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Ohio

By Sister M. Immaculate

Melody: *America*

Ohio's history,
A jewel in memory,
We now unfold:
The virgin forests fair,
Shark arrows swift in air,
Quaint mounds all built with care,
Red men untold.

The buckeye state we greet!
We hear stout tramping feet;
The redcoats sank.
With Lincoln's flag her men,
For peace her brawn and pen,
Her wealth for home and kin
Of every rank.

Lake Erie's southern land
Aglow with band and band
Of grapes and grain;
Glass, steel, and pottery
Borne far o'er land and sea;
Ohio, thine the key
To trade and fame.

From thee a president
To our fine government
Seven times till now!
Then, praise, great state, the Lord;
Each festive civic board,
Sing high with one accord
Sweet thanks and bow.

The President's Page

The Ohio Sesquicentennial

Ohio's entry into the Union has been appropriately denominated "the first fruits of the Ordinance of 1787." Thirty-eight years later the renowned Daniel Webster eloquently said:

We are accustomed to praise the law-givers of antiquity—but I doubt whether any single law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787. We see its consequences at this moment and we shall never cease to see them, perhaps, while the Ohio shall flow.

Section 1 of the Ohio Enabling Act of April 30, 1802 provided:

That the inhabitants of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, be, and they are hereby authorized to form for themselves a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they shall deem proper, and the said state, when formed, shall be admitted into the Union, upon the same footing with the original states, in all respects whatsoever.

It may be noted that in express language it was provided that *said state, when formed* (by the adoption of the Constitution) *shall be admitted into the Union,* on the same footing with the original states in all respects.

The Enabling Act also prescribed the boundaries of the new state and the qualifications of electors to choose members of the Convention. The Act also authorized the members of the Convention selected pursuant to the Act to meet at Chillicothe on the first Monday in November and, if the members thereof should deem it expedient, "to form a constitution and state government." The Act further provided that the government should be republican and not repugnant to the Ordinance of 1787, and also that until the next general census the state should be entitled to one representative in the House of Representatives of the United States. Parenthetically, between 1802 and 1810 the population grew to such an extent that the apportionment Act of December 21, 1811, upon the ratio of one representative for every thirty-five thousand persons in each

state, accorded Ohio six members. Under the census of 1802 the population was 45,028. Pursuant to the provisions of Section 4 of the Enabling Act, the members of the Convention were elected on the second Tuesday in October, 1802 and convened at Chillicothe November 1, 1802.

The preamble of the Constitution of 1802 recites:

We, the people of the eastern division of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, having the right of admission into the general government, as a member of the Union, consistent with the Constitution of the United States, the ordinance of Congress of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the law of Congress, entitled "An act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory of the United States, north-west of the river Ohio, to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes"; in order to establish justice, promote the welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish the following constitution or form of government; and do mutually agree with each other to form ourselves into a free and independent state, by the name of the state of Ohio.

The document concludes:

Done in convention, at Chillicothe, the twenty-ninth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, and of the independence of the United States of America, the twenty-seventh.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

The document is thereafter signed by the President, Secretary and thirty-four members of the Convention.

In the meantime General Arthur St. Clair, who had been inaugurated as Territorial Governor on July 17, 1788, and who bitterly opposed statehood, had been summarily removed by President Jefferson on November 22, 1802. Thomas Worthington, a delegate to the Convention from Ross County, took the Constitution to Washington, where he presented it to

the President and the Congress, together with the resolution of the Convention making counter proposals to the propositions submitted in the enabling act.

Pursuant to Section 6 of the Schedule of the Constitution, state and county officials, including members of the General Assembly, were duly elected on January 11, 1803. Edward Tiffin, who had served as President of the Constitutional Convention, was elected Governor without opposition. On March 1, 1803, the General Assembly met and organized at Chillicothe, the votes for Governor were canvassed and Governor Tiffin was formally declared elected.

On February 19, 1803, an act of Congress was approved by the President, to provide for the execution of the laws of the United States within the State of Ohio by the establishment of a United States Court for the district of Ohio. In the preamble of this Act it is recited, in part, that:

> *Whereas, the people of the Eastern division of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, did, on the twenty-ninth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and two, form for themselves a constitution and state government, and did give to the said state the name of the "State of Ohio", in pursuance of an act of Congress (the Enabling Act of April* 30, 1802) *whereby the said state has become one of the United States of America. . . .*

Until March 1, 1803, territorial officers had continued to serve and some of them claimed compensation until April 15th. On February 21, 1806, Congress passed an act authorizing the settlement of the accounts of territorial officers for their services while acting at any time between November 29, 1802 and March 1, 1803. The contention that this act is a recognition by Congress that Ohio was not admitted to the Union until March 1, 1803, is wholly untenable. It merely recognized the ad interim services performed by these territorial officers.

In the last Section of the Enabling Act of April 30, 1802, certain propositions were offered to the convention, "when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, which if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory upon the United States." These propositions related to school lands, the Scioto salt springs reservation, and the application of a portion of the proceeds of the sale of land by Congress for construc-

tion of public roads but subject to the condition that any such lands sold by Congress should be exempt from state or local taxation for a period of five years from date of sale. It may be noted that the formation of the territory as a state upon the adoption of a constitution was not made contingent upon the acceptance or rejection by the convention of these three propositions of the Congress.

On the last day of the Convention, separate and apart from the adoption of the constitution, a resolution was adopted accepting the propositions offered by Congress provided that certain specified additions and modifications be agreed to by the Congress. In other words, the Convention made a counter proposal to Congress for and on behalf of the new State. On March 3, 1803 "An Act in addition to, and in modification of, the propositions contained" in the Enabling Act was passed. In this Act Congress substantially accepted the counter proposal of the Convention. Throughout the Act reference is made to "the state of Ohio." In Section 2

> *it is hereby declared, that the payments thus to be made, as well as the several appropriations for schools made by the preceding section, are in conformity with, and in consideration of the conditions agreed upon by the state of Ohio, by the ordinance of the Convention of the said state, bearing date the twenty-ninth of November last.*

It becomes readily apparent that Congress, without formally passing an act approving the Constitution or admitting Ohio into the Union, recognized Ohio as having become a state upon the adoption of its Constitution on November 29, 1802.

Nevertheless, a controversy arose among historians as to the exact date of statehood. The proponents of March 1, 1803, rely on the failure of the Convention to accept or reject the three propositions of Congress and the final settlement thereof in the Act of March 3, 1803. They also assert that since the General Assembly did not convene and the Governor was not inaugurated until March 1, 1803, and since Congress provided for payment of territorial officers until March 1, 1803, the latter date is the natal date. Finally, they point to a joint resolution of the General Assembly adopted as an incident to the late lamented Centennial Observance of 1902 which recites in the preamble that on November 29, 1802, the first Constitution of Ohio was ratified by the Convention

which framed it; that on February 17, 1803, Congress passed an act admitting Ohio into the Union under that Constitution!!; and that on March 1, 1803, the first general assembly of Ohio assembled and organized and *Ohio thereupon became a state,* etc. As heretofore indicated, the italicized portion of the preamble is based upon a false premise. Nevertheless, the General Assembly in 1949 again recognized 1803 as the natal year in the passage of the Act to create a commission to prepare and execute plans for the commemoration of the Sesquicentennial of the State of Ohio in 1953.

Pursuant to the Enabling Act of 1802 and the adoption and signing of the Constitution by the Convention, Ohio became a member of the Union on November 29, 1802. It did not commence business, however, until March 1, 1803. May the controversy long rage, but it should not deter proud and patriotic citizens of a great state from properly and enthusiastically observing One Hundred and Fifty years of phenomenal progress. So long as the Ohio shall flow, we shall never cease to see the everlasting consequences of the achievement of a great people within a truly great state.

LEHR FESS

The Director's Page

A Local History Textbook—The Society's Sesquicentennial Memorial

At the 35th annual meeting of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio it was decided to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Ohio's statehood by preparing a textbook for the public schools of Lucas County, Ohio. The book is to be entitled An Introduction to the History of the United States. It will be designed for use by teachers and pupils of the eighth grade because that is the grade in which the school curriculum prescribes a year's unit of study of American History.

If the book should be officially adopted by the Toledo public school authorities it would be a lasting memorial to the state of Ohio. This is true because the text would approach American History from its local manifestations in Lucas County as well as in the state. It would thus contribute to a better understanding of the history of our locality, of our state, and of our nation all in one treatment. In so doing the student would thus become more aware of the part played by his own region in the history of the nation. History would then be less remote from him. He would see how national and world events were, in truth, something of which he and those who lived before him were a part.

The work of writing this text will be done with technical assistance from public school teachers and administrators. Conferences have already been held with such advisers. They will continue to be held in an effort to make certain that the purposes of the work are being adequately approached. Matters of historical accuracy, literary expression adequate to eighth grade understanding, illustrations, diagrams, exercises for library and homework—all these require aid from those who deal with the teaching of young people.

The director is proud to be given this assignment. It is an experiment which will require much industry and careful planning. It is our hope that we will produce a book worthy of its high purpose, and worthy also of emulation by other localities.

Randolph C. Downes

Ohio's First Constitution[1]

By Randolph C. Downes

1. *Ohio's Three Constitution-Changing Conventions*

Ohio has had three constitution-changing conventions: that of 1802 held in Chillicothe to organize the new state out of the old Northwest Territory; that of 1850-51 held in Columbus to enable the state to catch up with a half century of non-amendment; and that of 1912 held in Columbus to bring the state's organic law more into line with 20th century conditions.

Although held in strikingly different political and social circumstances, these three great constitutional changes had certain remarkable similarities. Each was the product of a period of great political excitement and represents the liberal or progressive moods of the people of the state. Judging by modern standards, they were liberal documents. Judging by the standards of their own times, they were radical. This is not to say that Ohio's constitutions remained of this political complexion. In between conventions they were moderated by court interpretations and amendments of a conservative nature. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized here that the Constitution of 1802 was a Jeffersonian document and a part of the so-called "political revolution of 1800." The 1851 document was largely colored by so-called Jacksonian Democratic ideas. And the 1912 amendments came at the peak of the Progressive Movement remembered largely by modern folk because of the national leadership of the great "bull-moose" Republican, Theodore Roosevelt.

2. *Jeffersonian Democracy versus Hamiltonian Federalism*

The Constitution of 1802 grew out of a partisan struggle in the Northwest Territory between two political factions or parties. The dominant faction was supported by the aggressive frontier Ohioans who found the policies of the nationally appointed Governor Arthur St. Clair too autocratic. This group is often called the Chillicothe faction because its chief leaders were Thomas Worthington, Edward Tiffin and Nathaniel Massie—all of or near Chillicothe, which was the Territorial capital. The

Chillicotheans were opposed by leaders supporting Governor St. Clair who owed his appointment to the conservative party of the time known as Federalists. Both Territorial factions had their counterparts in Congress where a struggle for supremacy in the national government was going on in the years from 1795 to 1800. The Federalists were strong supporters of the policies of greater national supremacy. These were promoted by Alexander Hamilton who had been President George Washington's Secretary of the Treasury. The Anti Federalists (often called Republicans and Democrats) were led by Jefferson who had been President Washington's Secretary of State, and who favored greater states rights and more democratic voting qualifications and government policies.

It is necessary to describe the political differences between the Hamiltonians or Federalists on the one hand and the Jeffersonians or Democrats on the other. Originally the Hamiltonian leaders had done much necessary good in getting the young American Republic off to a good start. It was they who were largely responsible for the drawing up of the United States Constitution. Fearing the inflationary and anti-business tendencies in state politics in the 1780's, they fashioned a strong national government with razor-sharp powers allotted to the president, the Congress and the federal courts. The states were placated in some measure by guarantees of local self-government. The Hamiltonians also laid down the absolutely indispensable financial foundations of the new United States government by which the latter assumed and funded all state and national debts, set up a tax base for government income, and created a Bank of the United States to formulate sound credit standards for American business. Thus was the new nation made into a businessman's republic with a 100% credit rating. Western Pennsylvanians who revolted against the exercise of federal powers were quelled by a military demonstration. Entanglements in the Anglo-French wars growing out of the French Revolution were avoided by Jay's Treaty of 1794 which assured peace with England and the war trade so essential to commercial recovery and adequate tax revenue. The Anglo-Indian alliance for the defense of Indian rights in the Old Northwest was smashed by Anthony Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794. The new Federal Constitution was given a maximum of utility for national supremacy by Congressional adoption of the doctrine of implied powers, that is, a broad rather than a narrow interpretation of Congress' rights. All of these Federalist achievements have been judged in later times to be quite necessary to healthy political growth.

But success went to the heads of Federalist leaders so that by 1797 their efforts to create national supremacy became excessive. They assumed that opposition to their measures by states-rights advocates and by small-time farmers and workingmen were conspiratorial and inspired by agents of the French Revolution. Hence they got a Federalist Congress in 1797 to pass the Alien and Sedition laws. These made it possible for the President to expel from the country aliens deemed undesirable by him. They also provided for fine and imprisonment of all persons who wrote or spoke against Congress or the President "with intent to defame or bring them into contempt or disrepute." This was greeted by Jeffersonians as an unconstitutional effort to throttle public opinion. The issue was so skillfully exploited by Jefferson and his new political party that they were able to capture both the presidency and Congress in the election of 1800. The vote was very close, and both Jeffersonians and Federalists looked for converts as they prepared for the election of 1804. This is where the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1802 comes in.

