Northwest Ohio Quarterly

Volume 25

Issue 4

The President's Page

CHARTERS OF FREEDOM

The Constitution of the United States
September 17, 1787

The marvel of those men who framed the Constitution is not that they met the immediate exigencies of a feeble and impotent nation under the Confederation, but that they could and did outline fundamental principles of government applicable in perpetuity. They clearly envisioned,—not a democracy or a socialistic state,—but a great republic deriving all its power from the people and designed solely to serve the people. The founders were familiar with the futile efforts of peoples in the past to set up such a government and envisaged some of the vicissitudes of the future. So they built not for their own day, but for all time. They also understood that occasions would arise when the people themselves, as well as false prophets as their leaders, might grow restless under those constitutional restraints upon which all the rights of the people rest, and they sought to guard against that day. Thomas Jefferson said: "An elective despotism was not the government we fought for, but one which should not only be founded on free principles, but in which the powers of government be so divided and balanced among several bodies . . . that no one could transcend their legal limits without being effectually checked and restrained by the others."

The generation just past have been mad, confusing, discouraging years in which seeds of distrust and even despair have been sown far and wide. But it is in those countries alone where men and women are still free, free to choose their own calling or profession, free to live their own lives, free to worship their God as they conceive Him, that material recovery has been greatest and economic security most pronounced. The exacting years of war, the devastating years of economic depression, have demonstrated that constitutional government is the only government which, in restoring the economic wel-

fare of the people, at the same time preserves their rights and their liberty. While caring for the material interests of the citizen, it does not barter away his spiritual freedom.

Let us remember the prophetic words of the immortal Washington in his Farewell Address:

> It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoyed by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

This government under this Constitution and what it means to the happiness and to the advancement of one hundred and sixty million human souls, is the priceless heritage which has been entrusted presently to our keeping. As a free people, we know its worth. Let us preserve it and pass it on unimpaired to posterity.

Lehr Fess

The Director's Page

Junior Cues

During the summer of 1951 Mrs. Kathryn Miller Keller had one of her many bright ideas. Why not, she proposed, issue a monthly miniature historical magazine for school children? With her usual flare for the phrase she even had a name for this new publication—**Junior Cues.** The name, interpreted broadly, might suggest its relation to the **Northwest Ohio Quarterly**—even though the new publication was to appear monthly. But more important, the name was intended to suggest to the readers that the contents were cues for them to play their part by sending in their own historical contributions. Also important in Mrs. Keller's idea was the proposal that **Junior Cues** be illustrated. For this purpose we were fortunate in having an artist directly at hand—namely, Mrs. Keller herself.

And so in October, 1951 appeared in mimeographed form Volume I Number 1 of the Historical Society's **Junior Cues** featuring a "Ghost Gallery," "Spook Snooping" and "History Hiking." An effort was made to present copies to as many Lucas County grade school teachers as possible. The officials of the city, county and parochial schools were very helpful in this. The magazine was a 4-page affair, modestly priced at 2 cents a copy. As a result the orders started pouring in. By mid-season 1000 copies were finding their way each month to the pupils of Lucas County. Requests came from all over the state. It became clear that the Historical Society had really found a way to serve far more people with local history material than ever before.

Junior Cues has become our most popular publication. This popularity is proved by the fact that the pupils have made it their own not only by reading it, but by writing for it. Last year we had stories and news items from schools in Sylvania, Napoleon, Waterville, Port Clinton, Monroeville, to say nothing of all the Toledo schools. There were songs, games, puz-

zles and art projects that these people had worked out and wanted to share with other **Cues** readers.

This year **Junior Cues** has graduated from mimeographed to printed form. Mrs. Keller's pen has been at its best in preparing news and pictures to make this new format very pleasing indeed. The September issue featured "Perry-Graphs" in commemoration of Oliver Hazard Perry's great victory in the Battle of Lake Erie. The October number has items entitled "Punkins 'n Wizard Oil," "Castles in Ohio" and "Antique Show." It now sells for 3 cents a copy or 25 cents a year. Members of the Historical Society who want copies are invited to send in their subscriptions.

Randolph C. Downes

Note:

It is with regret that we record the recent death of Mrs. Curtis W. Garrison. Dr. Garrison was formerly editor of the **Quarterly.** He is now residing in Washington, D. C.

Toledo and the Ohio Centennial of 1902*

By Randolph C. Downes

In the years from 1897 to 1900 Toledo brought its 19th century industrial beginnings to a climax with the greatest fanfare of ballyhoo in its history. Its promoters tried to convince the state, the mid-West and the nation that it was the ideal place to hold the greatest exposition since the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, and, incidentally, that Toledo was the best industrial center of all. The "future great city of the world," to use Jesup W. Scott's phrase, would really arrive this time—no doubt about it. No other American city had been so little hurt by the panic of 1893 and its aftermath, and no other city had shown such a rate of industrial growth in the late 1890's. At least, that is what the local promoters said. "Do we of Toledo," asked the **Blade** editor, November 13, 1897, "realize the fact that we live in the most prosperous and progressive city of Ohio, and not only of Ohio but of this whole Middle West?" He cited an "unbiased" eastern traveller who said, "Your people up there have felt the hard times of the past four years less than any other city in the United States with which I am acquainted. Toledo has prospered while other places were stagnant; she felt the renewal of trade among the first, and she is prospering more than any other."

This Toledo outburst of self adulation had many manifestations in the closing years of the 19th century. One of these was the assumption that the 100th anniversary of Ohio's statehood should be held in Toledo. Non-Toledoans might ask why an Ohio centennial should be held in the northwest-

*Toledoans assumed that Ohio became a state in 1802 rather than in 1803 as has been recently more popularly accepted. A definitive discussion by Judge Lehr Fess supporting the 1802 date appears in the winter 1952-53 number of the QUARTERLY. In 1898 the Ohio Legislature designated 1903 as the centennial year, but news that St. Louis planned its Louisiana Purchase Exposition for that year, caused Toledoans to argue that Ohio had really been admitted to the union in 1802.

ern extremity of the state, so far off center. Why should the commemoration of Ohio's entry into statehood be held in a city that was not even in existence when Ohio became a state? Oddly enough, Toledo's promoters were able to answer these questions with amazing ingenuity.

Toledoans were able to point out that the expositions in this "era of expositions" were celebrations of great historic events or regional concepts—the cities in which they were held were not the main things being commemorated. Thus the Centennial Exposition of 1876 at Philadelphia celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The World's Fair of 1893, at Chicago, was really the Columbian Exposition marking the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. (Chicago was a year late.) Omaha, Nebraska planned one for 1898 to be called the Trans-Mississippi Exposition; Buffalo, New York the Pan American Exposition of 1901; and St. Louis the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. Adapting this idea to Toledo, the **Blade** pointed out the importance of the Battle of Fallen Timbers of 1794 in breaking the Anglo-Indian power in the Old Northwest, and opening it to white settlement. The **Blade** also did not omit to point out that northwestern Ohio—and not Marietta—was the scene of the first white settlements in the state, in other words, by the Frenchmen who settled here long before 1788. (**Blade**, September 2, December 7, 1897.) Thus the centennial of Ohio statehood was an event worthy of celebration in an era of centennials "by a mighty exposition at Toledo which will be the largest event of its kind since the World's Fair at Chicago." (**Blade**, October 4, 1898.)

To bolster the historical argument was the accessibility argument. Here is where Toledo's status as a great railroad center came in handy: it was second only to Chicago in the number of roads entering the city. This meant that Toledo was much more central to the five states of the old Northwest Territory than any city in Ohio. Of course, said the **Blade**, November 16, 1897, if it was desired to have one of those state conventions or church fairs suc has Columbus puts on, that was something else. And the columns of the **Blade** and the

Bee thereafter carried reports from most of the other cities in Ohio supporting Toledo's claims.

Thus the Ohio Centennial of 1902 would have to be a "hummer," as the **Blade** said on November 23, 1895, when the first suggestion of a commemoration had been made. For this purpose it was claimed that Toledo had the best ground for a great exposition of any place in America. This was Bay View Park with its perfectly flat terrain, its islands and lagoons, its dock facilities, and its quick connections with downtown Toledo by street car and by boat. A lake shore town was much more desirable for a summer exposition than an inland one. In summary, the **Blade,** November 13, 1897, said, "Being the greatest railroad center in Ohio, the most progressive and hospitable city, with the lake at its door, and a site greater and better than that on which the World's Fair was held at Chicago, Toledo believes this is the only proper place to hold the exposition."

Much was made of the fact that Toledo was supposed to be the most progressive city of the state. The Toledo **Bee,** February 20, 1898, in a special supplement on "The Lady of the Lakes" said:

> Toledo is rich, but is a young man's town. It is the financial metropolis of the great Ohio oil fields, and the wealthiest and most enterprising oil men make Toledo their home. They are broad-minded, liberal, venturesome spirits who don't lay awake nights fretting for fear somebody will steal their money. They build fine houses and live to be happy. They are bold, liberal and public spirited. The successful manufacturers and business men of Toledo are largely young men who have not reached that point in life where they think of nobody but themselves. That's why Toledo is a whole-souled, hospitable town where a stranger is quickly made to feel at home. We have the brightest business men, the brightest railroad managers, the brightest professional men and the happiest people in the state.

Words were soon translated into acts. A State Centennial Commission had been authorized by the Legislature in 1896. In the fall of 1897 the Toledo City Council directed a committee of citizens to prepare a bid for what everyone expected would be a Centennial Exposition. The committee selected Bay View Park as a site for the exposition. In November, 1897, it made formal application to the State Centennial Commission and State Legislature for the selection of Toledo as the center for the great celebration. Instead, the Commission reported early in 1898 in favor of the erection of a memorial building in Columbus. (**Blade**, October 27, 1898.) This was not in keeping with the "hummer" ideas of Toledo. The Legislature was bombarded with Toledo propaganda. A pamphlet and a beautiful water color picture idealizing Bay View Park were prepared. Every legislator was given a booklet and the water color was placed conspicuously on the mantel of the House of Representatives. Each member was also specially invited to visit Toledo on February 4 and see the Bay View paradise. Their families were invited and their railroad fares and all expenses were paid. They came—at least 17 Senators, 50 Representatives, the lieutenant governor, and 6 members of the governor's cabinet, as well as a band of newspaper men from all over the state. They looked Toledo over. They were wined and dined. They were practically overwhelmed with hospitality. They returned to Columbus, had the usual committee hearings which were zealously attended by Toledo "Centennial Boomers," and finally, on April 20, 1898, passed the resolution introduced by Representative John C. MacBroom making Toledo the Centennial City. Technically the law enabled Toledo to lease Bay View Park and spend $150,000 on improving it under the administration of a locally appointed commission. A state commission, appointed by the governor, was also authorized. "Stampede for Toledo," shouted the **Blade**, April 21; "Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati were never in the hunt," crowed the **Bee**.

From here on the Ohio Centennial snowballed into larger and larger proportions. Through the activity of the Toledo

Chamber of Commerce the Ohio Centennial Company was incorporated to raise $500,000, "a cool half million" said the **Blade** January 20, 1898, to equip the exposition with appropriate buildings. There was no question that the company would pay high dividends from rentals and admission fees. Said the **Blade** on April 29, 1899, "If the company can not pay a dividend of half a million with an exposition of such magnitude, there will be something wrong." The head of the company was Ceilan M. Spitzer, president of the Spitzer Building Company. But the greatest achievement was the conquering of Congress, that is, the pledging, by Act of March 4, 1899, of $500,000 of federal money, contingent on an equal amount from the state of Ohio and also from the Ohio Centennial Company. This was put through by Toledo's Congressman James M. Southard with the aid of a Washington visit by Mayor Samuel M. Jones. The latter also addressed the Legislatures of Michigan and Illinois in behalf of the exposition. The result was that Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin voted to take part. (**Bee**, January 15, March 2, 1899; **Blade**, March 2, 1899.) This put the Centennial beyond any question—at least so Toledo thought. The **Blade**, January 18, 1899, cartooned the Congressional appropriation with a picture of "The Irrepressible Frog (Toledo)" asking Uncle Sam "Wilt Thou," and the cornered Uncle Sam saying "I Wilt." When the bill was finally passed the **Blade**, March 4, 1899, headlined: MONEY FOR CENTENNIAL HAS BEEN SAFELY APPROPRIATED BY CONGRESS. The contingent clause was not emphasized. On March 20 there was a grand reception at Memorial Hall to give public thanks to Congressman Southard for his success in making the Centennial possible.

Everybody in Toledo took it for granted that the Ohio Legislature would appropriate at least the $500,000 (much more was necessary), and that the Ohio Centennial Company would raise the other $500,000 needed to get the "cool half million" from Congress. While they waited for the money they built the Centennial of their dreams. It was to be a great cultural event, said the **Blade**, February 25, 1899:

> Its chief glory . . . will be an aesthetic glory. The transformation of the spot down by the shore of Maumee Bay must be a realization and a revelation of beauty; it must display to the world not only what the old Northwest Territory has accomplished during these hundred years in religion and science, and painting, sculpture, literature and music, in ethics and aesthetics, but what it knows about these things, just as truly as it must show off its progress in agriculture and mechanics, in commerce and trade. Only by all these will the full glory of the picturesque history of this region be bodied forth and made manifest, be appreciated and understood.

A new and finer Toledo would emerge from this. "The reward of the cost and sacrifice . . . will come in newer and broader conceptions of life, in an elevation and refinement of taste, in the knowledge and possession of what Mathew Arnold calls 'sweetness and light.' And out of this experience Toledo will spring to a new life, divested of her last remnant of provincialism and Philistinism, and put on the full garment of metropolitanism, which her position, her past and her future alike entitle her to, and demand."

It would be endless to enumerate the many castles in air that Toledoans built in 1899 and 1900 for the Ohio Centennial of 1902. Katharine Margaret Brownlee Sherwood, popularly known as Kate Sherwood, was made head of the Women's Department, and planned to erect an educational Parthenon in Toledo. This would be a permanent museum, a great repository to depict the growth of the arts and sciences of the Old Northwest. (**Blade**, August 14, 1899.) A carnival, which would be a mammoth exposition in itself, was planned to raise money for this. During the week of August 8, 1899 such a carnival was actually held at the Toledo Armory with much eclat.

