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The President's Page

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

The Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation and the Ordinance of the Northwest Territory are reflected in the Constitution. These historical documents of freedom proceed logically and chronologically from each other in the growth of the American Bill of Rights as specific limitations upon government and the adoption of the Constitution,—the instrument of government in itself.

The grievances listed in the Declaration of Independence represent violations of the common law and of the immemorial rights of Englishmen extending away back into the Anglo-Saxon past and first recorded in Magna Charta. These liberties, reiterated in 1628 in the Petition of Rights and in 1689 in the Bill of Rights, formed an inheritance jealously guarded and cherished by the colonists. They may be summarized in the principle,—"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." In their struggle to protect these rights, the colonists appealed to this heritage as subjects of the Crown. In asserting these rights they declared—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

These rights, therefore, come from the Creator,—the Author of Nature, and were therefore inalienable, and not to be given or taken away by the State. The essence of the ideology expressed in the Declaration of Independence is that man is not a creature of the State but prior to it. Governments are instituted to secure the fundamental rights of man and "whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it."

In moving toward an effective republican form of govern-

ment under the Constitution, the Convention in effect amended a portion of the revolutionary ideology reflected in the Declaration of Independence, regarding the innate goodness of man in his natural state. The Convention recognized the fact that man is often slothful and unwilling to carry out his responsibilities and obligations as a citizen except under compulsion and that it is necessary to insure his obedience to, as well as his liberty under, the law. However, the architects of the Constitution did not destroy what had been found sound and desirable in the past. The documents from the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution record a distinct progress of political growth harmonizing conflicting theories of government. The tendency toward anarchy or pure democracy on the one hand and the temptations of pomp and circumstance and autocracy on the other hand were resisted. The compromises reached, left the middle of the road clear for the multitudes,—the common people, to pursue their happiness secure in liberty under the law of "an indestructible Union, composed of indestructible States."

Lehr Fess

The Director's Page

The 1954 Annual Meeting

The 36th annual meeting of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio was held on January 19, 1954 at the office of Carl B. Spitzer, the Society's Secretary-Treasurer. Trustees for the term expiring in 1956 were elected. These were Paul Block, Jr., Lehr Fess, Richard R. Johnston, Ralph W. Peters of Defiance, and Lyman Spitzer. At the trustees meeting following, the officers of the Society were re-elected for another year with the exception of Mrs. Max Shepherst, former librarian. Mrs. Shepherst has been our librarian for many years, and in recognition of her many years of enthusiastic and efficient service, was given an unanimous vote of thanks and good wishes. Her successor as head of the Local History Department of the Toledo Public Library, Mrs. Irene McCreery, was elected Society Librarian.

Another outstanding item of business at the annual meeting was the appointment of four new members to the editorial board of the **Quarterly.** These were Robert F. Bauman, author of outstanding past and forthcoming articles on the Ottawa Indians; Walter Bonkowski, artist and Toledo public school teacher, who will draw the illustrations for our grade school text book; Harvey P. Groves, who will advise the editor on matters relating to Ohio biography; and Mrs. Catherine G. Simonds, teacher at the Cherry Street School, who is co-author with the editor of the text book referred to.

It was announced that the text book would be completed during 1954. It is planned to publish it in 1954-55 so as to be available for public school use at the opening of school in the fall of 1955. Another anouncement was to the effect that Volume 4 of our History of Lucas County, entitled **Industrial Beginnings,** will be published during 1954. Research on Volume 5, **Machine Age,** will be begun during the summer and will continue for two years.

Randolph C. Downes

Pontiac's Successor

The Ottawa Au-goosh-away (E Gouch-e-ouay)

By Robert F. Bauman

Undoubtedly, there is no field of American History offering so great a challenge as that provided by the contact period of the white man and American Indian. It could also be said that there is no other field in American History so incomplete; so dim and undetermined; so left alone as this phase of the Red Man's tale. True, if one wishes to read about the Indian in battle, the history of a particular tribe, or the life of a great chief, countless books and articles are available. However, the Indian is included in the accounts of our wars because he was the opposition, and we must rely upon contemporary accounts written by the white men (usually military officials) for interpretations of the Indian's motives and activities in those engagements. When considering the tribal studies it seems the custom to trace in a general way only, the movements and migrations of the particular tribe, and then place considerable emphasis on that tribe's defeat, subjection and dissipation at the hands of the whites. And, the available studies of Indian personalities concern only the notables, such as Little Turtle, Tecumseh, Pontiac, Sitting Bull or Black Hawk. Of course, the reason for this is that the source material most readily available lends itself only to such a concentration of subject matter. It must also be emphasized that any source material relating to the Indian, for the most part, consists of what the contemporary white at that time considered worth recording, or had reason to record; and, even this type of information is both scarce and greatly scattered. Fortunately, the American Indian, as no other race, was able to stir the imagination; and, as a result, the cultural achievements of this vanishing race, possessing no written records of its own, have become so well established as to withstand obliteration.

1. The Importance of Biographies as Introductory to Indian History

All will agree, I am certain, that a great deal is yet to be accomplished in this field of history. There may be a difference of opinion, however, as to the course the research would most profitably assume. It is my belief that the greatest strides toward filling in many of the gaps in the history of this era could be made in the field of Indian biography. This, of all phases of the Indian's history, has been most sadly neglected. As has been mentioned, most works of this nature are concerned with the life of the more prominent, already famous, chiefs. An example of an excellent biography of this type being **Pontiac and the Indian Uprising,** by Howard Peckham. Anthony Wallace's **King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung** provides an example of what may be realized using an individual not quite so well known as Pontiac as the subject. Through this biography much is learned concerning the motives and forces behind the various activities and political allegiance of the Delaware tribe during the Teedyuscung era. It is, I believe, through such studies as this, and concerning the less familiar, yet often equally important, figures of the Red Men's society, that the greatest strides will be made in the field of Indian History. However, even when narrowing the scope of study to that of an individual, many difficulties are unearthed. More troublesome is the fact that only few Indian leaders have sufficient documentary material concerning their activities to support a complete biography. Another difficulty is the fact that too little from the Indian himself is to be found. Nevertheless, even if only sufficient information is discovered to enable an introduction of an aboriginal individual, along with the relative importance of his contributions to the Indian's story, such would create the foundation upon which future researchers may construct a more complete biography and history.

2. Au-goosh-away: Senior Ottawa Chief

An excellent subject to illustrate such an introductory biography has recently been discovered. He is the outstand-

ing, yet sadly neglected, chief of the Ottawa Indians—Au-goosh-away. The information recently uncovered concerning this chief, scant as it may be, provides considerable insight into the activities of the man who succeeded the history-making Pontiac as leader of not only his tribe, but also of the politically powerful Lake Confederacy. Au-goosh-away, who was the senior chief of the Ottawa from approximately 1775-1800, was a member of that group of Ottawa which occupied land in Ohio extending from the Cuyahoga River in the east, to the St. Joseph's River in the west; and, reaching as far as the St. Mary's River in the south. This group of Ottawa also controlled and occupied land in southeastern Michigan, and in Ontario just across the Detroit River. Their main centers were Detroit, the Maumee River, and Sandusky. Other groups of Ottawa, living in various areas in Michigan, were indirectly under his authority, as were a considerable portion of the Chippewa and Pottawatomi.

3. The Ottawa and the Lake Confederacy

"Who assumed leadership and filled the vacancy left by the death of Pontiac?", is a question particularly justified when one considers the position of power and the strategic importance of the Ottawa Tribe throughout the entire contact era in the history of the Great Lakes. The ancient Lake Confederacy, consisting of the "three fires" the Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomi, was to the Canadian governmental interests as the Iroquois Confederacy was, first to the British and then to the American in the United States. The Ottawa, and their two populous allies, were from the beginning the one constant threat to Six Nations' advancement and power; the Ottawa were the one nation, at times feared, and always respected by the Iroquois; and, they could be considered as the neutralizing force coveted at all times by the French, British; and, unsuccessfully, by the Americans. When first heard of during the 17th century, the Ottawa were proving a considerable menace to Iroquois plans for control of the fur trade. Because they were the finest of canoemen, expert hunters, and very cautious warriors, the Ottawa, unlike the more se-

dentary Huron, never felt the full wrath of the Iroquois program of expulsion and extermination—a program which took all but a handful of the Ottawa's eastern neighbors, the once populous Huron. In fact, in 1653, shortly after the dispersal of the Huron, according to Nicholas Perrot (French Commandant in the Northwest), the Ottawa successfully withstood a two-year seige waged by 800 of the Iroquois finest warriors; a seige which ended, not only in the complete withdrawal of the latter, but also in the surrendering to the Ottawa the Huron Indians then in the Iroquois party.[1] Approximately ten years later, in 1662, another war party sent out by the Iroquois (thinking they would be feared upon sight) met complete defeat at the hands of the Ottawa and some of their neighboring tribes—a defeat so complete that only a small scouting party of Iroquois, fortunate enough to have been absent at the time of the engagement, escaped to tell the tragic tale.[2]

The above incidents have been included to illustrate the power and prestige of the Ottawa, even during the era when the Iroquois power was at its peak. It is not supposed that the Iroquois feared the Ottawa alone; however, as leaders of the populous Lake Confederacy, the Ottawa had at their command a very sizable army of skilled warriors with a potential flotilla capable of quickly transporting great numbers. Thus they possessed sea-power that added heavily to their position of dominance among the tribes. Because the Ottawa were never a subjected people; because they were a proud and independent tribe; and, although not a war-like nation, because they proved to be very capable warriors when the occasion demanded, their mere presence proved a constant threat to any designs of the Six Nations and the powers behind them. In order to illustrate and substantiate this point, a few of the numerous references will be included at this time. In 1710, the Jesuit Father Antoine Silvy, in describing and characterizing the Indian tribes of the Great Lakes region, referred to the rapidly improving character and power of the Ottawa Indians. He stated specifically that, "The Ottawas . . . are brave, they are feared by the Iroquois . . ."[3] Bacqueville de la Potherie, French Royal Commissioner to Canada, in expressing his views (c. 1710) concerning the

Huron and Ottawa tribes, stated that, "the Outaouaks . . . have made themselves feared by all tribes who are their enemies, and looked up to by those who are their allies."[4] In a letter written by R. Dickson to Hon. Robert Hamilton, in 1793, a very concise description of the various Indian tribes of the Great Lakes region was given. In speaking of the Ottawa he said, "They are a political and dangerous set and have much influence over the other tribes."[5] To illustrate that these views are not just isolated opinions the following, from a letter in 1796 to James Green, is included here. At this time British Indian Agent Alexander Chew, in referring to an Ottawa chief's refusal to explain the reason for delaying the coming Indian council at Montreal until the arrival of the Seven Nations, mentioned that, "Considering the situation of the Western Indians at present and the importance of the Ottawa Nation, who on all their visits to this place have had particular attention paid to them . . ."[6] A like appraisal was made in 1790 by C. Gautier in a letter, which in part said:

> I have refrained till this to make any observations concerning the Indian Department at this post. It is extremely restrained and occasions a dissatisfaction among the nations, principally among the domiciled Ottawas & Sauteaux (Chippewas) who are the principal Indians in this country and who lead all others.[7]

The importance and apparent authority of the Ottawa was also indicated by Captain Daniel Robertson, in 1783, when he concluded that, "the Ottawa are the only nation to be principally attended to."[8] One final reference will suffice in showing the prestige of the Ottawa during this era among the neighboring tribes. In a report relative to the entire Canadian fur-trading tribes by a "Committee of Merchants" to Sir John Johnson, in 1786, the following appears:

> the Ottawas . . . are a Nation much respected by all others, therefore their friendship may be rendered serviceable in any transactions with the others.[9]

The relative importance of the Ottawa Nation, as expressed

by these men, was due to the position the Ottawa held as leaders of the numerically powerful Lake Confederacy; and, since the Ottawa also occupied and controlled the most strategic lands in Ohio and Michigan, their entry, along with their close allies, the Chippewa and Pottawatomi, into any engagement was always an important factor. Consequently, the senior chief of the Ottawa Nation, regardless of the era, played a very important hand in the history of this region.