3. *Campaign for the Ohio Constitutional Convention of* 1802.

The people of the Northwest Territory were quick to take advantage of this political situation. In 1801 spokesmen for the Territorial Federalists organized in Marietta and Cincinnati for the purpose of petitioning Congress to divide the Territory in such a way as to make their respective cities the capital of two new territories. The Territorial Legislature actually passed such a measure in the form of a petition to Congress, and sent it to the Territorial delegate, Paul Fearing of Marietta. The measure instantly became controversial, with the Congressional Federalists supporting Fearing and the Jeffersonians supporting a new Territorial faction known as the Chillicothe group. Chillicothe, being the capital of the Northwest Territory at the time, would lose this position if the Marietta-Cincinnati petition were granted by Congress. Hence the Chillicotheans organized a campaign designed to show Congress that the Northwest Territory was ready for statehood with boundaries which would keep their city in the central position.

Several factors made possible the success of the manoeuvres of the Chillicothe faction. Their plan fitted in with the boundaries originally proposed in the Ordinance of 1787 which created the Northwest Terri-

tory because the Ohio division of it was rapidly approaching the 60,000 population requirement for statehood provided by that document. The Marietta-Cincinnati scheme would obviously delay statehood if the population requirement were adhered to. Moreover, the Chillicothe leaders —Tiffin, Worthington, Massie and others—were ex-Virginians of Jeffersonian politics. They had the additional advantage of a Jeffersonian majority in Congress. They also had more general support for their plan as contrasted with the Marietta-Cincinnati coalition whose manoeuverings smacked too much of a deal to promote the ambitions of local real estate men and politicians. The reason that this coalition was able to get the Territorial legislature to support its two-territory petition to Congress was that voting in the territorial election of 1800 was confined to county seats. However, the legislature had passed a new law in 1801 districting the counties in such a way that the next local elections would give the back-country people a chance to vote. This gave the Chillicotheans an incentive to appeal to this back-country vote in behalf of the Chillicothe brand of statehood.

The leader who made the most of this situation was Chillicothean Thomas Worthington. He undertook a whirlwind campaign in 1801 to get statehood petitions from the back country for submission to Congress. While he went to Washington to counteract Fearing, statehood agents in the Territory gathered thousands of signatures to petitions for Worthington to present to Congress. So effective was this that it soon appeared that the Territorial Legislature was, in fact, not representative of the public opinion of the people. Especially significant was the revelation that the non-Cincinnati part of Hamilton County was opposed to the Marietta-Cincinnati deal. Thus William Ludlow of Mill Creek wrote Tiffin December 22, 1801, "The majority of Hamilton County at this juncture feel themselves much alarmed at the prospect of having this Territory Divided." He denounced the "present monarchic system" and said the division of the Territory would be similar to "a Rheoboam scourge." The follow-up on Ludlow's report was so effective that two weeks later Massie wrote to Worthington, "You will receive a large packet of petitions by this mail, and chiefly from Hamilton County. From the latest information, that county is more than one-half opposed to the [division] measure, and it appears that the more the subject is examined, the more it is deprecated. I am very sanguine that at the next session [of the Territorial Legislature] the tone of members will be greatly changed in favor of a state government." As for the rest of the Territory, Samuel

Finley, head of the Chillicothe petition committee, reported to Worthington that Fairfield County meetings were for statehood "without a dissenting voice," that the people of Adams County have "but one voice & that is for a State Government." Petitions will be forwarded from all sections by every mail, he promised, until the desired object is attained.[2]

Essential to the success of the Chillicothe statehood campaign was the power of the patronage. How Worthington wielded this county by county is a revelation. James Pritchard of Jefferson County wrote him March 23, 1802, "A small revolution in this county will be necessary especially with the Sheriff Francis Douglass and John Ward the prothonotary but this you may keep to yourself." Pritchard was later speaker of the State Senate. In Belmont County James Caldwell wrote, May 22, 1802, "You mentioned my acting as Collector [of internal revenue] for this and Jefferson Counties. I would do it with pleasure did not the Acts of the Territory incapacitate any person holding an office under the U States from holding one under the Territory . . . if the Busniss can be done in the name of William Cooke a young man who does Busniss for me at this place I shall be glad to serve you." In Marietta the leader of the Chillicothe statehood faction was Return Jonathan Meigs who wrote to Worthington that Mariettans Philip Greene and Daniel Converse, who were carrying the mail from Morgantown, Virginia to Zanesville, wanted to carry it to Chillicothe, as well as to have some "active and responsible person" to join with them in carrying it from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. On June 1, 1802 Meigs wrote that Joseph Tiffin, Chillicothe postmaster, wanted to team with Converse and Greene, but that it would be improper for Tiffin himself to make the contract with the Postmaster General, Gideon Granger. He said that Tiffin could get somebody else to make the contract "yet the business may be so arranged as that Mr. Tiffin may have the direction and Benefits of carrying from Chillicothe to Cincinnati." Thereupon Worthington, on June 12, wrote to Granger proposing that Converse be given the contract clear to Cincinnati. He pointed out that the Federalist editor of the Marietta paper wanted the contract with a view to disseminate Federalist principles throughout the Territory. Since Granger was one of Jefferson's patronage leaders this suggestion no doubt did some good. At least Worthington closed his letter with the statement, "Your kind attention to Mr. Converse will be gratefully ackd."[3] It should be added that Greene had just been appointed postmaster of Marietta as a result of the recommendation of John Cleves Symmes of North Bend in Hamilton County. Symmes de-

scribed the process in a letter to Greene dated January 21, 1802, "In recommending you to the Post-Master-General, as a proper person to fill the office of Post Master at Marietta . . . I succeeded . . . Mr. Granger asked of me whether your politicks were federal or republican. I answered that I could not define your politicks but even supposing that you might have been federal in times past, yet I had such an opinion of your honor and integrity that I would pledge myself to him for the faithful performance of every duty required as postmaster."[4]

As a result of the coordination of Territorial petition gathering, patronage promises, and the activities of Worthington and Symmes in Washington, Congress, by a strictly partisan vote, passed the Ohio Enabling Act which became law on April 30, 1802. Worthington's letterbook shows that he had contacted all the leading Jeffersonians in Washington including the President himself. The act called for an election in October of delegates to a constitutional convention which should meet at Chillicothe in November. As an inducement to help the new state it was provided that Section 16 of every township in the public lands should be reserved for the support of the public schools, that all salt springs were reserved for state sale, and that 5% of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands should be reserved for building public highways. The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Jeffersonians and for the Chillicothe brand of statehood. It was the first vote under the new district election law and the result showed it. The number of votes was at least six times greater than the number cast in the Territorial election of 1800.

4. *The Constitution of* 1802

The long contest was over and statehood was attained. There now remained but the details of making the Constitution of the State. The main features of the Constitution had, of course, been determined by the circumstances of the statehood contest. The central theme of the Constitution and of the debates in convention was the placing of all the agencies of the State subject to the will of the people who had been so long deprived of a real share in political life. As an opponent of the instrument expressed it, "It begins with we the people, and if we may judge from the judiciary Article few Constitutions were ever so bepeopled as it is throughout."[5]

From the first frontier days beyond the Ohio River, there had existed this strongest of frontier desires for self-government. It had been evident in every period of the Territorial era—in every phase of frontier life. Self-government was sought in all political affairs, in township, county and territory. And now every element of this frontier democracy, either accomplished or hoped for, received explicit sanction in the first Constitution of Ohio—which represents, therefore, the first political fruit of Ohio's frontier experience.

The keynote of the Constitution was sounded during the campaign of 1802 by Stephen Wood of Hamilton County when he offered himself to the electorate as a candidate for delegate to the Convention. In answering certain questions proposed to all aspirants to the Convention, Wood said that he would do all in his power to promote the rights of the people, "that every resident male citizen of full age who pays a tax toward the support of the government may vote for its various officers." In addition to obtaining universal suffrage for taxpayers, he pledged himself to work for the popular election of all executive and legislative officers, and for the election, by the two houses of the Legislature in joint session, of the judges of the State Courts. Finally, he argued that all offices should be "limited" and elections should be frequent. Other candidates expresses practically the same sentiments.[6]

Each one of these fundamental demands found its place in the Constitution.[7] The suffrage for the election of all state, county and township officers was given to all white males of twenty-one and over who were taxpayers or who were "compelled to labor on the roads of their respective townships or Counties." The governor, county sheriffs and coroners, justices of the peace, and other township officers were to be elected by the taxpayers. The secretary of state, the judges of the Supreme Court, the judges of the Courts of Common Pleas, the state treasurer and the state auditor should be elected by joint ballot of both houses of the Legislature. All civil officers of the State were subject to impeachment by a majority of the House, and conviction rested with two-thirds of the Senate. Terms were limited and were, as a general rule, short. Representatives to the Legislature and township officers were chosen annually; the governor, senators, sheriffs and coroners were chosen biennially; the secretary of state, treasurer, auditor and justices of the peace were chosen triennially; and judges of the state and county courts were appointed by the Legislature for seven year terms. It should be noted fur-

ther that the governor had no veto power—a natural result of the contest with St. Clair.

Further points which were the natural result of frontier experience should be noted. The strong desire for autonomy in the creation of new counties and for the consequent benefits of increased local self-government was finally satisfied, with the express provision that counties of not less than four hundred square miles might be laid off by the Assembly. The oft expressed antipathy to the poll-tax was laid at rest by prohibiting the Legislature from levying such a tax for county or state purposes. The militia officers, who had long been too closely supervised by the Governor, were now released from such control when the selection of the higher officers was placed in the Legislature, and the selection of the various officers of subordinate rank in election by the grade of officers or men next beneath them.

The reform of the judiciary, to which much attention had been devoted throughout the territorial period, was finally carried out by Article III, which not only placed the state and county judges subject to appointment by the Legislature, but required annual sessions of the Supreme Court in each county, a feature borrowed from the Pennsylvania Constitution. This provision to make the Supreme Court a peripatetic body was the object of much derision by the Federalists. Levin Belt, a Federalist attorney of Chillicothe, wrote to Fearing, "If Justice is not worth coming after it can hardly be worth the having. Nor can I think that system likely to conduce to the prosperity or respectability of Society which makes their honours the Waiters, rather than the Waited upon." This system, said Belt, was taken from the Pennsylvania system, "with these trifling differences, in that State the Judges are well paid, well accomodated and their task made practicable from their number and from having roads from one county to the other, and Taverns and Court-Houses when they get there. In this State . . . [sic]."[8]

Another characteristically frontier feature of the Constitution was the express limitation of the salaries of state officers within a definite maximum, the governor and judges of the Supreme Court being limited to $1,000, and the rest to sums varying from $450 to $800.[9] This was, of course, the *reductio ad absurdum* of the tendency by which the Territorial Legislature had reduced all fees in the interests of the people. The dangerous possibilities of this feature were, of course, noted by the op-

ponents of the Constitution. Belt exclaimed with keen sarcasm, "What a truly desirable object of ambition will be a Judgeship in the State of Ohio."[10] Woodbridge wrote that "on their present Economical plan no office will be Lucrative, nor I think very honble."[11] The orgy of job-hunting which was to follow the adoption of the Constitution was to bear out the implications of the words of Belt and Woodbridge.

It is important to note that a successful effort was made to cope with the fact that the State was to be deprived of the revenues from the taxation of lands bought from the United Sates until five years after the date of sale. On the last day of its session the Convention passed an ordinance promising to exempt all public lands from taxation for five years after their sale, on condition that Congress grant two further concessions: first that the donation to the State, for school purposes, of a section of every township, be extended to the Congressional Military District, the Connecticut Reserve, and all lands to be obtained in the future by cession from the Indians; second, that not less than three of the five per cent of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands reserved for western roads be applied to the laying out of roads *within* the State, under the direction of the State Legislature. A copy of the Constitution, of the Ordinance of Acceptance, and of an Address to the President and to Congress, was placed in the hands of Worthington, who was thereby commissioned as the Convention's official agent to present these documents to the authorities at Washington.[12]

Thus Worthington, whom one of his enemies at this time described as "that Sweet mixture of Milk & honey, sour small beer . . . everything —citizen Tommy all in a foam with the fomentations of a Morbid Ambition,"[13] appeared in Washington to put the finishing touches to an enterprise he had so successfully inaugurated a year before. After interviews with Jefferson, Giles, and others of the Republican politicians,[14] he was able to secure from Congress the acceptance of the State Constitution, the passage of an act dealing with the school lands, and the three per cent fund as the Convention had desired.