All the local industries, clubs and auxiliaries labored valiantly for its success: LaSalle & Koch, the Sorosis, Ladies Literary League, the King's Daughters, the Ladies of the Maccabees, the Forsyth Relief Corps, and so on. Chief features of the

affair were the reenactment of the battle of San Juan by a professional fireworks company and 250 veterans of the Spanish American War, and an elaborate series of musical concerts featuring the Toledo Symphony Orchestra, the German Saegerbunds, and various church choirs. An official Ohio Centennial Design was published in the **Blade**, May 13, 1899 featuring the enthroned Centennial goddess presiding over the states of the Old Northwest and over a union of Agriculture and Manufacture. Suggestions galore poured in: a great Convention Hall to hold the National Republican and Democratic Presidential Nominating Conventions of 1904; a Fisheries Building built like a fish; a building entirely of glass; a 10-foot high electric fountain in the shape of a frog; a balloon ferry across the Maumee; an Appian gateway; a 325-feet high tower with an "endless chain elevator" to take passengers to the top platform and net the exposition a half million dollars; an elevated railroad; a central building in the form of a mighty terraced pyramid with all the surrounding buildings in the motif of oriental mosques. (**Blade**, June 24, 1899.) The City Park Board planned a series of parks throughout the city connected by a grand boulevard or concourse. Swan Creek and the Ottawa River were to be dredged so as to make Toledo another Manhattan Island open to shipping throughout almost its whole perimeter. Turkey Foot Rock was "borrowed" from Maumee for placement in Bay View Park, but had to be returned because Maumee objected. Negley D. Cochran, editor of the **Bee**, was made director of publicity.

So confident were Toledoans of their Centennial that the Ohio Centennial Company actually chose a director who actually went to work preparing for the great event. The director was Daniel J. Ryan of Columbus, former Secretary of State, and executive commissioner and director general of Ohio interests at the Chicago World's Fair. His assistant was Lem P. Harris, formerly Toledo city clerk. (**Bee**, August 17, 1899.) Harris' main job was to sell stock while Ryan used the money. On September 5, Ryan issued the first of his specifications for the Centennial Exposition. This was for the Educational Building and consisted of a plan for the structure and a lay-out for classification of the exhibits to be contained

therein. Before the year 1899 was over Ryan had made such lay-outs for the 16 divisions of the exposition as well as for the general landscaping of Bay View Park.

In the meantime dirt—or rather mud—had even begun to fly at Bay View. However, the pile driver preceded the shovel because of the need for dikes to keep the water out. Hence it was on June 7, 1899 that the first pile was driven, and the people began to feel that the Centennial was really on the way. By October enough sheet piling had been installed to make it possible for the dredges to move in and throw mud over the dikes. This deepened the outer channel and provided soil for filling in the mainland. By mid-October scrapers were actually at work behind the dikes filling in low spots. When the directors of the Ohio Centennial Company met in November it was evident that $44,731.34 had been spent to date. (**Blade**, November, 1899.)

As the time approached for all the Centennial money to be available, a sense of uneasiness arose. Everything depended on the Ohio Legislature, which was to meet in January, 1900. The Congressional appropriation of $500,000 was contingent on an equal sum from the Legislature, and the subscribers to the Ohio Centennial Company's stock were also waiting to see if the state meant business. On January 5, 1900 the finance committee report showed only $363,320 had been subscribed or donated, while the treasurer's report showed only $15,-875.08 actually received. (**Blade**, January 6, 1900.) In December the State Centennial Commission headed by James Kilbourne of Columbus met in Toledo, was royally entertained at the Boody House, and voted to recommend $1,000,000 as the state's contribution. (**Blade**, December 15, 1899.) When the Legislature opened, Governor Asa S. Bushnell recommended $500,000.

In order to convince the Ohio Legislature that Toledo would do its part, it was necessary to step up the campaign for subscriptions to the stock of the Ohio Centennial Company. The **Bee** reported on January 14, 1900 that a feeling was widespread throughout the state that Toledo wanted too much

money for promoting her local interests. The next day it was reported that Toledoans were dropping the Centennial as shown by the fact they had not bought up the entire $500,000 of the Ohio Centennial Company's stock. A cartoon in the Columbus **Dispatch**, January 17, 1900 showed old man Toledo fast asleep on the roof of a Centennial building while Ohio called to him, "Wake up, old man! Wake up! The time is short, you know!" Thus a sense of urgency became apparent—even desperation and the dread word "failure" began to be used. Secretary Lem Harris of the Company said, "The people of Toledo must come forward now. There is no use disguising the matter in any way. The people know the true state of affairs, and, unless they give the exposition their support, both moral and financial, it will be a failure, and they will have no one to blame but themselves. I think the people have no conception of the great amount of damage a failure would entail on Toledo . . . Toledo would have to bear the brunt of adverse comment from all parts of the world. It would be a death blow to the city." (**Blade**, January 15, 1900.) On January 17, the **Blade** editorialized, "Now is the crucial test Toledo has been "The Future Great' for thirty years in derision. Now is the time to accomplish her greatness at one stroke. Raise the necessary capital for the Centennial Company, and a grand, an overwhelming success is assured. 'Now or Never' is the watchword. Don't allow your name to go on the list of charter members of the Toledo Degradation Club." If we should fail, said J.D.R. Lamson, "I should want to move out of town." (**Blade**, January 18, 1900.) Said Mayor Jones, "If we fail now, the villages of Maumee, Perrysburg and Sylvania will laugh at us." (**Blade**, November 16, 1889.) By February 9, 1900 the danger seemed past. The $500,000 was subscribed and the **Blade** sighed with relief, "Toledo Has Done Well."

All eyes now turned to Columbus. On February 13, 1900 Representative Charles P. Griffin, introduced a bill appropriating $1,000,000 for Centennial purposes. This, of course, ran counter to the recommendations of both Governor Bushnell and Governor George K. Nash, who had succeeded him in January, 1900. Nash believed that a million dollars was too

high and that the $500,000 might better be used for the state's charity program. Against this Griffin took the ground that the Centennial should be conducted on the grand scale in keeping with the standards set by Chicago with the World's Fair. It was pointed out that St. Louis was preparing to spend $5,000,000 on the Louisiana Purchase Fair in 1903. (**Blade**, February 24, 1900.) Griffin managed to get his million-dollar bill adopted by the House of Representatives on March 14, but the Senate cut it down to $750,000 on April 4. This was not acceptable to the Ohio Centennial Company. According to the **Bee**, April 5, 1900, the new president of the Company, S. C. Schenck, said that "he favored a million or nothing and a majority of the directors agreed with him." This was also the view of Director Ryan of the State Centennial Commission, who had said, "It will be much more to the credit of the state to have no Centennial than to have a poor one." (**Bee**, February 22, 1900.)

In accordance with these sentiments Griffin took the high ground of "a million or nothing." The result was disastrous. It put legislators on the spot. Politically they had to choose between Griffin and Nash. These two men belonged to different wings of the Republican Party. Nash was a Hanna Republican, the wing which was under the influence of big businessman, Senator Mark Hanna. Griffin was an anti-Hanna man, that is, a member of the Foraker wing of the party. (See chapter on politics.) It was claimed that he was seeking to use the Centennial issue to obtain public support for his ambitions to displace Southard in Congress. The Hanna Republicans were in a majority. Hence, when the Centennial appropriation was sent to the usual conference committee for compromise, the Hanna men prevailed. The appropriation was reduced to $500,000, and a new 11-man Centennial Commission was authorized to replace the old 21-man Commission, which had been made up chiefly of anti-Hanna men, appointed by former Governor Bushnell. Griffin, who saw in this an effort to put pro-Hanna men in charge of the Centennial, refused to sign the conference committee report. In the House debate on April 14, Griffin argued so

heatedly for "a million or nothing," that the members took him at his word and voted the report down.

There remained one faint hope. The Ohio Legislature was accustomed to pass two general appropriation bills, one for each of the years of its term. Each of the two bills passed in 1900 contained an appropriation of $250,000 "for the Ohio centennial and northwest territory exposition." Since Griffin's bill had failed, no legislation existed directing how or by whom the money was to be spent. Toledo still hoped that somehow this money could be obtained. The attorney general said that it could not, but Toledoans claimed that he was prejudiced. A legal test was arranged and the State Supreme Court agreed to make a judgment. Senator Foraker undertook to argue the case for the Ohio Centennial Commission. On June 26, the court sustained the attorney general. It ruled that the $500,000 could not be used since no one had been authorized to spend it. Unless Governor Nash agreed to call a special session of the legislature, the centennial was dead.

Nash was opposed to a special session. He said that extraordinary sessions were only authorized for emergencies and that the centennial did not fit this classification. In reply to a request by Mayor Jones for a special session he said that he doubted that the Legislature would act differently if it were called back. He also referred to the final clause of the act of April 26, 1898 which excused the Legislature from any necessity to vote an appropriation for the Centennial. Jones had said that Toledo had gone into debt for $150,000 for the improvement of Bay View Park. Nash suggested that Toledo should have realized that the Legislature was not bound by the city's action. Nash added that Griffin and others demanded a million or nothing and that they had been taken at their word. Moreover, said the governor, there need be no loss to education, culture or progress by the failure of the Centennial. The money saved might be applied to Ohio's hospitals, asylums and prisons. "This is a grand opportunity to put into practical operation the precepts of the golden rule." This remark was considered a reflection on Mayor "Golden Rule" Jones. Others felt that Nash lacked enthusi-

asm for the Centennial because it was promoted by anti-Hanna men Governor Bushnell and Representative Griffin.

And so the great Ohio Centennial project died. The **Bee** of August 18, 1900 blamed the debacle on Republican politics. The **Blade**, which had advised Griffin to accept the $750,000 compromise (April 5), sought to cover up its disappointment by asserting that it was not fitting to have an "old fashioned exposition . . . a sort of magnified state fair." (April 17, 1900.) "The state and local commissions and the Centennial company" said the editor, "were satisfied that this sum was not sufficient for an exposition worthy of the great state of Ohio. Rather than have a Centennial which would make us the laughing stock of the nation, they thought it better to abandon the whole scheme." Certainly, said the editor on June 30, "if the state is to be humiliated by reason of not holding the exposition, Toledo will prove conclusively that the blame cannot be laid at her door."

The Ohio Centennial that was finally held in 1903 was even less than a "magnified state fair." It took place in Chillicothe on May 20-21, 1903, and was based on an appropriation of $10,000.

The Settlement of the Black Swamp of Northwestern Ohio: Later Days

By Martin R. Kaatz

1. Draining The Swamp

It is an easy oversimplification to state that the railroad was responsible for the eventual settlement of the Black Swamp merely because the peak period of railway construction coincided with the peak period of settlement. The importance of the railroad cannot be denied, but were it not that railroad construction and the development of systematic drainage coincided, the rate of settlement would have been much slower.

The settler in northwestern Ohio was concerned first with obtaining that land which had the best natural drainage. The availability of transportation was ordinarily a secondary consideration. An examination of land values (ca. 1869) makes the importance of natural drainage clear. In every county throughout the Black Swamp the townships crossed by beach ridges were estimated at greater value than the land in adjoining townships which were not traversed by ridges.[1] In Defiance County, for example, the six townships crossed by beach ridges had an average valuation of $13.18 per acre. On the other hand, the six remaining townships, some having the benefit of the Maumee and Auglaize Rivers, the Miami Canal, railroads, and one of them the county seat, had an average valuation of only $8.88 per acre.[2] The higher value of the ridge townships lay in their superior drainage and not in any market advantages.

Drainage is the key to the settlement of the Black Swamp. That the swamp constituted a barrier to settlement for so long while the surrounding land was rapidly being occupied is, in part, a reflection of the cultural heritage of the settlers them-

selves. Had another group of settlers, previously experienced in the art of drainage settled in the Black Swamp, it may have been transformed into a productive part of Ohio many years sooner than it was. An early observer wrote:

> . . . a correct knowledge of the uses and influences of drainage has but rarely been possessed by any of our farming population, which is made up principally of emigrants and descendants of emigrants from the more hilly and mountainous states, or from like rolling countries of Europe . . .[3]

As early as 1816 the Black Swamp was recognized as being potentially productive if properly drained. In 1853 the Perrysburg **Journal** was predicting that:

> . . . the wet and overflowed lands of Wood County will be drained and eventually become the garden spot of Ohio. It will take time . . . the tide of emigration will no longer pass by them to go further and fare worse.[4]

From the War of 1812 until past the mid-century mark, most settlers preferred to travel a little further, and why not, when throughout the old northwest land was generally "too abundant and cheap" to justify choosing a farm which required ditching in addition to the usual pioneer labors.

The progress of Black Swamp drainage is a rough index to the progress of settlement. Every advance made in the technique of drainage helped to demonstrate to the prospective settler the habitability of the region.

The improvement of the Maumee-Western Reserve Road in 1839 first brought public attention to the fact that the Black Swamp was capable of drainage, despite its gentle gradient which in many places was less than four feet per mile. Deep side ditches and frequent culverts were a prominent feature of the newly macadamized road. The road ditches led to natural and artificial channels which eventually drained into Lake Erie. The result was that the lands along the ditches

were relieved of their excess water. Open ditches were, of course, an integral part of any road through the Black Swamp, but roads were few and far between, and none carried the volume of traffic of the Maumee-Western Reserve road.[5]

The farmer's early drainage practices consisted of plowing his fields into narrow bands separated by dead furrows to catch the excess water. Ideally, he would also have a ditch leading away from his field, but often this meant emptying water on a neighbor's farm. "Neighbors could not always agree, in fact in a mixed settlement of Germans, English, and Yankees [characteristic of northwestern Ohio] they seldom would agree or sacrifice a jot or tittle of their own for another."[6]

Increased awareness of the necessity of systematic drainage brought about the passage of a law in 1859 which provided for a system of public ditches. County commissioners were given "the right to enter upon and appropriate the land of any person for a ditch, drain, or watercourse whenever in their opinion the same would be conducive to public health, convenience, or welfare."[7] Early "ditch laws" were often inadequate and were blamed by some for retarding settlement in northwestern Ohio. In many cases, for instance, only one year after settlement, taxes levied for ditches often amounted to the original price paid for the land.[8]

It soon became apparent that open ditches and furrows were not in themselves adequate for successful drainage of the swamp. Underdrains were also needed, but there were no nearby tile factories, and when such factories first appeared on the scene their product was too expensive for most farmers. The farmer improvised by laying saplings or stones in a trench and covering them. Such methods were unsatisfactory because the underdrains soon deteriorated. Wooden underdrains were a later improvement which came into wide use. These were constructed by nailing two boards together into a "V" which was then inverted and placed into the trench. Such underdrains were supposed to last from ten to fifteen years. The first tile were hand made and horseshoe-shaped, having no bottom.