It should be emphasized that Pontiac did not create the confederacy which stood behind him—he merely assumed command of the Lake Confederacy and increased its tribal membership and strength. The backbone of his forces, the Lake Confederacy, existed long before Pontiac's time; and, as will be seen by an examination of Au-goosh-away, it remained strong and active long after Pontiac's death. It should also be emphasized that the Lake Confederacy, unlike the Iroquois Confederacy, was not a combination for aggressive warfare or territorial expansion and control. It was originally formed as a desperately needed protective measure, and continued as such throughout its existence. The Lake Confederacy, although not a tightly knit organization, was capable of very rigid controls when the occasion demanded. Thus, it is obvious that the senior chief of the Ottawa tribe automatically assumed a position of great authority and potential power in the western Great Lakes region. This was the case with Pontiac and with his successor, Au-goosh-away.

Although considerably more could be presented concerning the position of the Ottawa among the western Great Lakes Algonquian tribes, enough has been presented to create a background making it possible to examine fruitfully the scanty information about Au-goosh-away; and, discover some new facts about the tribe of Pontiac and its leader after his death in 1769.

4. The Name Au-goosh-away

This chief of the Ottawa possessed a name which readily

lent itself to a wide range in spelling variations as it was recorded or written upon hearing it pronounced. Considerable confusion has been created in the research field of Indian biography because of the fact that, lacking a written language of their own, and relying considerably upon totems as signatures, the Indian depended upon the white interpreter or clerk for the spelling of his name. Naturally, when such names as Little Turtle, Black Hawk or Roundhead were involved, no difficulty was encountered in recording. However, the Indian who remained true to his own linquistic name was subjecting himself to possible historical oblivion due to the inevitably resulting confusion. Consequently, the longer the name and the more difficulty created by its pronunciation, such as is the case with the subject of this article, the wider the range of variation in spelling, and the greater the difficulty in recognizing that Indian by name in the various manuscripts. Probably no other Ottawa's name has undergone such a diversity in spelling than has that of Au-goosh-away. Because of this, the true significance of this chief, of his activities, his leadership over the Ottawa and the Lake Confederacy for a quarter of a century, and, the scope of his power and authority, has been overlooked and neglected. This is the reason for a similar fate of numerous other significant Indian leaders and individuals; and, may be overcome by the researcher, if more emphasis is placed on actual pronunciation of the Indian names and less importance placed on the unorthodox spellings.

As is seen by the title of this article, two names have been selected to indicate this chief—two spelling variations out of over half a hundred found to date. The two chosen are the only two used on official government treaties; the one, E gouch-e-ouay, was that recorded in the Treaty of 1790 held at Detroit by the British with the Ottawa, Pottawatomi, Chippewa and Huron tribes, and occasioned by a cession of land in Ontario between Lakes St. Clair and Erie.[10] The other, Au-goosh-away, was used in 1795 when this chief signed the Treaty of Greenville as the first chief of the Ottawa.[11] Although these were the only treaties to which Au-goosh-away was a signatory, both were extremely important and signifi-

cant ones. At both affairs Au-goosh-away was recognized as possessing considerable authority and prestige. He was not only the spokesman for the Ottawa, but also the representative leader of the tribes of the Lake Confederacy. For the purpose of clarity, the name Au-goosh-away will be used throughout this article, except in the actual quotations. This name has been selected since it was his most recent treaty signature; and because, although controlling land and being active in both the United States and Canada, Au-goosh-away was predominantly an inhabitant of what is now United States soil. For the purpose of illustrating the tremendous variation in spellings of this individual's name, and to illustrate the resulting difficulty in recognizing, as one searches through the numerous manuscripts, the various spellings as referring to the same individual, the following list (compiled from British and American sources between 1778 and 1797) is included:

Agashawa
Agishua
Agoucheway
Agouchivois
Aguishere
Aguishwa
A-gush-a-wa
A-gush-a-way
Agushwa
Agushway
Au-goosh-away
Augushawa
Augushaway
Au-gush-a-way
Augushwa
Au' qu' she' ray
Gusheways
Egnshewey
Egonshewey
Egouch-a-way
E-gouch-e-ouai
Egouch-ouai
E Gouch-e-ouay
Egouchiouois
Egouchiway
Egoushawa
Egoushawry
Egoush ouay
Egoushouay
Egoushwa
Egoushtwa
Egushwa
Egush wa
Egushawa
Egushawi
Egushawe
Egushewey
Egushiwa
Egushuvey
Egushwai
Ekuschuwe
Eqouchsnay
Equashuvey
Equsha
Equshawa
Equshaway
Equshewa
Equshiwa
Equshuvey
Equshwa
Ne-goosh-away
Negushawa
Negushway
Nigooshiway[12]

A glance at the above list will give note of the great range in spelling variation; and, certainly few would realize that Ekuschuwe, the spelling used by the missionary David Zeisberger, and Ne-goosh-away, as the name is written when Au-

goosh-away was a signatory to an annuity payment receipt in 1796, refer to the same person. However, once it is realized that all the spellings are merely variations of the same name, and the information is consequently compiled concerning him and his activities, it becomes apparent that another great figure in Indian history has been discovered.

5. Au-goosh-away: the Person

All too little is known about Au-goosh-away as a personality. It is known that he was born in 1730; and, although no information has been discovered to indicate the place of his birth, it may be assumed that he was born in the western Lake Erie region—most probably on either the Michigan or Ontario side of the Detroit River. As is the case with the majority of Indian biographies, the story of his boyhood, youth, and early middle years must be left almost entirely to conjecture. It is, however, unusual that no information whatsoever concerning Au-goosh-away and his activities prior to the middle 1770's has been found.

From the manner in which he was referred to and described in various documents, it may be concluded that Au-goosh-away was both a civil and a war chief during the last quarter of the 18th century; a combination not too common at this high level of chieftainship in Lake Confederacy government. Before the death of Pontiac, however, it is apparent that Au-goosh-away's authority was limited to that enjoyed and assumed by a war chief. It may be wondered why a man, so completely obscure prior to the death of Pontiac, should become his immediate successor. There is a two-fold reason for this. First of all, it is obvious that any chief of the Ottawa, whether of civil or war authority, would have had little opportunity of exercising that authority during the years of Pontiac's ascendency; and, this would particularly have been the case where a chief belonging to the same band as that of Pontiac was concerned. Secondly, Au-goosh-away was a close relative of Pontiac; and, consequently, he most probably obtained his right of succession through heredity.

According to Peter Navarre, a contemporary French trader of the Maumee Valley-Detroit River area, Au-goosh-away was related to Pontiac by his wife or mother. He also mentioned that Nod-o-wance, his brother, was also a war chief, although of less note; and, another brother, known to the white men as Flat Button, was a common warrior. No doubt Au-goosh-away was a very distinguished war chief, for he was generally referred to as such in the various government communications; and Navarre spoke of him as "the great war chief of the Ottawa."[13] He was actively engaged in Pontiac's war, most likely in prior engagements; and he was the prominent Ottawa Chief in St. Clair's and Wayne's wars known as the Bear Chief.[14] Au-goosh-away was also among the chiefs who were wounded in the Battle of Fallen Timbers; and, the seriousness of his condition proved to be the concern of not a few British and American officials and individuals, as will be seen in a later section of this article.

The significant importance of Au-goosh-away, however great he was as a war chief, rested not in that, but in the position of authority enjoyed by him as a civil chief. As will be emphasized in a later part of this article, his authority was supreme among the Lake Confederacy and the closely related tribes. He was the "Tawa Chief to whose hands everything must go,"[15] and "All first comes to him, and then he communicates it to the others."[16] These references are indications of the extent of Au-goosh-away's undisputed authority during this era. From information relating to his associations with the other area tribes, the Christian Indians, and the white settlers it becomes apparent that, politically powerful as he was, Au-goosh-away proved to be a friendly and considerate chief, giving fair treatment to white and red men alike. A very unusual characteristic of Au-goosh-away, especially when realizing that he had always taken such an active part in the various wars, is that he appears to have been a pacifist. This was also a general characteristic of Ottawa leaders, becoming most apparent after the death of Pontiac, and almost a universal trait of the Ottawa people after the Battle of Fallen Timbers. However, in spite of his constant aim for achieving

peace among his people, Au-goosh-away proved relentless to any encroachments upon his individual or tribal rights.

Little is known about Au-goosh-away's physical characteristics. Navarre claimed him to be over six feet, and of a very heavy stature. He died, leaving no descendants, at the mouth of Ten Mile Creek, at what was known as the Bay Settlement (between Toledo and Monroe) in Michigan in 1800, and when about seventy years of age.[17]

6. Authority As Senior Chief: Spokesman for Lake Confederacy

The outstanding phase of the story of Au-goosh-away concerns the prestige, extent of authority, and the power he exercised throughout the Michigan-Ohio region during the last quarter of the 18th century—the years of turmoil. The study of this phase has resulted in establishing several heretofore unknown, or at least, unheralded facts about the relative position of the Ottawa. First of all, it becomes apparent that the Ottawa tribe did not decrease in importance nor in power after the death of Pontiac; on the contrary, that tribe appears to have gained an even higher position among the neighboring tribes. The Lake Confederacy under his authority proved to be much stronger and under a more rigid control than when Pontiac was in command. Secondly, it is discovered that the arm of authority of the Ottawa continued to reach from its center around the Detroit River to the Cuyahoga River in Ohio; and, to a considerable extent, throughout the Indian settlements in Michigan. And thirdly, this authority pertained not only to decisions relating to politics and war, but included also in its scope a control over the land itself.

As has been mentioned, the fame of Au-goosh-away rests in his authority as a civil, not a war chief. However, the information concerning this phase of his story is much too scant to permit anything like a complete analysis of his activities and decisions. Nevertheless, enough material has been uncovered to establish definitely the fact that he was in control

of the Lake Confederacy, and exercised authority over other tribes of the western Great Lakes area. Since this authority was derived from his position as leader and spokesman of the Lake Confederacy, it would be well to establish this fact before examining the extent of that authority.

At the time of the Treaty of 1790 concluded between the British and the Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatomi and Huron at Detroit, a council was held by Major Patrick Murray with the four tribes. At this council "E. gouche-ou-a-i [was] the spokesman for the Lake Confederacy"; and, in addressing the Huron he stated that:

> We [the Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomi] have not forgotten you. We always remember, Brothers, what our ancestors had granted you, that is to say, Brothers, from the church to the River Jarvis, as well as a piece of land commencing . . .

Following this speech, in which he defined the land allotted by the Lake Confederacy for the benefit of the Huron, Au-goosh-away requested of Major Murray that the Hurons should not be molested in the occupation of the land.[18] Thus from the fact that Au-goosh-away was the recognized spokesman of the Lake Confederacy at this land cession; and, because he looked upon himself, as the leader of that Confederacy, as the protectorate of the Huron in the vicinity of the Detroit River, we may conclude that in 1790 his authority was firm over these four predominant tribes in Michigan and northern Ohio. The fact that the Huron-Wyandot peoples of this area were, after the time of their dispersal by the Iroquois, under the authority of the Ottawa and greatly dependent upon them for protection is supported by numerous references from Jesuit Relations and allied documents during the 17th and 18th centuries.