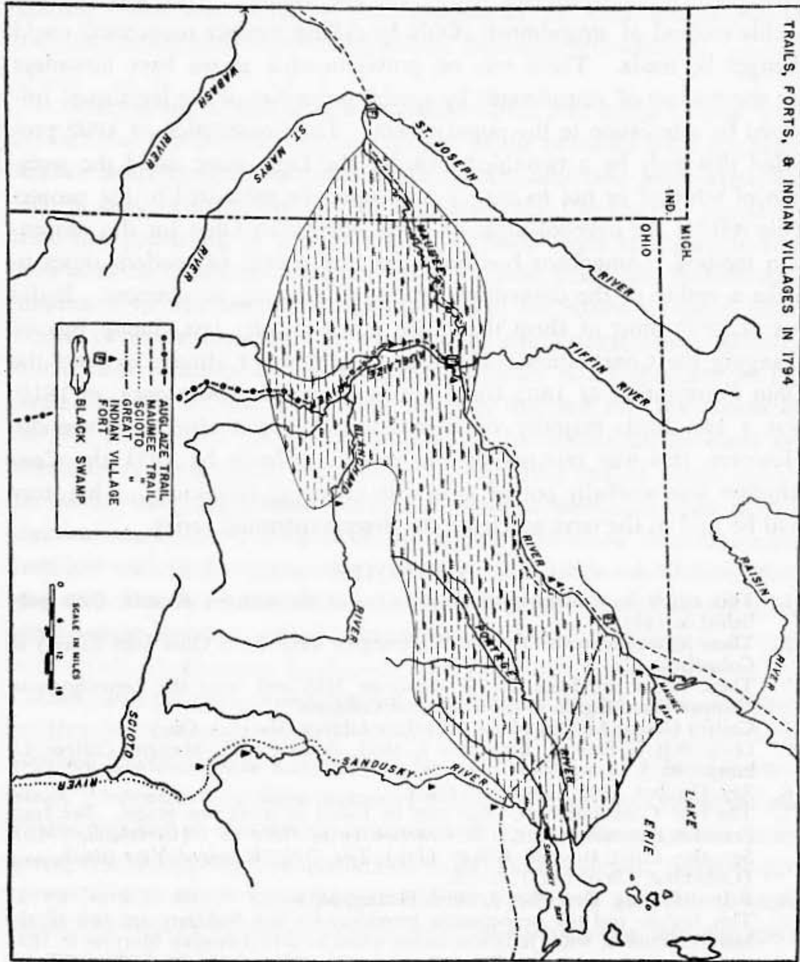
Under these auspices, and backed by a second overwhelming Republican victory in the election of State officers in January, 1803, the State of Ohio came into existence with the meeting of its Legislature in March. After years of struggling for self-government, the desire of the people had been attained. After a period of apparent division, a commonwealth

had abruptly revealed itself with the sudden enfranchisement of the mass of settlers in the upper Ohio Valley.

But there was one feature of the Constitution of 1802 which was to have peculiarly unfortunate results for the future. This was the unwieldy method of amendment. Only by calling another convention could changes be made. There was no provision such as we have nowadays for the passing of amendments by special majorities of the legislature followed by submission to the popular vote. The Constitution of 1802 provided that only by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature could the question of whether or not to have a convention be submitted to the people. This reflects the over-solicitute of states other than Ohio for the convention method. Americans had been the first people of modern times to make a reality of the convention process of creating government. It did not occur to most of them that there was a slightly less clumsy way of changing the Constitution. The result was that for almost 50 years the Ohio Constitution of 1802 could not be amended. Only once, in 1819, was a two-thirds majority of both houses obtained for a convention. However, this was rejected by the people. Hence by 1851 the Constitution was woefully out of gear with changing conditions. This story will be told in the next article of our Sesquicentennial series.

FOOTNOTES

1. This article is a summary of chapters 6-8 of the author's *Frontier Ohio* published in 1935.
2. These letters are in the Thomas Worthington MSS in the Ohio State Library in Columbus.
3. These letters are from the Worthington MSS and from the Letter-book of Thomas Worthington in the Library of Congress.
4. Griffin Greene MSS in Marietta College Library, Marietta, Ohio.
5. Levin Belt to Fearing, December 3, 1802, Fearing MSS, Marietta College Library.
6. *Spy,* October, 1802, Cincinnati, Ohio.
7. The first Constitution of Ohio may be found in numerous places. See Isaac Franklin Patterson (ed.), *The Constitution of Ohio . . .* (Cleveland, 1912). See also Elliot Howard Gilkey (Ed.) *The Ohio Hundred Year Book . . .* (Columbus, Ohio, 1901), 62-76.
8. Belt to Fearing, December 3, 1802, Fearing MSS.
9. This feature and the over-specific provision for the Judiciary are two of the best examples of what Jefferson meant when he told Jeremiah Morrow in 1803 that the Convention "had legislated too much." Julia P. Cutler, *Life of Ephraim Cutler,* 75 (Cincinnati, 1890).
10. Belt to Fearing, December 3, 1802, Fearing MSS.
11. Dudley Woodbridge, Sr. to William Woodbridge, William Woodbridge MSS. (In Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection), no. 49.
12. These documents, together with Worthington's letter transmitting them to Congress, are printed in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous* (Washington, 1834), I, 343-44.
13. John Mathews to Fearing, December 11, 1802, Fearing MSS.
14. Worthington to Massie, December 25, 1802, in D. M. Massie, *Nathaniel Massie* (Cincinnati, 1896), 220-222.



The Black Swamp

The Settlement of The Black Swamp of Northwestern Ohio: Early Days

By Martin R. Kaatz

1. *Introduction*

Northwestern Ohio, particularly that portion once covered by the Black Swamp, stands out in the early annals of the "westward movement" because it was so slow to be settled. Lands farther north, south, and west were settled first. Why was northwestern Ohio avoided? How was it finally settled? How was the landscape transformed so that it became an integral and prosperous section of the vast region now known as the Corn Belt? These are the principal problems and questions with which this study of the historical geography of the Black Swamp of northwestern Ohio is concerned.

In a study such as this, which has as its central theme the process of settlement and the development of a given region, it is necessary to state at the outset the meaning of the term "settlement."[1] Settlement involves migration on to and the occupying of land of unfamiliar qualities, perhaps among a previously established alien people. To understand the settlement process requires an understanding of the qualities of the land and an appreciation of the abilities and objectives of the settlers.

Because settlement necessitates movement, the roads utilized, be they land or water, are significant. "All human activity . . . proceeds along roads and trails, permanent or ephemeral as the case may be, for it is only at some point on a road which unites him with the rest of the group acting in the area that the individual human agent in the cultural transformation becomes significant."[2]

The physical evidence of the settlement process is found in the transformation of the land and the changes in the distribution of population which take place.

In a sense settlement is a continuous process, for the land is continually being transformed and the distribution of population continually

changing in some degree. In a broader sense, however, settlement may be regarded as passing through three general stages: pioneer, elaboration, and climax.[3] There may, of course, be temporary stagnation or even retrogression. No stage of settlement may be spoken of as permanent, for we are unable to tell what the future holds in store.

This study stops at that point in time when the settlement of the Black Swamp entered the climax stage, *ca.* 1890. By the 1890's the Black Swamp was almost fully occupied, and settlement began to be more and more intimately adjusted to the varying qualities of the land. Significant changes "in the character of the soil, the surface, the drainage, or any other feature of the land" were being reflected by a change in the way that the land was being used.[4] Such are the criteria of the climax stage of settlement, a stage in which all of northwestern Ohio still remains.

2. *The Black Swamp*

The Black Swamp is no more, but until it was drained late in the nineteenth century it was a feature to be contended with by all who sought to settle in or travel through northwestern Ohio. Soldiers during the War of 1812, and afterward immigrants to Michigan and northern Indiana were unwilling witnesses to its terrors.

Swamp and marsh land of varying degrees of wetness covered nearly all of northwestern Ohio, which may be defined as that area lying north of the Treaty of Greenville line and west of the old Connecticut Reserve.

The Black Swamp, an irregular strip about thirty miles wide, lying parallel to the east bank of the Maumee River from Lake Erie southwest to New Haven, Indiana, was some 1,500 square miles in extent. It was the largest swamp in northwestern Ohio, and with respect to the westward tide of settlement, lay in the most obstructive position.

Specifically, the Black Swamp is that portion of the lake plain of northwestern Ohio which at the time of settlement was nearly one continuous region of standing water or so wet as to ooze water when walked upon in all seasons except the very driest. Where occasional discontinuous sand ridges and rock outcrops rise above the general level of the

terrain and comprise relatively dry and well drained land, they have been included as part of the Black Swamp because their extent is not great enough to interrupt the over-all continuity of the swamp land. On the other hand, where there are major interruptions in the terrain such as continuous beach ridges or moraines beyond which only a few scattered sloughs and swales are to be found such sloughs and swales have not been included as part of the Black Swamp. In many cases the swamp boundary is, indeed, difficult to determine with great accuracy, and a line has been drawn midway through the zone of doubt. The area of the morass varied seasonally as well as annually with changes in precipitation; consequently various observers have assigned various dimensions to it.

The name, Black Swamp, did not come into general use until the War of 1812 when the strategy of Hull's and Harrison's armies required a large number of soldiers to pass through the morass. Prior to 1812 the Black Swamp had been generally avoided by white and Indian alike. Nevertheless it could not be entirely avoided, for it lay athwart the Great Trail, the principal route from the more populous East to Detroit.

3. *The Retardation of Settlement*

The federal census of 1820 gives the first official enumeration of whites in northwestern Ohio. A correlation of the more or less crude census date of 1820 with other accounts of the period provides a picture of the progress of settlement in northwestern Ohio during the first quarter of a century of American penetration. In 1820 the federal land surveys, begun in northwestern Ohio in 1819, were well on their way towards completion, and the region was divided into counties. Just before the counties were laid out one of the original surveyors advised the governor of Ohio as follows:

> *The lands on all the principal streams west of the Sandusky are generally of first quality for a short distance on either side; but on leaving the streams, a few miles, you fall into very wet lands . . . great care should be taken so as to have some principal stream pass as near the center of each county as possible, as the population for a number of years, will not leave the water courses to any considerable distance.*[5]

Judging from Bourne and Kilbourne's map of Ohio in 1820, it would appear as if the surveyor's advice had been followed in part. His prediction concerning the pattern of settlement was sound, for three or four decades passed before the interfluve regions were occupied to any extent.

Many of the newly created counties in northwestern Ohio remained unorganized for lack of population. The unorganized counties were attached to neighboring counties whose population was sufficient for them to have been organized. Thus, in 1820 six counties, comprising almost the entire Black Swamp and most of northwestern Ohio, were temporarily under the jurisdiction of Wood County.

The 733 whites living in Wood county in 1820 were concentrated along the banks of the Maumee near Swan Creek, the foot of the Maumee Rapids, and at Defiance. In Sandusky County the 852 settlers were concentrated along the Sandusky River, especially at the rapids, and on the lands bordering the Western Reserve. All of northwestern Ohio could not even boast a population of 2,000. Each of the counties bordering the area on the east contained more than three times as many people, and each county directly to the south contained more people than were to be found in all of northwestern Ohio.

American settlement in the twenty-five years following the Treaty of Greenville (1795) was so meager that it had scarcely modified the face of the land. In 1820 the white population had not yet equalled the Indian population of northwestern Ohio. Here and there a log cabin had replaced the wigwam. A saw mill had been built on Swan Creek and there was a grist mill at the Sandusky Rapids, but otherwise all of this part of the state was a vast wilderness. Almost without exception the whites were located on the sites of former Indian villages and had not yet dared to settle within the borders of the Black Swamp itself. Even the circulation pattern remained the same as it had during the Indian occupance of the region. The only new route was Hull's trace, but it was little used. The single sweeping change which had occurred was the removal of the Indian rights to the land except for scattered reservations. In 1820, however, the landscape showed little evidence of this change.

Why had northwestern Ohio been so slow to develop when during the same twenty-five year period the neighboring Western Reserve was rap-

idly being settled? There is no simple answer. The retardation of northwestern Ohio may be chiefly ascribed to the slow removal of the Indians and the War of 1812 more than to the "fearsome" Black Swamp.[6] It is also important to note that northwestern Ohio was the last major portion of the state to be surveyed and offered for sale by the government, and that it was not actively promoted by a land company as was the neighboring Western Reserve. The depression which followed the War of 1812 and culminated in the Panic of 1819 must also be considered in evaluating the speed of settlement, for the depression occurred at a time when northwestern Ohio had just been freed from the dangers of war and Indians. As a result of the Panic the number of acres of public land sold in 1820 was less than a quarter of the total of 1818.[7] However land sales increased in the mid 'twenties as did immigration and then the Black Swamp itself became the only major obstacle to settlement.

4. *The Background of American Settlement in Northwestern Ohio*

The impress on the land left by the Indians, traders, soldiers, and early settlers in the decades preceding 1820 deserves examination, for, although the impress was faint, it together with the ideas people formed concerning the land provides the foundation on which the settlement of the Black Swamp rests.

