, 747, 757.
2. William Gregory and W. B. Guitteau, *History and Geography of Ohio,* 104, 106. In 1812 the Maumee was called "Miami" or "Miami of the Lakes" to distinguish it from the Miamis of the Ohio Valley. The Auglaize was then variously known as "Au Glaize," "Grand Glaize," "Glaize" and "Ottawa."
3. N. O. Winter, *History of Northwest Ohio,* I. 132; Keeler, "The Sandusky River," Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XIII, 193; John Melish, *Travels Through the United States of America in* 1806, 1807, 1809, 1810 & 1811 (Philadelphia, 1818) p. 461.
4. *The War; Being a Faithful Record of the Transactions of the War between the United States . . . and the United Kingdom,* 2 vols. (N. Y., 1813, S. Woodworth and Company), Aug. 22, Dec. 12, 1812, pp. 40, 105; Melish, *op. cit.,* 461; R. B. McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country* (1919 edition), p. 66. Harrison reported that all of western Ohio north of forty degrees was one continuous swamp. Harrison to Eustis, Sec. of War, Nov. 15, 1812 in Logan Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters of William Henry*

Harrison, II, 214; Samuel Williams, *Two Western Campaigns in the War of* 1812-13 (Cincinnati, 1870), 20-21. Henry Adams called the swamp a barrier as effectual as the Andes. Adams, *History of the United States,* VI, 79. Harrison reported the Black Swamp "half-leg deep" in July, 1813. Harrison to Armstrong, Secretary of War, July 23, 1813 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* II, 495.

5. T. H. Palmer, ed., *Historical Register of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1814), II, 4; Williams, *Two Western Campaigns,* 18; H. C. Shetrone, "The Indian in Ohio," Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XXVII, 307-308; Keeler, "The Sandusky River," *loc. cit.,* XII, 198-199.
6. Palmer, *Historical Register,* II, 4; *The War,* Aug. 22, 1812, p. 40; Winter, *History of Northwest Ohio,* I, 99, 187. Considerable confusion has arisen because of the prevalence of the name "Sandusky" in this region. The word itself is of Wyandot origin and is variously translated as "clear water," "at the cold water," "cold water within pools," and "deep water within pools." The Wyandots applied this name to the river and its valley which they inhabited and also to each of their villages. Thus there was a "Sandusky" at the lower rapids, another at the upper rapids, and still another about four miles below the upper rapids. In order to distinguish these places the white travelers and settlers prefixed the terms "Lower," "Upper," and "Old" respectively. At the time of the War of 1812 the settlement at the lower rapids was officially called "Sandusky," while it was known locally as "Lower Sandusky." This was the "Sandusky" of the French, of Pontiac's conspiracy, Bradstreet's expedition, Boone's captivity, Revolutionary activities, Wayne's references, the U. S. fur trading post, etc. The present city of Sandusky was not settled until 1817. It was originally known as "Ogontz's Place," later as "Portland," and still later as "Sandusky City." It did not adopt the name "Sandusky" until two decades after the War of 1812. (See Keeler, "The Sandusky River," Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XIII, 193, 209; Martin, "Origin of Ohio Place Names," loc. cit., XVI, 277.) In order to avoid confusion present place names are used here. B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the War of* 1812 (N. Y. 1869), 49. *Amer. State Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 793; C. E. Slocum, *The Ohio Country,* (N. Y., 1919) 180-181.
7. In 1816 a census of Indians in northwest Ohio placed the number at 2600. Winter, *op. cit.,* I, 189. John Johnston, Indian agent, reported the number at 2000. (Nile's *Register,* Mar. 14, 1813, II, 32.) This is apparently too low, as it does not include several fragments of tribes then residing in northwestern Ohio. Shetrone, "The Indian in Ohio", Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XXVII, 317; Harrison to Armstrong, Secretary of War, Mar. 22, 1814 in Esarey, (ed.) *Messages and Letters,* II, 636, 637.
8. According to Wyandot tradition the Sandusky or "neutral" branch, tired of the long warfare with the Iroquois Confederacy, declared and maintained their neutrality between the Confederacy and the branch of the Wyandots which continued the struggle. Harrison to Armstrong, Secretary of War, Mar. 22, 1814 in Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* II, 636, 653; Winter, *History of Northwest Ohio,* I, 175-176. Tarhe was variously spelled Ta-he, Ta-ke, Tarke, and Tarhe. The nickname "The Crane" was applied to him by the French because of his tall, angular build. Tarhe was originally a minor chieftain and war leader, but he was the only one of thirteen Wyandot chieftains to survive the battle of Fallen Timbers and thus became both war chief and principal chief. Shetrone, "The Indian in Ohio", Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XXVII, 319.
9. Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory* (Cincinnati, 1847), 42, 45-46, 450-452; *Annals of Congress,* 6 Cong., I, 209-210, 527, 537-538, 625, 650-652, 681, 683, etc.
10. *Amer. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* I, 280-288; Burnet, *Notes,* 164, 295, 445-446; John H. Latane, *American Foreign Policy* (Garden City, N. Y., 1927), 56, 95-98.
11. *Amer. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* I, 44, 461-463; Col. McKee to Lt. Gov. Simcoe, July 26, 1794, *MS.* (copy), Hayes Memorial; *Annals, of Congress,* 4 Cong.,

I, 1089; Burnet, *Notes,* 58, 175, 471; Slocum, *The Ohio Country,* 182, 183; Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. *Coll.,* XX, 226, 351; Report of J. G. Simcoe, Lt. Gov. of Upper Canada, Apr. 11, 1794. *MS.* (copy), Hayes Memorial.