In order to illustrate the privilege exercised by Au-goosh-away in representing, as spokesmen, the Lake Confederacy and other tribes, a few of the references will be herein included. In the journal of a council held at the mouth of the Mau-

mee in 1794 with the "Ottawa, Wyandot, Mingoes and Munseys" for the purpose of deciding whether the tribes, including the Chippewa and Pottawatomi, would collect their forces to enter the Indian union against the "Long Knives," it is stated that "Egoushouay answered for all Nations present."[19] His power to speak for other tribes is indicated as early as 1779 in a letter from Captain Alexander McKee to Captain R. B. Lernoult, in which the following reference is made to Au-goosh-away and the confederacy:

> At the request of several Chiefs six nations & Shawanese I send you the enclosed string of Wampum, it was delivered here by the Ottawas in the name of Au' Qu' she' ray & it is to inform them that the Ottawas, Chippewas and those of their confederacy had entered into a new league of friendship with their ancient Father the French . . . The Wabash Indians have all come into this resolution.[20]

In another letter from McKee to J. C. Simcoe, in 1794, Au-goosh-away's ability to represent the various nations just prior to the Battle of Fallen Timbers is illustrated when he states that:

> The Wabash Indians have again made their appearance at this Council fire and on the 14th Inst. a Deputation from the Kicapoes, Outatanons and Piankishaws, requested a Council with the Chiefs of the different Nations . . . They were answered by Equshawa in the name of the Other Nations . . . who readmitted them into the Confederacy . . .[21]

Considerable negotiations were conducted between Au-goosh-away and Joseph Brant. The latter, in his speeches sent in behalf of his Six Nations and addressed to the Three Nations (Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomi), applied the designation "Agishua, Senior Indian Chief."[22] It is also seen by a letter from Sarah Ainse to Joseph Brant, in acknowledging receipt of speeches from him to Au-goosh-away, that those speeches for the Three Nations, and for the Indians at St. Jos-

eph's and Saginaw were delivered to "Agushua" at Detroit.[23] This substantiates the fact that the Lake Confederacy consisted not merely of those Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomi occupying land in the immediate vicinity of the Detroit River and to the south. From an examination of the journal kept in 1793 by Thomas Duggan, Clerk for Alexander McKee, considerable insight is gained concerning the Chief's authority relative to the movements of the western Great Lakes tribes in anticipation of the coming conflict with the Americans. On October 24 Duggan recorded that:

> The little otter in Council this morning . . . delivered seven scalps to Equshewa to be sent to the different Lake Indians to hasten them to the defense of their country. Equshwa set off with them immediately.[24]

And on November 5 of that year Duggan stated that:

> Potowatomies from the Head of the River Raisin arrived on their way to the Glaize, they say the greatest part of their Tribe have crossed the Country to the Glaize in Consequence of the pressing messages of Equshewa; they say that Equshewa has gone to bring all the Ottawas and Chippewas in the neighborhood of Detroit.[25]

Major Arent De Peyster, in a letter of instructions to Alexander McKee, sent from Detroit in 1780, concluded:

> This letter will be followed in two days by Eqoustwa and a large band of Ottawas, one of Chippewas, and one of Pottawatomies.[26]

David Zeisberger, in his diaries which prove so fruitful to the historian of Ohio tribes, continually referred to Au-goosh-away as being the predominant figure among the Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomi; and, even recognized this chief as having the final say when the Delaware, Wyandot and other Ohio tribes were involved in the decision. One reference from his diary of 1790 will suffice as an illustration of the "Lake Confederacy" authorty. In recording a speech of "Ekuschuwe" he wrote:

> Grandfather . . . I let thee know that we, Tawas [Ottawa], Chippewas, and Potawatomies, arranged together in the autumn to sit still, to look after our food and hunting, and not trouble ourselves about the Shawanese, who alone are out in war.[27]

The above references supply sufficient proof of Au-goosh-away's position as leader and spokesman of the Lake Confederacy. Now, by an examination of a few additional quotations the nature and extent of that power and authority may, to some extent, be ascertained.

The Six Nations, Wyandot, Delawares, Shawnee, Miami, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatomi, Cherokee, and Munsey met in Council at Brownstown in October, 1794, at which time the Wyandot and Six Nations requested assistance and cooperation in war against the Virginians. Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe gave them this brief, yet significant, reply:

> The words you have spoken to me require great attention and as soon as I hear what Eqoushawa and the other Nations have to say, I will give you an answer.[28]

Similar references in various letters and communications add to the conclusion that Au-goosh-away was generally consulted when decisions concerning the western Great Lakes tribes were concerned.

The most emphatic illustrations of the authority exercised by Au-goosh-away throughout northern Ohio and Michigan are to be found in the diaries of David Zeisberger. The Moravian Indians in Ohio were constantly troubled by approaching wars involving the Indians, the safety of their persons, possessions, and land. Friction also resulted from the unfriendly actions and activities of the Indians in their area as well as those passing through. It is quite significant that when information concerning the possibility of a conflict, when discipline and control had to be placed upon the Indians in the vicinity of the Moravian settlement, and when they were

requiring new land or seeking security in those they possessed, the Moravians looked to Au-goosh-away for information, advice and relief. Such was the case in 1788 when the Delawares and Wyandot were spreading rumors that the Chippewa were angry with the Moravians and planned to take all their possessions from them. Looking to the only chief in the position to know about the situation, and the one who could exercise the proper authority, if necessary, on August 19 of that year, Zeisberger recorded:

> Now the French trader, whom Samuel had verbally charged to get information, two months ago, from the Tawa Chief [Ekuschuwe] in Detroit, **to whose hands everything must go,** brought us the following speech . . .[29]

In that speech Au-goosh-away verified that the rumors were just that, and told the Christian Indians to feel secure for they "now livest on my land" and "thou art still in my arms." He concluded:

> Take this string of wampum for a token, and if any one farther comes to unload his lies to you, show him this, and if he, or they, do not want to credit it, let me know, I will myself come and punish them for this.[30]

Zeisberger and the Moravians were well satisfied with this protection, and, in spite of the efforts of the Wyandot and Delaware Indians to convince them that the Chippewa were the wildest and most frightful of people, the Christian Indians now felt safe and secure living among so many Chippewa Indians in Ohio. This was due to the obvious authority this Ottawa Chief exercised over a tribe of the Lake Confederacy, a fact brought out by Zeisberger in the following words:

> This Tawa Chief [Ekuschuwe] is also the head-chief of the Chippewas, and can call them together as often as he finds it needful, **for all first comes to him,** and then he communicates it to the others.[31]

In 1789 Au-goosh-away visited the Moravian Indians at New

Salem (in Ohio) and, on this as on all personal visits, Au-goosh-away was announced in advance of his arrival, which was always with ten or twelve of his bodyguards.[32] His speech on this occasion was one pledging security and protection to the Christian Indians in relation to their land in Ohio. It also brought out the fact that his authority was derived from the four tribes involved, as is seen from the following excerpt of that message:

> The Nations, namely the following: The Chippewas, Tawas, Potawatomies and the Wyandots, have charged me personally to come here to you and in their name to inform you what we have agreed . . . This string is a proof of the commission of the Nations . . .[33]

In 1791 the prospect of further Indian wars caused the Christian Indians considerable anxiety about their safety and where they could live other than at New Salem. Again Zeisberger turned to Au-goosh-away for advice and direction, and the entries in the diaries during those days add considerable weight to the thesis of this chief's supreme command. In January of that year the missionary wrote:

> So we charged him [Elliot] to lay the matter [the possibility of a war and where the Moravians could live] before the agent McKee, that he should speak with the Tawa Chief, Ekuschuwe, to find out how circumstances were and whether an Indian war was to be feared . . . We learned by Indians from Detroit that Pipe had given our speech to the Wyandot chief who delivered it to Col. McKee, now returned to Detroit, to give it to the Tawa Chief. The matter thus goes through the right channel and comes to the right hands.[34]

The above reference is significant since it shows that even though the message was in Pipe's (a significant Delaware Chief) hands, and also in the possession of a Wyandot chief, and finally given to Col. McKee, the Indian Agent at Detroit, it was not considered in the right hands until it finally reached Au-goosh-away.

The authority of the Senior Ottawa Chief in Ohio was so great that the Moravians, who were constantly being ill-advised and bombarded with rumors and threats by the Wyandot, Delawares and other minor area tribes, refused to give weight or even at times accept any message other than those sent by Au-goosh-away. Zeisberger's own words on this matter were that they had ears to "listen to no one, except the chief Ekuschuwe."[35]

7. Battle of Fallen Timbers—Treaty of Greenville

Since Au-goosh-away was not only a very significant civil chief, but during his entire life an active war chief; and, because he was the prominent Ottawa Chief in St. Clair's war, it would be logical that he would have been one of the outstanding leaders in the Battle of Fallen Timbers against Anthony Wayne. This was the most important Indian war of the western Great Lakes region, and was the turning point in Indian-American relations throughout the Northwest Territory. References from the journal kept by Thomas Duggan, clerk for Col. Alexander McKee, during the months preceding the Battle of Fallen Timbers indicate that Au-goosh-away acted as the coordinator and controlling authority among the various northern Ohio and Michigan tribes. He sent out and regulated the scouting parties, he forwarded messages to keep the outlying tribes posted on the movements of Wayne's army, he directed the various bands to various points in order to intercept Wayne's scouting parties and provisions; and, he summoned the tribes to the Maumee River when Wayne's forces were within striking territory.[36] In spite of Au-goosh-away's age, (at the time of the battle he was sixty-four) he also took an active part in the engagement with Wayne. Nothing is known of his activities during the conflict; however, it is known that he was seriously wounded—his condition being the concern of not a few persons. The most drastic report was recorded in Zeisberger's diary; and, although it proved to be partly false, it was the cause of great sorrow among the Christian Indians, since they had always placed their safety and security so solidly in his hands. The

following reference to Au-goosh-away was entered for September 3, 1794:

> Chippewa warriors, on their way home, said that Ekuschuwe had been mortally wounded in the head and body, that the Indians were angry with McKee, and said he was the cause of the death of so many Indians; also that not a single Shawano was in the fight, though they were always instigating the Indians to go to war.[37]

On August 20, 1794, in a letter from William Campbell to R. G. England, sent from Fort Miamis, mention was also made that Au-goosh-away was shot through the head, but not killed.[38] J. G. Simcoe, writing to Henry Dundas on August 30, stated that:

> They [the Indians] lost several of their principal chiefs of their different nations, and I understand that the Great Chief and firm Friend of the British Nation Equshwa has been dangerously wounded.[39]

Also, in his diary of his journey to the Miami (Maumee) River in September of 1794, Simcoe recorded that:

> The Indians practically speaking at the time had won the battle. Their main force was four miles off receiving their provisions when the advance parties met. The Indians drove that of Wayne back upon his main body in great confusion and with great loss, throwing at the same time his whole body into great disorder. Could they have been supported the battle was won, but that not being the case they were overpowered by numbers and driven back . . . Egushwa and the Little Otter were wounded and the chief of the Hurons killed.[40]

In a speech to several nations of Indians early in 1795, General Wayne noticed that Au-goosh-away was not among the chiefs present. He sarcastically remarked, "Perhaps he is angry for the shot he received in the eye."[41]

Thus, it is apparent that Au-goosh-away was seriously wounded in that battle, receiving injuries in the head and body. However, those injuries did not prevent him from participating in the Treaty of Greenville which took place on August 3, 1795. During the various councils held between the time of the battle and the treaty it appears that Au-goosh-away did not take any active part. Perhaps his injuries were the reason for this; more than likely, however, the reason was his hatred for Wayne and his contempt for the Americans. At any rate, on one of these occasions, Wayne made a special notice of his absence, as is seen from the following excerpt from a speech to several tribes:

> Brothers. I am glad to see you here to settle good business . . . I see all other Nations here but the Ottawas . . . whom I don't see. 'Tis long since I desired to see Equshwa. He does not come. Perhaps he is angry for the shot he received in the eye. Well I'll go and see him . . . Since he does not come to see me, I'll go and see him. I hate very much that priest who is at the River Raisins. I will go and take him and Charles Rheaume as I pass by and hang them on two trees . . .[42]

This speech indicates that, although Wayne was well acquainted with Au-goosh-away, his feelings towards him were basically scornful.