Prior to the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, all of northern Ohio together with most of Michigan and Indiana was Indian territory. The region had been penetrated by the French and English, but the areas of penetration were for the most part confined to two long established routes between Lake Erie and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The best known of these routes was the Maumee-Wabash Trail along the Maumee and Wabash Rivers. The low and narrow divide between the Great Lakes and Mississippi drainage systems made only a short portage necessary between the headwaters of the two rivers. The other route was the Scioto Trail which followed the Sandusky River, crossed the above-mentioned divide, and continued down the Scioto River to the Ohio. Thus the Black Swamp was bracketed on the east and on the west by important routes of north-south travel. The early French and English trading posts and forts as well as the early Indian villages which lay along the trails were in most cases the forerunners to later permanent American settlements.

There is evidence that the French had a fort at the site of Fort Wayne, Indiana before 1712. English traders built a stronghouse on the north side of Sandusky Bay in 1745, and the French built a fort on the same bay about six years later.[8] The Indians had villages near these sites before the coming of the whites. The Fort Wayne site was important because it controlled the portage, and Sandusky Bay was important because to the north lay a string of islands serving as giant stepping stones across Lake Erie.

The first positive evidence of Indian villages along the Ohio portion of the Maumee dates back to about the middle of the eighteenth century and to the period of Pontiac's uprising.[9] During this time there were villages near the lower rapids of both the Maumee and Sandusky Rivers and near the site of modern Upper Sandusky. There were also villages on the Auglaize and its tributary the Blanchard. The exact location of some of these villages is, indeed, difficult to determine, but it is not so important as their general location. The latter is sufficient to reveal the manner in which the villages fringed the Black Swamp on the east, south, and west. Here is the clue to the initial pattern of permanent white settlement in northwestern Ohio.

The diary of David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary who traveled through northwestern Ohio and southwestern Michigan in 1761-82, provides an early description of the Black Swamp and the lake plain of which it was a part. He writes, after leaving the Sandusky River for Detroit in October, 1781, of the "deep swamps and troublesome marshes," the many miles "where no bit of dry land was to be seen, and the horses at every step [wading] in the marsh up to their knees . . ."[10] The thirty to thirty-five mile trip from the Sandusky to the Maumee had taken Zeisberger two and one-half days. A later entry in his journal describes the flatness of the country; the many miles of plain "on which nothing grows except long grass"; the similarity to "land near the seashore, which is flooded and never becomes dry"; and the woody land ". . . not so much flooded . . . yet wet and swampy."[11] Zeisberger also noted the clayey nature of the soil, "which is one reason why the water remains standing," and the dominant vegetation of "beech-swamp or ash, linden, elm, and other trees such as grow in wet places"; even many oak groves were to be seen.[12] The whole district was used by the Indians only for hunting, and the game was not very plentiful he continues, "on account of the wet."

Zeisberger probably traveled quite close to the lake shore. The southern shore of western Lake Erie is still fringed with marshes.

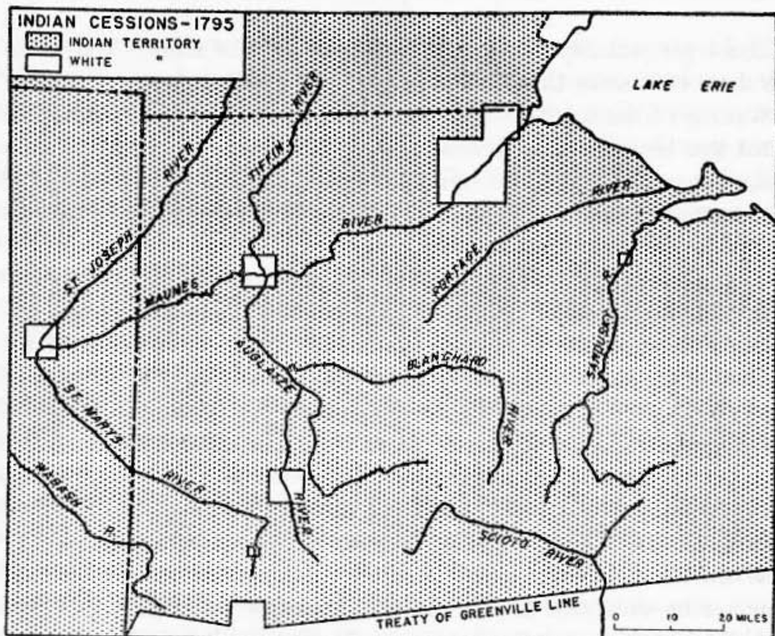
Writing of the south shore of Lake Erie in 1789 an unknown author stated that he found two French families settled near the mouth of Sandusky Bay, which "lake," he says "is an excellent place for settlement."[13] His description of the Lake Erie shore west of Sandusky Bay re-affirms part of Zeisberger's careful account.

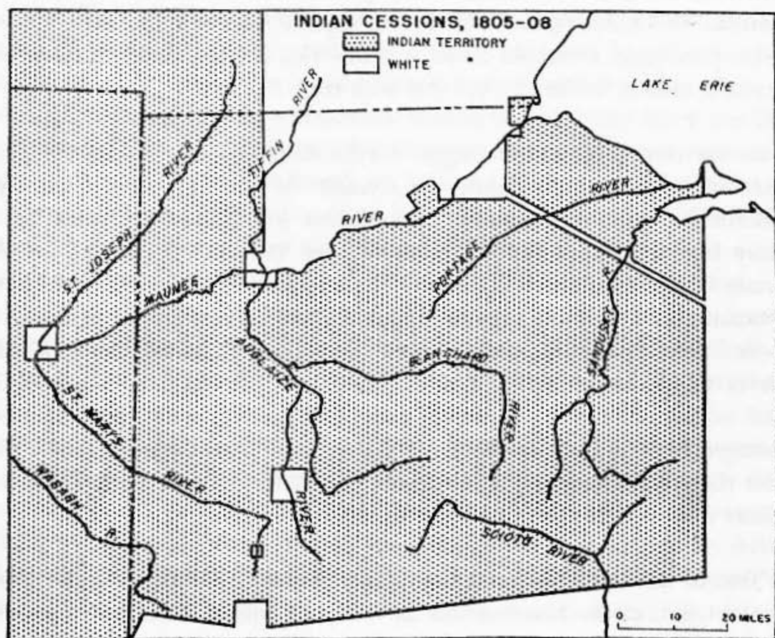
In 1794 the armies of General Wayne marched along the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers on an expedition which culminated in the defeat of the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers and in the Treaty of Greenville. Prior to Wayne's campaign there was a trading post at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee on the present site of Defiance, Ohio. There were several French and English families at the post and some Indian villages nearby. Near the rapids of the Maumee on the east bank of the river there was an English trading post run by Alexander McKee.

When General Wayne first viewed the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee he exclaimed about "the very extensive and highly cultivated fields" which lay along the margins of the rivers and appeared "like one continued village for a number of miles." Never before had he "beheld such immense fields of corn, in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."[14] O. M. Spencer, an Indian captive who saw the same scene a year previously, remarked about "the low rich bottom, about three-quarters of a mile in width . . . covered with corn . . ."[15]

In the course of his campaign, Wayne destroyed the Indian villages and laid waste the corn fields. As a result of Wayne's decisive victory a definite line of separation was established within the Northwest Territory between Indian lands and those open to white settlement. The Treaty of Greenville paved the way for a series of treaties which within a quarter of a century brought about the virtual extinction of Indian claims in northwestern Ohio. These provisions included unobstructed use of the Maumee and some of its tributaries for travel by whites and also established a series of nearly isolated island-like tracts more or less strategically located in the Indian wilderness of northwestern Ohio. At first these tracts offered little inducement to the pioneer settlers whose minds were full of tales of Indian treachery and savagery.

Two of the tracts, however, the twelve mile square centered at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee and the two mile square at the lower rapids


INDIAN CESSIONS-1795
INDIAN TERRITORY
WHITE
LAKE ERIE
ST. JOSEPH RIVER
TIFFIN RIVER
MAUMEE
RIVER
RIVER
PORTAGE
SANDUSKY R.
AUGLAIZE R.
BLANCHARD RIVER
ST. MARYS RIVER
WABASH R.
RIVER
SCIOTO RIVER
TREATY OF GREENVILLE LINE
0 10 20 MILES


INDIAN CESSIONS, 1805-08
INDIAN TERRITORY
WHITE
LAKE ERIE
ST. JOSEPH RIVER
TIFFIN RIVER
MAUMEE
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RIVER
PORTAGE
SANDUSKY R.
AUGLAIZE
BLANCHARD RIVER
ST. MARYS RIVER
WABASH R.
RIVER
SCIOTO RIVER
0 10 20 MILES

of the Sandusky, proved to be more attractive than the others. Both of these regions began to be settled shortly after 1800. The Maumee site was particularly favored because it lay on a main route between Detroit and the settlements of southern Indiana and Ohio.

A regular communication is said to have been maintained between Cincinnati and Detroit as early as 1796 with relays of horses kept at the stations of Maumee, Defiance, St. Marys, and Greenville.[16] This was the route traveled by Judge Jacob Burnet who made yearly trips to Detroit from 1796 to 1802. He went by way of Dayton, Piqua, Fort Loramie, St. Marys, and the Ottawa towns on the Auglaize to Defiance, down the Maumee, and thence overland to Detroit. This line of communication became a postal route in 1801, but, pending the establishment of post offices in the northern section, the mail was carried for about two years by military express.[17] A postal route to Detroit from Pittsburgh had been proposed early in 1801 but was rejected. "The distance is very considerable, the inhabitants at Detroit not very numerous, the route is thro' a Wilderness and only marked by Indian foot paths and without accommodation for the post rider."[18]

Mail service between Detroit and Pittsburgh was begun, however, about 1804 via Cleveland, replacing the Cincinnati-Detroit route which had run in the red during its entire operation. At first it was attempted to send mail to Detroit from Cleveland by water, but this was given up "on account of the storms which made Lake Erie frequently impassable."[19] The route via Cleveland also operated in the red but was maintained because it was the only "communication between the Michigan Territory and the Seat of Government."[20] There were practically no roads, bridges, or ferries much of the way, and the mail carriers were often obliged to swim their horses; "The only habitations the carriers found between Cleveland and Detroit were at Huron, [Fremont], Maumee, and the River Raisin."[21] Nevertheless a three days' schedule was maintained from Cleveland to Detroit with fair regularity.

Between 1805 and 1808 several important Indian treaties were concluded, which opened vast new areas in northwestern Ohio and southeastern Michigan to white settlement. The first treaty ceded the remainder of the Connecticut Western Reserve and the Firelands, lying west of Cuyahoga River. The westward thrust of settlement which followed brought the settlers almost to the brink of the Black Swamp itself. In

1807 the Treaty of Detroit took from the Indians a swath of land some forty miles wide north of the Maumee, extending as far as Defiance and northward into the thumb of Michigan.[22] The Treaty of Brownstown in 1808 was destined to have the most pronounced effect on the Black Swamp lands, for it included the important provision which ceded a tract of land for a road 120 feet wide from the Maumee rapids (Perrysburg) east to the western line of the Connecticut Reserve. All the land within one mile of the road on each side was ceded also for the purpose of establishing settlements along the route.

During the years of treaty making a number of squatters settled near the rapids of the Maumee. In 1810 a collector was appointed for the Port of Miami, the rapids settlement. This early nucleus of settlement in northwestern Ohio is described by Lewis Bond in January, 1809 as "a village of about 100 inhabitants, twenty dwelling houses, and other buildings."[23] The village was situated on the west side of the Maumee at a point where the river was about 300 yards wide and navigable for vessels of twenty or thirty tons. It was made a port of entry in 1805. Bond described the soil as "fertile and pleasant with extensive prairies, particularly on the river back of which the ground rises 20 to 50 feet" to an upland "covered with timber of various kinds."[24] About twenty families lived as farmers below and above the village. Fever and ague were common in the fall. The country was well stocked with game, and "no river in the United States is perhaps better stored with fish of various kinds . . ." Cattle and hogs were raised but no sheep because of the wolves. Although the lands had been surveyed by 1809, they had not yet been offered for sale; otherwise they "would be settled rapidly, and form as handsome a settlement as any part of the country bordering on the lake." By 1812 when Hull's army passed through "there were some sixty-seven white families within or tributary to the . . . settlement on the Maumee."[25]

On the other hand, during the same period, 1795-1812, the settlement at the lower rapids of the Sandusky (Fremont) progressed more slowly. The Reverend Joseph Badger, a pioneer missionary, wrote an account of this region in 1810.[26] He described the Sandusky River as passing through a "tract of excellent country both upland and bottom . . . over a bed of limestone, of the best quality . . . so interrupted with rocks and rapids as to render its navigation impractical until it passes [Fremont]." Below the village of Fremont the river was navigable for vessels of fifteen

or twenty tons burthen.[27] The Wyandots had a "considerable village" on the United States' reserve at Fremont which also was the site of a missionary station. The only white inhabitants were the "missionaries, United States' agent, and a few corrupters of heathen morals [i. e. traders]." A school teacher and one "labouring man with his family" were also living at the mission.