During the 1860's more and more farmers were successfully draining their lands and the increased crop yields were proof to their more conservative neighbors of the value of drainage. The increasing demand for cheap clap tile led to the building of tile factories throughout northwestern Ohio. It was soon discovered that there was abundant clay beneath the Black Swamp suitable for tile manufacture, and such clay was seldom more than a foot or two beneath the surface. In 1870 there were only five tile factories in the Black Swamp counties. Nine years later there were eleven in Putnam County alone, manufacturing 80,000 feet of tile during the season.[9]

In Ottawa County the wet lands along Lake Erie were being drained by the use of dikes and windmill pumps. Thirty acres had been reclaimed in this manner by 1879.[10]

No reliable statistics concerning land in drainage or length of ditches and drains constructed are available until their inclusion in the United States Census of 1920. Facts concerning a few individual ditch projects are available however, and one ditch constructed in Wood County in 1878-79 indicates the scope of some of the work accomplished. The Jackson Cut-off is a nine mile long ditch dug to divert the headwaters of the Portage River into Beaver Creek, a small tributary of the Maumee River. (See map in **Northwest Ohio Quarterly,** Summer, 1953, p. 141.) The ditch drains parts of Wood, Henry, Putnam, and Hancock Counties. Since its original construction the Jackson Cut-off has been deepened and widened both naturally and artificially until today it "constitutes a veritable canal."

The pattern of ditches and major drains was fixed before the turn of the century. Drainage progress during this century has been confined mostly to more frequent underdraining by the individual farmer and the deepening and improving of previously constructed main drains.

2. The Rural Scene

"A society in process of establishment in a new region seeks to develop the most available resources of that region, at first for itself, then as communications and markets develop, for exchange with other parts."[11] In northwestern Ohio the farmer dominated the scene but not to the exclusion of other closely related enterprise.

"The pioneer was of necessity a woodsman before he could be an agriculturist."[12] During the first half of the nineteenth century hunting and trapping supplemented the farmer's income. In the 1830's coonskins were generally accepted as specie in all commercial transactions along the Maumee.[13] During the latter part of the nineteenth century lumbering supplemented the farmer's income.

Lumbering began in northwestern Ohio in the canal era and was augmented in the railroad era, the end of the former overlapping the beginning of the latter. By 1860 four important railroads radiated from Toledo across northwestern Ohio. Two of these crossed the Black Swamp, one from Toledo to Fremont and the other from Toledo to Lima. (See map in **Northwestern Ohio Quarterly**, Summer, 1953, p. 147.) Other railroads fringed the region.

Lumbering aided drainage operations, and the railroads helped speed drainage by aiding lumbering. Drainage was a heavy burden on the farmers, and one which they might not have found easy to bear, had not the railroad "afforded a market for the timber which formerly had no value, and rendered the 'winter crop' of timber almost as valuable as their summer crops."[14] In the 1860's the railways of Ohio consumed one million cords of wood annually for fuel alone and an unknown quantity for ties.[15] In Paulding County the railroads were credited with having "made the timber worth more money now [ca. 1884] than the land was worth four years ago."[16]

The gentle gradient of the Black Swamp streams was un-

favorable to the establishment of saw mills unless a large mill race was constructed first. In the early years of settlement this was a great hindrance, but the introduction of the steam mill overcame the difficulty.

The most important and widespread utilization of the vast timber resources was in the small wood-working industries which sprang up to make staves, hoops, spokes, and handles. Timber was also exported for shipbuilding.

Today, a huge drainage way, Wards Canal, may be seen in Lucas County. It is a reminder of by-gone lumbering days. The timber of the swamp forest became a basis for shipyards in eastern Lucas County, and Wards Canal was built from Lake Erie about three miles into the Black Swamp to facilitate shipbuilding. (See map in **Northwest Ohio Quarterly,** Summer, 1953, p. 141.)

In Paulding County, where the swamp forest was densest, wood was made into charcoal for the smelting of iron ore at Cecil and Antwerp. The ore was shipped from Lake Superior to Toledo, whence it went by canal to the furnaces, which were erected in 1864-65. They had an annual production of some 3,000 tons of ore apiece in 1870.[17] One furnace alone consumed charcoal from about 1,000 acres of woodland annually. The furnaces were closed by the mid 'eighties, and Paulding County lost its chance of being a center of heavy industry; however timber was still abundant enough in 1886 to support fifteen stave factories.[18]

Second in importance to lumbering at first, but destined to surpass it before the turn of the century, was the tile industry in northwestern Ohio. In 1880 there were more than fifty tile factories in the Black Swamp region alone.[19] Not only was the demand for tile great, but it was an increasing demand. The farmer discovered that by decreasing the intervals between his underdrains he got better drainage. This meant using more tile in addition to replacing old tile, and it is still going on.

The lumber and tile industries were perfect complements to the dominant way of life in the Black Swamp. Each contributed to the well-being of the farmer.

It was a combination of clearing the forest and draining the land which most completely transformed the Black Swamp into a vast new farmland. The farmer perpetuated the transformation, for the soil was too fertile to allow it ever again to give birth to the forests which once covered it.

What of farming? What kind of land was the Black Swamp? How was it to be used?

Throughout the Black Swamp it was uniformity, not diversity which was remarkable. The region is a vast lacustrine plain gently sloping to the northeast and drained by numerous sluggish streams. Low, narrow beach ridges of sand and fine gravel; occasional dunes; and scattered limestone outcrops here and there interrupt the otherwise featureless plain. The beach ridges lie at right angles to the general direction of drainage. (See map in **Northwest Ohio Quarterly,** Summer, 1953, p. 141.)

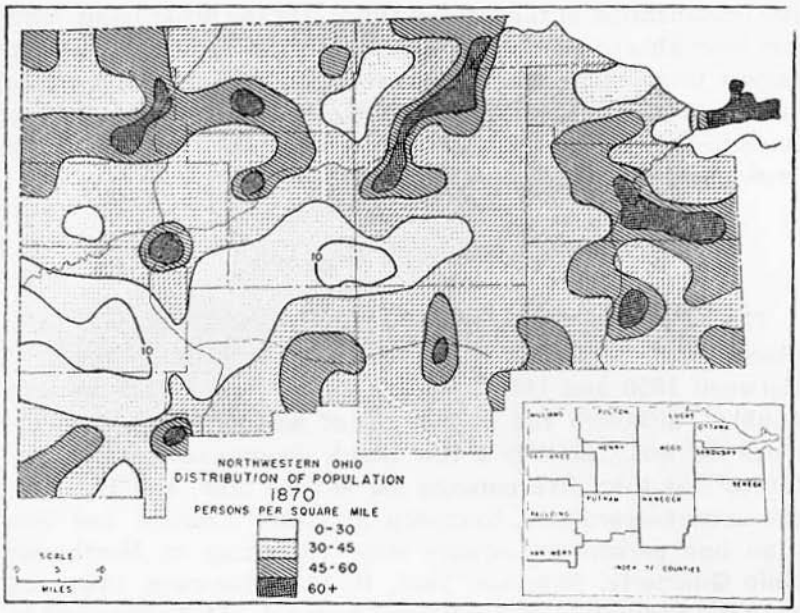
The natural vegetation was likewise lacking in widespread diversity. Except for occasional prairies in Wood and Sandusky Counties, a few oak openings, and local variations due to surface aberrations, the deciduous swamp forest dominated the scene. (See map in **Northwest Ohio Quarterly,** Summer, 1953, p. 147.) In 1870 more than half of the Black Swamp was still in its natural state. In some counties less than thirty per cent of the land had been cleared. By 1887 only nineteen per cent of Henry and seventeen per cent of Good County were still wooded.[20]

The soils, a reflection of the vegetation and the surface, also showed marked uniformity throughout the Black Swamp. In the eyes of the farmer the soils counted most, and whenever possible he settled on the better drained soils of the ridges—only to find out later that, after drainage, the yield of the flat land soils was greater. The settler was little aware

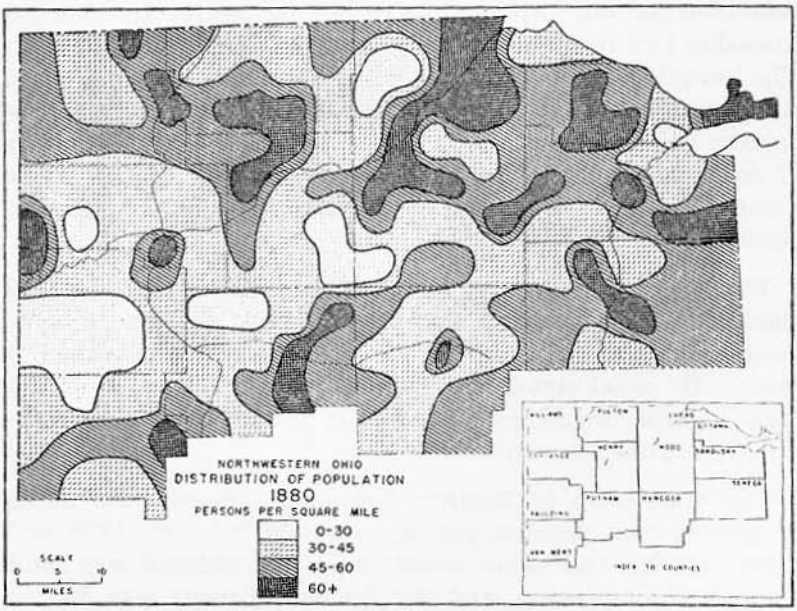
of the many distinctions we make today between the soil series, type, and phase, but he was aware of differences in clayeyness, stoniness, and the death of the topsoil. In 1870 the soils of northwestern Ohio were divided by Klippart into (1) the soil of the Black Swamp proper, (2) the soil of the prairies, and (3) the soil of the sand ridges.[21]

Today the Black Swamp soils are known as Toledo silty clay, Brookston clay, and Paulding clay, roughly in the order of their occurrence from Lake Erie to the southwestern tip of the swamp.[22] The beach ridge soils are primarily the Belmore loams (L. Whittlesey beach) and the Plainfield and Berrien sands (L. Warren beach). Soil scientists have added little to the general description of the Black Swamp soils since their description in 1839 by an early geologist. (**Northwest Ohio Quarterly**, Summer, 1953, pp. 144-145.) Ignoring minor variations between the remarkably similar profiles of the swamp soils, they may be described as having a dark gray to black clayey surface horizon, underlain by a yellowish-gray to brown, plastic, heavy clay horizon resting on dolomitic limestone. The soil texture becomes heavier and heavier with increased distance from the lake shore. All but the Toledo soils contain small limestone pebbles scattered throughout; the Paulding soils are the most impervious. When wet the Black Swamp soils are very plastic and sticky; when dry they form into firm clods. Generally speaking, the darker the soil, the poorer the drainage is.

From the beginning of settlement in the Black Swamp the entire agricultural system revolved around corn. Western Ohio has always been corn country. The Black Swamp copied the agriculture of southwestern Ohio rather than that of northeastern Ohio, or the Western Reserve, where dairying is and was the dominant farm economy. The soils of western Ohio are underlain by limestone and are of greater fertility than the sandstone and shale soils of eastern Ohio. The Western Reserve began as corn country, but the diminishing fertility of the soil together with competition from the superior corn land to the west brought about a change to a dairy economy which fitted in better with the qualities of the land and



(After U. S. Census Office, Ninth Census of the U. S.: 1870.)



(After U. S. Census Office, Tenth Census of the U. S.: 1880.)

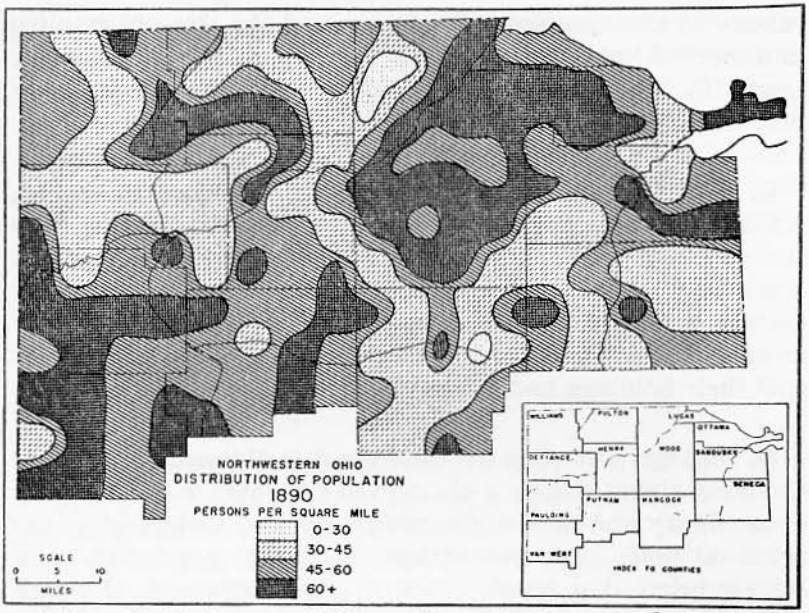
the urbanization of this part of Ohio. On the other hand, corn has been able to maintain itself as "king" in the Black Swamp region because the soils have retained their initial fertility remarkably well, and the yields of corn and associated crops have been great enough to permit the region's maintaining a prominent position in the Corn Belt.

3. Filling Up The Land

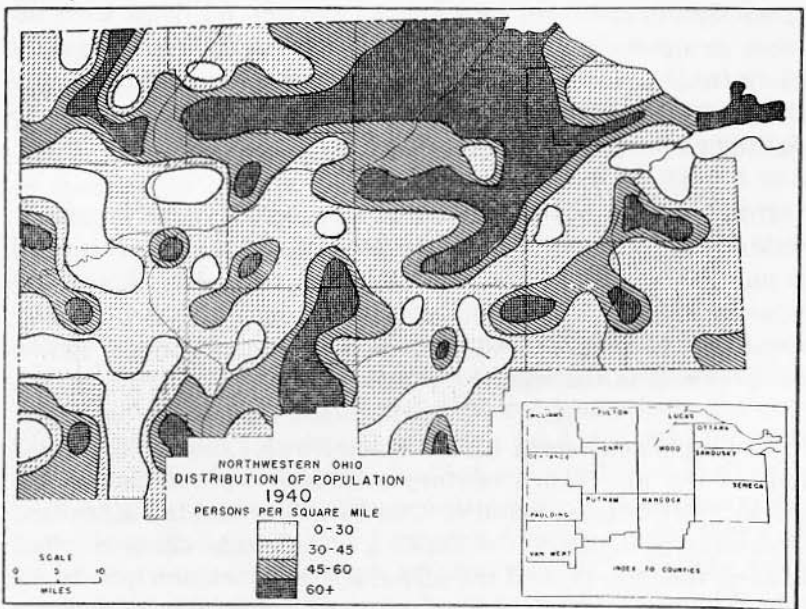
The real filling up of the land in northwestern Ohio took place after 1850 and continued until the turn of the century. Between 1850 and 1860 the population of the Black Swamp doubled, although the population of some individual townships did not. In 1860 a few Black Swamp townships contained less than five persons per square mile, and Bartlow, the southeasternmost township in Henry County, had less than one person per square mile. (See map in **Northwest Ohio Quarterly,** Summer, 1953, P. 153.) Between 1860 and 1880 the population of the Black Swamp doubled again and in some places even tripled or quadrupled. (See maps on Population Distribution, 1870 and 1880 in this issue.) In 1880 no township had fewer then seventeen persons per square mile. The townships whose population had increased the most were those that had been least populated as, for instance, in southeastern Henry County, southwestern Wood County, and much of southern Paulding County. These portions of the Black Swamp had always lagged behind the rest of the region in settlement.