12. Burnet, *Notes,* 298, 341, 342, 347-349. See McClintock, "Ohio's Birth Struggle", Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XI, 44-70; Bartlett, "The Struggle for Statehood in Ohio," *loc. cit.,* XXXII, 472-505.
13. Burr's indictment in *Annals of Congress,* 6 Cong., I, Append., 385. Append., pp. 385-778 contain the proceedings of Burr's trial. See Jefferson's message to Congress, Jan. 22, 1807. James D. Richardson, (ed.), *Messages and Papers,* I, 412-414. See also James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times,* II. *Annals,* 10 Cong., II, 1988. Harrison stated that Burr received money from the British minister. See Harrison to Jefferson, July 16, 1808 in Esarey, (ed.) *Messages and Letters,* I, 298. Melish, *Travels,* 350-351; C. Schultz, *Travels On An Inland Voyage . . .* 1807 *and* 1808 (New York, 1810), 165; John Lambert, *Travels Through Canada and the United States . . .* 1806, 1807, 1808 (London, 1813), 405-406.
14. The latest official estimate of the Indian population of the Northwest Territory prior to 1812 was made in 1789. It placed the number of warriors at five thousand. (*Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 13.) That would make the total about twenty to twenty-five thousand. In the Wabash valley the Indians decreased from the estimated total of two thousand in 1789 to six hundred in 1801. (*Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 13; Harrison to Dearborn, Secretary of War, July 15, 1801 in Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* I, 29.) In the more remote sections this decrease was not so rapid, or there was no decrease at all. Hence the estimate of about fifteen thousand is reasonably accurate. See also *Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 687-696; Harrison to Armstrong, Secretary of War, Mar. 22, 1814 in Esarey, *Messages and Letters,* II, 637.
15. Harrison to Dearborn, Secretary of War, July 15, 1801 in *ibid.,* I, 27, 29; Burnet, *Notes,* 390; George Creel, "From Ashdour to Astor", *Elks Magazine,* Feb., 1932, p. 9.
16. Harrison to Dearborn, July 15, 1801, *loc. cit.,* I, 29; Burnet, *Notes,* 324, 390-391.
17. Jefferson to Harrison, Dec. 22, 1808 in Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* I, 322-323. Harrison to Armstrong, Secretary of War, Mar. 22, 1814 in *loc. cit.,* II, 638. See Dorothy B. Goebel, *William Henry Harrison,* 94-104; Adams, *History,* VI, 74. Treaty at Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, with the Kickapoos, Eel Rivers, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias, Delawares, Shawnees, Pottawottamies, and Miamis. (*Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 688.) About 1,152,000 acres were ceded by this one treaty. (Goebel, *William Henry Harrison,* 104.) At Vincennes, Aug. 13, 1803, with the Kaskaskias. (*Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 687.) At Vincennes, Aug. 18, 1804, with the Delawares. (*Ibid.,* 689-690.) At Vincennes, Aug. 27, 1804, with the Piankeshaws. (*Ibid.,* 690.) At St. Louis, Nov. 3, 1804, with the Sacs and Foxes. (*Ibid.,* 694.) At Fort Industry, July 4, 1805, with the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Muncies and Delawares, Shawnees, and Pottawottamies. (*Ibid.,* 695.) At Grouseland, Aug. 21, 1805, with the Delawares, Pottawottamies, Miamis, Eel Rivers and Weas. (*Ibid.,* 696-697.) At Vincennes, December 30, 1805, with the Piankeshaws. (*Ibid.,* 704-705.)
18. Harrison's proclamation, July 20, 1801 in Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* I, 31, 32. Harrison to Dearborn, July 15, 1801, in *ibid.,* I, 25-31; Same to same, Mar. 3, 1803 in *ibid.,* 76-84. Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1805 in Richardson, (ed.) *Messages and Papers,* I, 386-387. Harrison to Jefferson, July 5, 1806 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 195; Harrison's message to the Indiana Terr. Legis., Nov. 3, 1806 in *ibid.,* 199.
19. Shetrone, "The Indian in Ohio", Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XXVII, 429. Tecumseh means "one who passes across intervening space, from one point to another", *i. e.* a meteor. (Shetrone, *op. cit.,* 435.) Elskwatawa

means "open door". *Ibid.,* 430. Hatch explained that a part of Tecumseh and the Prophet's influence came through supernatural powers being ascribed to them because they were two of a set of triplets. He stated that Simon Kenton told him that he (Kenton) had heard this many times from Shawnees whose veracity he could not doubt. (Hatch, *History of the War of* 1812, 88.) McMaster agreed with this statement. (McMaster, History, III, 529.) The third member of the trio is said to have achieved no distinction. Shetrone, on the contrary, stated that the Prophet was younger than Tecumseh. (Shetrone, "The Indian in Ohio", Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XXVII, 430.) Randall stated that after exhaustive research he determined definitely that Tecumseh was born in 1768, that he was older than the Prophet, and that the latter was a twin. (Randall, "Tecumseh, the Shawnee Chief", Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XV, 428, 495-496.) There is, however, some evidence that Tecumseh was born in 1770. See also Randall, *op. cit.,* 431 and Shetrone, *op. cit.,* 382.

20. McAfee, *History of the Late War,* 18. Harrison specifically mentioned the Prophet for the first time early in 1806. Harrison's speech to the Delawares in Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* I, 183-184. Shetrone, *op. cit.,* 437. The Prophet to Harrison, Aug. 1, 1808 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 299-300. Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1913), I, 179. Capt. William Wells to Harrison, Aug. 20, 1807 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 239. A new village, Tippecanoe, was established in the upper Wabash valley. Harrison reported that the inhabitants had stopped drinking whiskey and were tilling the soil. (Harrison to Dearborn, Secretary of War, July 12, 1808 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 295-296.)
21. Harrison to Eustis, Secretary of War, June 14, 1810 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 423. Same to same, Aug. 22, 1810 in *ibid.,* I, 460. Brock to Lord Liverpool, Aug. 29, 1812 in *ibid.,* II, 102. See Hatch, *History of the War of* 1812, 11, 13; McAfee, *History of the Late War,* 21, 23.
22. For this correspondence see Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* I, especially pp. 180-490. Jefferson to Harrison, Dec. 22, 1808 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 322-323. *Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 747, 757, 761, 762-763. Harrison to Eustis, Secretary of War, Nov. 15, 1809 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 393. It is estimated that the treaties of 1803-1805 and 1808-09 reduced the hunting grounds of the Indiana-Illinois Indians to one fifth their former size. See Goebel, *William Henry Harrison,* 93.
23. Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 423. Lt. Col. St. George, unaddressed memorandum, Mar. 9, 1812. Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. *Coll.,* XV, 81.
24. See Harrison's report of the battle, *Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 776-779; Hatch, *History of the War* of 1812, 15; Adams, *History,* VI, 67; McMaster, *History,* III, 529, 535; Goebel, *William Henry Harrison,* 115; Elliott to Brock, Jan. 12, 1812 in Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. *Coll.,* XV, 67; Shetrone, "The Indian in Ohio", Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. *Pub.,* XXVII, 436.
25. McAfee, *History of the Late War,* 21, 23, 24; Hatch, *History of the War of* 1812, 8-11; McMaster, *op. cit.,* III, 530; Harrison to Dearborn, Secretary of War, Feb. 19, 1802 in Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* I, 37-38; Wells to Harrison, Aug. 20, 1807 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 242. William Wells was a scout of ability, an accurate observer, and well versed in Indian matters. He was the son-in-law of Little Turtle and hence was supposed to have had "underground" access to vital information concerning Indian plans. See also Wells to Harrison, Aug. 20, 1807 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 242.
26. Harrison to Dearborn, Secretary of War, Apr. 14, 1808 in Esarey. *op. cit.,* I, 289; Same to same, Oct. 11, 1808 in Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 312. See also Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, 490. For other letters and messages on the same subject, see Esarey, *op. cit.,* I, pp. 243, 290, 344, 349-355, 381, 418, 421, 425, 459, 665, etc.
27. The British denied that they had incited the Indians against the United States. (See *Amer. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* III, 453, 462.) They pointed to their