Of the country between the Sandusky and the Maumee, Badger wrote that it was "generally low, interspersed with gentle swells of excellent land well timbered." Streams and some "hideous swamps of two, three and four miles in width" divided these ridges or "swells". There was a "publick road surveyed . . . and cleared out" with bridges over the small streams and ferries on the larger ones between the Cuyahoga River and the western boundary of the Connecticut Reserve. From thence through to the Maumee "there is only an Indian path, through considerable swampy ground."

5. *War and Its Impact On the Occupance*

The Port of Miami and Lower Sandusky (Fremont) were the only white settlements in northwestern Ohio at the outbreak of the War of 1812. There were no roads, only Indian trails. The total number of whites in this vast area probably did not exceed 400 compared to an Indian population estimated at 3,000. When news of the fall of Detroit reached the Maumee settlers there was widespread panic. They abandoned their homes and farms and fled east, some stopping at Lower Sandusky and others continuing further. They left none too soon, for the Indian allies of the British soon descended on the Maumee settlements and set the torch to everything.

The War of 1812 focused the nation's attention on a region hitherto but little known. For the first time large numbers of Americans were to see for themselves just what the wilderness of northwestern Ohio was like. Campaign strategy called for the control of Lake Erie and the recapture of Detroit, which, in turn, meant that troops had to be deployed in northwestern Ohio and supply lines maintained. Those who knew that the soldiers had to pass through a wilderness before they could reach Detroit did not know that the wilderness was mostly a "frightful swamp" which defied the passage of packhorse and wagon alike. Water trans-

portation also was difficult. The streams were crooked, often too shallow for loaded boats, and sudden cold would freeze them.

The soldiers, like others before and since, wrote letters home recounting their experiences and complaints in especially descriptive terms. One of these terms was that used to describe the vast morass lying between Sandusky and Maumee Rivers—the Black Swamp. An entry to the journal of Robert Lucas dated June 19, 1812 contains probably the first recorded reference to the Black Swamp by that name:[28]

> *Started from the foot of the Rapids* [*Maumee*] *to meet the army proceeded through the wilderness towards Urbana — traveled— ab*[*o*]*ut* 25 *miles, a very rainy day and then encamped in what is Called the Black Swamp, had a Disagreeable night of wet and Musketoes.*[29]

The first road through the swamp was the trace cut by General Hull's army when they marched to Detroit from Urbana, Ohio. The trace was the width of a wagon track and pushed through some of the worst morasses in northwestern Ohio. Hull's route coincides for the most part with the modern United States Highway 68, passing through or near the towns of Kenton, Findlay, and Bowling Green. North of Bowling Green, Hull's trace veered to the west crossing the Maumee at a point nearly midway between the modern towns of Waterville and Maumee; the modern highway continues north from Bowling Green to Perrysburg.

Once established, Hull's trace was used sporadically throughout the war, but its use always involved hardships as did the use of the other war routes in northwestern Ohio. The stories of travel along Hull's trace abound with such phrases as a "a thick and almost trackless forest"; "in many places a perfect swamp"; "man and horse had to travel mid leg deep in mud"; and "the mud was ankle deep in our tents."[30] General Harrison said, ". . . two trips from M'Arthurs blockhouse [near Kenton], our nearest deposit to the Rapids, will completely destroy a brigade of packhorses."[31]

Of conditions between the Sandusky and Maumee rapids, the general complained: "A swamp of 30 miles intervenes to which there is nothing to be compared even in this generally swampy country. It is at this moment nearly half leg deep in mud and water."[32]

A great amount of material has come from eye witnesses of the War of 1812 in northwestern Ohio. Such material not only illustrates the nature of the country, but also demonstrates how unfavorably it was reported by the soldier. These unfavorable reports certainly had an influence on the post war would-be settlers. The Black Swamp was to be avoided at any cost. The letters of William Woodbridge written to his wife as he traveled toward Detroit from Marietta tell of his fears as he anticipated having to cross the Black Swamp.[33] Upon arriving at Fort Meigs in January, 1815 he wrote: "My great terrour, the Black Swamp, is passed . . . No part of this road seems so very bad as has been represented . . ."[34]

By contrast, the valleys of the Maumee and Sandusky had received very favorable reports. Lewis Cass exclaimed about the Maumee whose fertile banks were "clothed with deep verdure" and "rich bottoms denuded of timber, as though inviting the labor and enterprise of the settler."[35] Similarly, Elisha Whittlesey wrote to his wife from Lower Sandusky: "The place where we are stationed is beautiful. I have been up the River 13 miles, and for that distance better land than I ever saw elsewhere."[36]

The several forts or blockhouses erected during the war were in nearly every instance chosen at a later date as sites for villages. Many of the forts were built on the sites of buildings erected during earlier wars or by traders as fur posts.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Milton George, "The Settlement of the Connecticut Western Reserve" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation Dept. of Geography, University of Michigan, 1950), ii; and P. E. James, "The Terminology of Regional Description," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* XXIV (1934), 78-92.
2. S. D. Dodge, "Bureau of the Princeton Community," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,"* XXII (1932), 169.
3. P. E. James, *An Outline of Geography* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1935), 126-27.
4. *Ibid.,* 127.
5. J. Kilbourne, *Public Documents Concerning the Ohio Canals . . . to the Close of the Legislature of* 1831-32 (Columbus: J. N. Whiting, 1832), 12.
6. J. Badger, *A Memoir of Reverend Joseph Badger, Containing an Autobiography* (Hudson, Ohio: Sawyer, Ingersoll and Co., 1851), 126.
7. T. Greer, "Economic and Social Effects of the Depression of 1819 in the old Northwest." *Indiana Magazine of History,* XLIV (1948), 232.
8. H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947), 32.
9. *Ibid.,* 16-17.

10. E. Bliss, *Diary of David Zeisberger, A Moravian Missionary Among the Indians of Ohio,* trans. E. Bliss (Cincinnati: R. Clarke and Co., 1885), I, 30.
11. *Ibid.,* 45.
12. *Ibid.*
13. "Journal of a Survey of the South Shore of Lake Erie Made in 1789," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society,* VII (1904), 375.
14. U. S. Congress, *American State Papers,* Class II, *Indian Affairs,* Vol. I (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 490.
15. O. M. Spencer, *The Indian Capacity of O. M. Spencer,* ed. M. M. Quaife (Lakeside Classics; Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons Co., 1917), 85.
16. C. S. Van Tassel, *Story of the Maumee Valley, Toledo and the Sandusky Region* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1929), I, 442.
17. *Ibid.,* 829.
18. C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio,* 1787-1803, Vols. II and III of *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), III, 122.
19. W. Rich, *The History of the United States Post Office to the Year* 1829 ("Harvard Economic Studies," XXVII; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1924), 77.
20. C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territory of Michigan,* 1805-1820, Vol. X of *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), 269.
21. B. Bond, *The Civilization of the Old Northwest* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934), 381.
22. C. Royce, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," *Eighteenth Annual Report, U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part II, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), 676-77.
23. F. Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western County . . .* (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear, and Eichbaum, 1810), 477-79.
24. The river "prairies" were in reality floodplain meadows.
25. Van Tassel, *op. cit.,* 830.
26. Cuming, *op. cit.,* 437-41.
27. Known at first as Lower Sandusky and Croghansville.
28. Joseph Badger referred to the Black Swamp as the "Maumee Swamp" and "Big Swamp" in 1805 and 1807, respectively.
29. J. Parish, "The Robert Lucas Journal," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* IV (1906), 362.
30. See Samuel Brown, *Views of the Campaigns of the Northwestern Army . . .* (Trop, New York: F. Adancourt, 1814), 6; M. Quaife (ed.), *The Capitulation by an Ohio Volunteer* (Lakeside Cassics; Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons Co., 1940), 209.
31. R. McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country . . .* (Lexington, Kentucky: Worsley and Smith, 1816), 187.
32. L. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison,* Vol. II ("Indiana Historial Collections," IX; Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1922), 495.
33. Quaife (ed.), "From Marietta to Detroit in 1815," *Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, Quarterly Bulletin,* XIV (1942), 149-50.
34. The road had frozen over.
35. W. L. Smith, *The Life and Times of Lewis Cass* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856), 36.
36. E. J. Benton, "Northern Ohio During the War of 1812," *Western Reserve Historical Society Tract* No. 92 (1913), 93-94.

Spencer A. Canary—First Citizen of The Maumee Valley

By Ralph W. Peters

Remarks at Meeting of Anthony Wayne Parkway Board
in Bowling Green, August 7, 1952

The topic assigned me was taken from the last sentence of an editorial in the Defiance *Crescent-News* on April 20, 1951. Under the heading "Maumee Valley Loses A Valued Leader," that editorial said: "Spencer Canary will be missed not only by his fellow townsmen, but by a host of others who regarded him as a first citizen of the Maumee valley." He was one of that group of first citizens whom many of us counted as friends and as leaders. Their faces are no longer here, but their influence is still strong among us.

I am thinking of such men as W. A. Ritter of Napoleon, W. W. Farnsworth of Waterville, George E. Hardy and Dr. Reuben H. Hilty of Toledo, Davis B. Johnson of Wauseon, George J. Munger of Perrysburg and Robert B. Hanna of Ft. Wayne. They had a common aim and a single purpose: To preserve the notable scenic and historic values of the Maumee valley. Among them Spencer Canary was one of the most influential and energetic. All of them exemplify the type of citizen who knows his own community and his neighbor, who realizes the interdependence of all the people of an area and is willing not only to join hands, but to push forward toward the accomplishment of common objectives.

At a time like this, one may be indulged a little reminiscence. I cannot refrain from recalling my first contact with Spencer Canary, which took place in the old Union building on the Ohio State University campus in 1921. Only a few months after my assumption of an editorial role with the Defiance paper, I was assigned to discuss a newspaper topic at the annual meeting of the Ohio Newspaper Association. At the conclusion of this session, the first person to reach me with a friendly hand and a word of praise for my feeble effort was Spencer Canary. At that time I learned that he once had been on the verge of embarking on a news-

paper career in Defiance; that he had worked in our area and had followed the canal as the helper of an itinerant photographer; that he was a student of Maumee valley history and an advocate of greater recognition for the heroic deeds of the Indian wars and their influence upon the whole course of American history.

My contact with him was largely that of a colleague in the same professional field until the year 1927, when our newspaper gave editorial support to the successful fight he led to preserve to the public the old Maumee river trail between Vollmer's park and Haskins road.

Then in 1929, when we both became charter members of the Maumee River Scenic and Historic Highway Association under leadership of W. A. Ritter, there began for Spencer Canary and me a close association in a common purpose to use our newspapers in the promotion of that association's objectives in the Maumee valley.

This brief recital will not permit enumeration of all the causes he supported, all the projects in which he participated or the many victories he helped win for the people of the Maumee valley. Out of all this, however, emerge in my mind five characteristics that give some measure of the man.

First he was studious. He always knew the facts. When he argued the importance of General Anthony Wayne's campaign in western Ohio, he was able to support his position through his own intimate knowledge of the background and its implications. His letters about rather routine matters often reveal the results of his thorough investigations in the historical field. For instance, in a letter to me dated May 16, 1943, on the familiar stationery of the Bowling Green *Sentinel-Tribune,* he discussed efforts to secure favorable action by the Legislature on an Anthony Wayne Memorial bill. Then he had this to say:

I gave a talk before Kiwanis on Wayne's victory last Thursday. In studying about it, I was impressed more than ever before by what failure might have meant. His would have been the third. The colonies were sick of war, wanted only protection. They were divided greatly. The Constitution had been signed by three states only unanimously—Delaware, New Jersey and Georgia—the others had much opposition.

The Constitution was only five years old when Wayne made his campaign or rather started it and Washington had been president only three years. Looks as though the British and Indians would have had a good chance to make Ohio a buffer state. That would have meant the U. S. would have about 440,000 *square miles instead of* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *millions and they probably would have divided half and half on the slavery question—giving each about the size of France—and surrounded by enemies, like the states of Europe.*

A second outstanding trait of Spencer's was his remarkable energy. I do not need to argue that point for his home folks. Others in the valley observed this characteristic as he served in various enterprises such as the Fort Meigs Memorial Commission, Northwestern Ohio Historical Society, the Wood County Park Board, the Maumee River Scenic and Historic Highway Association, of which he was for several years the president, and, as an appointed lay member of the joint legislative committee to recommend a state memorial to Anthony Wayne. This was the group whose work led to enactment of the Anthony Wayne Parkway bill. Even after physical disability forced curtailment of his former strenuous activity, he responded without hesitation to many calls for help in projects of area wide interest.