The slow settlement of some of the central and western Black Swamp townships was only partially due to the very dense forests and extremely poor drainage which prevailed in them. Of equal significance was the fact that much of the land in these townships was held by speculators in anticipation of railroad construction.

The population of Bartlow township jumped from three to twenty-nine persons per square mile between 1870 and 1880. During this same decade a second railroad was built through the township, and the Jackson Cut-off was dug in next-door Wood County. The railroad brought about the



(After U. S. Census Office, Eleventh Census of the U. S.: 1890.)



(After U. S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the U. S.: 1940.)

release of the speculators' holdings and the Cut-off resulted in a marked improvement in local drainage. By 1890 Bartlow township had more than doubled its 1880 population. (See map on Population Distribution, 1890, in this issue.)

In the underpopulated townships of Paulding County, a similar increase could be observed. Between 1880 and 1890 the population of southern Paulding County increased as much as 400 per cent in some townships. During this same decade two railroads were built which bisected the county in an east-west and north-south direction. The speculators sold their holdings and a wave of settlers entered the region.

In 1886 gas and oil were discovered in Hancock and Wood Counties giving rise to a short-lived but intense boom. Parts of Sandusky and Seneca Counties were also underlain by the same oil field. The subsequent influx of population was largely urban, but rural population also increased, although at a slower pace than during the previous decades. For a time the oil wells between Bowling Green and Findlay were of some significance, but by 1900 the gas and oil fields were almost exhausted. They had given rise to a brief period of glory for the villages concerned, but rural life remained essentially unaffected by the rash of oil derricks which came to dot the countryside.

Rural population reached its peak before 1910 in northwestern Ohio; most of eastern Ohio had gained its peak rural population by 1850; and southwestern Ohio had done likewise by 1880.[23] In some respects the retardation of settlement in the Black Swamp was a definite advantage to the development of the region.

The rapid settlement of the Black Swamp during the latter half of the nineteenth century coincided with an important era in United States history. The Civil War and the attendant expansion of industry, the building of railroads, the perfection of farm machinery, and the introduction of science into farming all contributed to the betterment of the farmer by increasing the demand for farm products and improving farm produc-

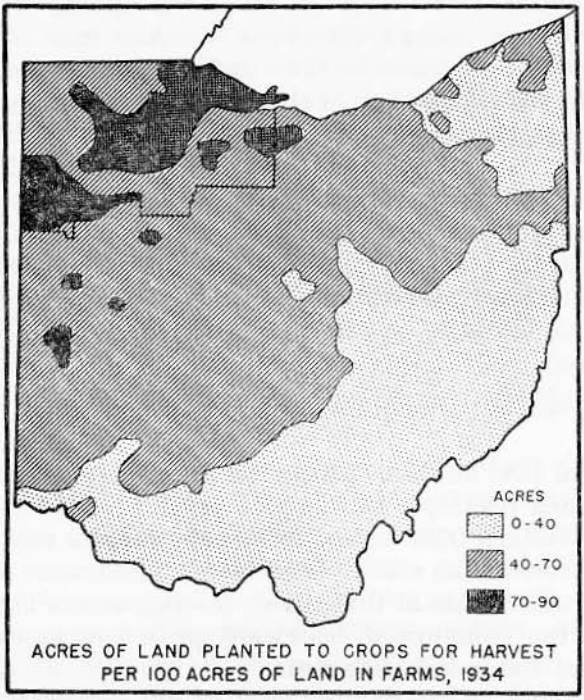
tivity. Within a few decades the Black Swamp was transformed from a useless, obstructive morass into one of the most productive regions in Ohio and the United States Corn Belt. The transformation of the rest of Ohio from wilderness to farm had proceeded more slowly and painstakingly. The farmers of the earlier settled regions of the state often were unable to realize any profits from their labors within their own generation; whereas the Black Swamp farmers reaped a comparatively quick reward from their arduous efforts to clear and drain the land.

4. Settlement Reaches The Climax Stage

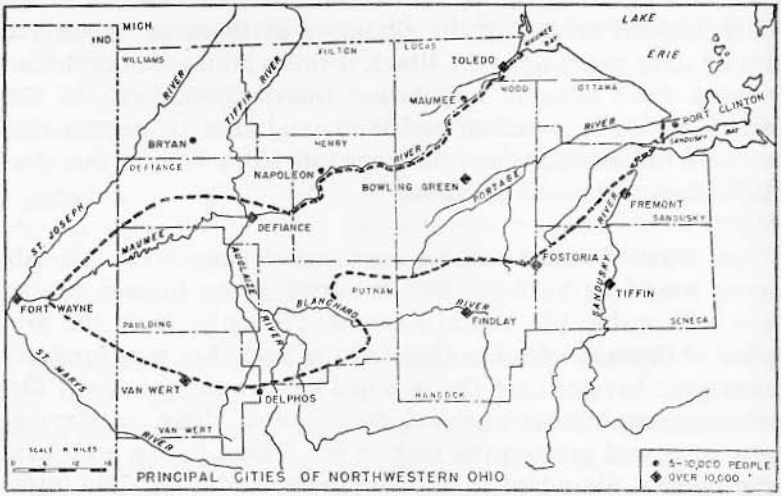
Between 1880 and 1900 settlement entered the climax stage in the Black Swamp. During this period the Black Swamp and nothwestern Ohio ceased to be considered a region apart from the rest of the state. In outward appearance it resembled the rest of Ohio at that time. No longer was northwestern Ohio the unimproved, backward portion of an otherwise prosperous and progressive state.

The main changes wrought since the turn of the century are of a lesser magnitude than those changes wrought in the many decades preceding the climax of settlement. Today, as fifty or sixty years ago, the Black Swamp lands are dominantly rural. (See map on Population Distribution, 1940, in this issue.) To be sure, urban and industrial encroachments may be found radiating a short distance out from Toledo, but elsewhere the rural scene prevails.

The Black Swamp has been so transformed that an observer would be hard-pressed to estimate its former extent. Once well within the region he could recognize from the profusion of drainage ditches that here is land that was formerly ill-drained; beyond that the unaided eye would not easily discern any pronounced regional distinctions. The countryside has a neat and prosperous look to it. Large barns, well kept farm houses, abundant farm machinery, and a sky-line interrupted by television antennas are signs, to even the most cas-



(After Sitterley and Falconer, "Better Land Utilization for Ohio," P. 39.)



(After U. S. Bureau of the Census, Advance Reports of the 1950 Census. Series PC-8, No. 34, 1951.)

ual observer, that he is in the midst of good farm land. Nearly all of northwestern Ohio is good farm land, and one does not easily recognize the degree to which the Black Swamp is better farm land than the lands which surround it.

On the other hand, an approximation of the former limits of the Black Swamp may be discerned today statistically. The plotting of certain agricultural statistics by townships reveals the extent to which the Black Swamp has maintained its regional integrity agriculturally. (See maps on acres of land planted and acres of open land pasture, 1934, in this issue.) The most recently available statistical analyses of agriculture on a township base are for 1930 and 1935.[24] Agricultural practices within the Black Swamp have changed but little since that time; thus these statistics may still be safely used as indicators of the region's agricultural unity.

In 1930 the Black Swamp was the most completely cropped area in the state.[25] Corn and oats acreages were higher here than elsewhere in the state and pasturage was the smallest. "The lack of sufficient livestock to utilize the abundance of feed crops, the large percentage of lands used in the production of grain crops, and the relatively small acreage of hay and pasture have made it necessary to sell large quantities of feed grains for cash and caused the area to be known as a cash cropping territory."[26] These circumstances still prevail.[27] As early as 1910 the Black Swamp counties as a group led all other sections of the state in the amount of "feedable" crops sold, a position they still hold.[28]

5. Epilogue

A vigorous transformation of the natural landscape has taken place in northwestern Ohio. A vast swamp which formerly dominated the pattern of roads and villages has disappeared leaving in its wake a fertile and productive segment of the Corn Belt. The land is criss-crossed with railroads and highways where once only Indian trails broke through the wilderness; yet the principal cities—Port Clinton, Fremont, Tiffin, Fostoria, Findlay, Delphos, Van Wert,

Fort Wayne, Defiance, and Toledo—still persist on the periphery of what was once a swamp.[29] (See map on Principal Cities of Northwestern Ohio in this issue.)

The persistence of an initial pattern of settlement in a region formerly characterized by unfavorable terrain conditions (although these unfavorable terrain conditions have long since been removed) is understandable only when the qualities of the land are analyzed together with the abilities of the people occupying that land. Man's abilities, in turn, reflect his cultural heritage and the times in which he lives. Thus early in the nineteenth century the average American settler, knowing little if anything about the techniques of artificial drainage, avoided the Black Swamp; and the population of southeastern Michigan increased at the expense of northwestern Ohio. Those pioneers who chose to settle in northwestern Ohio did so along the edges of the swamp as did the Indians before them. The selection of canal routes served only to underscore the importance of the fringes of the swamp, contributing little to the development of the interior. The first railroads preceded widespread drainage operations and focused their routes on the already established communities. When the Black Swamp was finally successfully drained at the end of the nineteenth century the principal cities of northwestern Ohio were well established. The subsequent changes in the abilities of the people occupying the region have not yet resulted in a re-alignment of the original pattern of settlement.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture for the Year* 1876 (Columbus: Nevins and Meyers, 1877), 494.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture for the Year* 1857 (Columbus: R. Nevins, 1858), 477.
4. *Perrysburg Journal, December* 19, 1853.
5. During the winter months of 1837-38 some 5,500 travelers passed over the road, averaging 180 footmen and 86 sleighs and wagons a day. [Leeson and Evers], *Commemorative Historical and Biographical Record of Wood County, Ohio* (Chicago: I. H. Beers and Co., 1897), 182-83.
6. Homer Everett, *History of Sandusky County* (Cleveland: H. Z. Williams and Bros., 1882), 298.
7. *Ibid.*

8. *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture for the Year* 1871 (Columbus: Nevins and Myers, 1872), 298.
9. *Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture for the Year* 1871 (Columbus: Nevins and Myers, 1872), 298.
10. *Ibid.*, 333.
11. R. C. Buley, *The Old Northwest, Pioneer Period,* 1815-1840 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1950), I, 168.
12. *Ibid,* 159.
13. F. Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontier,* 1825-1850, Vol. III of The History of the State of Ohio, ed. Carl Wittke (6 vols.; Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1941-43), 67.
14. *Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture for the Year* 1881 (Columbus: G. J. Brand and Co., 1882), 266.
15. *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture of the Year* 1876 (Columbus: Nevins and Myers, 1877), 509.
16. *Fortieth Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture for the Year* 1885 (Columbus: Myers Bros., 1886), 293.
17. *Report of the Geological Survey of Ohio,* Vol. I, Part I, *Geology* (Columbus: Nevins and Myers, 1874), 350.
18. H. Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Columbus: Henry Howe and Son, 1891, III, 34. Remains of the charcoal kilns near Cecil may still be seen.
19. U. S. Census Office, *Tenth Census of the United States*: 1880. *Manufactures* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 320-36.
20. R. Shanks, "The Original Vegetation of a Part of the Lake Plain of Northwestern Ohio: Wood and Henry Counties," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Botany, Ohio State University, 1938), 12.
21. Ohio Geological Survey, *Report of Progress* in 1870 (Columbus: Nevins and Myers, 1871), 374.
22. J. H. Sitterley and J. Falconer, "Better Land Utilization for Ohio" (Ohio State University and Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Dept. of Rural Economics, Mimeo, Bull. No. 108, Columbus, 1938), 7-11.
23. P. Beck, *Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio,* Bulletin 553 (Wooster: Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, 1934), 5.
24. Sitterley, *op. cit.,* 38ff.
25. J. Sitterley and J. Falconer, "Type of Farming Areas in Ohio" (Ohio State University and Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Dept. of Rural Economics, Mimeo, Bull. No. 56, Columbus, 1933), 5.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Letter from John H. Sitterley, Agricultural Economics Department, Ohio State University, February 27, 1952.
28. W. Lloyd, *et al., The Agriculture of Ohio,* Bulletin 326 (Wooster: Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, 1918), 190, 239.
29. Bowling Green, the only important city located within the swamp borders, is situated on a sandy beach remnant of glacial Lake Warren. The city owes its prominence to the fact that it is the county seat of prosperous Wood County and the site of Bowling Green State University.

The Story of Religion in Toledo, 1875-1900

(Part One)

By Gordon A. Riegler

A survey of religion in Toledo, covering a period of twenty-five years, to be confined to one comparatively brief chapter, can hardly be expected to contain a catalogue replete with all events in all the churches of the city. In fact space will not even admit of reference to some things of considerable importance to a particular congregation or denomination. Moreover, if as Dr. Octavius Brooks Frothingham, an historian of somewhat lesser note, has said, that the outsider can never fully understand another man's religious group, then this writer admits freely his limitations in dealing with so comprehensive a subject. It is well, too, to bear in mind a recent criticism of denominational and general church histories, that on reading them, the reader would never suspect what the life and activity of the local church or parish was. Since the story of religion in any community is largely the story of individual bodies and since they constitute component parts of the Church Catholic or Universal, it is important that we have some insight into the life of the various congregations in Toledo as that life is related to the community's religious narrative, and as it is also tied in with denominational and interdenominational operation and thought on the larger scene of state, national and international levels. To accomplish the task set before us, we must be content with providing illustrations of what was taking place in the period embraced in this study.