At Greenville, General Wayne began receiving the Indian chiefs and their bands in June. On July 4, 1795 "A-goosh-a-way, and twenty-three Ottawas, from the vicinity of Detroit, arrived, and had audience." Other Indians from various areas continued to arrive, and by July 9 all nations were represented but the Wyandot of Sandusky. On that day Wayne held a council to determine if the Indians wished to wait their arrival or to proceed. It appears that many were restless and anxious to commence; however, Little Turtle stated that it would be well to wait. The matter was apparently settled by the following speech of Au-goosh-away:

> Elder Brother [Wayne]:

I am much obliged to you for requiring our opinions on this matter. 'Tis true, as the Little Turtle has observed to us, that we have been here a long time waiting, but it will be best to remain contented a few days longer, that we may begin the good work all together. I now present you our pipe, and hope that you and your warriors will smoke it.

Elder Brother:

You see that all your chiefs, as well as ours, have smoked out of this calumet of peace, and the Great Spirit is well pleased to see it. The calumet does not now speak; it remains silent until the arrival of our brothers, who are on their way.[43]

Au-goosh-away appears to have remained silent until July 23, when he delivered the following speech in presenting the calumet of the Three Fires:

Brothers, the Indians! When I last had my Calumet of peace, our elder brothers, the Shawanese were not present. I now offer it to them, that the sentiments of their hearts may be similar to ours. All you nations present know this to be the calumet of the three fires. It is six years since it was sent from the north, to Michilimackinac, to the three fires who live at the gate, to be presented by them to the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese, with an injunction always to hide it when anything bad was in motion; but to display it when anything good was contemplated. You all know the importance of this sacred token of peace among the Indians.

Brothers! Do not consider me as a brother—I view you as a friend. I present you this calumet, that came far from the north, and had gone round all the lakes. When it was sent to us, the stem pointed towards you. Now, my friend, you may do with this pipe what you please. If you think proper, you may point it toward the fifteen fires, and afterwards turn it towards us. It is entirely at

> your disposal—I am informed to deliver it into your hands. [Delivers the pipe.]
>
> Friend! I now present you with a belt, which has been given to us by the Hurons, who received it from our brothers, the Americans, as a seat upon which we all should sit and rest. Our father, at Detroit, has always endeavored to lead us off from this seat; but we never listened to him—we consider it as a carpet, spread for our use; and we now show it to you that you may recognize it.[44]

After the treaty, on August 20, 1795, British Colonel R. G. England wrote to Simcoe that he refrained from stating any terms of the treaty or the boundaries defined thereof until the arrival of "Agashawa."[45] When Au-goosh-away did discuss the treaty with Alexander McKee and other British officials, it was discovered that all of the provisions were not as the chief had understood them at Greenville. The letter of September 14 from McKee to Chew, also indicates that Au-goosh-away's presence at the treaty did not mean a change in attitude of the Ottawa toward the British:

> Egouchiway has returned from General Wayne's Treaty & has sent me a copy of it together with a Large Medal which they gave him—Mr. Burke read the Treaty over to him & several other Chiefs and they declared they never before heard several articles — I expect to see Egouchiway in a day or two and I have every reason to imagine that his attachment & that of all the Ottawas, as well as most of the other Nations to the British Government and Interest is from the duplicity of the American Commissioners more firmly rooted than ever.[46]

Of the four chiefs participating in the Treaty of Greenville considered by Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War, as being worthy of mention to the President, Au-goosh-away was one:

> Sir, I have in some measure anticipated your wishes of information relative to General Wayne's treaty . . . He has obtained more land than was expected. The Chiefs

who signed the treaty are not numerous: but I observe among them the names of Blue Jacket, the great warrior of the Shawanoes, Misqua-coo-na-caw their great speaker—& Buckongelas the Great Warrior of the Delawares—and of Au-goo-sha-way the Ottawa whose name I recollect to have heard Col. Butler mention with much respect . . .[47]

8. Au-goosh-away Speaks

When compiling information for the biographical presentation of an individual the most enlightening source is an examination of the letters, writings, speeches and journals of his authorship. In the case of Au-goosh-away only one of these sources is possible; and, it is unfortunate that only few of his speeches have been recorded and preserved. The first speech delivered by Au-goosh-away in an official treaty council was in 1790 at Detroit; and, it is significant that on this occasion he was the only speaker, although four tribes were actively participating. This speech, in which he was the spokesman for the Lake Confederacy, is not an eloquent one but is significant in that it illustrates the almost paternal manner in which the Ottawa and other "three-fires" tribes looked after the interest of the Huron:

Father, We are now within the Paternal House where everyone is free to Speak his mind; therefore, Father, I request you to hear me, I request the same of our Father, the Officers, our Brethren the Merchants and of all you my Brothers of my own Colour, Indians of different Nations.

Father, you have told us that you have received letters from our Father the General, and our Father Sir John Johnson acquainting you that our Father the Great King had written to them, to know if we would cede him a Piece of Land extending from the other side of the River to the line ceded by the Messesagas—

Father. Is there a Man amongst us who will refuse this request? What man can refuse what is asked by a Father so good and so generous, that he had never yet refused us anything? What Nation? None Father! We have agreed to grant all you ask according to the limits settled between us and you, and which we are all acquainted. We grant it . . . Father, in presence of our Fathers the officers and our Brothers the Merchants.—

E-gouch-e-ouai Speaking to the Hurons:

Brothers. Altho' we have granted the Land to our Father, we have not forgotten you. We always remembered Brothers, what our ancestors had granted you, that is to say Brothers, from the Church to the River Jarvis, as well as a piece of Land commencing at the entry of the River Canard extending upwards to the line of the Inhabitants, and which reaches downward beyond the River au Canard to the line of the Inhabitants.

Father. You have heard what I have said, I request you Father not to suffer our Brothers the Huron to be molested. And you Brothers the Hurons, that you will not molest our Brothers the Inhabitants.

Father. That is all I have to say, I salute you, and all my Brothers here present, as well as all the Indians of the different Nations present—and as proof that all we have agreed to is done from our Hearts, we are ready to sign our marks.—

Father. I request you produce the Deed, the contents of which have been already explained to us, that we may sign it in the presence of our Father and Brothers.—[48]

The first speech by Au-goosh-away indicating, to some extent, the amount of authority delegated to him, was recorded in the diary of David Zeisberger for August 19, 1788. The occasion for the speech was the fears and anxiety expressed by the Christian Indians and Zeisberger due to alleged threats

against them by the Chippewa of southern Michigan and northern Ohio. The Moravian Indians had previously occupied land on the Huron River in Michigan belonging to the Chippewa. During their residence there the Moravians found the Chippewa to be very friendly neighbors; however, now that they were living on the Huron River in Ohio, the Indians in their vicinity were spreading rumors that the Chippewa were angry with the Moravians and planned to do them harm. The Moravians turned to Au-goosh-away for assistance; and, this speech, as well as others, indicated that Au-goosh-away was able to control the Indians in northern Ohio, as well as those living in the Detroit River vicinity. It also becomes apparent from the speech that Au-goosh-away considered his word law relative to such matters; and, recognition of this authority was also shown by the actions and words of the Moravians. Zeisberger stated that the speech was accompanied by a string of wampum:

> Grandfather, ye believing Indians on the Huron River, it has been brought to my ears that ye are accused of all sorts of evil, and burdened with the charges that ye have sold the Chippewas' land on the Huron River [in Michigan], that the Chippewas were angry about this, and would therefore come and take away all ye have, I assembled the Chippewa chiefs and head-men, and in open council asked them whence this accusation came, and whether any one had let such talk go out of his mouth, and expressed it, but we have found no such person among us, and know nothing thereof. This we can say of you on the Muskingum and on the Huron River here, where ye lived, that ye neither troubled yourselves about the land nor war, nor any thing else, except to attend to your worship of God; that is your chief business, this we know. I will hereby let you know that all ye have heard are lies. Whether they have come from wretched busy-bodies, Delawares, Wyandots, or Chippewas, or from the white people and Indians together, we cannot determine, and must so let it be. I will say to you, however, believe not the lies; the like has never come into our thoughts, as ye have heard, and comes not from us. Take

this string of wampum for a token, and if any one farther comes to unload his lies to you, show him this, and if he, or they, do not want to credit it, let me know, I will myself come and punish them for this. **Grandfather, here on the Huron River thou hast lived on our lands; it is pleasant to me that thou now livest on my land, the other side of the lake, also on the Huron River** [Ohio]. **Thou are still in my arms and in my bosom.**[49]

At the time of the above speech, Au-goosh-away was resident opposite Detroit, on the east side of the river, in Canada. One of the most important statements in this speech is that the Moravians, then settled at New Salem on the Huron River in Ohio, were on Ottawa land—land sold only seventeen years after Au-goosh-away's death by the Wyandot. Numerous references may be cited in the Zeisberger diaries stating that the Christian Indians in Ohio and in Michigan were located on land of the Ottawa, by their express permission. An examination of the Treaty of 1817, with the Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatomi and Wyandot, indicates that the loss of Au-goosh-away was, to the Ottawa, a loss also of a considerable portion of their land. No doubt the wise counselling of Au-goosh-away was greatly missed during the treaties of cessions of the first three decades of the 19th century.

The next major speech from Au-goosh-away to the Moravians was on April 26 of the following year. This speech illustrates the thoughtfulness and consideration so characteristic of this chief. It also shows his desire for peace among the Indians—a goal for which the Lake Confederacy, guided by Au-goosh-away, was continually striving. In his diary for that day Zeisberger wrote that, "There were farther no services until evening, for we knew that the chief wished to speak to our Indians, and this happened in the afternoon . . ." The speech delivered by Au-goosh-away on that afternoon is as follows:

Grandfather, and ye believing Indians in Pettquotting, last year when the nations were assembled in Detroit and took to heart and considered the good of our young peo-

ple, our wives, and children, yes, of all the Indians, we thought of you too in our grand council, ye were not forgotten, we were concerned about you that ye are so alone here, as if forsaken, and no one interests himself for you. The nations, namely the following: The Chippewas, Tawas, Potawatomies, and the Wyandots, have charged me personally to come here to you and in their name to bring you also the following message, likewise to inform you what we have agreed upon and to what conclusion we have come. This string is a proof of the commission of the nations aforesaid.

Grandfather, thou hast suffered much hardship and anxiety. Thou hast heard many evil rumors, which have caused thee much uneasiness. I wash the tears from thine eyes, comfort thee for all thy suffering and take out of thy heart all trouble and anxiety. Clense thine ears and make thine eyes clear, that thou mayest see me and understand what I have to say to thee.