In the third place, he was resourceful. He knew how to get things done. In reviewing my extensive file of correspondence with Spencer Canary, I was impressed by the manner in which he explored every avenue and contact in order to gain desired action, especially in the field of legislation and government. Some letters listed ten or a dozen different contacts he had made by mail or telephone in an effort to get a concentration of effort bearing on a single vital point. And frequently, upon seeking his help, one would get back a command for action in some other direction. As an illustration, listen to these excerpts from another letter:

I am getting worried about the Wayne Memorial bill. No committee hearing has been held on it . . . If you have not already done so, let me suggest that you should do some telephoning to Columbus to see what is going on. Talk with Hawley and others, possibly with the Governor—Senator Gray, possibly.

What is likely to happen if delay be permitted, is that the bill, if it passes the House, may get to the Senate too late to secure action—

so our efforts would be wasted. Now is the time to strike—strike hard . . . If you will telephone, I will pay half of it . . . You and I could afford to invest $20 *to* $30 *in telephoning, if we can stir up action—no use of our previous meetings and the Governor's agreement, if the bill is allowed to lie idle. Please take time to inform me of progress . . . by letter or telephone.*

I well recall stopping at the Canary home and during conversation incidentally mentioning certain obstacles in personal matters. To my surprise Spencer almost immediately was on the telephone, making contacts that were available to him and which resulted in solving my difficulty. He seemed to have the knack of quickly analyzing any situation and immediately determining a course of action to accomplish an objective.

Fourth, he was extremely loyal. Once committed to a friend or to a cause, he never wavered. There are many who recall his refusal to accept reappointment to the Fort Meigs Memorial Commission because he wanted George Munger restored to that board instead. They were of opposite politics and Spencer was a loyal party man. But he recognized a stronger allegiance. He would countenance no effort to gain political advantage at the expense of the public interest.

Finally, he was progressive. He looked ahead. Although a keen student of history, he never could be accused of living in the past. He spread knowledge of our forefathers' hardships and sacrifices, but that was for the purpose of helping youth appreciate the American heritage of freedom and opportunity. He insisted that the important materials of American pioneer history that are found so abundantly in the Maumee valley be employed by the school and the press and every avenue of communication to teach the basic lessons of Americanism and democracy. That is why the Anthony Wayne Parkway will be the fruition of one of his most cherished dreams.

Midwestern: Oberlin Students, Sinners and Adolescents in the 1870's and 1880's

By Alfred Vance Churchill

1. *Students*

As for our student personnel, the "glorious fellows" of 1835 found worthy successors. It is hardly necessary to add that black and ring-streaked sheep came also into the fold, in sufficient numbers—at least—to fill vacancies. After the Civil War the student body presented a greater variety of type than ever before. Brought together from all points of the compass, there were sons and daughters of professional men with the tradition of college behind them, and there were ignoramuses whose parents could hardly read and write. Eager and enthusiastic in the pursuit of learning and with no discernable background but that of the frontier, some of these were gifted with talents of no mean order. Also they revealed curious and interesting traits, and at times made awkward mistakes.

The students were producing a play — yes — at Oberlin, even as long ago as that. It was Kotzebue's "Pizarro or The Spaniards in Peru," and Dennis McCarthy was in it. A strapping big Irishman—Dennis—and an inspiration to the costumer. Equipped with a magnificient uniform, an enormous busby, musket and bayonet, he looked like a grenadier of Frederick the Great. He scared the other players and was almost scared himself when he saw himself in the glass—painted face and all—rigged out like that; for never before had he seen a play and hardly knew there was such a thing.

Behold then, Dennis, standing before a prison where he has been set to guard an important prisoner. At the climax of the play an attempt is made to bribe the guard and rescue the prisoner. With awful indignation the loyal sentinel rejects the proposal. At this point—unfortunately—the stage-manager had written on the margin of the text,—"Repulses him with his musket." That sentence fired Dennis' imagination to frenzy.

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At the rehearsals he had done his part perfectly, but at the final performance—"Away!" he roared, "away! Woulds't thou bribe me?—me! an old Castillian!—me—a soldier of Pizarro? Back—Villain—back!—punchin' on him back with his gun!" (*Alarming demonstrations by Dennis McCarthy. Laughter and loud applause from the audience.*)

This tale was vouched for by my father and others who saw the Irishman transform Kotzebue's magniloquent tragedy into farce, at the same time "stealing the play." The story is characteristic. The only thing that is hard to believe is that such a play could have been produced, as early as that, in Oberlin. It must have had Finney's approval as President? Certainly no play was produced in my time—in the eighties. The nearest thing to it was when George Meade (later Professor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago) and a few others, read—in costume—the trial scene from Pickwick.

There were rude sticks and shining examples of zealous ignorance in the Eastern as well as the Western colleges of the time. "Prin" White used to tell us of something that happened in a recitation room when he was a student at Amherst. An Irish boy translating Vergil with enthusiasm came to the famous line,—"I was amazed, my hair stood on end and my voice stuck in my throat" (*obstupui, steteruntque* etc.)—a line the poet must have loved, for he used it as a kind of refrain whenever his hero got into trouble. The voice of the translator trembled as he rose to the splendid climax—"Oi wuz doomfounded intoirly—me hairs rose on ther pints—me voice stook in me jaws—an' divil a worrd cud I spake!"

2. *Sinners and Innocents*

Along with the new leaders, worthy citizens and interesting student body of the second generation, there came—like a muddy tributary flowing side-by-side with a pure stream—an influx of undesirable families whose like could not have been found in the early community. There was a noticeable deterioration among the youth also. But little difference could now be discerned between the morals of the young people of our village and those of neighboring towns. I knew quite a number of boys who were already on their way to a career of crime; and there were men

who did not scruple to supply hard liquor—to mere infants—provided only that they did not get caught . . . Besides these, many individuals—some "pious" and some not—led lives which were not noticeably influenced by the Golden Rule. Here are four or five instances to which I was a witness.

A pair of lovers were engaged to be married. They were old enough to know their own minds, and it would have been a good match. But the lady's father was a widower and he wanted his daughter for himself—for her affection and companionship—and besides that she made him a good house-keeper. He succeeded in preventing the marriage. The daughter, brought up to "honor her father and her mother," sacrificed her love.

One of my brothers bestowed his affection on a beautiful girl who happened to be an orphan. Her love answered his. The girl's uncle, seconded by his wife, talked to her continually of the bestiality of the marriage relation and the dangers of child-birth, said she was "made for something better and purer," and told her she must never marry. This precious pair had good material to work on, for the young women—though in blooming health—was a sensitive creature who had already been prejudiced against marriage. All the same they lost their trouble—not to mention her regard—for she turned against them and was mated with the man of her choice.

Such things as this would not be widely known. But there were other incidents far removed from the air of "saintliness" of which we had formerly been accused and which could not be concealed. I remember vividly the first child born out of wedlock I ever saw, or had ever heard of outside of fiction. The young mother—she was only thirteen—was the daughter of one of the finest men in the town—a wonderful person and a devout Christian. The girl remained with her father and mother and reared her child in her parent's home.

Two or three specimens of Perfectionism have already been presented. In my time the movement had grown stale, but I saw enough to give me the impression that Sanctification was a bad thing for weak heads. The Perfectionists used to hold prayer-meetings at their homes during the week and on Sunday evenings after church, so that they could in-

dulge themselves to the full in what was really their only diversion. Some of them would confess, with a humility that Uriah Heep might have envied, that they had been the vilest of sinners—most fearfully wicked to hear them tell it. They were very proud of their shame and humility. What is it Marcus Aurelius says? "The pride which is proud of its want of pride is the most intolerable of all." Well—of course they had never read this, and anyway it is the remark of a "heathen."

I seem to hear again the whine of a throaty voice mingled with tears and blowings of the nose: —"Beloved Brethren and Sisters I feel to say with the Apostle—that I was the chief of sinners walking in darkness and the pit of iniquity. But thanks be to God! He that is mighty to save hath brought me up out of the horrible pit and the miry clay—and hath set my feet upon the Rock of Ages—through the mercy of the blessed Son and Holy Spirit (sniff) which maketh intercession for us with groanings that can not be uttered—and hath led me out of the horror of gross darkness into his marvellous light (sniff) and washed me in the blood of the Lamb—as one born out of due time—and plucked as a brand from the burning—praise be to God for he hath saved his servant from the worm that dieth not—and now for the space of seven years have I been enabled to live without sin—blessed be his Holy Name now and forevermore through all eternity!"

Such exhibitions were ridiculous or pitiable as one might choose to look at them. Public testimony like this was the only outlet the poor creatures had for their will-to-power—their only chance to shine before men. It gave them a sense of cosmic importance.

The name of brother Powers, whose tragic fall from grace was related in Chapter VII, rightfully belongs here. No one who ever saw Adoniram Powers will forget his grand physique, his frizzly beard and profile of an Assyrian relief. His eyes were gimlet-sharp, but too small and too close together. And he never smiled. "I used to be a great wit," he said, "yes—I was always laughing and joking. But I gave it up—gave it all up—thanks go to God—I gave it all up" . . . And that reminds me! I had come near forgetting another Deacon—and one of my father's favorite stories.

Deacon Crabbe was a Perfectionist who had great conceit of himself

as a scholar and writer. His wife supported the family and kept the children in school by taking in boarders. She performed the work of the household with her own hands, even sawing and splitting the wood for the kitchen fire—and the Deacon's private fire—while he sat toasting his feet and studying the Bible.

One day there came a new boarder to her table, a student of the Theological Seminary. He was remarkably strong and handsome, good to look at. The young man saw at once that he was going to like the place and the woman who took care of it—everything in fact except the person who stood as its nominal head. There were certain things that from the very start made him uneasy. The little woman did not seem any too strong and he was not accustomed—certainly not—to seeing a woman do a man's work. So when he noticed her at the well-sweep with a big bucket in each hand he followed after, drew the water and carried it to the house. When a little later he saw her splitting wood it made his blood boil. He went to the wood-pile and split enough wood to last two or three days. She thanked him with a fine reserve but left no doubt in his mind that his help was appreciated.

On the following morning, after breakfast, the household assembled for "family prayers." Here the Deacon was in his element. He read a chapter—interlarded with comments of his own—after which the family knelt and he delivered himself of a long prayer. Our divinity student had trouble enough to preserve a devotional frame of mind during these exercises; but when the Deacon began praying for his wife, mentioning her by name, he was barely able to keep his mouth shut. "And oh Gawd! bless my poor wife Mary Ann—Thou knowest what a witless, incapable creature she is. Keep her in the hollow of thy hand, oh Gawd! and grant unto her—from thy infinite store—such measure of wisdom as she is capable of receiving. For thine is the kingdom, and the power (and so forth) forever and ever—Amen."

When the prayer was over the Deacon requested a few words in private with the new boarder. He told him he had observed him—during the few days he had known him—with displeasure. He told him he was not a good influence in the family and asked him to get another boarding-place. Mastering himself with an effort our theologue replied that he had no dealings with the Deacon; that he had engaged board from

Mrs. Crabbe and not from him; and that he must definitely refuse to change. After which he left the house.

This crisis passed, it became easier to control his feelings. Accordingly it was with a degree of his habitual contentment that he appeared at noon for dinner. The Deacon was watching for him and met him in the corridor. "Go 'way," he screamed, holding his arms across the passage, "go 'way I say—you're not wanted here—you can't come in—*you can't come in!*" "Oh yes, I can, Mr. Crabbe, I'm coming right in—just watch me." "It'll be over my dead body if you do," yelled the Deacon. "Dead body it is then," replied the student in a cheerful voice, and gave the Deacon a shove that sent him sprawling half-way into the dining-room . . . Stepping carefully over the body, the young man took his seat at the table with a pleasant smile, as calmly as if nothing had happened.

The Deacon, like a well-spanked child, came to the table and meekly asked the blessing. He complained to the Seminary, but the young man was exonerated. The Church took the matter up and the Deacon was expelled . . . The hero of this tale was Richard Windsor, one of my father's pupils, who went to the mission field in India and distinguished himself by his comprehension of the people and his work in industrial education.

It would be unfair to leave no place for that eternal type of innocents who are forever saying or doing the wrong thing and evoking our pity or laughter. Sister Lanky offers a certain interest. She was a simple and kindly soul, the devoted wife of our village undertaker—all too devoted, as you shall hear. She had seen many trials and when I knew her was a good deal discouraged—what with the high cost of living and the low price of coffins and hearse rents. She confided to my mother that she "sometimes wished Jesus would take her to Himself—*business was so dull;*" but she was "trying to be hopeful and praying for better times."

A valuable and greatly beloved member of our community was Brother Beagle—a man of wonderful generosity of heart and fervent faith. Besides which he was a first-class dentist; as good a one as you could find anywhere at that date. (It is true that, in the course of a difficult extraction, his shoulder was liable to slip out of joint and he would have to seek a surgeon, leaving his patient in the lurch). His long legs

true that there was no such music to be heard in any other college in the country, our concerts and oratorios had been accompanied only by the organ and piano. Sometimes there were other instruments—but very few. Like the vast majority of our countrymen we had never listened to a great orchestra.