I

Churches of Toledo, 1875-1900, and Their Growth: At the beginning of this era, there were approximately 47 churches in the city, including Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples of Christ, Evangelicals, Methodists, Presbyterians, Protestant

Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Swedenborgians and Unitarians among the Christians. (Downes, **Lake Port**, p. 267.) There was also a Jewish synagogue of not too sturdy proportions. At least extensive periods of silence in the daily **Blade** and long spans of time with no resident rabbi would seem to indicate a somewhat weak congregation. Methodists and Roman Catholics were represented by the largest number of congregations, each having eight. Included also among the 47 were at least two Negro, two French and several German organizations or parishes. At the end of this quarter century there were about 100 parishes. Many of those which had existed in 1870 grew in numbers and in some instances became mother churches of offspring in the new communities as the population expanded. Thus the First Congregational Church claimed to be the mother of all Congregational and Presbyterian churches in Toledo, an interesting story of which more shall be related later. Ashland Avenue Baptist, Collingwood Methodist and Presbyterian, and St. Mark's Episcopal, to mention only a few, were all daughters of downtown churches. Unfortunately statistics for all congregations in the city do not seem to be available. But such figures as we have reveal that church membership was increasing as well as the general population. Trinity Episcopal Church, for example, in 1893 had about 548 communicants and in 1899 779, while St. Mark's increased from 132 to 324, and in these six years the total number of Episcopalians changed from 1141 to 1786, though the former figure should be taken with some reservation since St. Andrew's, St. John's and St. Luke's made no report in the earlier year. Being quite small, absence of the report could not alter the picture greatly. (**The Living Church Annual**, "Diocese of Ohio," for these years.) Undoubtedly the greatest gains were measured among Lutherans, Methodists and Roman Catholics, this being especially true of the last named. Early in the twentieth century Toledo became a see city, with a cathedral and resident bishop. Incidentally for a considerable number of years they hoped to achieve independent diocesan status, i. e. independence of Cleveland jurisdiction, as did both Methodists and Episcopalians desire local espiscopal officials. In fact, Mr. Walbridge, prominent realtor and member of Trinity Episcopal vestry, offered Dr. Leonard an episco-

pal residence in this city upon his consecration to the episcopate. He did not accept, but for some years in the next century a bishop coadjutor did make Toledo his residence. Methodists never achieved the honor of having one of their bishops reside among them, as did neither Cleveland, and only fairly recently was the episcopal address moved from Cincinnati to Columbus—the logical center of a great Methodist empire. Immigration was especially helpful to Roman Catholics and to a somewhat lesser degree to the Lutherans. Immigrants from Germany and the Scandinavian lands were largely Lutheran. French, Irish, Poles and Germans promoted Roman Catholic expansion. About 1900 Roman Catholics estimated their strength at around 5,245 families—conservatively approximately 20,980 baptized members; and some 13 parishes and institutions reported properties valued at something like $698,700. (G. F. Houck: **The Church in Northern Ohio,** I, 1-16.) Revivals were still an asset to Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists, together with some smaller groups; there is ample evidence, however, in innumerable items in the daily **Blade** to show that Episcopalians and Roman Catholics were not averse to the use of evangelism, under another name of course, to promote their cause.

Unitarianism, though extremely important for its significant contributions to liberal religious thought, education and social welfare in America and the English-speaking world, never flourished to any great extent outside a radius of fifty miles of Boston, and was therefore not to be expected to establish many churches in the Middle West. Apparently there was never more than one congregation at any one time in this era in Toledo. Still, through its clergy and membership, it seemed to wield considerable influence.

As the years rolled along, the Jewish population seemed to grow in numbers and its adherents apparently betrayed greater interest in the faith of their fathers, so that by 1893, the Toledo **City Directory** listed three congregations, of which at least one was Orthodox and one was Reformed. Newspaper accounts of Jewish religious and other activity were rare.

Not only to parent groups existing in Toledo in 1875 were daughter bodies added, but new communions entered the field. Unfortunately current papers of that day did not bother to designate synodal affiliations of the various Lutheran congregations, but the fact that there were both German and English-speaking Lutherans with their own churches would indicate at least two synods represented here, for Lutherans came as linguistic entities. Evidently the Germans preceded the English in this denomination. 1880 began an era in which some 25 pentercostal bodies had their birth. Of these the Christian Alliance formed an organization here in this quarter-century. Somewhat akin to it was the Salvation Army which also opened Toledo headquarters. Seventh Day Baptists, Spiritualists and Theosophists came too.

If the latter fourth of the 19th century did not witness the advent of so many new groups into Toledo as did the 3rd quarter, still the total growth of the religious population was significant. Without attempting to differentiate the several divisions among Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, and perhaps some others, the **City Directory** being our authority, there were around 16 or 17 different denominations represented in Toledo at the end of this period. This did not include several missions and the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A. which conducted religious services. Further evidence of expansion may be seen in the development of church Sunday schools, that of the Washington Street Congregational Church having an enrollment of nearly 1,000 pupils in a part of this era. Some of the individual congregations became fairly powerful, strong enough to have assistant pastors. Trinity, First Congregational (for a time), and a number of Roman Catholic parishes employed a second clergyman; indeed one or two of the latter had even more than a second minister; and First Congregational seemed to have pioneered in having a woman parish worker. Roman Catholicism engaged nuns for teaching and other parish duties. While Methodism came to use deaconesses, there seems to be no evidence that Toledo had any.

As a general rule expenditures appear to be modest, even small. The salary of a Methodist district superintendent, at

that time known as a **presiding elder,** might be as much as $1,500.00 per year. Budgets were not often mentioned, but when they were, most of them appeared to be meager. In the earlier years of this era, the **Blade,** commenting copiously on the famous Beecher-Tilton trial, going on in Brooklyn, New York, sometimes with a vengeance, once reported Beecher's annual stipend at $100,000.00 per year (this was probably exaggerated). As compared with today's prices even, sums spent for building enterprises appear insignificant generally. Among the Roman Catholics the range was tremendous—all the way from $1,400.00 to $150,000.00, with 12 out of 19 being under $35,000.00. Protestant averages were much lower. Construction of the parish house adjoining Trinity in 1875 was done at an approximate cost of $20,000.00. A similar amount of space today at $17.00 per square foot would be in the neighborhood of $275,000.00. Incidentally on Easter Day, 1875, at the request of the Rector, Dr. Leighton Coleman, Trinity's congregation responded with an offering of nearly the entire amount needed—certainly more than enough to guarantee the success of the enterprise.

In discussion of the financial status of the churches in this era, it should be recalled that the nation was subjected to some financial hard times—there were some severe panics in the 70s and in the 90s. The latter brought especially acute suffering to many Toledoans. This was particularly true of the foreigners in our midst. Still, there seems to be no evidence that any church closed its doors for financial reasons, though Dr. W. C. Hopkins, late in the 90s, did resign from the superintendency of the Adams St. Mission, saying funds were inadequate to meet his salary. The fact, however, that the Board of Trustees voted to continue the mission and to secure new leadership, would argue that other reasons probably were involved. It was in a day of money adversity, around 1893-4, that St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church was consecrated—the finest and one of the largest west of the Allegheny Mountains.

II

Activities within the Churches: To a large degree the activity of the churches was the activity of their clergy. This was but natural for on the whole the ministers gave all their time to the Church whereas the laity had other concerns as well and could devote only spare hours to the Lord's enterprise. Preachers were probably engaged, for the most part, in writing sermons, conducting worship and preaching, holding week night prayer meetings, directing the Sunday school and youth groups, being at the women's meetings and men's club, administering the Sacraments, uniting lovers in marriage, burying the dead, giving a hand in innumerable money-raising projects, making pastoral calls, going to ministers' meetings, conferences, and working up the annual, or even semi-annual revival. The occasional lecture (frequency dependent on a man's popularity), promotion of temperance and other causes, and participating in civic work were also a part of his life. The following report of the Rev. S. M. Beatty (affectionately called "Father" Beatty—the term **father** being applied to several Protestant clergy) is probably not typical since the Bethel was not a parish church, but a specialized mission. Yet it does indicate that the Toledo minister had some heavy responsibilities:

175 services conducted
28 baptisms
27 funerals
33 new members added
6 members removed
4 members died
725 ships visited
1912 locomotives visited
712 cabooses visited
1720 families prayed with
40 **Bibles** and **New Testaments** given away
5200 pages of Tracts distributed

This was a full year's program. Remove ships, locomotives and cabooses. Substitute house-to-house calls and the innum-

erable meetings, and you have in the above the schedule of a busy pastor of the final quarter of the nineteenth century.

To convey the idea that the laity were a passive element in the life of Toledo's churches would be a sad mistake. Naturally the study of a particular pastor's life and activity would yield a truer picture of his parish than a similar study of the life and work of any one of his parishoners. Yet laymen and laywomen carried a generous part of the load. Women officered and supported their church organizations, both within and without parish bounds, taught in the Sunday Schools, opened their home generously to church religious, business and social functions; they gave the church suppers and socials to finance the work. Laymen also did their part as members of vestries, sessions, official boards; they, too, taught in the Sunday Schools and not infrequently lent a hand at the fund-raising projects. A picture of F. B. Swayne, vestryman at Trinity, off week after week to secure data and impressions concerning a possible new rector for the parish, or of Marion Lawrance, of Washington St. Congregational Church, serving the Sunday School cause, both locally and as secretary of the State Sunday School Association, is revealing with regard to the layman's part in Toledo church life. Macomber, Berdan, Walbridge and Waite are some of the names of the Toledo laity left to us in our streets, schools and parks. The day-to-day work of the ministers and laity with worship and some other matters constitute the real program of the churches. The beginning and end of a pastorate, the new building, the unfortunate disagreement and dissension, the special revival, attendance at some conclave of a denominational or interdenominational nature—these though rightly a part of this story compose the unusual.

Back in 1875 social life as well as religious was pretty firmly tied to the churches. The social was frequent and common to all the congregations. It might, however, mean any number of things. It could be a means of making money for the churches or it could be purely recreational. An evening of such activity sometimes culminated with light refreshments but more often it included a substantial evening meal. One

suspects, upon reading many issues of the daily paper, that the great variety of social life offered by the church lay in the name of the function rather than in the fact. Concerts, summer excursions and picnics, fairs, socials, suppers and teas largely made up the social life of church people. If card parties were held, they were discreetly not mentioned, for card playing was still frowned upon by most of the clergy and many of the members—at least openly. Very little was said about participation in the dance. Now and then some of the worldly Episcopalians did so even in their parish houses. One year oyster suppers were popular, the next the New England supper, and then a succession of chicken potpie—only rarely turkey. Japanese, Chinese, Turkish and Crazy teas flourished. Now and then it was a spiderweb social—strings being strung about the house in complicated manner and the participants being required to follow their particular string to its end. Most fascinating of names was the "jug-breaking" whatever that might be! Of this we may be sure, it was not for the purpose of dispensing the familiar contents of so many jugs. Even Roman Catholics advertised **temperance collations** at their social events. So frequent was the literary tea, the literary social, the literary concert, utilizing home talent, that one is amazed at the tremendous capacity of Toledo church people to endure amateur entertainment. Wonderment increases as one follows the papers to note the growth of commercial, secular and professional amusement during this quarter century. At no time, within this era, was the city wholly lacking for social life and recreation outside the churches. But it must be admitted that through the churches abundant opportunity was provided to meet the best and most prominent people in the city at an extremely modest cost. Sometimes it was free, often it was to be had at a dime, and perhaps never at more than twenty-five cents, even for a very substantial supper.

It would be gross injustice to the social life in the churches to convey the notion that it was all of a piece, or that it never reached beyond the community to bring some of the nation's best to Toledo. The forces of religion furnished some of the very best to be found in all America. Sometimes a college glee club sang in a city church. With chautauqua circles form-

ed in several congregations, designed to do in the local com munity on a reduced scale what Chautauqua and Lakesid planned for summer seasons, leading persons of the lectur platform were invited to come, and this was an era when th United States had many golden-mouthed orators. Amon those who came were Dr. Russell H. Conwell, Baptist ministe and founder of Temple University, celebrated for his lecture "Acres of Diamonds," from which he realized more than a mi lion dollars, used to educate young people; Dr. Frank Gunsau us, Chicago clergyman and founder of Armour Institute o Technology; and Dr. T. Dewitt Talmadge, Brooklyn an Washington divine, whose weekly sermon appeared in th **Blade** regularly for many years. Added to these were the Sta Course given annually by the local Y. M. C. A. in the fall an winter. Not only did the "Y" join the chautauqua circle i bringing the orator, but it also made a bow to music. brought notable artists; it did what no religious body in thi city would attempt today, it engaged the Boston Symphon among others, to come for a concert. Boston at that time wa the musical and cultural center of America.

The daily **Blade** probably published the news it receive but either churches reported spasmodically or their activitie were spasmodic. Often many weeks would elapse before particular congregation's services of worship appeared in th church announcements. In fact some seemed consistently t shun all publicity. But it is more than likely, especially wher there was a resident clergyman, to believe that weekly serv ices were held regularly; and where that was true some socia life prevailed. Still, making all due allowance for irregula reporting, it seems reasonable to believe, on the basis of suc information as we have, that in some years there were man more events than in others. Reason for this is not easy t assess. Revivals, a change in pastors, economic condition what the secular world had to offer in the way of entertain ment and other unknown factors may have shifted th change of emphasis from time to time. Summarizing the ac tivity within the several churches of Toledo between 187 and 1900, we may best characterize the same by saying: Th Church in this city was a living, growing organism within living, growing communty.

III

Auxliary Organizations: Of these there were three types: societies within a given parish, denominational groups larger than the parish, and such institutions as were interdenominational in character. Practically every local congregation had its Sunday school. This included both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Aside from content of teaching and the fact that the former were taught by priests and nuns and lay brothers in religious orders, the main difference seems to be that Protestant schools met mostly in the morning while Roman Catholic schools met on Sunday afternoon. Efforts at Christian education on the parochial level included, for the Protestants, considerable cooperation, there being County, State, National and International Sunday School Associations. In Toledo Sunday School Superintendents met periodically for consultation. Primary teachers of the city had an organization and Marion Lawrence for some time conducted a Sunday School class on a week day for benefit of teachers. The Convention or Institute was a regular feature, at which the leadership examined its work, heard papers on various phases of instruction and discussed common problems. This, too, was the era in which the International Lesson flourished, and there is every reason to believe that it was commonly used in the Toledo Protestant Sunday Schools. In addition to interdenominational cooperation several communions maintained some sort of super-organization embracing the leadership of the local churches of their own denomination—these, too scheduled meetings for the purpose of improving educational methods. Of considerable assistance to certain groups were their weekday parochial schools, which, in addition to teaching secular subjects, were able to place religion in the curriculum. Among the Protestants, for a span of years, Trinity Episcopal Church continued to operate a day school, which was founded in 1874. (Downes, **Lake Port**, P. 270.) The Rev. Elliott F. Talmadge, rector emeritus of St. Mark's Church, was at one time principal of this institution. Here also a kindergarten—apparently the first in the city—was opened. It was carefully explained in the **Blade** that this kindergarten was to be conducted according to the **Froebel system.** (**Blade,** August 30, 1875.) The

Lutheran churches late in this period had as many as nine schools, First German and St. Paul's listing their's as early as 1875. (Downes, **Lake Port,** P. 270.) As Roman Catholicism grew in numbers and strength, its school system developed, the parish schools being augmented by Ursuline, St. Patrick's and Notre Dame Academies.