archives to prove that they actually withheld arms and ammunition from the Northwest Indians and advised them to maintain peace. (E. g., Brock to Prevost, Feb. 25, 1812, Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. *Coll.,* XV, 79.) This was probably due, however, to the British desire to delay hostilities until Tecumseh's confederacy could be perfected. (See Adams, *History,* VI, 85.) A school of historians of the past generation maintained that the British did *not* instigate the Indians—at least not directly. (E. g.: McLaughlin, "The Western Posts and the British Debts", American Historical Association *Report,* 1894, p. 435; E. Cruikshank, "The Employment of the Indians in the War of 1812", A. H. A. *Report,* 1895, p. 322; A. H. Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi", A. H. A. *Report,* 1906, pp. 260-269.) A study of the evidence now available renders this view unsound. But regardless of the truth or falsity, justice or injustice, of the charge that the British stirred the Indians to trouble, the result was the same, for *the frontiersmen believed that the British did so.* See *Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 745-748, especially 746. See report of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, re: British influence on the Indians *Ibid.,* I, 797. See also extracts of letters transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of War in *ibid.,* I, 796-811. *Annals,* 10 Cong., 1 sess., II, 1625, 1915, 1987-1988, 2017; 10 Cong., 2 sess., 582, 584-585; 12 Cong., II, 56. See Niles' *Register,* Sept. 28, 1811, I, 72; Mar. 7, 1812, II, 5-7.

28. Hull to Dearborn, Secretary of War, Nov. 24, 1807 in *Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 746; Harrison to Dearborn, Aug. 29, 1807 in Esarey, (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* I, 244; Annals, 10 Cong., 1 sess., II, 1521, 1522, 1625, 2017; 11 Cong., I, 580; 12 Cong., 1 sess., I, 325-326, 416, 426, 427, 457, 597-598, 603, 640, 657; II, 1185, 1551; J. W. Pratt, *Expansionists of* 1812 (New York, 1925), 29.
29. Washington to Landon Carter, May 30, 1778 in Sparks, (ed.), *The Writings of Washington,* V. 389; Pratt, *Expansionists of* 1812, 11.
30. *Annals,* 10 Cong., 1 sess., II, 1918; 11 Cong., 3 sess., 63; 13 Cong., 1 sess., I, 528.
31. *Annals,* 10 Cong., 1 sess., II, 1625; 2 sess., 584; 11 Cong., I, 580; 12 Cong., 1 sess., I, 457.
32. *The National Intelligencer,* a newspaper published at Washington, D. C., carried an account of the Western Country in the issue of January 12, 1812, and concluded that the then West was not suited to settlement. This is in sharp contrast to the favorable views concerning Canada. For the best treatment of these factors, see L. M. Hacker, "Western Land Hunger and the War of 1812; A Conjecture," Mississippi Valley Historical *Review,* X (1923-24), 365-395, especially pp. 370-372 and 389-392.
33. *Annals,* 11 Cong., 3 sess., 63-64; 12 Cong., 1 sess., I, 426-427; 13 Cong., 1 sess., I, 528-529; *Amer. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* III, 407, 464; See Pratt, *Expansionists of* 1812, 11, 12-13, 124, 125, 140.
34. *Annals,* 12 Cong., 1 sess., I, 416, 426, 427, 457, 533, 597-598, 657, 943, 1060.
35. There is some difference of opinion regarding the relative weight and importance of manifest destiny and removal of the British influence over the Indians as factors in causing the demand for the conquest of Canada. Hacker believes that manifest destiny was foremost, and he minimizes the Indian threat. (Hacker, "Western Land Hunger and the War of 1812", Miss Valley Hist. *Rev.,* X, pp. 365-395.) Pratt, after a detailed examination of manifest destiny, concludes that the Indian factor was more important. (Pratt, *Expansionists of* 1812, 58.) Goebel arrives at a similar conclusion. (Goebel, *William Henry Harrison,* 129). Undoubtedly both factors were important. See *Annals,* 11 Cong., 1 sess., I, 580; 3 sess., 63-64; 12 Cong., 1 sess., I, 426, 457, 500-501, 640, 1551; 12 Cong., 2 sess., 56.
36. *Annals,* 12 Cong., I, 580, 603. See Hull's proclamation, July 12, 1812 in *The War,* Aug. 8, 1812, p. 30.
37. *Amer. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* I, 780-782; Annals, 12 Cong., 1 sess., II, 1185.

The Story of Camp Perry

Based on an interview with Col. Harry Harold Kerr

By Randolph C. Downes

Camp Perry's story really begins with the lessons learned from the Spanish American War of 1898. That conflict was not very skillfully fought by either side. Although the new American Navy conducted itself fairly well, a great many flaws were revealed in the military and naval set up of the United States. One of these flaws was poor gunnery and marksmanship. The long American tradition of accuracy with firearms, resulting from pioneer experience at hunting and Indian fighting, was wearing off. The result was that keenness of the average marksman's eye was being dulled by inaction. In a naval respect this defect received world-wide notoriety in the battle of Santiago when no serious hits were registered on the Spanish cruisers. That the American fleet won the battle was due to the fact that the enemy vessels, being made of wood, caught fire. One of those that escaped the American gunfire had to surrender because its coal supply ran out.

It was natural that naval and military men should feel the sting of this humiliation most keenly, and that they should propose to do something about it. One of these was Brigadier General Ammon B. Critchfield, Adjutant General of Ohio from 1904 to 1908. It became General Critchfield's main objective as Adjutant General and commander of the Ohio National Guard to improve the marksmanship of Ohio's soldiers. In his 1904 report to Governor Myron T. Herrick, Critchfield said, "It is my purpose to encourage, as far as possible, the qualifications in marksmanship which, it seems to me, is the highest attainment of a good soldier." In his 1905 report he pointed out that the figure of merit for the Ohio National Guard team in the National Rifle Association matches for 1904 was thirteen. "This," said the General, "seems almost humiliating." But he hastened to add, "It was better than that of many states."

As an aid to improvement of the situation, there was passed by Congress in 1903 the so-called "Dick Law," named after its author, Senator Charles Dick of Ohio. This law sought to remedy two defects revealed in the Spanish-American War: one was the complete lack of coordination between the militia of the several states; the other was the complete lack of integration and subordination of the militia to the reg-

ular army of the United States. The Dick Law provided that the organization, armament, and discipline of the militia of the several states should be the same as that of the regulars. A system of federal aid was set up to promote this reorganization of the militia. In order to receive this aid state militia were required to participate in recognized practice rifle matches, or to go into camps of instruction for at least five days annually, or to assemble for drill or target practice at least 24 times a year. A system of Federal inspection was established.

As General Critchfield sought to bring the Ohio National Guard into the benefits of this law, he ran against another snag. This was the opposition of the people of Newark, Ohio to the continued use of the state's rifle range on the outskirts of this growing city. In 1905 the land surrounding the range was being marked and laid out by real estate companies into residential lots. The presence of the rifle range, and the hazards to life and limb during the practice seasons, naturally had a depreciating effect on property values. Moreover, the increased use of high-power rifles, and the enlargement of the range required to receive benefits from the Dick Law, did not increase the good feelings of the people of Newark. Consequently, in 1905, notice was served on the state of Ohio that injunctions would be sought to prevent any further use of the range for rifle practice.