Grandfather, listen not to the songs of the birds in the thickets, whereby all sorts of lies have been brought to thine ears; listen to me, from whom thou wilt hear all that is true. I say to thee now, in the name of the four nations, remain here in Pettquotting and plant, that thy young people and children may have something to eat. Think not of going elsewhither, whereby thou wilt make thy life hard, and if any one comes and will drive thee away from here, give no heed to him, but let me know. Thou shalt always hear from me truthfully what goes on among the chiefs of the nations, and if any danger appears thou shalt come to know it betimes. This is what I have to say to thee in behalf of the nations, who have agreed together for peace, and will hold together therefor until the other nations shall give their assent thereto. And since we know of you that ye are a peaceful folk, having nothing to do with war, nor troubling yourselves about it, we have resolved to take you also into our agreement. Therefore, I say to you, remain firm in

Pettquotting. Flee not. Ye are not alone, nor forsaken.[50]

The significance placed upon a visit of Au-goosh-away by the Moravians is brought out by the preparations made in anticipation to his arrival to deliver the above speech. The largest building (the school house) was prepared for him and his body-guards, special entertainment was arranged; and, the largest fat hog was killed for a feast.[51] After Au-goosh-away had left for the Detroit River, Zeisberger recorded these expressions of relief and security as a result of the chief's speech: "The Chippewa and Tawa nation thus takes the believing Indians to its arms, and takes upon itself to protect them, that they shall not be given over as booty to any idle populace to exercise its caprice upon."[52]

Several other speeches were included in the diaries. However, for the most part they only emphasized the aims of Au-goosh-away and the Lake Confederacy to maintain peace, and their promise of protection to the Christian Indians. The last speech recorded by Zeisberger, however, indicated that Au-goosh-away intended to make his home at Sandusky—most likely he meant to return to that area, for he had previously stated that the land around the Huron River belonged to him. The first part of the speech explains that he had received news that seven chiefs of the west (meaning seven nations) had united with him to work for peace, and that they had sent him a pipe of peace to indicate the truth of their desires. Au-goosh-away then said:

> Grandfather, and ye believing Indians, **I have given you Pettquotting and that country to dwell in.** This was indeed interrupted by the war. Ye had to retire for a time, but I abide by my word, and shall not change. Since now I believe quite certainly that as the nations assemble on the Miami peace will be concluded. I tell you beforehand, make ready to move again to Pettquotting, into your town, and to take possession of it. Thus shall I do too, and get ready, and then go to live not far from Sandusky Bay, where I shall be near you, and since

> I shall soon be coming back from the Council, I will come myself and bring you farther news which will be trustworthy.[53]

In this short speech Au-goosh-away expressed his belief that peace was to follow, that the Indians were now secure in their possession of the land, and that he would soon be living near Sandusky Bay. As it turned out, he was mistaken in all three; and, apparently he never returned to live near Sandusky Bay. The Indians were badly defeated in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, and his tribesmen were destined not only to relinquish their lands in Ohio, but also to be swindled out of much of it.

An appropriate closing for this article is Au-goosh-away's arrogant remark made at the Council of April 26, 1781, at which time Major De Peyster persuaded the Ottawa, Huron, Chippewa, Pottawatomi and Brant's Six Nations to attack the Americans approaching the Ohio territory. Au-goosh-away, who disliked seeing the Indian in war, and especially fighting in a war between the white men, consented in these brief, yet characteristic, words:

> Father, you see your Children are prepared to meet the Enemy, don't let us see but a few of your own colour, let us see you get up with a number of them.[54]

FOOTNOTES

1. Emma Helen Blair (ed. and trans.), *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes as described by Nicolas Perrot . . . Bacqueville de la Potherie . . . Morrell Marston . . . and Thomas Forsyth* . . . (Cleveland, 1911), I:151-2.
2. *Ibid.,* 178-80.
3. William Renwich Riddell, "When Detroit Was French", in *Michigan History* (1939), XXIII:45.
4. Blair, *op. cit.,* I:283.
5. R. Dickson to Robert Hamilton, Michilimackinac, July 14, 1793, in E. A. Cruikshank, *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe, with allied Documents* . . . (Toronto, 1924), I:390. (subsequently will be designated *Simcoe Papers*)
6. Joseph Chew to Captain James Green, Montreal, July 28, 1796, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* XX:460-61. (Subsequently will be designated *MP&HC*)
7. C. Gautier (unaddressed), Mackinac, January 27, 1790; *MP&HC,* XII:20.

8. Captain Daniel Robertson to Sec. Matthews, Michilimackinac, February 10,1793; *MP&HC,* XI:341-42.
9. Memorandum for Sir John Johnson . . . submitted by the Committee of Merchants . . . relative to Indian trade, April 4, 1786; *MP&HC,* XI:485-88.
10. Manuscript Treaty by Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatomi and Huron Tribes at Detroit, May 19, 1790, in Papers relating to Walpole Island (Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Canada). In this treaty the spelling of E. gouch-e-ouai was used; however, in councils preceding the treaty spellings such as Gouch ou a i, and E. gouche-ou-a-i were recorded.
11. Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795. In this treaty the spelling of Au-goosh-away was used; however, in the councils preceeding the treaty spellings such as Agoosh-away were recorded.
12. This list of spelling variations was obtained from the following sources: *Simcoe Papers,* II:8, 126, 187, 195, 224, 233, 396; III:187, 274; IV:26, 71, 92, 130, 131; *MP&HC,* X:394, 473-76, 576-78, 651; IX:442, 482, 483; XII: 21, 50, 95, 96, 104-09, 178, 261-63; XIX-423, 597; XX:308, 309, 347-50, 417; XXIII:399; XXIV:214-19, 628; XXV:45; *Zeisberger's Diary,* II; *St. Clair Papers,* II:13; Stone, *Life of Brant,* II:394; Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1794; Treaty of Detroit, May 19, 1790; Bureau of Archives Report, Canada, 1905, 116; Lyman C. Draper Biographical Field Notes, in the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* October, 1933, sections 80, 81, 151, 153, 181; *John Askin Papers,* II:11.
13. "Biographical Field Notes of Dr. Lyman C. Draper", in *Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* October 1933, section 142.
14. *Ibid.,* section 82.
15. *Diary of David Zeisberger,* edited by Eugene E. Bliss (Cincinnati, 1885) I:437.
16. *Ibid.,* 438.
17. Draper Field Notes, *op. cit.,* section 142.
18. Manuscript of Speech of E. Gouche-ou-a-i, Ottawa Chief, made at Council of Indians held by Major Murray at the time of Treaty of 1790, Detroit, in Canadian Archives, Minutes of Detroit Councils, vol. 13, Series Two, Indian Records (Ottawa, Canada).
19. Speeches of the Western Indians at the Miamis Rapids, May 7, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.,* II:233.
20. Captain Alexander McKee to Captain R. B. Lernoult, Shawanese Village, May 26, 1779, *MP&HC,* XIX, 423.
21. Alexander McKee to J. G. Simcoe, Rapids, July 26, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.,* II:234.
22. Sarah Ainse to the Ottawa Chief Aguishua, Detroit, January 26, 1795, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.,* III:274.
23. Sarah Ainse to Joseph Brant, Detroit, February 5, 1795, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.,* III:287.
24. Abstracts from Journal kept by Thomas Duggan, Clerk for Alexander McKee, 1793; *MP&HC,* XII:105-6.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Major De Peyster to Captain Alexander McKee, Detroit, May 8, 1780; *MP&HC,* X:394.
27. *Zeisberger's Diary, op. cit.,* I:437.
28. Proceedings of Council at Brown's Town, October 11, 1794; *MP&HC,* XXV:40-45.
29. *Zeisberger's Diary, op. cit.,* I:437.

30. *Ibid.*, 438.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, II:26-27.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, 155. (Italics are the author's)
35. *Ibid.*, 40.
36. Thomas Duggan Journal, *op. cit.*
37. *Zeisberger's Diary, op. cit.*, II:372.
38. William Campbell to R. G. England, August 20, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.*, II:396.
39. J. G. Simcoe to Henry Dundas, Upper Canada, Navy Hall, August 30, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.*, III: 19.
40. J. G. Simcoe's Diary of Journey to the Miamis River, September, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.*, III:99.
41. Father Edmund Burke to R. G. England, River Raisins, February 11, 1795, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.*, III:292.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I:564-583.
44. *Ibid.*
45. R. G. England to J. G. Simcoe, Detroit, August 20,1795, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.*, IV:71.
46. Alexander McKee to Joseph Chew, Detroit, September 14, 1795, in *Simcoe Papers, op. cit.*, IV:92.
47. Secretary of War to the President, War Office, September 28, 1795, in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter, II:537.
48. Speech of E. Gouche-ou-a-i, in Minutes of Council held with the Indians at Detroit, May 19, 1790, in Canadian Archives, Minutes of Detroit Councils, vol. 13, Series Two, Indian Records (Ottawa, Canada).
49. *Zeisberger's Diary, op. cit.*, I:437-38. (Italics are the author's).
50. *Ibid.*, II:26-28.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, 30.
53. *Ibid.*, 278-79 (Italics are the author's).
54. Council held at Detroit, April 26, 1781; *MP&HC*, X:473-76.

Trends and Fashions in Toledo Music, 1875-1900

By Marion S. Revett

There are few artists whom I respect MORE than a first-class amateur;
And there are few that I respect LESS than a second-rate one. —Mendelssohn

1. Great Names in the 1870's

The Seventies opened, auspiciously enough, with vocal music at least, firmly launched in what seemed to be an advancing state of perfection. By 1875, Toledoans had attended Wheeler Opera House concerts for four years, had listened breathlessly and longingly to the programs of internationally famous singers, and the desire was strong to gather and perform likewise.

The Seventies were outstanding for the personalities in future local music who were then moving to Toledo, as well as for for those talented natives, mostly the pupils of Mathias, who had reached the fork in the musical road and turned right. One road led to harder work and more study with the professionals of Chicago, New York, Boston and Europe. The other road led to local suffocation—and many pupils took the latter and easier course.

Great names were abundant in those days.

WALTER HEWITT, a well known composer and musician, came to Toledo in 1873 to teach organ, piano, violin and guitar, as well as harmony and composition. He was hired as organist at Westminster church, and with his friend Frederic H. Pease, wrote a Harmony Manual which was published

in Toledo by W. W. Whitney in 1878. The Manual included a treatise on scales and intervals for players and singers, "with practical thorough bass exercises." Also with Pease, who was then Professor of Music at Michigan State Normal College in Ypsilanti, Hewitt organized organ and choir concerts which kept local music at a superior level for five years.

WILLIAM WILLING, father of Mary Louise Willing, came to Toledo from Erie, Pennsylvania, in 1876 and remained to teach, compose and participate in the many local concerts and benefits here for nine years.

The MARTIN ECKER family moved here from Illinois in 1872 and sons JOHN EMIL, THEODORE, HERMAN and MAX kept the vocation of music alive in their home after their father died. Ecker, Senior only lived in Toledo for two years. His work of teaching a class of 120 pupils at the German Lutheran Church, without an assistant, added to his work as organist and leader of the choir, caused his death in 1874, at the age of 50, leaving a wife and eight children.

The W. J. FARRAR's came to Toledo in 1877 from a community near Erie, Pennsylvania, and immediately found a place in the music groups of the day. Their children, Anna Judson (Fannie) Farrar, Rush, Foster and Emily, became equally adept on various musical instruments as well as in chorus work. Fanny was to become head of Music at Denison University, a post which she held for 33 years.