The art of painting was an unexplored field. I never saw a painting—by a master—until I left home at the age of twenty-three. As for sculpture, there was the beautiful deer's head in papier-maché, that hung on the wall of our sitting-room. There were the antlered stag and the huge mastiff—in cast iron—that stood on either side of the walk on Marx Straus' lawn. These masterpieces were painted in polychrome and I loved them all. Then there was the wooden Indian in front of a shop where tobacco was sold, who held a tomahawk in his right hand, shielded his eyes with his left, and shot so fierce a glance you wanted to dodge when you passed him going to school.

When I got into college the repertoire was further enriched. And at this point I may be exhaustive without the risk of becoming tiresome. First there were those Roman worthies in plaster already alluded to, and once I saw a "Rogers group" entitled "Weighing the Baby"; somewhere or other there was a full-sized plaster-cast of the Venus of Melos (just the head and shoulders you understand). And finally, the great prize of the collection, a full-length reproduction of the same work about seven inches high. The goddess stood on a whatnot, surrounded by sundry objects, in the parlor of Professor Newton's home. (Newton was a brave man who had fought in the Civil War.)

That is all. Even so a healthy hunger is perhaps better than plethora. It should be added that lectures on art, with lantern slides, were introduced the last year or two before I left college, but the slides were poor and the man who gave the lectures had no knowledge of art aside from what he had learned from reading a book or two. A classroom incident will serve to illustrate the innocence of mind of some of the students as well as their ignorance of art. A photograph of the Apollo Belvedere appeared on the screen. "Miss P.," called the lecturer, "will you tell us the name of this work?" "The Venus of Milo," answered Miss P.

dangled nearly to the ground as his huge body was carried every week-day to his office on the back of a very small Shetland pony.

On the social side Dr. Beagle was a bungler. Here he showed a talent amounting to genius. To his dying day he never opened his mouth, but he put his foot in it. He chose a big wedding-reception as the scene of the most enduring, the classic example, of his gift.

The bride and groom stood under a flowery arch, the man a handsome young professor whom we all knew, the woman a stranger to us. She was a dumpy little person, near-sighted and wearing spectacles with the powerful lenses of a German savant. She appeared to be about twice the age of her mate.

And now, when his time had fully come, our dear old doctor advanced toward the happy couple still standing under their arch, both of them in white gloves, the lady holding a bouquet of flowers. On came the doctor with beaming face and hands outstretched. He complimented the bridegroom and conversed a moment with the smiling spouse . . . After which, turning again to the proud husband, in his usual loud and easy manner he made (we may at least hope so!) the most magnificent blunder of his eventful career,—"Well—professor it has been a great, great pleasure to meet your mother—*now where's the bride?*" Bitter tears streamed down the good doctor's face when, meeting my mother in the porch a few minutes afterward, he told her *what* he had done!

Other interesting characters rise before me, but enough has been said to suggest the ever-changing equilibrium of "good" and "bad" that marked the life of our village—more than enough to show that the purposes of the early Colonists had been incompletely realized. Had Shipherd been permitted to lay down his harp and take a glimpse of things here below, he might have entertained doubts about saving the town, to say nothing of "saving the great West."

3. *Art and Taste*

As to the fine arts our resources were sadly limited. We really had only two arts under cultivation—literature and music. And while it is

If there was a dearth of art, we had the beauty of nature—the "bright and intricate device" of the changing seasons, the birds and flowers, the dawn, the sunset, the starlight . . . And no one can imagine what pleasure a fellow who has never seen a good painting can extract from a quite ordinary engraving or chromo-lithograph.

Throughout our country and the English-speaking world we had now touched the peak and sounded the depths of that depravity of taste which characterized the Mid-Victorian era. (The Queen's taste was perhaps not what it should have been; but the good lady hardly deserved to have all those mis-begotten creations marked with her name.)

Our village was no exception. The pitiable architecture of the Second Church, erected in 1870, and the affected design of Council Hall, built not long afterward, show how great the fall—in thirty years—had been. Poor Father Finney!—designer of the First Church with its simple dignity. Like Pere Ingres when he beheld an ugly man on the streets of Rome, so Finney was fain to turn away his face when he passed that execrable steeple. And Council Hall—the home of his beloved Seminary—what must have been his feelings when he gazed on that mincing front!

A deterioration in craftsmanship accompanied the lapse of taste. The apprentice system had passed. Such masters as Hall and Turner were no longer to be had. Their places had been taken by money-grubbers and jerry-builders. Only seven years after the Second Church was built a big section of the ceiling fell forty or fifty feet, crushing several rows of seats to the ground. The thing occurred on a Sunday night a few minutes after the audience had left. I picked up great chunks of plaster from the floor that would have meant certain death to anyone they hit.

As for the steeple—a hundred and twenty-five feet in height and the tallest thing in town—it was good for nothing except to climb. There was only one pleasing view of it—from the inside looking up—and it was so badly constructed that it rocked horribly when we got near the top. I warn the reader that my feelings about that Second Church steeple are badly warped. Besides all else, it permanently imposed itself on me as a measuring stick for altitudes. When I saw Chartres and Peter's dome

that ungodly old steeple would step between, contrasting its height with theirs.

The construction of Council Hall was no better than its shape. Built in 1873, and spoken of at our semicentennial celebration in 1883 as the "most modern and most expensive of our College buildings," it has long since been condemned and destroyed,—with its fancy "Gothic," silly mansard, and superfluous projections; while Finney's church, a few feet away, keeps the bloom of youth after a hundred years.

All the old buildings (except the earliest makeshifts) were better looking and better constructed than those of the second generation. Tappan Hall, with its severe proportions and hand-made brick, had the beauty of the old Harvard dormitories. If Tappan had stood with these it would have been saved; moved perhaps if necessary, but reverently preserved. An announcement of our Fiftieth Anniversary says that "built in old style, and lacking modern improvements, it is doomed to make room for a costly College building." When they came to destroy it they found it built like the rock of Gibraltar.

At this time, too, the simplicity of the early dwelling-houses was gradually supplanted by the jig-saw patterns, fancy turned work, and meaningless towers, of a bastard style—"Queen Anne in front and Mary Ann at the back." The most beautiful homes in our village had been build in 1835—two just alike—for Finney and Morgan. They stood facing the northwest and southwest corners of the Square. I wish I could write a poem worthy of the old Morgan home as it was in my boyhood, and as late as 1884 when they tore it down to make room for a big College building. The simple beauty of the proportions, the wide eaves, the lovely coloring of the ancient brick—embowered in elms and locusts and lilacs beloved of bees and birds—and the plain walls half-concealed by the vines of Virginia creeper, gave it an indescribable air of homeliness and peace.

Up to this era we had lived in the present and the future. No sign could yet be discerned of historical sensibility or sentiment. Not one single tree of the primeval forest had been allowed to stand within the town, for our "historic elm"—a hundred years ago—was only a sapling. Think what it would mean now to have, on or near the Campus, even one of

those "oaks of fifteen foot girth" to remind us of the times of our fathers —and the timeless centuries before them!

The early buildings all vanished one after another—all except the First Church. Even Dascomb's chemical laboratory—so small, unobtrusive and endeared by associations; so picturesque—so like an Astrologer's cell with its low ceiling, white-washed walls and great hooded chimney for carrying off smoke and fumes; so perfectly fitted in every way for a modest memorial of the days that are no more—even that was ruthlessly destroyed to make room for a modern structure.

The old First Church was spared, not without wounds. It was spared because it was a splendid audience room. But they took away the twelve massive white Doric columns—candid, cheerful and serene—that stood like the Twelve Apostles and supported the great curve of the gallery with its white entablature, surrounding the body of the church on three sides and sounding the very key-note of the interior.

A certain Sunday morning comes back to me like an evil dream. I had walked into the church suspecting nothing. The twelve white pillars were gone and in their stead were twelve thin, nondescript cast-iron posts, painted a darkish-brown to imitate bronze . . . "We shall never again rejoice in that stately semi-circle," writes one who loved it.

4. *Adolescents*

The young people of my generation were unfortunate in many ways. Before our time boys and girls had been disciplined by the very conditions of life. They had learned to work and assume responsibility. The boys had enjoyed fascinating sports,—riding, trapping, and shooting. They had become inventive and independent; had learned to amuse themselves in their leisure hours. Conditions had now been changed. There was not work enough to keep them occupied. Such simple customs as keeping a horse, or cow, or garden were practiced only by the few. The boys had become a leisure class.

By this time, of course, there were many families that had no sympathy with the ideal aims of the community—families without either edu-

cation or religion. Their children were often undisciplined. They set bad examples to the others and led them into trouble. Parents of the better sort were conscientious and knew well enough that

Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do,

but they had neither the apparatus nor the technique to cope with their problems. They had not learned to adapt themselves to conditions entirely new to them. Nobody had as yet suggested a social center, a club, a library, or a camp, an association of scouts or even a playing field. We had no place to play except the backyard, the street or the woods.

Counting up the boys I knew that turned out badly I have been astonished at their number. Some of them were from families without moral standards. Others were injured by circumstances or corrupted by their associates. There was Julius Danforth for instance (of course that wasn't his real name). Juley was a playmate of mine and one of the finest boys I ever knew; but he drank himself to death soon after leaving home. Mate Harlow was another, a splendid young fellow about eighteen years old, who had nothing against him until he took a small sum of money—intending to return it—from the safe in the office where he worked. He shot himself in his mother's home when he saw the policeman coming up the walk.

Such boys as these I am inclined to regard as merely unfortunate; but there were others that seemed born for the gallows. Hank Bodman was a perfect specimen of the type. The Bodman's were a family of toughs living on the edge of town. Hank had done some outrageous thing—I forget what—and our "marshall," Frank Stone, went out to get him. Hank's father sat waiting behind the blinds of his home with a loaded rifle. As Stone walked up the path to the house he was warned not to come nearer unless he wanted to be pumped full of lead. He marched straight up to his death.

Carroll remembers that once when our Glee Club sang at Columbus and was enjoying the hospitality of the city, the Entertainment Committee took them for a visit to the State penitentiary. They were informed by the Warden that our village had a larger representation—for

its size—than any town in Ohio. Before taking them through the place, the Warden requested them not to speak to the prisoners; but, Carroll, who was a member of the Club, saw and recognized many of his old school-mates and acquaintances who greeted him with a wink and a smile or a surreptitious "Hullo!—hullo, Carroll!" to the unholy glee of the boys of the Club. "There were two 'lifers' there at the time. They only nodded. They were not allowed to speak to us."

President Frost writes me in a recent letter, — "I think it was the same in all college towns in those days—boys not drawn into interest in study drifting off neglected and falling into wrong-doing . . ." Whatever the causes the results were lamentable.

Disciplined not wisely but too well by their confused parents, and in the absence of healthful work and organized play, some of the children fell into bad habits and illicit relationships. I knew a number of couples —twelve or thirteen years of age—children of good families too, who had been "married" according to a regular church ceremony, by a "minister" chosen for the purpose, and in the presence of "witnesses." Their playmates were sworn to secrecy with childish oaths. The low moral tone of the moment was reflected in a trial of obscene inscripticns, symbols and representational drawings on the walls of public buildings. Students of social conditions inform me that such manifestations are common in transitional periods like those through which our village was passing.

Fortunately this state of things did not last very long. For some years nothing was done; such matters could hardly be spoken of aloud in that era. But a fresh wind blew through the village with the arrival of an apostle of humanity who came to us to take charge of the College department of physical education for women. As soon as Dr. Hanna had that work well in hand, she turned to the children of the village. She had made a study of adolescence. She organized athletics and introduced new and interesting games—such as her early version of basket-ball and many others. Some of our good citizens beheld with an astonishment—not unmingled with horror—girls clad "only in bloomers" romping on open fields! The Doctor induced the authorities to put physical culture into the upper grades of the public school, taught by students from her College classes . . . All this she achieved not without opposition but I think without reward, except her own inward satisfaction. Enlightened

mothers supported the work by arranging parties with music and square dancing— disguised under another name—and inculcating decency and good manners.

The movement was helped along by unforeseen events. A number of flagrant misdemeanors and outrageous incidents, occurring within a comparatively short period of time, brought matters to a head. Parents were shocked into recognizing their responsibilities . . . And fortunately, just at the right moment, some of the ring-leaders among the delinquents left town and never returned. So before long the state of morals among our adolescents was bettered beyond all hope.

Another deterioration—likewise temporary—of the transition period after the War, was to be observed in the field of primary and secondary education. A good school for the children had been one of the chief inducements used by Shipherd to secure his Colonists. That first school must have been excellent for its time. The very spirit of the Colony would have made it so. It was in the hands of the natural leaders of the community as a labor of love. The number of pupils was small and there were good teachers available. The public school system had not then been generally established so that the school, though open to all, was really a private school.

In my time the votes of the citizens determined the amounts to be spent on buildings and teachers. Voters without educational standards naturally preferred low tax levies to good schools. There were citizens, of course, who tried to combat the evils of the new system but they were frequently out-voted. Phillips states that in 1876 the levy for school purposes was seven mills and the annual cost per pupil $15.