This is where Camp Perry came into the picture. General Critchfield knew that the people of Newark were justified in their desire to be rid of rifle practice in their neighborhood. The General, therefore, took it upon himself to find a better location. Being a hunter and lover of rifles and shot guns, he found himself, during the hunting season of 1905, at the Island House in Port Clinton, Ottawa County, Ohio. While hunting ducks in the marshy lowland bordering Lake Erie, he was impressed with its remarkable adaptability for a rifle range. Except for a few farmers, who could easily be persuaded to move away, the land was uninhabited. It was long, low and level, facing out into Lake Erie. It was a natural set up for shooting, especially since all different ranges—the 200 yards, the 600 yards, the 800 yards, and 1000 yards—could use a common firing line. In other words, rifle practice could go on at all ranges at the same time without undue hazards. Moreover, the shooting would all be toward the north which was ideal from the point of view of light.

And so General Critchfield returned from his hunting trip determined to go ahead. He got a board of military officers to inspect the area,

and add its endorsement. He then went to the state legislature, and got it to appropriate $25,000 to buy over 300 acres of land. This was in the spring of 1906.

General Critchfield was jubilant, and set to work at once to buy the land, and "make it a model camp ground and rifle range." He brought Captain George Henry from the Newark camp to be superintendent of the new camp. Critchfield's boundless enthusiasm is reflected in his 1906 report:

> *We feel confident that there is nothing of the kind anywhere which surpasses it. The natural conditions are very favorable, the land is level and we shoot north, giving a good light all day. The lake shore runs in a northwest to southeast direction and our parapets are built in echelon, so that the shooting is done at all ranges from a common firing line, thus reducing to a minimum the element of danger . . . When completed, I believe it will be unsurpassed anywhere in the world.*

It is at this point that "Sandy" Kerr enters the caste as assistant superintendent to Captain Henry. "Sandy" was eventually to become Superintendent in 1919, and to remain at that post until his retirement in 1949. But, in 1906, just before coming to the new camp, he was an overgrown, red-headed farm boy from Shreve, Ohio, with a pretty good curve which he used for a trolley league baseball club in Cleveland. He was scheduled to go south in 1907 for spring training with the Cleveland Indians baseball club. Kerr had joined the National Guard at Shreve in 1900 when he was 15, and was naturally aware of the pending change in the location of the rifle range from Newark to the Ottawa County location. He was also a friend and neighbor of General Critchfield. These circumstances prevailed over his baseball ambitions, and March 15, 1907 saw him riding into the new camp with six head of mules. From that day until September 1, 1949 "Sandy" Kerr was part of Camp Perry, and Camp Perry was part of "Sandy" Kerr.

The year 1907 was a big one in the camp's history. (It was officially named Camp Perry by legislative Act of May 1, 1908 after Oliver Hazard Perry, victorious commander of the American fleet in the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813.) General Critchfield had promised the National Rifle Association that the camp would be ready for the shooting matches of 1907. It was also planned that most of the summer militia encampments as required by the Dick Law, be held at the new location.

There was a lot of work to do and the Critchfield-Henry-Kerr combination was equal to the task. Part of the 200-yard and 600-yard ranges had been completed in 1906. By match time in 1907 the 200, 600, and 800 yard ranges were ready with the necessary parapets and targets. There were 160 targets in all, arranged in echelon. (These were later greatly increased in number.) To round out the equipment there were built a waterworks, a sewage disposal plant, and a quartermaster's warehouse. Another warehouse was made from a converted barn formerly owned by Wint Yeisley, one of the farmers whom the state bought out. At the same time the Clubhouse, or Squaw's Camp, was built by the Ohio State Rifle Association at a cost of $40,000. This was for the use of the families of the participants in the matches, as well as for those of the Guardsmen during the encampments. The $40,000 was raised from the various National Guard companies throughout the state. The result was that most of the state National Guard companies held their camps at the new grounds in July and August of 1907, with the National Rifle Association taking over for the matches in September. The 1000-yard range was not completed until 1910 after an additional purchase of land by the state. There was also a set of revolver ranges. By 1908 the rifle ranges were all equipped with telephones.

One of the most difficult problems in the construction of Camp Perry was that of drainage. The land lay so close to Lake Erie, and the grade was so imperceptible that many said it could not be drained. It was easy to be discouraged by the desolate appearance of the land in its natural condition. Colonel Kerr says that when he arrived in 1907 he was impressed by the unimproved roads, crooked old rail fences, run-down buildings, manure piles larger than some of the old houses, ditches, standing water full of cat-tails and desolate looking muskrat cabins. General Critchfield was well aware of the problem as his 1907 report shows. "The soil," he said, "is of a sticky clay substance so that little rain makes it almost impossible to get about." That was putting it mildly, as every loyal northwestern Ohioan knows. But it had been one of northwest Ohio's proudest achievements to make its swamps into the best farmland in the state. General Critchfield could do no less. He vowed, "We will get the camp so dry that the bullfrogs will have to carry canteens."

It took many years, but the job of draining was done. The range was in good shape by 1925, and the rest of the camp by 1936. Key to the situation was a deep trench leading to the lake at the west border of the camp. This was so constructed as to prevent the overflow of water from

the private lands to the west from getting onto the camp. This, of course, greatly lessened the amount of water to be drained from the camp itself. Just behind the 200-yard parapet on the rifle range a large basin was dredged into which all surface water was made to drain. From here it was pumped into Lake Erie via a tile drain. This arrangement insured a quick run-off of all the waters during the heavy rains—a service of extreme importance during the camp and match seasons. Thus were silenced the croakings of the critics and the bullfrogs.

The work of maintenance and improvement is never ended. To prepare for the camp objective of caring for about 4,000 guardsmen at one time, it was necessary to construct the necessary latrines and showers. This maximum capacity was reached in 1910. The troops, of course, lived in tents, and had no hot water.

The mess hall problem was another that went through a peculiar development. It was General Critchfield's idea that there should be one grand mess hall for the entire camp with cooking apparatus all in one unit. The contract for this building was given in 1909 to the Aiken Construction Company of Chicago for the surprisingly low figure of $16,000. This low figure was the result of a new idea of the Aiken Company. They had a system of jacks which allowed them to pour the concrete for the sides of the building as they lay flat on the ground. After the concrete had set the jacks were used to raise the sides into vertical position. Unfortunately the idea was all right with the exception of the cost estimates. The company went bankrupt, and the State was obliged to take over the building and complete it at a cost of $42,000 even though using the unusual jacks. The State also built another warehouse in the same manner. Eventually the community mess hall had to be abandoned. Too many cooks in one cooking unit spoil the mess. The result was that, in the 1920's 18 mess hall units were built so that each company could handle its own eating problem.