NELLIE COOK, a pupil of Mathias, was just graduating from High School in 1875 and preparing for further study in New York and Europe. She became the only Toledoan Pianist to go on to the concert stage, in the Nineteenth century. Miss Cook toured with Genevra Johnston-Bishop in 1897 and in four months gave concerts in sixteen states as well as British Columbia, by way of Florida, Texas and California.

HELEN BEACH (Jones) in 1875 was timidly accepting her first pupils.

The W. H. H. SMITHS, parents of David Stanley, were firmly established in the music of Toledo, and Mr. Smith remained organist at Trinity Church for many years. CHARLOTTE OSBORN (Mrs. W. W. Ainsworth) had become an outstanding vocalist; EUGENIE BALDWIN, still in her 'teens, was studying music and singing in Mrs. Staylin's Ladies' Glee Club.

CHARLES BASSETT, later to become Toledo's only internationally famous operatic tenor, was playing Chopin at every opportunity before his voice changed. He gave up his studies of the piano to take voice in Detroit and then a thorough study of the Opera in Europe.

IDA BOND was soprano lead at Trinity Church and taught voice until her marriage to Toledo's Frank Young. Later she became nationally known as a dramatic soprano.

ROSE CLOUSE (Lewis) then ten years old, was studying piano with Mathias and was one of his most promising pupils.

WILLIAM H. CURRIER had come to town from Coldwater, Michigan and by 1870 joined W. W. Whitney to make the Whitney-Currier Music Company famous all over the United States.

KARL FORMES came up from Cincinnati in 1875 to teach voice; Josef de Bona arrived from the East to teach violin.

CHARLES H. THOMPSON of Yorkshire, England had married a Toledo girl and was taking part in local concerts, before going on to a high position in Eastern churches, then to teach voice in New York. Eventually he returned to Toledo to take over the Trinity Church boys' choir, and to become Supervisor of Music in the schools.

Add to this wealth of talent such already established families as the Machens, the Kelloggs, the Doolittles and the Hahns and it is understandable that outside teachers should gravitate to Toledo as to a magnet.

Our town was well on the way to regional domination of the music field. We had become a community outstanding for its music publishers and composers, for the Whitney & Currier pianos and organs, for the German Saengerbunds which took prizes at every 'Fest in the Peninsula area; our Wheeler Opera House was known from coast to coast for its magnificence and the superior type of bookings of the early days. Our amateurs were so active that they were giving out-of-town performances in Ohio, Michigan and Indiana.

2. Industry Stops Progress in Music

Then two factors, following the Singing Seventies, almost ruined our music appreciation and our musical beginnings. After nearly ten years of working together in church and benefit concerts, in home musicales and the two great music festivals of 1876 and 1879, the mid-Eighties found instrumentalists and vocalists alike thoroughly "fed up" with their own repertoires and those of their fellow artists. Prima donnaism among men and women alike had scattered the instrumentalists, disrupted the church choirs one by one, and put Toledo back twenty years in musical progress.

The second and most devastating factor was the arrival of Industry. Until Detroit, Toledo and other inland cities became mechanized towns, there was GOOD music. To this day, the large cities where immigration is concentrated, remain the music and art centers of the world. Even the steerage passenger brought with him a love and understanding of the age-old arts that were as much a part of his everyday life as his language and his desire for freedom.

Where the great majority of the population turned to a livelihood, from apprenticeship to old age, in machine shops, foundries and wagon works a tone deafness was acquired from the cacophonous symphony of the average factory. Beginning with the 1880's, music had to be loud, simple and short to be popular with the majority.

With the opening of the High School's Manual Training Department, and the organization of the Toledo Business College, both in 1885, young men not already at work in the shipyards or factories enrolled for higher economic education. Young ladies gave up their music and school teaching, their dressmaking and domestic work to study as office workers or "Edison girls" when that first telephone exchange opened. Those were the days when a normal work period encompassed twelve to fourteen hours and few had enough time left over to study, practise or even hear good music long enough or often enough to become acquainted with it.

Music appreciation fell to the minority. It was the wealthier class which could take time to participate in the invitational home musicales which became a fad. The social angle took on a tremendous importance and when music, in all forms, came back with a rush during the "Gay Nineties", discrimination had become the slogan. Many concert-goers who could not hear the difference between a second and a ninth, led the box office procession to the "socially smart" concerts—and left the good ones to wilt in an area of empty seats. Local amateur music suddenly went from famine to feast and there were not enough musicians to take part in, and still be an audience to, the wealth of local and imported music of all descriptions.

3. The Indifference of the Instrumentalists

By 1875, instrumentalists had long since "gone commercial". The pit bands at Wheelers, the Adelphi and later Peoples Theater, furnished adequate salaries for adequate playing. There were not enough instrumental hobbyists to supply Mathias or any other leader with an orchestra of proper size, balance or capability. For many years, the supply and demand in music had found teachers and pupils in abundance for voice, piano, organ and guitar (the show-off hobbies) while Mathias and others also taught violin, viola, cello, bass, flute and clarionet; yet after twenty-five years of lessons, amateur concerts, home musicales, benefit shows and, ad

infinitum, recitals, only two instrumentalists, aside from a few pianists like Nellie Cook, Helen Beach and Rose Clouse, ever reached the concert stage.

The first hardy soul was JAMES P. LOCKE who had succeeded in mastering the art of playing on two cornets at the same time. He was invited as guest star at a number of eastern concerts and was still playing cornet locally at the turn of the century.

The second and most important was a little girl named Sadie Wertheim, who became the violin protege of Ysaye, was soloist on many of the finest concerts in Europe and made her debut in Carnegie Hall in 1898 at the age of sixteen. An editorial in the **Blade** of Nov. 12, 1897 may contain the answer to that Nineteenth Century enigma: "We had the teachers—what ever became of the pupils?"

"It seems somewhat strange that, when the best in music that this country affords, is brought to Toledo it is not better patronized by musicians. There have been very few present at different Auditorium concerts this year; the audiences being made up mostly of music lovers. In this way, members of the musical profession differ from those of any other—as when an actor has a night off, he hies himself to the theater to see how his brother thespians act."

From 1871, when the short-lived Mathias "Orchestral Union" disbanded, until 1880 when Prof. H. H. Darby formed the "Toledo Amateur Orchestra," our town was without a sustained orchestral program of any kind. It was left to Theodore Thomas and his orchestra to fill the void.

Thomas and his group of more than fifty musicians played Toledo for the first time in 1872, on March 13th and 14th. After hearing Beethoven, Wagner, Mozart, Mendelssohn, Liszt and others, as their compositions were meant to sound, it is unlikely that local audiences would have, thereafter, the patience to support a local group had they had the opportunity.

In these days of busses and huge motor vans which transport both the players and the unwieldly instruments of the travelling symphony orchestras, the "barnstorming" days of the Theodore Thomas troupe remain a miracle in management and perseverance. The Maestro was thirty-seven years old when he came to Toledo for the first time. He knew that the hinterlands were entirely ignorant of the way great music should be played, and he braved the irregularities of railroad travel, the inadequacy of small time hotels and boarding houses, and the acoustical difficulties of the typical Op'ry Houses of the country to fulfill what he considered his mission in life.

His orchestra consisted of 16 violins, 5 violas, 4 cellos, 4 double basses, 1 harp, 1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 1 English horn, 2 clarionets, 1 bass clarionet, 2 bassoons, 4 French horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, 1 tuba and an assortment of kettle drums, bass drums, side drums, "etc". So well were they received that they played a return engagement in October and thereafter came back intermittently once and sometimes twice a season for seventeen years.

In 1875, Louis Mathias corralled a number of instrumentalists long enough to take part in a concert given by Justina Fisher and Emma Alder. "The music of the orchestra," reviewed the **Blade**, "as conducted by Prof. Mathias, was the best that has ever been given by any orchestra accompanying dramatic companies in the Opera House. It is only a matter of regret that we cannot be favored with such treats much oftener."

On July 3, 1876, Mathias again coaxed and cajoled local musicians into a concert, this time to celebrate the Centennial of his beloved adopted homeland. With the help of one hundred vocalists, composed mainly of the German saengerbunds of Toledo and Detroit, several soloists and a group of forty players, he gave Our Town a Centennial program built on his own loyalty and thanksgiving. To conduct a balanced orchestra, he brought in additional instrumentalists from the Detroit Opera House Orchestra.

"The obstacles which met him at the outset," wrote the Blade, "would have appalled most leaders, but he went to work with quiet, undemonstrative persistence and—succeeded. He found several good first violinists in the city and reinforced them with two from Detroit; three very competent second violinists were obtained, and one from Detroit. One good trombonist was known to be in the city, and by a happy accident Mr. Mathias lighted upon another in the person of an Italian fruit dealer. Enough French horns could not be found, and parts had to be written for other instruments to make up the deficiency . . . one cello, one double bass, one oboe, one bassoon, two French horns, one trombone and two kettle drums were also from Detroit."

It was for this occasion that Mathias shut himself into his studio for four days to make an arrangement of Dudley Buck's "Centennial Cantata" which could be played by the instrumentalists at his disposal.

Thereafter, local musicians returned placidly to their pit bands and in 1879 when Mathias was to direct the huge chorus for the Peninsula Saengerbund's second saengerfest to be held for three days in Toledo, Fred Abel and his 60-piece Detroit orchestra were hired.

In December of 1879, Prof. H. H. Darby, a tenor and music teacher of Cleveland, came to Toledo to take part in a Trinity Church Concert. He sang "Alice Where Art Thou" and within four weeks had moved in and organized a new orchestra. With 40 players he was still in need of an oboe and another French horn, but he rehearsed his men every Tuesday and the "Toledo Amateur Orchestra" gave its first public performance in March of 1880. His only departure from the programs of the past two decades were a Boccherini Minuet for Strings and a Strauss Waltz. Prof. Darby and his orchestra joined local singers for the opera "Bells of Corneville" and collaborated with the Mannerchor in a concert which brought to Toledo for the first time, that fine soprano Estelle (Mrs. Seabury C.) Ford from Cleveland.

For the second season, Prof. Darby organized the Apollo Club and with his orchestra, now right back to the number 25, gave a concert at Wheelers. The second concert of the season was held in Gymnasium Hall in Hall's Block, in March. To close their year, Haydn's "Creation" was performed with 100 vocalists and the orchestra. In August, Prof. Darby took charge of the choir and organ at St. Paul's ME Church, taught his adult classes, continued rehearsing the orchestra, and organized the Ladies "Abt Club". The three groups were just getting acclimated, one to another, when on Dec. 15, 1882 the Hall Block, located where the Richardson Bldg. now stands, was completely destroyed by fire. Prof. Darby's studios, music instruments and pianos and all the music of the three clubs were lost. Thus, for another eight years, we were without an orchestra.

The orchestra of Dr. Leopold Damrosch brought much-needed music on Nov. 27, 1882 after a pre-concert ticket sale assured him of a proper audience. Since his western tour visited but six cities, the Damrosch management was taking no chances of playing to empty seats. The 55-piece orchestra played

1—Overture "Oberon"—Weber
2—Air and var. Paccini—Isadora Martinez
3—Symphony in C minor—Beethoven
allegro con brio, andante con moto, allegro—Finale
Intermission
4—"Parsifal" prelude (new)—Wagner
5—Air from "Roberto"—Meyerbeer—Isadora Martinez
6—Rakozcy March—Berlioz

and, "in accordance with the mandate of the New York Philharmonic Society, the European pitch has been adopted and the instruments used by this orchestra have been constructed for the gaining of that effect."

When the Toledo Oratorio Society needed an orchestra its first two seasons, Wolff's Wheeler Opera House group was

accepted and then the Cincinnati Symphony was hired for solemn occasions.