I remember some excellent teachers, but most of mine were mediocre or worse. (They may have been the best available.) Adequate normal school training was infrequent. Methods were poor and uninteresting. We had no apparatus or models, such as are now used—in mathematics for example—to clarify conceptions of form and number. Our instruction in drawing was pitiable. The Spencerian System we suffered under, in penmanship, was probably the worst ever devised for children's use. Needless to say there was no such thing as Kindergarten or Manual Training—nothing at all except books—and the books were mostly bad.

Midwestern: Oberlin Students, Sinners and Adolescents in the 1870's *and* 1880's

The last few years have seen a revival of interest in the books in which all of us old fellows learned to read. Their compiler has received extraordinary encomiums and honors. A distinguished writer has spoken of him as "one of our country's truly great men."

On the hundredth anniversary of their appearance, there was an explosion of sentiment, together with indiscriminating praise, over the McGuffey Readers. The books were republished and I noticed in *The Times* that there was some talk of re-editing them for the New York Public Schools. A prominent educator of that city was quoted as saying he thought "they might do much to overcome juvenile laxity which is now close to rebellious defiance of authority."

There is much to praise in the Readers. I am no debunker and I gladly acknowledge our collective debt—and my own personal debt—to them. But as one not without experience of children, and of the teaching of New York juveniles, I may be allowed to express the opinion that it will take a lot of "re-editing."

Dr. William H. McGuffey, LL.D., their author and compiler, was a Christian minister, besides being a Doctor of Philosophy. He describes his Readers as "an effort to present the best specimens of style" and "to exert a healthful and moral influence." It is quite true that the Readers contain many selections of merit. I recall my delight in such lines as these, which are quoted from memory:—

> *Music arose with its voluptuous swell . . .*
> *No sleep till morn where youth and pleasure meet*
> *To chase the glowing hours with flying feet . . .*
> *Rider and horse—friend—foe—in one red burial blent!*

(In that line about music, voluptuous was carefully defined for us in a marginal note as "swelling." Thus we had as the illuminating result, music arising with a "swelling swell." In one edition the definition reads, "Exciting animal pleasure.")

The Readers undoubtedly had some firstrate qualities. The good selections are many in number. The pictures are excellent for the time. When we consider what children learned to read in before these ap-

peared we cannot withhold a generous measure of praise. On the other hand it is only just to remark the fact that the good selections are balanced and to a considerable extent neutralized by poor ones; and that some of these are not only bad literature but examples of false teaching in morality and religion. Let the learned doctor speak for himself:—

> *O, what a sad, sad sight is this. A boy with a dunce cap on his head! Why does he stand there, in front of the school? He is a bad boy. He talks and laughs in school. He loves to be idle and does not learn his lesson . . . All the good boys shun him! Do you think a good boy should love a bad one? Can his teacher love him? No one loves a bad boy. No one can love those who are bad.*

Where did this Christian minister and professor of moral philosophy get such an idea as that—an idea as false in observation of life as it is unChristian in feeling? Had he failed to notice that bad boys are often charming, generous and loveable? Had he never read the Parable of the Prodigal Son or the Sermon on the Mount, or that "God so loved the [sinful] world that he gave his only begotten Son"? Would he have wished a mother to stop loving a wayward son?

McGuffey's "good" boy is an insufferable little prig who never fails to receive material rewards for meritorious actions. Moreover he is invulnerable; he could hardly stub his toe or swallow the wrong way—and he never dies. On the other hand the naughty boy, who stops to play on the way to school, gets promptly drowned. ("Look, look, is not this Frank Brown? What can be the matter with him. The poor boy is dead.")

Good little Harry, returning home after nightfall is badly scared by something he takes to be a ghost.

> *Poor Harry felt his blood run cold*
> *At what before him stood;*
> *But then, thought he, no harm I'm sure*
> *Can happen to the good.*

Reassured by this comfortable thought Harry marches straight up to the dreadful apparition and finds his terror to be indeed groundless,—

"For 'twas a friendly guide-post stood
His wandering steps to guide
And thus he found that to the good
No evil could betide." (The italics are mine.)

The Fifth Reader presents a less plausible but more romantic story which tells of the extraordinary things that God does for the good. It also teaches us—though not so stated—that Virtue is *not* its own Reward (at least, not its own *sole* reward). A lawyer stops at a barber-shop just before sundown on Saturday evening and requests to be shaved quickly "so as not to violate the Sabbath." He discovers that the barber, though in extreme poverty, never allows himself to work on the Sabbath day. United by this powerful bond the two men become friends . . . The lawyer has been searching everywhere for the lost heir to a great fortune. It turns out that the barber is the lost heir. Thus is adherence to Christian duty rewarded!

In a priceless page of the Fourth Reader the author pictures the fate of "female vanity." A girl is stricken down at the toilet-table in the very act of making her toilet. When her body is discovered her hand still grasps a pair of curling-irons. "Her face was turned towards the glass which reflected with frightful fidelity the clammy, fixed features, daubed with rouge and carmine, the fallen lower jaw, and the eyes, directed full into the glass, with a cold stare that was appalling . . . I thought I detected the traces of a smirk of conceit and self-complacency, which not even the palsying touch of death could wholly obliterate . . . The ghastly visage of death thus leering through the tinsel of fashion, the 'vain show' of artificial joy, was a horrible mockery of the fooleries of life! . . . I have seen many hundreds of corpses, . . . but never have I seen so startling a satire upon human vanity, so repulsive, unsightly, and loathsome a spectacle, as a *corpse dressed for a ball!"* (The italics are McGuffey's.)

I say they are his. The piece is anonymous; perhaps he did not write it. But at least it stands in his book as "an effort to present the best specimens of style" and "to exert a healthful and moral influence"—perhaps for both?

How could a man of his sterling character, honesty, and education do

such a thing—a man who knew the King James translation so well he could "repeat whole chapters of the Bible while ploughing?" Such errors are a blot on his otherwise great work; they must have done harm to his readers. All of us make mistakes. We may humbly acknowledge McGuffey's, even as we honor the man and his achievement.

The placing of educational responsibilities in the wrong hands resulted in poor school-buildings. The new building for a High School and grammar grades, opened in 1874 at a cost of $37,000, was an almost perfect specimen of bad judgment and tasteless architecture. A country village, with plenty of room to work in, places its principle school-building in the middle of the town; on Main Street where land is expensive; where there is no room for expansion and none for a decent playground. Children attending school in this building have to pass four times a day through the shopping district, with its dangers—physical and moral—not to mention the nuisance to the citizens. Only forty years later the school-house is sold to a private party . . . Such is the brief tale of the edifice ("Gothic" edifice by the way) in which my well-nigh fruitless school-days were spent.

In the end the community showed not only bad judgment but culpable negligence. That school-building was condemned, I think three times, by the State Board. The Commissioner of Education at last threatened the town with some kind of excommunication or other penalty. He stated that ours was the only town in Ohio to which had ever had to make such a threat. The date was about 1921. "I remember," says one of my correspondents, "an address by Dr. Azariah Root (our College Librarian) in which, before a mass meeting of citizens, he arraigned Oberlin for her 'gross negligence'. It was one of the most stirring addresses I have ever heard."

A parallel deterioration was taking place, in my unlucky day, in the Sunday School. Those familiar with the splendid work done in the church schools of Oberlin a generation afterward may find it hard to credit my experience. About 1920 or a little earlier, trained ministers of education, on a salary, were engaged to take charge of religious instruction. Our church, no longer leading but following the example of progressive churches throughout the country, made fundamental changes in every branch of the work. Creative activities were introduced in the

elementary department, with freehand drawing and cutting, clay-modeling and sand-tables. Every few weeks a play was given, written, staged and performed by the children. A first-rate library was developed and the music was put in charge of a professional musician who had specialized in public school music. The "missionary work" was revolutionized. Studying in the College were some lovely Korean girls. There were students, too, from Japan, China and elsewhere, whose services were enlisted as teachers. Their countrymen were studied, not as "heathen," but as friends and brothers, and "missionary money" was sent to people whose lives had been thus studied.

So it was not in my time! To be sure there were excellent classes for adults and for College students. New Testament Greek under Professor Lyman Hall, with his unflinching honesty and radiant good humor, was a treat never-to-be-forgotten. But the children were sorely neglected. Sunday School as I knew it was a futile bore. I never had a good teacher but once. Questioned on this head, several of my former mates have answered that they could not recall more than one good teacher out of a dozen poor. One of my correspondents remembers, "with awful distaste," all her teachers with a single exception. "The Superintendent spoke to us as his 'dear children,' and he bawled as he spoke." (This is inaccurate; he wept but didn't "bawl".) A friend of good judgment and wide experience writes that "the work was formal and poor. Rotten music. The Rollo books were the only books in the library which had much in them—that not too much. In fact not a single book was good. And there was the sentimental Superintendent with his fulsome praise—when the collection was larger than usual—'Scholars you done well!' "

No—I can't forgive that Sunday School, with its uniform lessons and their everlasting "Golden Texts" and "Central Truths." ("Just think of it! Little children all over the world studying the same Golden Text and Central Truth!") I can't excuse the library with its sickening Elsie Dinsmore and the works of E. P. Roe.

As to the music, some of our hymns were beautiful and well worth singing; but the new music, as embodied in the later editions of the "Gospel Hymns," and the words, too, were sentimental and loathsome beyond description—songs for idiots. One of the songs we sang to in-

spire us to the better life was this, written to a stupid but rollicking music-hall tune whose true character we unconsciously divined, as is shown by our substitution of the compound word, polly-wolly-doodle:—

> *At the Cross at the Cross*
> *Where I first saw the light,*
> *Singing Polly-wolly-doodle*
> *All the day*
> *—all the day,*
> *It was there—it was there—*
> *I received my sight,*
> *So now I am happy all the day!*

There was another one that brought out our "Ohio r" to great advantage. It will serve also as an example of the religious poetry in vogue in my boyhood. (The climax at the second syllable of "Savyer," on the high note of the refrain, is quite magnificient.)

> *Never be afraid to speak-fer Jesus,*
> *You've no other friend so true;*
> *Never be afraid to own-yer Sav-yer,*
> *'Tis the least that you can do.*
> Refr. *Neverr be afrraid—neverr be afrraid—*
> *Neverr, neverr, neverr;*
> *Neverr be afrraid to own-yer Sav-yerr . . .*
> *Neverr, neverr, be afrraid!*

Such rubbish would not have been tolerated in the days of Finney and the early Colony. Something had happened to our village that would take years to outgrow. The reader will not suppose that it could have any influence on music-loving Oberlin, or above all that it originated there? No. The later editions of the "Gospel Hymns" were the work of alien mercenaries who had nothing in common with us. Their wretched stuff infected the whole country and finally made its way into our Sunday Schools through the carelessness of our leaders.

It had no effect on the church music. But though our musicians detested it—Director Rice of the Conservatory "nearly had fits over it"—I doubt whether they realized that the money changers were in posses-

sion of the temple. There was no organized protest . . . The reader will hardly know what I am talking about. That unhappy product of the eighties is dead and buried. The old hymns are still with us.

If we had no dramatics in Sunday School, no clay-modelling, no picnics or fun of any kind, we at least had lectures—missionary lectures and temperance lectures. These latter were always followed by the circulation of the "Pledge", in which the victim promised never to touch alcoholic beverages. I remember one of these lectures given by an enthusiastic young woman—not of our village—who was touring the Midwestern States. It was a kind of scientific lecture accompanied with laboratory demonstrations.

"God," she said, "made the grapes. Yes, children, God made the beautiful *grapes* for our food; but God never made a drop of alcohol *in his life!* Because *alcohol* is a deadly *poison* and ruins our bodies and our souls. Now, children, I want you to watch me carefully, for I am going to show you just what *alcohol* does to the *brain.*"

With these words the lecturer broke into a glass of alcohol an egg, which shortly began to turn a whitish color. "Now, children, I want you to know that this egg is actually being *cooked* by the alcohol—you see it turning *white.* Now that is exactly what happens to our brains when a drunkard takes a glass of liquor. *Science* tells us that it actually cooks the brains! Because *brains are the same material as eggs.* Now, children, you wouldn't want your brains *to be cooked*—would you? . . . Now we are going to pass *the Pledge* and I want you all to sign your names to it. Because that means that you will never touch a drop of this awful poison as long as you live."

The good lady refrained from mentioning the miracle of Cana, Paul's advice to Timothy and the offering of wine at the Last Supper, but bore heavily on the words of Solomon—"the *wisest* man, children, that ever lived"—when he said,—"Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup!" You'd have thought Solomon was a teetotaler and President of the W. C. T. U. (We all signed).

The leaders of our community would not have put up with this nonsense had they been fully aware of it. I am forced to the conclusion that,

deeply occupied with the problems of the "higher education," they had lost touch with the "lower"; and that these had fallen into inferior hands. In any case the interests of children were grossly neglected, as I think they were almost everywhere at this time.

My first conceptions of Burgundy and beer were gleaned from such sources as that lecture. My ideas of the "heathen" were equally naive. I thought of them as a dark-skinned race who threw babies to crocodiles and were on the road to hell. Such were the ideas I imbibed at Sunday School.