Road building in such a low-lying area was another problem. In the beginning there were just plain dirt roads, almost impassable in wet weather. Sand from the lake shore was used for awhile, but this was little better. Eventually graded stone-based roads, with ditches connected with the drainage system, relieved Camp Perry of some of its mud-bound reputation. This, however, depended on transportation by lake and land that would enable large loads of stone from the Marblehead quarries to be brought in. Thus the building of a railroad spur, by the

New York Central in 1908, was of supreme importance, as was the building of a dock on the lake shore at about the same time.

In more recent times many of the buildings and improvements, that are familiar to the visitors to Camp Perry today, were constructed. The W.P.A. program of the 1930's was essential to this work. In 1936 and 1937 there was constructed at a cost of $70,000 the well-known Commercial Center (popularly known as the Arcade), the Theatre at a cost of $70,000, and the Administrative Building at a cost of $50,000. All these were of brick construction. W.P.A. projects included the erecting of several utility buildings for storehouse, garage and motor repair purposes. Storm sewers were laid out and a 300,000-gallon reservoir for clear water was constructed. It is estimated that between 1935 and 1940 the sum of $800,000 was spent on such projects.

Amicable relations with near-by Port Clinton have always been characteristic of Camp Perry affairs. When the National Rifle Association Clubhouse went into the hands of receivers during World War I a group of Port Clinton businessmen, headed by Frank Holt and John Sorensen, paid off the indebtedness of $18,000 and carried the Clubhouse until the State of Ohio took it over in 1920. In the interim reliance was had on Port Clinton authorities for legal assistance involving protection of the Clubhouse from theft and damage. Port Clinton has always, of course, been an important point for camp supplies. In the days before improved roads to the camp, Dryman and Sorensen, Port Clinton merchants, delivered provisions by a small gasoline motor boat. In the fall of 1908 Camp Perry personnel took their teams and wagons to Port Clinton and helped improve the main road between the two points. Especially close were relations during the W.P.A. days. From 700 to 800 men were employed daily on Camp projects.

During war times Camp Perry took on a much more solemn appearance. During World War I the usual National Guard work was suspended, and the national government converted it into an Officers Training Center with General Critchfield as assistant camp commander. This was transferred to Fort Benning, Georgia after the War. (Sandy Kerr was an officer in Company H, 146th Infantry, 8th Ohio Regiment serving in France through five battles including the Meuse-Argonne engagement). After World War I a fleet of discarded army trucks became the mainstay of Camp Perry's transportation system. The United States Army again took charge during World War II when the camp was used as

a Reception Center for recruits, as an Ordnance Unit Training Center, a home station for a Military Police battalion, and as a Prisoner of War Camp for Italians and German captives.

Camp Perry has served an honorable chapter in the military and civilian history of the state and the nation. It is still known throughout the country for its annual shooting matches. Its magnificent and imposing ranges are a source of admiration as well as a mighty challenge for all true marksmen.

Throughout its history two names stand out clearly and distinctly: General Ammon B. Critchfield and Colonel Harry Harold Kerr. The memory of General Critchfield lingers, not merely in the monument near the Arcade which he, himself, helped to dedicate, not only in the familiar flagstaff secured by him in 1908 from the old Atlantic gunboat and Great Lakes training ship Essex, but in the entire camp itself which is a product of his vision and efforts. And as for Colonel "Sandy" Kerr, there lingers in the minds of every man who has trained, competed or worked at Camp Perry the memory of one who could inspire the admiration and affection of all because he has been and always will remain, in the truest sense of the words, an officer and a gentleman.

The Hayes Memorial Library

Fremont, Ohio

By Watt P. Marchman

The Hayes Memorial Library in Fremont, Ohio, stands impressively at the main entrance to Spiegel Grove, the historic, wooded and beautiful 25-acre estate of Rutherford B. Hayes, nineteenth President of the United States. A stone edifice of classic design fronted by four large columns, the building was constructed of native Ohio sandstone. The front wing was officially dedicated and opened to the public on Memorial Day, 1916; and the rear wing, the "library annex", was dedicated at the celebration held in Fremont on October 4, 1922, in honor of the 100th anniversary of the birth of President Hayes.

The library was founded jointly by Colonel Webb C. Hayes, soldier, manufacturer, philanthropist and second son of President Hayes, representing the Hayes family, and by the State of Ohio. The origin of the founding was in a deed of gift of Spiegel Grove to the State of Ohio for the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Conditions of the gift required that the estate should be maintained as a state park, and that the Society ". . . should secure the erection upon that part of Spiegel Grove . . . conveyed to the State of Ohio for a state park a suitable fireproof building on the site opposite the Jefferson Street entrance for the purpose of preserving and forever keeping in Spiegel Grove all papers, books, and manuscripts left by the said Rutherford B. Hayes; . . . and the construction and decoration of the said building shall be in the nature of a memorial also to the soldiers, sailors, and pioneers of Sandusky County; . . . and said building shall forever remain open to the public under proper rules and regulations . . . "[1]

On historic ground, Spiegel Grove is liberally endowed with romance of the Western frontier. "Its history carries one back to a time long prior to the Revolutionary War," observed Ex-Governor of Ohio James E. Campbell, president of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in an address in 1920. ". . . It is located in the old Indian Reserve or Free Territory, maintained at the lower rapids of the Sandusky river, now Fremont which was a point of interest long before the white man entered Ohio. Israel Putnam was here in 1764, and during the War of the Revolution over 2000 whites, captured by the Indians, passed through

the Sandusky Valley, stopping at the Lower Falls, now Fremont, from whence they were transported by shipping to Detroit or on to Montreal. Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the Moravians, were prisoners here, and also Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton. In 1782 the British sent troops from Detroit as far as Lower Sandusky, en route to repel the Crawford expedition, but they arrived too late, owing to the capture and burning of Crawford on the Sandusky Plains. During the war of 1812, through these very grounds, the old Harrison Trail—a military road which led from Fort Stephenson to Fort Seneca—passed and is preserved intact as its principal driveway . . ."[2] through the estate.

Spiegel Grove received its name from Sardis Birchard, pioneer merchant and banker of Fremont and bachelor uncle of Rutherford B. Hayes, who acquired the property from Jacques Hulburd in 1845. On his way to and from the little town of Fremont where he had his store, Sardis Birchard daily passed by his new property and, impressed by its deep woods, the pools of standing water following a rain which reflected like a mirror (*Spiegel* is the German word for mirror) the grand old trees and tangled vines and undergrowth, he was reminded of the German fairy tales of his childhood, and named his property "Spiegel Grove." The name became a tradition.

In 1859, Sardis Birchard laid the foundation for a residence on his property, intending it as the permanent home of his nephew who was then living in Cincinnati. He completed the house shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War but his nephew was soon to become actively engaged in the War as an officer, then a Member of Congress, and later governor of the state, and would not occupy it until 1873, following his second term as governor. Sardis Birchard died in 1874, a few months after his nephew made his permanent home in Fremont. When Spiegel Grove became a memorial to President and Mrs. Hayes, the residence, privately maintained and supported, remained as the official residence of the descendants of the President.