Every Protestant church had its **Ladies' Aid Society,** or its equivalent. In addition many had a **Missionary Society,** or both a **Home** and **Foreign Missionary Society.** These societies generally were affiliates of some larger body, as, for example, those of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church were related to the home and foreign societies of the Toledo district, the district to the annual conference, and the annual conference to the national body, in this case the General Conference. Conclaves were held regularly, some of them meeting in Toledo. To these gatherings came missionaries from remote parts of the world, so that it was not too uncommon for a Toledo congregation to hear voices from China, Japan, India, Africa, South America or the Near East. Local Christians were enlightened and saved from too much provincialism. On one occasion one of the national women's missionary societies met in convention at St. Paul's, bringing to the city a host of celebrities, some of international renown.

Interdenominational and international in scope was the society known as **King's Daughters and Sons,** of which the **Daughters** were the more active. Here in Toledo it embraced nearly all Protestant bodies, including the more often exclusive Episcopalians. When Mrs. H. M. Bacon, wife of the pastor of Central Congregational Church was honored with a state office, a tea was given for her at Trinity Parish House. Engaged in the practical aspects of Christian ministry, the Daughters in this city did a number of worthwhile things, including the establishment of a day nursery, about 1891, for the care of young children of working mothers. In the same year, they incorporated a home for newsboys, who in that day did not labor for extra spending money, but because many of them were orphans. (**Blade,** March 2, October 22, 1891.) Members were seemingly encouraged to render service on their own

in addition to corporate action, for we read that one young woman who belonged to the chapter at St. John's Episcopal Church made a weekly habit of reading to a number of blind persons. (**Blade**, November 30, 1891.)

There were almost as many chapters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union as there were Protestant churches in the city, excepting perhaps the Episcopal and Lutheran bodies. Most of them were confined to a particular parish, though at least one was of broader scope. On the higher level of county and state organizations, women crossed denominational lines to fraternize. Some readers may be surprised to learn that the Union not only warred on Demon Rum, but had some other interests as well. On the positive side, they maintained a barrel of free ice water downtown for all who wished to drink. Directly they were responsible for Retreat Mission, forerunner of the modern Florence Crittenden Home, and in 1896 the **Blade** referred to a foundling department. Here church women engaged in volunteer work. (**Blade**, June 3, 1896.) As early as 1886 this mission felt the need of more space in order to expand its work. At that time it was necessary to turn applicants away. (**Blade**, February 15, 1886.) They thought in terms of building. (**Blade**, February 28, 1886.) But in 1889 they purchased a house at a cost of $6,500.00—a sizeable amount then, which they regarded as temporary. (**Blade**, September 2, December 12, 1889.) In 1890 the City Council granted them a tract of three acres, the legality of which transaction was challenged. (**Blade**, February 1, 1890.) The Women's Christian Temperance Union was also responsible for the Young Women's Christian Temperance Union, and this organization maintained a Flower Mission for years, the purpose of which was to provide flowers and other luxuries, in small amounts, for the needy sick and others. A group of these young women conducted a day nursery or kindergarten at the LaGrange St. Congregational Church. (**Blade**, August 23, 1890.)

Space does not permit a larger chronicle concerning these multiple arms of the Church. There were many of them: The Protestant Hospital whose work began in an earlier era,

the Protestant Orphanage, Lutheran Orphanage, the Young Men's Catholic Benevolent Association, the Home for Friendless Women, and others. Helping Hand Mission fed as many as 200 persons a day and won the criticism of city officials. (**Blade**, February 4, 1890.) Adams Street Mission seems to have fared better. Something of the scope of its work may be seen in the fact that at the delayed Christmas party, held in January, 1891, between 5,000 and 6,000 items were given away. (**Blade**, January 7, 1891.) Hope Industrial School for Girls, associated with the Third Congregational Church, was a kind of junior Goodwill Industries, before the day of that latter institution. It was designed to help poor young girls how to sew, keep house, cook, etc. (**Blade**, July 11, 1882.) Others, too, within the Church, had similar programs. The Young Men's Christian Association, founded earlier than 1875, moved from rented rooms to its own building which cost more than $20,000.00, and expanded its program. (**Blade**, July 3, 1882.) In this era a Young Women's Christian Association was also established in Toledo, starting in temporary quarters, then securing its own place—a residence purchased for that purpose. Both of these institutions reached beyond the purely religious to offer recreation, fellowship, culture and utilitarian courses.

Nor was interest confined to Toledo. Christian people were moved with compassion to meet human need in other places. For example, both the First Baptist and First Congregational Churches sent boxes of clothing to the needy in the sister state of Michigan, when their attention was called to the situation. (**Blade**, September 9, 1881.)

Too significant to overlook was the formation of youth organizations in this era: The Christian Endeavor Society in 1881, the Epworth League in 1889, and the Baptist Young People's Union in 1891. The first-named was interdenominational, the two latter served Methodist and Baptist churches respectively. Healthy societies were to be found in many of the local churches, having a tremendous influence upon the life of many youths. Toledo young people entertained and attended state conventions, some of them were delegates to na-

tional conventions, and the Reverend "Father" Francis E. Clark, pastor of Williston Congregational Church, Portland, Me., and founder of Christian Endeavor, visited Toledo in behalf of the movement.

IV

The Social Gospel: While it would be a mistake to suppose that the churches were disinterested in creedal matters, nevertheless it would be equally wrong to hold that their interest was chiefly or exclusively doctrinal, especially if we mean undue emphasis upon the peculiar beliefs of a particular denomination or school of theological thought. The very fact that there was a mission in Toledo, announcing its services in Saturday editions of the **Blade**, proclaiming itself free from denominational bias; that a Unitarian minister, the Rev. A. G. Jennings, had a friendly argument through the **Blade** with Trinitarian clergymen, and that one or two Baptist preachers wanted to debate **immersion** with non-immersionists would indicate a rather lively concern for differences of belief. Some attention, too, was given the subject of **liturgy** — it played a rather prominent part in a meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, which convened at St. Matthew's Church, Vermont near Adams, in 1898. (**Blade**, June 6, 1898.) But such matters as differences in dogma, forms of worship and types of church government, generally speaking, did not occupy too much time as controversy. Missions, temperance, education, social questions, and how to reach the people were among the things which commanded greater consideration, together with those major tenets upon which there was general agreement.

Temperance was perhaps the issue most largely promoted aside from general theology and worship. While it would be erroneous to suppose that temperance always meant **abstinence and prohibition**, it certainly did mean abstinence for most Christians, and it meant prohibition for an increasingly large number as the years rolled along. Even Roman Catholics had their total abstinence societies. In no uncertain terms, Archbishop Feehan, of Chicago, told **temperance Catholics** at the World's Fair in Chicago, in 1893, what it meant:

> We can easily understand that when you teach men to aspire to something more than the ordinary things of life, as you try to teach a man that he must be a temperance man in the ordinary sense of the word, you show him that he must be a total abstinence man, that he must abstain altogether. (C. J. Kirckfleet, **The Life of Patrick Augustus Feehan,** p. 224.)

Thus the preaching of Dr. R. A. Quigley, at St. Francis de Sales, on temperance was part of a background of the national Roman Catholic movement standing for total abstinence. One nationwide conclave on the subject brought to St. Louis some 50,000 abstaining delegates. St. Patrick's, here in the city, had its **Junior Temperance Society,** and Father Hannin, the pastor, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his signing the abstinence pledge. At St. Francis de Sales, new communicants of the parish, when asked to renew their baptismal vows, were requested to pledge themselves: (1) never to enter a saloon until 21 years of age, and (2) never to taste any intoxicating beverage until reaching the same age. (Incidentally, they were also required never to enter a Protestant Church, save perhaps to attend a funeral.) (**Blade,** June 14, 1886.) Bishop Waterson came to Toledo to speak in Memorial Hall at a mass meeting under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League, at which time he, too, urged total abstinence, and Father Hannin on this same occasion thought Roman Catholics in the United States wanted Roman Catholic saloonkeepers to get out of the business. (**Blade,** March 21, 1895.)

Dr. Atwill, at Trinity Episcopal Church, founded his Knights of Temperance, and even dressed them in uniform. They were given considerable prominence, and were expected to abstain altogether. (**Blade,** June 12, 1886.) Still he did not think prohibition would work. On the other hand Dr. W. C. Hopkins, the rector of Grace Episcopal Church, who opposed a new church organized on prohibition principles, held all churches should get behind the Anti-Saloon League whose policy was frankly prohibitive. (**Blade,** June 10, 1886.) Protestant clergy and churches, in this era, were generally total abstinence and increasingly prohibitionist in theory, at least officially, and probably almost exclusively so in practice.

Education, embracing a curriculum far more inclusive than strictly religious and moral teaching, also claimed the attention of the city's forces of religion. Parochial schools did teach mundane subjects as well as the faith of the fathers. Undoubtedly most of the public school teachers were church members. You could depend on it, that a clergyman always had the invocation and benediction at a commencement. Here and there a minister spoke out in behalf of public schools (by the way Roman Catholics, then as now, asked for public support of their schools, and for the same reasons as given today), or advocated the furtherance of a municipal university, as did the Rev. D. M. Fisk, associate minister of the First Congregational Church. Again and again, the **Blade** church announcements carried the information that the president of Kenyon College would preach at Trinity, or the president of Denison University would speak at Ashland Ave. Baptist Church, or a member of the faculty from Ohio Wesleyan would deliver the sermon at St. Paul's Methodist Church. Most of these churches, in line with denominational policy, set aside a Sunday a year on which an offering was taken for their schools and colleges. Toledo young people attended church colleges, though not exclusively so of course. Baptists enrolled at Denison, Congregationalists and Presbyterians at Marietta, Oberlin and Wooster, Disciples of Christ at Hiram, and Methodists had Baldwin, German Wallace, Mt. Union, Ohio Northern, Ohio Wesleyan and Scio to choose from, while Lutherans could go to Wittenberg and Reformed Church young people to Heidelberg. There can be no question but that Toledo churches supported secular as well as religious education at all levels of mental development. Perhaps their works spoke so loudly for them that it was quite unnecessary to make too many references to the subject.

Considerable attention, too, was given to the social gospel —emphasis upon social aspects of the Christian faith. As Professor John T. McNeill has pointed out in his **Christian Hope for World Society** (1937) and as I have shown in my **Socialization of the New England Clergy,** 1800 to 1860 (1945), there never was a time when the Church was not interested in a social demand and expression of religion. But attention was

intensified in the post Civil War years, with some notable leaders coming to the fore. It was especially in the latter thirty years of the nineteenth century that the term **social gospel** became increasingly popular. It would seem that more of the religious leadership (clerical) in Toledo favored a Christian solution of social problems than opposed such. There were some defenders of the **status quo.** It is not too difficult to decide where the Rev. S. G. Anderson, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church, stood. He maintained that ordinary work must be done by ordinary people, and he advocated converting the man, not giving him more wages. (**Blade**, June 6), 1896. The difficulty with his position was: Who would determine what ordinary work was? and who possessed just ordinary abilities? nor did he concern himself with his less fortunate brother's task of maintaining a home and family on the pitifully meager wage at his disposal. Perhaps Dr. Scadding's attitude hinged largely on a matter of method. He had a wonderful background of training as associate to Dr. W. S. Rainsford, rector of St. George's, New York City. Rainsford was an outstanding exponent of social religion in the Protestant Episcopal Church, whose influence reached far beyond his own communion. It was significant that Trinity vestry, knowing this, should have called Scadding to become their rector. He knew all about life in New York's slums, he was sympathetic, still he had many reservations regarding the use of pressures through organized labor to secure desired ends. On November 12, 1889, the Rev. A. B. Moore, of Mansfield, was telling the boys at our local Y. M. C. A. how to get rich (**Blade**, November 11, 1889.) Presumably he was speaking in terms of material and not spiritual wealth. The laity did not always agree with the clergy, though generally it was to the credit of the church people in Toledo of that day to be willing to hear the other side, and even to aspire to some profitable action. John E. Gunckel, reporting to First Congregational Church, on "Business Men and Christianity," told how he interviewed some fifty city merchants and business leaders, who informed him that people would think they were crazy if they attempted to conduct their business according to the Sermon on the Mount. On reading between the lines, one is persuaded that the Rev. T. C.

Northcott, pastor of the Washington Congregational Church, was not really dismissed because of his unpopularity among the young people. He was very likely discharged because enough of his people with sufficient influence did not like his social preaching. To be sure he may have presented truth as he saw it, not in an instructive but in an irritating manner. Incidentally Northcott had quite a following and for some time after his dismissal he continued to hold services in a downtown hall. (**Blade** issues of 1883, 1884 for full story.)

That fascinating volume by Edward Bellamy, **Looking Backward**, was read by several of Toledo's clergy. Drs. W. C. Hopkins, of Grace Episcopal Church, Henry M. Bacon, of Central Congregational Church, and A. G. Jennings, of the Unitarian Church of Our Father, were among those who led discussions on social issues, growing out of the reading of this book. The Rev. E. W. Hunt, of Ashland Avenue Baptist Church, also led a group in social problems. Under Bacon's direction, 50 to 75 persons met at the Y. M. C. A. and authorized a committee to effect an organization of a "Kingdom Come Club." (**Blade**, November 18, 1889.)

Specific social questions were considered. Men like the Rev. Mr. Hutsinpiller, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, unhesitatingly (and apparently with considerable knowledge on the subject) attacked corruption in city government. (**Blade**, August 24, 1891.) There was some awareness of the need for reform in the prison system — at least one downtown clergyman had talked about it. Although there was little evidence of interest in the woman question, there is apparently nothing to indicate any hostility on the part of local Methodists to seating women in the General Conference of their Church, nor among local Baptists when, about the same time, their Convention pondered the same problem. Women's suffrage did receive the blessing of the Church in Toledo to the extent that several meetings for women's political rights were held in our city churches. Child labor seems not to have been a concern of the Toledo Christian community. In fact some references to the training of indigent boys and girls to work on the part of Adams St. Mission and some other religious bodies would seem to betray commitment of

church leaders to a policy of child labor. However, there is no written evidence that churches here favored work of children for purposes of exploitation by industry, but as a means of solving juvenile delinquency and of procuring a livelihood for the disinherited young. Primarily the Sunday church school, the Newsboys' home under Christian auspices, the several church orphanages, together with the public schools, work and the majesty of the law, were the Church's answer to delinquency.