As the Opera House bookings degenerated so, apparently, did the orchestra. "What is the matter with the orchestra at the Opera House", wrote the reviewer of the **Blade.** "Must say I never heard such wretched overtures as were played between the acts. Once or twice the selections attempted were too heavy for the size of the orchestra and others were played as though no one cared what the effect would be. Each one seemed to desire to play his part through and be done with it."—Nov. 21, 1883.

"The house (Wheelers) for Mlle. Rhea was filled to the doors. The orchestra was uprooted and placed upon the stage, behind the curtain, to make room for more seats. This was an improvement, and were the orchestra removed to the farther side of Monroe Street it would be still better. The interposition of the curtain was, however, something and for this relief much thanks."—Nov. 30, 1883.

In 1886, when Ovide Musin, the violinist, and Leopold Godowsky, the young Russian pianist, gave a concert at Wheelers, the Blade wrote: "At twenty minutes past eight, there were by actual count 48 people on the first floor. 48 people in a city of 80,000! It is to be hoped M. Musin will play here again . . . and that those who are always talking so much about their love for good music and their unquenchable desire to hear everything good, will go and hear him."

That summer at Presq' Isle Park Theater, Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore's Boston Jubilee band played two concerts and W. B. Clayton, librarian, could have kept them on a varied program all season with his 6,000 indexed compositions.

Liberati with his cornet and his fifty musicians played for an entire week and the Mexican Military Band, enroute to Paris for the Exposition, stopped by with their fifty musicians under the direction of Captain E. Payne. On such did the Industrial Eighties thrive. The peak of perfection came

during the summer of 1889 when Gilmore returned to Presq' Isle on a tour which was celebrating his Band's Twentieth Anniversary. A battery of artillery aided such stars as Myron W. Whitney, basso; Guiseppe del Puente, baritone; and Italo Campanini, tenor, to a successful program.

"He will bring a battery of six breach loading, electric firing cannon, each one of which can be loaded and discharged in perfect safety at twenty times a minute. In the national airs and the 'Anvil Chorus' the cannon will be discharged on the first beat of every measure, so that the roar will come to the ears of the listeners with the awful grandeur of deep-toned thunder, in exact time with the music."

Perhaps recalling the words of the Reverend Mr. Beecher, who told his congregation in 1866: "If you have nothing but philharmonic music you will want nothing but that", Louis Mathias shuddered and decided something had better be done about the classics. The following season he called to his studio every player who might be prevailed upon to reform and renew acquaintanceship with good music. "The time has come," he told them, "for Toledo to take another step forward, musically." He reminded them of the similar organizations which had functioned during this thirty-six years of activity in local music. "There are many truly professional musicians in Toledo," he said, and added that surely a mixed group of those professionals, with some talented amateurs, could if they would "all pull together" become a credit to the city.

Seventeen players attended the first rehearsal and others promised to join soon. No official name was ever given this group. They were designated simply "The Mathias Orchestra" and lasted, surprisingly enough, for nearly five years.

On December 3, 1890, twenty-two players took part in their first concert and "although the first was not a great success financially" two more were planned for the season. Mathias formed a string quartet within the orchestra and between

concerts the two violins, one viola and one cello appeared at many benefits and recitals.

It was Anna Lewis Bernn, a graduate and teacher of the Royal Conservatory of Music in her home town of Stuttgart, Germany, a fine musician and a great lady, who had come to Toledo in 1892 and within a few months promoted the first "chamber music", giving it the technical name, which Toledo had been offered. Louis Mathias had pushed the music of string quartets for many years, but "chamber music" with the aid of the Detroit Philharmonics, became immensely popular.

The quartet of the Mathias Orchestra also offered chamber music, but whereas Miss Bernn, in deference to the seating capacity, gave her concerts at Memorial Hall, Uncle Louis Mathias in deference to the music, performed in smaller auditoriums and the chamber music idea also dropped by the wayside after Anna Bernn returned to her homeland.

The second concert of the Mathias Orchestra also played to a half-filled hall but the third, for some inexplicable reason, was given to a full house. "Memorial Hall was filled" said the reviewer, "and judging from last night's program the Mathias Orchestra is not an experiment but an assured success."

The year 1892, however, found local and imported music at an all-time high, with so many organizations giving concerts and so much booked into the Valentine, the Auditorium and Currier's Music Hall, that Mathias wisely dropped back to "public recitals" in the orchestra's rehearsal rooms and collaboration with the Mannerchor. Walter Damrosch and his New York Symphony Orchestra arrived in May with sixty-five players and, having learned his lesson well, Mathias waited until public memory faded before again continuing his own concerts. In March of 1893 the Orchestra took part in the GAR festival at Wheelers.

"Prof. Mathias led a large orchestra", commented the re-

viewer, "and gave Toledoans a taste of orchestral music that was delicious. It really sounded like a first class metropolitan orchestra."

With the Springfever of 1893, the Orchestra was promised 50 players and oboes, saxophones and kettle drums were still to be added; but the first concert of the season combined with the Mannerchor found the number of musicians again back to 30. "Toledo's permanent orchestra" gave its last concert at the Auditorium in April of 1895 and it was "a splendid concert . . . the program throughout was one of the best ever given in Toledo. The Mathias Orchestra concerts should always receive the hearty support of music lovers."

It was Uncle Louis' last concert, under his own name. For nearly two years, classical music was confined to the visits of Walter Damrosch, Theodore Thomas and his Chicago Orchestra, and the late P. S. Gilmore's Band with young Victor Herbert conducting.

In 1897, a number of civic minded business men approached Arthur Kortheuer (who had come to Toledo in 1884 at the age of twenty-one, to teach music at Smead School) with the idea for another local orchestra. Kortheuer was well grounded in such work, having studied piano, theory, orchestration and conducting in Europe. He had returned to New York and for one year conducted the "Euterpe Opera Company" which was made up for the most part of Leipsic graduates, before coming to Toledo.

Phillip Steinhauser, lately arrived from Germany, was chosen concertmeister and the musicians who had decided they "needed an orchestra where they could do better work than they were doing at the various theaters . . . and bring out the talent that must of necessity lie dormant in their daily work", began rehearsing in earnest. The thirty-five players included 10 violins, 2 violas, 3 cellos, 3 double bass, 2 flutes, 1 piccolo, 1 oboe, 1 bassoon, 2 clarinets, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones and a kettle drum. The ten men of the Philanthropic Board cheerfully dove into their wallets

at the end of each concert to pay their share of the current deficit of Toledo's first "Symphony Orchestra."

The second concert was played to a full house at the Auditorium. An additional first and second violin, another cello, a bassoon and a harp had been added. The fourth and last concert of the first season had to be given at Memorial Hall, so great had become the demand for tickets.

During its second year, only two concerts were given by the Symphony Orchestra, one of which was sponsored by the YMCA for its "Star Course" at the Valentine. During the summer of 1898, fresh impetus was given local music when some person or persons decided, with a great deal of wishful thinking, that the Ohio Centennial of 1902/03 would be held in Toledo. A three day pre-Centennial Carnival was given in August, and the Symphony Orchestra took part in a widespread program intended to raise money for the erection of a permanent Art building on the Exposition Grounds at Bay View Park. The 1899/1900 season of the orchestra opened with 125 subscribers, each pledged to buy four season tickets, thereby providing the group with the largest sustained audiences to date. Kortheuer also organized a Junior orchestra of 18 members, composed of his pupils and a number of fill-in adult instrumentalists for steering purposes. The Junior orchestra gave two concerts at the Valentine to augment the fund which was to provide a series of public concerts during the Centennial.

The first concert of the Symphony Orchestra's season included the first act of "Tannhauser", with fifteen vocalists led by Lenore Sherwood-Pyle. The results were remarkable; musically and financially the concert may have been less than magnificent—but the music reviewer of the Bee made history with a candor seldom seen before or since. "The playing of Alfred Hoffman, Detroit cellist," he complained, "was marred in part by Kortheuer, who accompanied on the piano and as usual rushed parts that are not supposed to be rushed . . . The orchestra is unwieldy in its efforts, with all of Kortheuer's directions seeming to be slow in taking effect. The cor-

nets should be more certain of their solo parts; the clarinets should either tune up with the rest of the aggregation or let the aggregation tune up to them . . . This is meant more as a suggestion than a criticism, since there are probably some members of the orchestra who were skilled in their respective lines before the writer knew the difference between a little tin whistle and a saxophone."

In December, the Orchestra took part in another ambitious program, this time at the Boody House, during which every prominent artist performed. More money was raised for the coming Ohio Centennial to be held in Toledo, and the Century closed, musically speaking, with no clairvoyant to tell the hard working artists that Toledo would, after all, NOT be chosen by the State.

4. The Surging Seventies

The great upsurge of interest in local amateur music can easily be traced to the year 1874. Prior to that date, and after the Civil War, only school children and the German musicians showed much enthusiasm for performing in public.

There had been "The Mendelssohn Union", which was organized in 1869 by H. C. Hahn as a helpmeet and co-worker of Mathias' "Orchestral Union." The two groups gave such scores as Eichberg's "The Two Cadis", Schiller's "Lay Of The Bell" and Farmer's "B flat Mass" when the instrumentalists again disbanded—many of them to be hired for the Wheeler Opera House orchestra. The chorus managed to survive for another two years, and at the close of the 1872/73 season they gave three evening performances of "Der Freischutz" with Karl Formes and the Cincinnati Orchestra. The **Blade** wrote: "The results of the series . . . are such as would satisfy the most vindictive enemy of the organization. The Union, after weeks of careful and laborious training under one of the finest musical directors of the country . . . finds itself at the close of the season $600 in debt. Through the

courtesy of the city newspapers the amount has been reduced by $100."

In 1874, amateur music rushed forth like a race horse leaving the barrier. W. H. H. SMITH organized the "Arion Society" and announced that the "number of members is limited for the sake of securing excellence in the higher style of music." For three years, the "Arions" were happily active at church and benefit concerts, and then gradually dropped back, occasionally giving public performances, until after the Mid-May Carnival in 1883.

Mrs. A. STAYLIN came to Trinity Church from Buffalo, N. Y., also in 1874, and she sang soprano in the choir, taught vocals and organized the first Ladies' Glee Club. It had long been held that women's voices alone could not provide the necessary four part harmony for good chorus work. Mrs. Staylin's chorus disproved the theory and when she left Toledo, the St. Cecelias were organized. From 1879 until 1893, that club functioned continuously and successfully.

In 1874, WALTER HEWITT, who had moved to Toledo to teach piano, organ, violin, guitar, harmony and composition, accepted the post of organist at Westminster church. He immediately opened a series of organ and vocal concerts, inviting the Trinity Church choir, and W. H. H. Smith as guest organist. The series lasted for four years, until Prof. Hewitt moved to Ypsilanti, Michigan.

Also the year 1874 found Prof. N. M. Dane in charge of music at St. Paul's M.E. Church and he built a "Chorus Quior" of sixty voices, which was said to be but the third such large group in the United States—the other two being at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn and at Oberlin, Ohio.

At the same time, Toledo's four German Singing Societies, the "Gruettli", "Petersburger", "Saengerbund" and "Teutonia" were all performing, individually and in joint account, at intervals.

By 1876, we had the Trinity Guild programs, St. Paul's Quoir concerts, the Hewitt-Trinity concerts, Mrs. Staylin's Ladies' Glee Club concerts, the "Arion Society" concerts and St. John's Episcopal programs as well.