The six gateways to Spiegel Grove are now memorial gateways, dedicated to Colonel George Croghan, successful defender of Fort Stephenson against the British; to General Ralph P. Buckland, state senator and the first partner and lifelong friend of Hayes; to William Henry Harrison and Grover Cleveland; to General James B. McPherson and Captain Samual Thompson; and to Edgar Thurston, United States Army and George B. Meek, United States Navy, and to all the soldiers and sailors of San-

dusky County who lost their lives in the Spanish-American War and World War I. At each of the memorial entrances are heavy iron gates which formerly guarded entrances to the White House during the Hayes administration, 1877-1881, and which were donated by an Act of Congress to the State of Ohio for the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society in 1928.

The trees, too, in Spiegel Grove—grand old oaks and maples—are intimately associated with personalities of the past. President Hayes in 1877 began the custom of christening trees on his estate in honor of prominent guests who came to visit at Spiegel Grove. There is the General W. T. Sherman elm and oaks named in honor of Generals W. S. Rosecrans, E. P. Scammon, James M. Comly and Phil H. Sheridan. Other trees were christened for William McKinley, James A. Garfield, William Howard Taft and Grover Cleveland; and there are trees bearing the names of Morrison R. Waite, Stanley Matthews, William A. Wheeler, Warren G. Harding, Newton D. Baker, and others. Each "named" tree has a small bronze plaque of identification.

On a quiet, wooded knoll by the side of the driveway which once was the busy Harrison Military Trail, and enclosed by a modest iron fence, is the monument of Vermont granite, quarried from his father's farm at Dummerston, which marks the final resting place of the 19th President and of Mrs. Hayes.

When the visitor enters the library building, he steps into an anteroom, the atrium, around which eight large columns of Ohio sandstone form alcoves or recesses; and off the atrium, through east and west doors, are rooms which contain the private library of President Hayes, consisting of approximately 8,000 volumes arranged in locked mahogany bookcases with glass doors. The President "was a great reader and a man of scholarly tastes and attainments," said Ex-Governor Campbell in 1920. "His library of Americana was not excelled, in his time, by that of any other private individual in the nation. He had the instinct of a collector and preserved all papers and memoranda, both of his public and private life, in an orderly and accessible form."[8] More than 4,000 volumes in the Presidential library pertain to American local and state history, arranged geographically, commencing with the New England states and the Atlantic seaboard, followed by the Southern states, the states of the Central West, the Plains, Rocky Mountains, the Pacific Coast, and a small collection on Canada, Mexico and Central and South America. Oth-

er important sections are devoted to general American history, travel and description, the American Indian, American Revolution, War of 1812, etc.

In the east and west rooms, in addition to the Presidential library, may be seen paintings of President and Mrs. Hayes, a number of Mrs. Hayes' gowns, including her wedding dress; and personal effects of the distinguished couple.

The door to the main exhibit room is directly opposite the main entrance to the building. In this room are displays illustrating the life and contributions of the 19th President, his activities as a participant in the Civil War, his uniforms, etc., and of Mrs. Hayes. There are also exhibits pertaining to the life and times of the library's founder and second son of the President, Colonel Webb C. Hayes, and of his wife, Mrs. Mary Miller Hayes. On the floor below, in the basement display room, is preserved the Presidential carriage, a Studebaker landeau; many Indian relics presented to the chief executive by Indian delegations; weapons of all sorts and descriptions; and interesting and curious items collected from all parts of the world by Colonel and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes during their years of travel.

The entire second floor of the building is set aside for the rapidly expanding reference-research library of American history. Here are collected over 25,000 volumes pertaining principally to the period of American history between the Civil War period and the beginning of the 20th century. The library's printed collections are especially strong in books on the Civil War, Reconstruction, the American Negro and his problems, Southern history, education, Civil War veterans affairs and pensions, economic history, labor problems, civil service reforms, prison reforms, Western travel, Ohio and local history, to mention a few selections.

The manuscripts division is in a separate room on the second floor. Here are the invaluable Hayes Papers, forming the largest and most important of the numerous collections in the library, comprising many hundreds of thousands of individual pieces. In the Hayes Papers are over 75,000 letters received by President Hayes during his lifetime, preserved intact; there are his diaries in 28 volumes; thousands of letters written by him in response to letters received; 130 volumes of his scrapbooks containing newspaper clippings; 17 volumes of abstracts of official letters received during his administration, 1877-1881; manuscript notes of his speeches, appointments, recommendations, etc.

The Papers of Mrs. Hayes, including her correspondence, are also preserved in the manuscripts division; and there are important collections of Sardis Birchard, the President's uncle; papers of his children, including the important collection of Colonel Webb C. Hayes; papers and diaries of his mother and father, Sophia Birchard Hayes and Rutherford Hayes, Jr.; and diaries and letters of his grandparents, Chloe Smith Hayes and Rutherford Hayes, Sr.

The following are manuscript collections, in addition to the Hayes Papers, which may be of interest to the student, researcher or writer and historian:

Journals of the Proceedings of the United States Senate in Executive Session, 1877-1881 (6 volumes, manuscript, bound).
Opinions of the Attorney General of the United States, January 1842-April 1846 (2 volumes, manuscript, bound).
General George Crook Collection, Letters sent, 1871-1890 (2 volumes, manuscript copies, bound).
Several collections of letters, reports, maps, etc. on the Civil War, 1861-1865. Manuscripts, unbound.
Mary Clemmer Ames Correspondence, 1859-1881.
General B. F. Coates Letters, 1860-1885.
Colonel F. W. Swift, of Michigan, 1862-1890.
Henry M. Cist to Walter R. Benjamin, Letters, 1889-1891.
George William Curtis Collection, 1876-1885.
William Henry Smith Collection;
White House Correspondence, 1860-1875.
Emma Foote Glenn Letters, 1877-1881.
Military Order of the Loyal Legion.
and others.

There are also important collections of letters to and from the following prominent men in public affairs: William M. Evarts, James A. Garfield, U. S. Grant, Andrew Johnson, Abraham Lincoln, James Monroe, Stanley Matthews, John Sherman, William T. Sherman, Carl Schurz, William McKinley, and others.

Collections of interest to students of Ohio and local history include:

Jay Cooke and Pitt Cooke Papers, 1838-1875, 1905.
General Ralph P. Buckland Letters;
Charles Foster Letters.
James M. Comly Letters.
A. L. Conger Papers, 1878-1898.

The Stem Papers, including correspondence of James B. McPherson.
Papers of James B. Finley and the Wyandott Mission at Upper Sandusky, 1821-1828, including a diary of Finley's trip to Upper Sandusky, 1810.
G. A. Gessner Collection, 1864-1911.
John B. Rice Papers, 1861-1897.
James W. Wilson Collection, 1835-1886.
Trommer Extract of Malt Company Papers, 1875-1890.
Lucy Elliot Keeler Collection, including diaries, scrapbooks, 1881-1929, and several collections on Sandusky County history.