Dr. Hopkins (now at Adams Street Mission) favored free land to the poor. (**Blade**, January 26, 1895.) The Rev. D. M. Fisk at the First Congregational Church preached on the dignity of labor. (**Blade**, February 10, 1896.) Hopkins went further by having a large hand in the organization of a labor exchange to provide work for the unemployed. (**Blade**, July 13, 1895.) Laborers, in their working clothes, were invited to attend religious services at the Y. M. C. A. (**Blade**, March 27, 1891.) The "Y" also considered the advisability of establishing a kind of Goodwill Industries to afford "the worthy poor" (a term dear to a rather snobbish type of Christian) an opportunity for self help. (**Blade**, March 27, 1897.)

With this era begun only a decade after the close of the Civil War and embracing the Spanish American conflict, religious leadership was inevitably confronted by this problem of international relations and of peace and war. Perhaps it was natural that before the day of air travel and world wars, America should be provincial in its outlook. After all Europe, Asia, Africa and South America were very remote. Moreover, Northern victory led to a glorification of Northern heroes. Not much, then, was said about peace and international goodwill. Foreign missions were international to be sure. And Toledoans were conscious of the cause, but hardly as a means of promoting universal brotherhood. The interest was probably in salvation of souls, since missions were much more the work of the conservative and orthodox Christians than that of the liberal Unitarians who were so few in number anyway. Still, by the time America was leading up to War with Spain, the clergy in Toledo generally did not rush forth to push the na-

tion into any bloody struggle. However, once the die was cast, the ministers were not behind in protestations of militant patriotism. A number of churches much earlier than this had had their military organizations for young men, among them Trinity Episcopal and St. Paul's and Epworth Methodist churches. (**Blade**, March 27, 1897.) In 1896 a visiting evangelist, the Rev. Fay Mills, told Toledo church members that there must be no more war, (**Blade**, May 4, 1896) but about two years later, Unitarian Dr. A. G. Jennings was quite interested in preserving national honor, (**Blade**, April 2, 1898) and the Rev. T. N. Barkdull (who with his son came from Methodism to the Episcopal Church—the father's ministry had been previously in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Toledo), at Calvary Episcopal Church, concluded that the war with Spain was "Christian in spirit." (**Blade**, April 25, 1898.)

Money also was discussed. The New Century Club of which the Rev. and Mrs. A. G. Jennings were leaders debated the Silver Question, (**Blade**, February 19, 1891) and just prior to that the Toledo Congregational Club heard a paper on the subject of "Christian Socialism." (**Blade**, February 14, 1891.)

Protestant leadership brought to the city some nationally distinguished advocates of social reform: Dr. Washington Gladden, of the First Congregational Church, Columbus, whose hymn: "O Master, let me walk with thee" is now far more familiar to churchmen than the author himself; Dr. Josiah Strong, President of the Social Service League of America; Professor Graham Taylor, of Chicago Theological Seminary and founder of Chicago Commons; Jane Adams of Hull House; and General William Booth of Salvation Army fame. (**Blade**, November 10, 1894.) Reports of their visits and addresses appear in the **Blade.**

While this is in no sense a complete summary of Christian social thought in Toledo in this era, it nevertheless illustrates the interest therein. Further substantiation of that interest is seen in the fact that when Annie Besant was about to visit the city, local Theosophists felt it wise to emphasize her concern for social welfare (**Blade**, August 2, 1897); that the Rev.

J. Stitt Wilson, later to become socialist mayor of Berkeley, California, came to preach (**Blade**, May 30, 1898); and that the Rev. S. Sherin, of Chicago, secretary of the National Civic Philanthropic Conference, addressed Central Congregational Church on "The Needs of the Hour in Social Reform." (**Blade**, October 2, 1897.) Although there was an **Institute of Applied Christianity** to bring notables in this field to the community, yet some of them knew they had launched on, not an easy, but a difficult trail. Fay Mills, visiting evangelist, was conscious that the laity could be troublesome—he told them: "the man who says he will not mix business and religion has no religion to mix." (**Blade**, May 15, 1896.) The Rev. D. M. Fisk stated that: "The preacher who would secure the support of every old sinner in his congregation must not talk on business, politics or religion." (**Blade**, January 4, 1897.) But the clergy, for the most part, were now people-conscious; so they continued their interest in all the people. They vied with each other in offering free seats. Efforts to eliminate the rented pew in Toledo was part of a national movement in these years. Even such churches as Trinity and First Congregational, where the annual pew-renting was an important event, saw to it that persons might sit where they pleased on Sunday evenings. Thus the spiritual leadership was sure that if the Christian Gospel were not the social gospel, at least the latter was an extremely important part of the former.

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Sabbath Observance: A subject of importance to the clergy and churches in this quarter century and which claimed no little of their time and thought was that of **proper Sabbath Observance.** It mattered not that the Commandment: "Remember the Sabbath Day, to keep it holy," applied to the seventh day of the week—our Saturday; Christian leadership felt that Sunday was the Lord's Day and should be kept as the Christian Sabbath. Undoubtedly from the religious standpoint, it was entirely fitting that some part of a man's time should be dedicated to God, and certainly the Christian man gladly makes that dedication. So ministers of the Gospel in the sev-

eral communions represented in Toledo formed the **Law and Order League** in which the laity also shared. The self-constituted responsibility of this group was to push the hand of city officials in the enactment of legislation favorable to their cause, and of the police to enforce the same. Such legislation was designed to close the saloons on Sunday, thus also presumably decreasing the amount of drinking, to prevent Sunday baseball and other sports, to put an end to Sunday excursions by boat or train, to cut down the new-fangled practice of bicycling on this day, and to discourage the pursuits of regular business. They also took their stand against Sunday newspapers. The **Blade** did not at that time publish a Sunday edition, but resented being told by the clergy and the **Law and Order League** that they could not. It was an infringement of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press.

Gradually the force of the Law and Order League spent itself; straws in the wind began to indicate that a new day would come, when Sunday would be a day of worship and of rest for only a comparative minority of the people. Generally there is ample evidence to show that Sunday as a day of worship was never such for a majority of our population, though it would seem that there was a time when perhaps most persons recognized Christian practice sufficiently to desist from engaging in those activities so obviously frowned upon by clerical leadership and their sympathizers. For increasing numbers Sunday would become a day of rest and of recreation, with emphasis upon recreation. With the dawning of a new century, the age of automotive and air travel and the advent of the cheap neighborhood motion picture house would come a revolution in American social behavior, the ministers and their churches would become a waning influence in the determination of what the multitudes would do with their Sundays.

Midwestern: Mother Churchill

By Alfred Vance Churchill

Father lost Mary Jane, the beloved wife of his youth, who died after the birth of their first daughter while he was still teaching at Hillsdale. Her body was taken back to Oberlin for burial. The babe soon followed her. The grave was opened and the child laid beside the mother.

After the little family was broken up, my father having in the meantime accepted a call to Oberlin, the three boys were taken in by grandma Turner. Her heart was of gold but her strength was not equal to the task. At the end of a year she told Henry frankly that she was too frail for such cares and that he must think of marrying again.

Still greater zeal in the matter was displayed by others who went so far as to suggest candidates for him to choose from. One of these was afflicted with strabismus to such a degree that father couldn't be certain whether she was looking at him or not. The second, who happened to be a widow, was highly recommended as a nurse:— "Such a wonderful nurse! —do you know—Professor—that woman has nursed three children through their final illness!" Father replied that he preferred one without such experience.

But grandma Turner would not be put off. "Henry," she said, "can't you think of some one you could love, that would make your children a good mother?" And finally the answer came,—"There was a girl in my class at Hillsdale. She used often to come to our home. She loved the children and we both loved her—Mary and I."

Once his mind was made up father went straight to Hillsdale and laid the case before the young woman. There was no time for courting; he had to get back to his work. But

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within an incredibly short number of hours her heart had yielded. She was twenty-three years old and just finishing Junior Year.

"My life in Oberlin," mother wrote, forty years later, "began with the greeting from dear Charley and Frank at the station, Tuesday evening, Oct. 11, 1859. Shy little Fred, in his first trousers, who looked out at the new relative from the safe shelter of his father's arms, envious of the brothers who called me 'mother,' broke over all restraint within 24 hours with 'Ma! don't I like you weller'n Frank does?' . . . It seems to me that no such mother ever was so happy in her charge. Three bright, active boys of 11, 8 and 2½, kept me busy and often puzzled me. But Charley was conscientious and helpful, and Frank and Fred demonstrative in affectionate expressions, and dear grandpa and grandma Turner judicious and friendly, encouraging me to come to them for sympathy and ready to draw from their own large experience to meet my need. These latter could have easily made my life miserable; there was enough to criticize. But they took me at my best intentions and while memory lasts my heart will bless them . . ."

Mother had not heard that the little girl was dead. She was deeply grieved and disappointed. She took the boys into her great heart as if she had borne them herself. Eleven months later she had a son of her own and in course of time were born to her three more sons and a daughter. She seemed to love us all alike and when questioned the older ones had to think twice before they could tell to which family they belonged.

Mother was the heart and soul of the family and it would have been fitting to write of her people and her early life as fully as I did of father's. But as I have neither the knowledge nor the documents for such a study, a brief sketch will have to suffice.

My mother was born in a log cabin in a diminutive backwoods settlement at Lima, Indiana in 1836. If she wasn't

"rocked in a sap-trough" it is presumably because her father was a carpenter and cabinet-maker and she was his only child. It was a real pioneer colony. Neighbors were few and far between. Grandfather Vance had built the cabin himself and most of its furniture.

Indians were all about and the settlers, though never really molested, were afraid of them. I have heard grandma Vance tell how a string of Indians would come to the cabin door, open it without knocking—I think she said without greeting—and seat themselves around the fire, smoking their long pipes without a word. When she took the girl-baby from the cradle to nurse or bathe her, one of them would hold out his arms for her and, after looking her over from stem to stern until his curiosity was satisfied, pass her on to the next until each had had his turn. No matter how scared grandma was, she did not dare refuse. After a while one of the Indians would pronounce the single word "Bread." If grandmother began to spread butter on the bread she was stopped by a laconic "No cow."

One day there came to the cabin a stranger of unusual aspect. There was an extraordinary sweetness and radiance in his eyes, which had the faraway gaze of a mystic and a saint. He pronounced a benediction as he entered the door and blessed the child in her cradle. It was Father Shipherd on one of his long journeys in search of Colonists and funds.

Grandpa and grandma Vance were from pioneer families of New Jersey. Both had a deeply religious turn of mind and were exactly the kind of people Shipherd was looking for. I have no doubt that he tried to get them for his Colony but grandfather was not in a position to leave Indiana at that time. Before his departure Father Shipherd baptized the infant. They named her Henrietta after her mother.

The child grew and waxed strong in mind and body. Her parents gave her every advantage within their power. They supplied her with books and bought her a melodeon. They sent her, at her ardent desire, to academy and college at a

time when few women could enjoy that privilege. She helped pay the expenses by teaching school.

Beyond this, mother's experience of the world was very limited. She left college before graduating, to be married, and went with father to Oberlin where she spent the rest of her life. Two or three times she visited her old home in Lima. Once or twice she accompanied her husband to his father's home in New Hampshire. In 1876 husband and wife visited together the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. She saw that city a second time in 1883. These journeys, with an occasional trip to Cleveland, gave her all she knew at first hand of the outside world.

Mother was a philanthropist built on the great model, like Father Damien and Johann Friederich Oberlin. She was always thinking of the happiness and welfare of others—for their bodies as well as their souls. She worked endlessly to give food to the hungry and clothing to the naked, but she desired above all things to provide meat and raiment for the inner man. She had been reared in all the severity of the older Presbyterian tradition.* But under the more liberal teachings of Finney she had come to believe that no human soul was beyond hope and that, through the infinite love and mercy of God, even the vilest sinner might be saved.

So mother labored faithfully to this end and in some cases succeeded admirably. There was one fellow, a man of middle age, who mistreated his wife and neglected his family, who swore cursively and without intermission, but who, under her influence, became a model Christian. Others of her converts became "back-sliders" and "fell from grace," in spite of all her efforts. I do not know how she accounted for the failure of her prayers. Her dearest wish was to see one of her sons in the ministry. But no—it was not so to be.

She failed miserably with her house-hold servants. She was not only a philanthropist but a believer in democracy, and thought everyone should have a chance at the higher education. In her narrow experience, the ablest men had been col-

lege men. She could not realize that there was such a thing as a higher education aside from college education. (I have known college professors and Doctors of Philosophy who held the same opinion.)

Acting on the advice of a zealous clergyman, mother took into the family a pretty waitress from the Cleveland railway restaurant, intending to see her through college; only to find that she had exposed her sons to one of the last persons in the world she would have wished them to know.

I remember the case of Bridget—a bright Irish girl from Brownhelm. It was noticed, during Bridget's brief stay in our home, that Aunt Ann's hair-tonic disappeared with unwonted rapidity; but none of us had thought of it as potable, or imagined that such a lotion could contain anything to tempt a sinful appetite.

When the poor girl's mother died, my mother's compassion and confidence were such that she loaned Bridget her best bonnet and a beautiful shawl—one of her few treasures—for the funeral. It so happened that one of the boys met the funeral procession on its way to the cemetery and recognized a familiar face through the open carriage-window. The face was very, very red. A hat-brim hung rakishly over one eye. Bridget was laughing and her strong hand still clasped the neck of a tall empty bottle of hair-tonic which she waved cheerfully at the passer-by . . . A veil may be drawn over mother's hat and shawl, when at length she saw them again, and over the scene that followed.

I can hardly remember a time when there were not two or three young women in our family "working for their board" in order to go to college. Some of these were splendid characters who more than fulfilled mother's hopes. There are those still living who feel that they owe all that they are to "Mother Churchill"—for that was her name to a small multitude of girls. She was loving, helpful and tactful with all alike, though of course some of them touched her heart more deeply than others.

Among these—and probably the first among them—was Fanny Jackson, the quadroon whose name has several times been mentioned in these pages. An incident comes back to me which has often been related as a classic example of mother's sympathy and tact. You will remember the colored woman who was turned half-white for her vanity? It was said that my mother turned herself half-black for love.