The manuscript division also contains numerous small collections, of which the following are a selection: Letters of James G. Blaine, H. S. Bundy, John C. Calhoun, William E. Chandler, Salmon P. Chase, Henry Clay, Schuyler Colfax, George Croghan, Henry Dearborn, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Millard Fillmore, Horace Greeley, Duff Green, Alexander Hamilton, Wade Hampton, John Hancock, William Henry Harrison, Patrick Henry, Samuel Houston, Robert G. Ingersoll, Thomas Jefferson, J. Warren Keifer, William Lawrence, Francis Lieber, A. H. McGuffey, George H. Pendleton, W. K. Rogers, Russell Sage, Samuel Shellabarger, Francis E. Spinner, Charles Sumner, Alphonso Taft, Zachary Taylor, George H. Thomas, Edward Tiffin, Nathan Towson, Benjamin F. Wade, H. Walbridge, Josiah W. Ware, George Washington, Daniel Webster, Elisha Whittlesey, and others.

The Hayes Memorial Library is continually increasing its collection of microfilm which now contains files of the Fremont *News-Messenger,* 1944 to date; the Washington *Post,* 1876-1881; the New York *Tribune,* 1875-1877; the Index to the New York *Times;* and other files. Film copies of manuscripts in public or private depositories, dissertations and theses, rare books, etc., which pertain to the library's field of specialty, have been secured for the microfilm collection. A film reader is available for the convenience and use of the researcher.

Other resources of the library include a newspaper section with files of a few important newspapers, preserved by President Hayes, and an excellent file of local newspapers beginning in 1839; and small collections of atlases, maps, and photographs and pictures.

General or special studies and investigations in American history of the post-Civil War era are encouraged by the Rutherford B. Hayes and Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation, a research foundation established in 1921 by

Mr. and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes, I, and endowed by them. Headquarters of the Foundation is at the Library. Studies involving the problems facing Hayes as President, and projects on his life and accomplishments which illustrate or illuminate his place in American history, are, of course of primary interest to the trustees of the Foundation.

Students, investigators, historians and writers are finding at the Hayes Memorial Library a wealth of materials readily available to them for consultation, and the library is steadily becoming a center for research into that period of American history between 1865 and 1900.

FOOTNOTES

1. Third or Trust Deed by Webb C. Hayes, published in C. R. Williams, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes,* V, 281-285.
2. Lucy Elliot Keeler, "Unveiling of the Soldiers' Memorial Tablet on the Hayes Memorial Building at Spiegel Grove," in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical *Quarterly,* vol. 29 (October 1920), pp. 308-309.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 311.

Sherwood Anderson
The Cleveland Year, 1906-1907

By William A. Sutton

In the latter part of 1903, Sherwood Anderson had written into his "Rot and Reason" column[1] under a section titled "Men That Are Wanted" a category including "Men that feel as though they would like to take hold of the rudder and run a business for themselves." When he went to Cleveland on Labor Day, 1906,[2] to become president of The United Factories Co., he was on the road to getting a business of his own.

Anderson was taken into the company as "new life." He was made president but really shared the power with Mr. George A. Bottger, who had been general manager. As an advertising man he was supposed to bring the mail-order concern out of the doldrums.[3] According to Mr. Bottger, Anderson's special provinces were sales and advertising, in which work he had had experience while with the Long-Critchfield agency in Chicago. In fact, the opportunity to join United Factories had come to Anderson as a result of his work on United Factories "campaigns" while with Long-Critchfield.[4]

Mr. Bottger says further that Anderson came to United Factories with a $25,000 2-year dream."[5] "He wanted to come to Cleveland and United Factories. He came at a sacrifice and just after the company had suffered a considerable loss in an unfortunate venture. He had been paid well by Long-Critchfield." To understand fully what Anderson may have had in mind when he went to United Factories, one has to know a little more of the kind of enterprise it was. The key words in its name, "United Factories", really explain it. The idea was to make one company the mail-order outlet for a number of factories, producing all types of merchandise. In a 24-page "Roofing Catalog," which contains a price-list dated October 1, 1906, there are mentioned catalogues for vehicles, buggy tops and repairs, stoves, incubators, agricultural implements, and paints, any of which might be obtained by sending in a card with one's name and address. That means the company was dealing in products of seven types and perhaps from seven different manufacturers. "We wanted to make of our company in fact what it was in name, a united factories company. Anderson and Ed. Cray (who had a considerable

financial interest) traveled over quite a territory talking to manufacturers in the hope of interesting a group of manufacturers in this kind of arrangement." "Anderson had some very big ideas for a factory combine. The scheme failed for lack of a head. Each factory wanted to be boss."[6]

During the year he was with the company, one gathers, Anderson was in charge of selling the goods made by factories already using the company as an outlet and was helping to promote the company's basic scheme. One of his duties was to prepare catalogues of merchandise sold by his company. This he did, if one may take the "Roofing Catalog" mentioned earlier as a fair sample, in such a way as to make himself the symbol and representative of the company in its relation with the customer who read the catalogue. One whole page in the "Roofing Catalog" is reserved for a picture of Anderson, one which had appeared earlier in *Agricultural Advertising,* and a statement entitled "My Word to You" and signed by Anderson as president of the company.

In his pledge or "word" Anderson had struck the note he was to continue to use when he started his own business in Elyria. The approach was to convince the buyer that United Factories was a company that did everything honestly and was designed only to serve the customer:

> *I promise as a decent man trying to be square that every man, rich or poor, small or large, shall have a square deal from my company.*
>
> *Every word of this book was written under my supervision, and for it I am responsible to you.*
>
> *As you and I may never meet fact to face I give you my word now that what is written in this book is true in spirit and in fact.*
>
> *I stand ready to do what is right by you, the buyer, and if you at any time buy anything of the factories whose goods are sold through our catalogues, and if you are not satisfied, you can feel free about taking the matter up with me personally, and I promise you that I will not delegate the matter to a clerk or pile up words to confuse you, but will satisfy you with what you have bought or return every penny of your money no matter what we lose by it.*[7]

In the above statement Anderson said every word of the catalogue was written under his supervision. So it seems reasonable to presume that the statement of the basic selling argument on the first page of the "catalog" was written by Anderson. As such, it seems worth including here.

It has all the simplicity and candor that became characteristic of his advertising:

Just let us reason this matter out for a moment.

The average jobber to live must make from 10 *to* 25 *per cent on the goods he buys from the manufacturer.*

The average traveling man receives a salary of from $25.00 *to* $50.00 *per week and from* $25.00 *to* $50.00 *per week more, for expenses for selling the goods handled by the jobber to the dealer.*

The average local dealer makes from 25 *to* 100 *per cent on everything he passes over his counter.*

It costs us but a very few pennies to put this catalogue into your hands.

For us the catalogue is jobber, traveler and dealer. It works for us and works so cheaply that there is no wonder we can give you a better quality of goods and still save money for you.

Local dealers may talk but the fact remains that the "straight from the factory way" of doing business has come to stay. It is logical, it is right and it is economical.

The United Factories Company, then, is just taking advantage of the situation. We expect to make a living profit on what we sell, but we can do this and give you a bigger dollar's worth than you can get any place else.

The tone of both of the statements quoted was obviously intended to make the customer, usually the farmer, trust the company and look upon it as a beneficial institution doing away with "middle-men" and unnecessary high prices. Naturally, people took Anderson at his word and wrote in when they had complaints. Not the least of his jobs was the handling of the "trouble" correspondence.

Anderson fired more people than the company could ever have hired. He had to answer letters of complaint and was constantly firing the person responsible for the customer's complaint. He was really mild-mannered and never would have fired any one.[8]

Perhaps the greatest amount of "complaint" mail was received as the result of a disastrous experience in the spring of 1907 with an incubator "line", which Anderson himself had introduced to the company. While he had worked for Long-Critchfield, he had handled advertising for an incubator-manufacturer in Illinois. When he became associated with United Factories, he induced the incubator-manufacturer to use his company as an outlet. The crux of the matter was that the particular incu-

bator United Factories marketed was defectively manufactured; though this was not Anderson's fault, he did handle the contract with the manufacturer. Of 3,200 sold 600 were returned. "We lost thousands of dollars and wound up in a law suit. That disturbed his relationship here."[9] Mr. Bottger says this failure, which was really due to bad faith on the part of the manufacturer, was a heavy blow to Anderson. Not only was his dream of success for the business being shattered, but also his mail was unsatisfactory. The correspondence concerning the return of all those incubators must have been both distasteful and interminable. Doubtless a circumstance of this sort may have brought on the condition which led Mr. Schaad to observe, "When I considered the pace he was going and the number of cigarettes he smoked, I didn't think that fellow would last five years. He seemed very nervous."

The preparation of the catalogues and other advertising matter for the company, which appeared chiefly in farm journals, with his correspondence occasioned Anderson's doing a lot of writing. Mr. Bottger has characterized him as a "very brilliant writer." "He could write on any subject. It didn't make any difference whether he had any knowledge of the subject." One presumes that would be a handy achievement for an advertising man. But Mr. Bottger thinks Anderson was inclined then toward being a story-teller, too. Anderson related many of his early experiences to Mr. Bottger but apparently did not mention anything he had written in the Chicago period (1900-1906).

Anderson was made president of United Factories for one year. The assumption is that what occurred during that year was to form a basis for any new arrangement at the end of the year. One can not be sure of all the reasons for Anderson's leaving to go into business for himself late in the summer of 1907[10] but several of them seem apparent. One recalls the debacle of the incubators. That "disturbing" factor was still a fresh memory for Mr. Bottger 35 years later. Then, too, all three informants[11] are in agreement that Anderson's knowledge of office routine was deficient. As Mrs. Puchta put it, "He could lay out the work but was not used to being confined to details of office work." Finally, Anderson was very likely anxious all along to get a business of his own. Apparently he got a chance, just as his year with the Cleveland company was ending, and took it.

Perhaps one should not leave consideration of Anderson's business life in Cleveland before recording the impression he made on the office-sec-

retary.[12] He dictated easily and seemed to know and like his work. A neat dresser, he seemed well-read and well-educated, always used good language, never forgot "to be gallant." A "good-looking, dark, mature" man, he always had a smile no matter how hard the work was. In fact, his pleasantness always made the secretary feel willing to work for him. He had a good, hearty laugh; he laughed when other men smiled. "He'd always kid with you when you came to the desk."

Of Anderson's home life a brief but interesting glimpse may be obtained. Mr. Bottger has implied that Mrs. Anderson knew about, was interested in, and helped with some of the work Anderson had to do. "Sherwood gave her credit at that time at least for helping him with his writing. I believe she edited some of his stuff, for he was not well-educated." Mrs. Anderson also undertook to teach Bottger and Anderson French on Sunday mornings. Mr. Bottger still recalls a couplet he learned in one of the limited number of lessons. "She was interested in improving our education. I didn't have much and he (did) not (have much) in that line." "I thought she was a very capable and well-educated person."

Mr. Bottger recalls that the "home relationship" of the Andersons was "very pleasant" and that they lived in an "old house on Lamont Aveue."[13] The other, later Anderson residence in Cleveland was at 8310 Cedar Ave. A friend[14] has described the two houses in which they lived as "run down" but having a "pleasant atmosphere."[15] Anderson's wife, Cornelia, according to Mr. Maxter, was a casual housekeeper, the intellectual side perhaps dominating the domestic a little. One further item concerning the family life of the Andersons in Cleveland may be added: "They were active here in some church. I was there one Sunday morning, and Sherwood was all dolled up in morning clothes and top hat."[16]

The Cleveland year was a heavy one for Anderson. He was at least titular head of a mail-order business, responsible for a considerable portion of its operation. Doubtless, the experience was very valuable to him when he made preparation to go into his own business at the end of the summer. But his new business was not his only concern as the summer drew to a close. On August 16, 1907, the first child of Sherwood and Cornelia Lane Anderson, Robert Lane Anderson, was born at the Maternity Hospital at 2364 E. 55 St. in Cleveland.[17]

FOOTNOTES

1. *Agriculture Advertising,* December, 1903, X:15.
2. Statement of Mr. George A. Bottger, Cleveland, Ohio, who was secretary-treasurer of the company during Anderson's year as president. Most of the information about the Cleveland period was obtained in an interview with Mr. Bottger.
3. Mrs. Wm. Puchta, Cleveland, Ohio, who was stenographer for the firm during Anderson's stay, in an interview.
4. Mr. Bottger.
5. In Sherwood Anderson's *Memoirs,* Harcourt, Brace, and Co., New York, 1942, p. 206, he mentioned the time "when, with a good deal of beating of drums, I had gone off to Ohio to become a rich man."
6. Mr. Bottger.
7. This statement appears in the United Factories Co. "Roofing Catalog." The catalogue is in the possession of the author.
8. Mr. E. O. Schaad, Cleveland, Ohio, who worked for the company during Anderson's presidency, in an interview.
9. Mr. Bottger, who is still in The United Factories Co.
10. Mr. Bottger.
11. Mrs. Puchta, Mr. Schaad, Mr. Bottger.
12. Mrs. Puchta.
13. 9711 Lamont Ave. was the address Mrs. Cornelia Anderson gave the Alumnae Association of the College for Women at Western Reserve in 1906.
14. Mr. Edwin C. Baxter, Cleveland, Ohio. Interview.
15. It may be noted here that the Cedar Avenue address was, and the Lamont Avenue address still is, on the east side of Cleveland in a middle-class neighborhood.
16. Mr. Bottger.
17. Files of the Department of Health, City of Cleveland.