Fanny had been asked in marriage by a fine man of her race whose affection she returned, but for many years she had put him off because she had dedicated her life to "her people" and could not bring herself to abandon the great work she was doing for them. She gave in, in the end, with the understanding that the work was to go on.

The wedding was arranged for. Mother received a warm and urgent invitation to come and be a guest in Fanny's home in Philadelphia. It was not easy to get together the necessary funds for this undertaking and mother was so late in purchasing her railway ticket that she was obliged to take an upper berth. In the middle of the night she was jolted out of bed—the B. and O. was at that time famous for the unevenness of its roadway—and falling on the side of her face, narrowly escaped serious injury; or even death, for she was a heavy woman. By the following afternoon her face was half-covered with a huge patch of black-and-blue. At length, arriving at Fanny's home, mother was met at the top of the steps by her old friend who threw her arms about her, laughing and weeping. When at last she could control her voice, these were Fanny's words,—"Mother dearest—I knew you loved me—but —I didn't know you'd be willing to change yourself into a darky for my wedding!"

Mother was endowed by nature with a magnificent constitution and superabundant nervous energy. She was hardly ever sick. But there was too little rest in her life—there were too few vacations and diversions—and in time her physical and spiritual burdens broke her health. Her high-strung nervous temperament, vivid imagination and tender conscience made her take life—and the religious life above all—very seri-

ously. She could not look calmly on and see human souls going to destruction. She realized their desperate condition as represented by the teachings of her church, with awful vividness. She agonized over them and tried to save them, and whatever she did was intensely done. These things, combined with the cares and toils of the household, brought on obscure physical and nervous troubles which she never succeeded in throwing off.

With all this, mother shed happiness in her path-way. She was as cheerful as St. Francis and this happy disposition continued to the end. "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine" was a proverb she loved to quote. Her smile was never far away and hearty laughter would often bring tears to her eyes.

I remember what fun it was to make her laugh when she thought she ought not to. We had been engaged in family worship. Mother had knelt before a rocking-chair with a back of woven cane and had pressed her forehead against it. When she rose from her knees I told her she had the brand of Cain on her brow. Mother was tickled. She thought this—my first pun—extremely witty, for I was only a child. She was pleased to see me following in father's footsteps. But she bit her lip and tried not to be too much amused because, though it wasn't really naughty, she feared that encouragement in a joke on a Bible character might lead to irreverence.

One night mother was not feeling very well and a cot was brought in so she could sleep alone, while father took the two youngest children into the big bed. She was awakened in the middle of the night by the sound of singing. It was her husband singing a hymn! She listened in some astonishment and waited for a clue to the mystery. The hymn was

> Lo! On a narrow neck of land
> 'Twixt two unbounded seas I stand.

Mother may have feared that there was latent blasphemy in that, too, but she couldn't resist the temptation to tell us about it the next morning.

Mother was finely formed by nature. An arduous life of many cares and the bearing of five children took their toll of the charms of youth. Yet one of them—her lovely hair—escaped the ravages of time. Her hair was silken and fine—without being too fine—and there were quantities of it, rippling from the crown to the waist with a natural ripple the like of which I have never seen. In color it was a light golden brown and in some curious way it made me think of honey, though the tone was a little darker than that . . . If physical beauties waned, the beauty of the spirit never ceased shining in her face. The sweet expression of the grey eyes did not change.

Her religious faith was boundless and unshakeable. She had put her trust in an all-wise and loving Father, and it could not be moved. Heaven and a blessed immortality were as certain to her as life and death. A time came when her heart was broken by the death of a beloved son, through accident, at the age of twenty. Nelson had shown a remarkable aptitude for physics. He had been father's daily companion, giving him much-needed assistance in constructing apparatus for the laboratory. It seemed as though his loss would bring down father's grey hairs in sorrow to the grave. Mother was sustained and comforted by the thought that surely she should meet her boy in Heaven. Father of course believed that too, but with mother it was an ever-present reality. (After Nelson was gone, the rooms of the laboratory were full of his presence; his last piece of work lay unfinished on the bench. Poor, absent-minded father! More than once he called to his son by name, having forgotten—for the moment—that he was no more.)

Mother loved music, painting, poetry and all beautiful things. I can see now that she was starving for beauty. She sang in the choir and the big concerts whenever she could, and showed more than average judgment as to color and design of dress-goods, wall-papers and the like. She would go out barefoot in the dawn to look at the sky, the flowers and the trees, wading in the dewy grass, wandering in the garden with sensuous delight in the colors and shapes of vegetables

and fruits, or stopping to eat a gorgeous red tomato plucked from the vines.

She tried to write, just for the pleasure of setting down thoughts and stories that interested her, with no idea of publishing what she wrote. She would hide herself in the attic or the hay-mow and scribble away, torn by the thought that she ought to be doing something useful. She loved to attend service in the Episcopal church, the only pretty church in town, which seemed a kind of heresy to some of her friends. Even father would ask,—"What do you find in that? Why do you like so well to go there?" And mother would answer,—"I think it is because I like to see things done decently and in order."

She was too tender and generous for this world—too much moved by the sufferings of her fellow-men—and would have wished to share anything and everything she had with those less fortunate than herself. When I read of Van Gogh among the Belgian miners it reminded me of her. George Sand has somewhere a character like that, I think in **Consuelo.** Grandma Vance had found it necessary to warn Henrietta, in her childhood, that she must not give everything away. "You know, daughter, even the blessed Jesus had clothing which wicked men coveted and cast lots for at his death." Mother had passed middle life when grandpa Vance told her, for the third or fourth time, that he was going to make her a birthday present of a gold watch and chain—something she had wanted all her life. But when he gave her the money she asked him if she might use it to help the poor students of the Seminary, in the newly-formed department for training Slavic ministers.

"Be hard," says Nietzsche, and there are some who need that word. But if there had been no self-denying love in the world there would have been no Nietzsche to warn them. The same is true of a host of other great men whose life-work was made possible through the devotion of mothers, wives, sisters, fathers, brothers and friends. As I look abroad upon life today it seems to me that there are full as many who would

profit from encouragement to be tender and generous, as of those who need the admonition "Be hard."

It was difficult for mother to think evil of any one and she would find some good word for even the meanest of men. One day Fred said to her,—"Mother, I believe you'd say something nice about the Devil himself." "Well,"—she replied—"you must admit that he has a great deal of perseverance."

The personage just named occupied a somewhat important place in our imaginings. I don't know what father thought, but Finney preached a "personal Devil" and most of us believed in him—more or less. I did, for I had seen him once, plain as day. He it was who had planned all the wickedness in this wicked world and was engaged in an eternal strife with God for the possession of souls. He had invented strong drink and cards, horse-racing, gambling, dancing, theatres, circuses and other snares — some of them most insidious snares — as traps for the sinner. One of these had a partial success even with mother herself.

Mother was opposed on principle to the circus, because she had heard that circus-folk were immoral and indecently dressed; but it was very hard for her to refuse us permission to go when the neighbors' children were allowed to do so. Anyway there could be no harm, and there was an educational value to be considered, in letting us see the innocent animals the Creator had made. So one day, when a circus came along, she took three or four of us and went to it—no doubt with misgivings. Thus old Satan got his nose into the tent, as the saying is.

After we had spent an hour or so admiring the beasts, the band struck up for the grand parade of elephants, camels, giraffes, monkeys and other beasts—a good half of all the kinds Noah took into the Ark. This was too much for the older boys and they succeeded in dragging mother into the big tent, from which it was, really, almost impossible to get out. So we saw the whole show. Satan was certainly a cute one! In private conference after arriving home it was claim-

ed by some (denied by others) that "Mother liked it as much as we did."

There is no use in piling up evidence of Mother's affection for her family. She would deny herself at every turn to give us pleasure. She saved up her little bag of Christmas candy so that she could give it to us—piece by piece—for weeks after ours had vanished. She loved her babies and was happy when she had a new one—every time! She has told me of the mingled physical and spiritual rapture she felt sitting in church when, at the sudden thought of her baby at home, the milk gushed into her breasts. She felt lonely when her family had grown up and there was no longer a child in the house. Twice she tried out the idea of adopting a waif from an orphange in Cleveland, but the results were unfortunate.

She had treasures of love for her husband and no sacrifice was too great that would make him happier or more successful in his work. She told me a remarkable story of their early married life. When her first son was three years old father took her, with the little boy and the next older brother aged seven, to visit his New England home and see his father and mother.

They were riding in the day-coach having completed perhaps half of the journey, and father was sitting at mother's left with a child on his knee, when she noticed a red spot on his sleeve—a stain from a chemical in his laboratory. Now father was accustomed to carry a small phial of strong ammonia in his vest-pocket for the purpose of removing such spots. So taking out the phial and holding it in his right hand he asked mother to uncork it.

As she did so the contents of the phial, expanded by the warmth of his body, shot up into his eyes. With rare presence of mind in the fierce agony he put down the child and groped his way along the aisle back to the water, washed out his eyes as best he could and kept on bathing them without stopping until the next station was reached. Then the pathetic little family disembarked onto the platform of a strange

town, the man in intense pain, completely blinded, his head bound up in wet cloths, carrying one child and led by his wife with the other.

A doctor was at length found who did what he could for the patient; informing him, too, that he had only his presence of mind and his prompt and free use of water to thank if he ever recovered the use of his eyes, which was indeed doubtful. As a matter of fact he was blind for some weeks but recovered at length, completely.

Mother told of that as the most painful experience she had ever had to meet. Yet there was one incident connected with it which transfigured it, and which the young wife treasured in her heart as affording a glimpse into her husband's inner life. It was something that father said to her on that endless walk trying to find help in an unknown place. The words which came out of the black night and pain were these,—"Perhaps this is God's hand, and now I shall preach the Gospel." Mother wept as she told it.

Though confined to a narrower circle, mother's ceaseless activity was no less remarkable than that of her husband. Her interest in the education of women, and in the care of their health, had begun in Hillsdale. She was distressed at the kind of English the college girls used, the food they ate, and the clothes they wore.

Tight-lacing was common at the time, all over the Western world. The wasp-figure was an ideal of the age. The seventeen-inch waist was a lover's dream. A young man could give his dancing-partner no higher praise than to tell her he feared she might "break in his arms." A young woman dressing for an evening party would hang on to the bed-post while two of her companions pulled with all their might on the lacing-strings of her steel-and-whalebone corset. Some of the girls slept in their corsets to keep their waists from getting ahead of them during the night. There was a student at Hillsdale who died while mother was at college, and whose body she helped to lay out. They found a fold in the girl's flesh that would have held two fingers of her hand.

Young women were troubled with various ailments in those days—before physical culture and sports had been offered them—which have now become less common or have entirely disappeared. Mother gave a deal of time and energy to combatting the evils of bad food and dress and instructing girls in matters of health. She was especially interested in the welfare of those who were working their way through college. It was a long hard strain for even the strongest of them and breakdowns were of frequent occurrence. There are women in good health today who owe it to her, because she opened her home to them at the breaking-point. Our house was dubbed the "West College Street Hospital."

Mother saw that our public schools were providing nothing but book-learning for many who would eventually go into trades, or would perhaps become loafers and criminals. She made the first start toward remedying these conditions; for the introduction of Manual Training in the village was largely due to her initiative and tireless efforts.

For a number of years at the urgent request of her close friend, Mrs. Johnston, the Dean of Women (though such title was not then known), mother undertook the lowest class in English composition in the Preparatory Department. Some of the girls were extremely crude and ignorant. They were awkward and scared. They needed lessons in manners even more—if possible—than in their mother-tongue. Mother had them come to the house for private criticism and did everything for them that a sister could have done. And like a sister they loved her. I doubt if she ever enjoyed a duty and privilege more than this one.

As these pages are not a catalogue but merely an indication of mother's activities, I shall add but one more item. It was one of the regrets of her life that she had so little money to spend on the enterprises that most appealed to her. This lack was partly compensated for by friends who loved to give her the pleasure of administering some of their charities. I remember several of these. And then there was generally something on hand from the "Lord's money" — a tenth of

grandfather's income—which grandpa and grandma Vance always saved for various good causes and which they would share with her on request.

A character that occupied a position of only too great prominence in our village was a happy-go-lucky, worthless fellow from the Kentucky mountains by the name of Chubb Lackland. He was an uncouth giant of a man who went barefoot from April to November, sometimes even after the snow had come. He was clad only in a heavy brown and white plaid shirt, disreputable old trousers with one suspender and an enormous slouch hat someone had given him—a hat he had to take off to get through an ordinary door.

Chubb was the village drunkard. He was under the influence of liquor most of the time and would come rolling down the street past our house on the way to his own at any hour of the day or night—singing, cursing, and roaring like the bulls of Bashan. Sometimes after we had gone to bed we could hear him shouting and singing hymns; way over in the jail a third of a mile away. For all his great strength he was in a bad way and had suffered from attacks of delirium tremens a good many times. He was good-natured and innocent enough but had little or no sense of responsibility for his family, depending for the most part on his wife to feed them and keep a roof over their heads. He worked sometimes but never very long. He was a good hunter and after a night in the woods would occasionally bring in a coon-skin for which he received a dollar. He broke up a Republican rally one night by placing a dead skunk under the band-stand. When my brother Nelson, aged eleven, arrived at home that evening, he was not welcomed with open arms. Instead of that mother took him at once to the orchard where he stripped and I buried his clothes.

In spite of everything mother never gave up her hopes for Chubb's soul. As a matter of fact he was "converted" more than once. He was accommodating that way. Chubb's life came to an end before very long, but while it is extremely doubtful if he was ever received into Abraham's bosom, his

sons—surprising though it be—turned out very well. So some at least of the fervent prayers, of his wife and my mother, were answered. Meanwhile there was that brave woman to be helped, and her eight boys—hungry and well-nigh pantless.

Mother was now sixty years of age, much worn and suffering various ills. Her grand constitution still had reserves of vitality and she might have been spared to us for many years. But there came a bad winter and Mrs. Lackland fell sick. Stopping at the house one day, mother found her too weak to rise, with no food in the house, no fire and no fuel. Not daring to leave the woman in that condition, mother got into bed with her and warmed her with her own warm body before going to the neighbors for help. She then built a fire and prepared a meal. But she caught cold herself and died—as she had lived—in the service of others . . . When they came to straighten up her room for the funeral they found mother's sewing-machine heaped with boys' pants—six pairs—stitched in with all the pockets, only wanting the hems at the bottom and the bands at the top.