Professionally, there were Kiralfy's Ballet of Jules Verne's "Around The World In Eighty Days"; The Strakosch Opera Co. in "Martha"; Caroline Richings-Bernard and her company in "The Marriage of Figaro" and Arabella Goddard and her concert troupe of Adelaide Randall, Louis Melbourne, Mark Keiser and Carl Loesch, as well as the Boston Philharmonics with Laura Schirmer.

To celebrate the Centennial of his adopted country, Louis Mathias trained a chorus of 100 voices, mostly his German friends, and found enough musicians to form an orchestra. The music of Verdi, Haydn, Weber, Suppe, Wagner and Dudley Buck was played and Payne's "Whittier's Centennial Hymn" and the "Star Spangled Banner" closed this German-American performance.

The following season, Saturday night concerts were organized at Gymnasium Hall which gave added opportunity to pianists, vocalists and a few instrumentalists, to perform in public. Such names as William Willing, Nellie Cook, Charles Thompson, Charles Bassett, the "Arions" and Wolff's Orchestra were found on the weekly programs. More churches were having their musical interludes, too, with Collingwood Avenue M.E., Third Presbyterian, St. Francis de Sales, Grace church and others, joining the fun.

An exciting program among the amateurs was "L'Africaine", said to be "an operatic burlesque and musical extravaganza." Many of the leading singers took part, and the Blade remarked: "Of the giving of amateur entertainment there is no end!"

That year, too, Emma Abbott returned to Toledo to give a concert in the town which had given her the start to her famous career back in 1869. Prof. Dane organized a short-

lived "Toledo Choral Union." Prof. Mathias chose thirty-six singers from the various German societies now defunct, to rebuild a "Gesangverein."

A "Toledo Choral Society" was organized which specialized in socially prominent names and invitational concerts. Their first party at the residence of Mr. C. I. Scott, corner Washington and 11th Streets, found the spacious parlors filled with invited guests. In front of an improvised curtain such tunes as "Hush Thee My Baby" and "Behold The Young, The Rosy Spring" were rendered, with piano solos and charades closing the program.

Their second concert, this time at the Hotel Madison, brought 200 guests to hear "O Loving Heart, Trust On", "When Sparrows Build", "Spring Flowers", "Si tu Savais of Balfe," "When Swallows Homeward Fly", and added piano and cornet solos. By the time that "O Swallow, Happy Swallow" and "Winds That Waft My Sighs to Thee" and "The Old Sexton" had also been done and redone for months, programs could almost be reviewed in advance of the concert.

Those singers who were socially acceptable in the best homes, soon experienced the desire to solo in their church choirs as well. When refused by the Music Directors thereof, there were sudden attacks of laryngitis, planned trips abroad for further study and the more unsubtle, but just as definite, resignations. Music directors were permitted to leave and others were brought in to try their hands for the few months or maximum one or two years already established. In February of 1879 the **Blade** commented, "Many of the choirs in the city churches are said to be somewhat disorganized just now and in a transition state."

The Germans continued stolidly making plans for the Second Saengerfest of the Peninsula Saengerbund, to be held in Toledo for four days. Louis Mathias was chosen music director. In size and local cooperation, this was the most successful and far-reaching program ever to be given in Toledo. A Board of Directors of thirteen men, led by Mayor Romeis

as President of the Board, incorporated the Saengerbund Association at Columbus with a capital stock of $10,000 in $5 shares. Subscriptions were raised and a Saengerfest Hall was built on Monroe Street between 15th and 17th Streets. The building cost nearly $10,000, and seated 4,000 people. Merchants decorated their stores, and Summit Street from Perry to Cherry was lined with bunting, flags and evergreens. Monroe, Jefferson, Madison and Adams were all decorated to 17th Street and again, evergreens were draped from building to building along the way. A huge "Welcome" arch was hung across the corners of Monroe and Summit. Hotels and rooming houses became filled with visitors brought by excursion trains from all over Ohio, Michigan and Indiana.

German Singing Societies came from Detroit, Saginaw City, East Saginaw, Bay City, Lansing, Grand Rapids and Jackson, Michigan; South Bend and Fort Wayne, Indiana; Tiffin and other Ohio towns. Soloists were Maria Litta, Florence Rice-Knox, Tagliapietra among the vocalists; Remenyi, violinist and L. F. Boos, cornetist. Every local singer of any worth was invited and gladly became a part of the chorus. Fred Abel's Detroit orchestra furnished the instrumental music.

A huge parade of the Trades featured the second day's events and prizes for the best decorated store windows were given. For three days, August 18, 19 and 20, there were afternoon and evening concerts, and on the fourth day, after a morning business meeting, there was a pic-nic, an added concert from 3 to 5 p. m. and the Festival closed with a Grand Ball. (During a visit with Alvin B. Tillinghast a few months before his death in 1951 at the age of 98, Mr. Tillinghart recalled that this German Saengerfest was the greatest musical event ever to take place in Toledo.)

5. Failing Festivals

Encouraged by the great success of the 'Fest, Louis Mathias felt that perhaps Toledo was now ready for an annual

music series, patterned on a smaller scale from those held in Cincinnati. He had no difficulty organizing the "Toledo Vocal Society" among the still enthusiastic singers. So the 1880 "First June Festival" was planned. Again out of town soloists were hired. Maria Litta, Henrietta Beebe, Anna Drasdil and Hattie McLain (making her debut in Toledo), Franz Remmertz and Alex Bischoff; Edward Remenyi on violin, Anton Straleski at the piano and Fred Abel's Detroit Orchestra. June 7, 8, 9 and 10 were the dates, and due to the summer heat and complete lack of interest locally, Saengerfest Hall remained half empty at every performance. Musically, it was a great success and as the last song of the last program was finished, the members of the chorus, at a pre-arranged signal, tossed the bouquets they had been holding onto the podium, almost covering Prof. Mathias in flowers.

"The poor man was completely overcome at this new mark of esteem," wrote the **Blade,** "and could only murmur his thanks. The act was a graceful and delicate compliment to the patience, zeal and energy displayed by the worthy professor in drilling and leading the large chorus through so many tedious rehearsals, to achieve such splendid success during the festival. The audience appreciated it and as the floral flood came down upon his devoted head, they applauded till the building rang. It was a fitting conclusion to the grand musical event of the season."

Financially it was a complete failure. Some of the local business men who had guaranteed their share in financing the undertaking, changed their minds. The out-of-town manager, a Mr. Lipman, insisted he was losing money and requested the Detroit Orchestra and the soloists to accept their salaries at fifty cents on the dollar. The orchestra refused to play until Prof. Abel guaranteed their funds; the soloists created a scene with the manager, claiming they were not being treated in the proper manner, and Remenyi's manager demanded to see the accounts for proof. The June Festival closed with total receipts of $2938 and total liabilities of $4800. After two more small concerts, the Vocal Society disbanded early in 1881.

As the Mathias group and the "Arions" were slowly coming to a stop, Prof. Darby organized the two new clubs, "The Apollos" and the "Abt Club" and much good music seemed to be in store for the city when his studios were destroyed by fire. The well-loved professor was given a benefit and soon retired from the city.

6. The Industrial Eighties

The Industrial Eighties brought a few extremely talented musicians to town. Prof. S. C. BENNETT came from Boston to build a class of private pupils in voice culture. He was offered the position of Supervisor of Music in the schools, a post which he held until 1889. He first formed the "Leslie Male Quartet" composed of Frank Williams, W. J. Farrar, John M. Shafer and himself. They gave concerts in Toledo as well as Bowling Green, Clyde, Oberlin, Hillsdale and other nearby towns for two years.

Then Prof. Bennett re-activated the old Vocal Society with the help of Ignatius Fischer, W. H. Currier, E. H. Van Hoesen, W. H. H. Smith and others of the original Mathias association. New ideas of management were in evidence as they gave their first "public rehearsal" on Dec. 19, 1881 at St. Pauls M.E. Church. Membership was limited to one hundred at $5.00 per season ticket, each patron then permitted to buy only five tickets. "The object of this society is not only musical culture of the active members, but to elevate the tone of musical taste and to give the very best compositions of the best writers. This cannot fail to be productive of much good to the church, to society and to the individual." No tickets were sold at these concerts.

The initial performance was of Gounod's "Mass Of the Sacred Heart of Jesus." Their second concert in March returned to Toledo one of the nation's well-loved sopranos—Mrs. Seabury Ford of Cleveland. After one season, the Vocal Society disbanded. It was reorganized in January of 1885, still with substantially the same elected officers and singers,

and Prof. Bennett was named director of the "Toledo Oratorio Society."

This time, Prof. Bennett's ideas were more widely accepted. He was perhaps the most thorough of all local directors of the century. He had gained experience in chorus and opera work in the East, and he insisted that his company rehearse for long enough periods of time to become sure of themselves. This was the same stumbling block which had for so long upset Mathias. Most singers were willing to sing as often as necessary, but they preferred an audience. Perfectionism did, and still does, lead to boredom and the consequent lack of interest in sustained long-range planning was ever present.

Bennett's first major work to go into rehearsal was "La Somnambula". The chorus began rehearsals in April of 1885 and was permitted to give the production in public in February of 1886. Mendelssohn's "Hymn Of Praise" was begun in November of 1885 and performed in June of 1886. Many fine programs of varied theme and versatility were given between the major concerts.

Also, Prof. Bennett charged a membership fee for the privilege of singing with his group; he refused to give any auditions after a major work had gone into rehearsal, thereby eliminating those last minute volunteers so detrimental to a chorus already in accord. He issued only enough tickets to his concerts to pay the actual expenses thereof, instead of going deeply into debt and thereafter pleading for more and bigger audiences. Prof. Bennett issued just two hundred season tickets at $3.00 each, with every purchaser receiving two reserved seats for a concert. Six Hundred Dollars in the Bank, and four hundred friends in the audience at each concert gave Prof. Bennett an almost perfect setup for the season.

The first public concert included May Phenix of Chicago and Frederick Jenkins of Cleveland as soloists, and a chorus of 125 voices. Wolff's 20-piece orchestra gave the instru-

mental music and after a successful evening, the entire cast was held over for three days to give a benefit concert for Louis Mathias.

In September of 1886 "Stabat Mater" went into rehearsal, and the first indication that Prof. Bennett was losing ground with his perfectionism came when "Stabat Mater" was given with less than three months work. "Fra Diavola" was the second project of his "Bennett's Opera Company" (made up of some members of the "Oratorio Society") and the rehearsals began in December. In February a special train carried the troupe to Fremont for an out of town tryout. The story of the opera was printed on handbills and distributed all over the city prior to its three performances at Wheelers. By April the Opera Company was giving a tryout of "Pirates of Penzance" in Adrian and when they opened at Wheelers April 13, 14, 15 and 16 three full productions: "Bohemian Girl", "Pirates of Penzance" and "Fra Diavolo" were performed.

On May 31st and June 1st, Bennett's Oratorio Society (which embraced the members of the Opera Company) gave Haydn's "Creation" with a total of 150 voices and newcomer L. A. Torrens of Chicago, was conducting. Prof. Bennett retreated to his private pupils, continued teaching in the public schools and Toledo's first Opera Company was a thing of the past.

PROF. L. A. TORRENS moved to Toledo in the Fall of 1887 and continued as conductor of the Oratorio Society. Handel's "Messiah" was given at Christmas with the Cincinnati Orchestra in attendance. It was hoped that "The Messiah" could be repeated at each Christmas season and the society went into rehearsal of Gounod's "Messe Solonelle" in January of 1888. That great work, along with "The Crusaders" was given on March 21st.

The second "Messiah" program was given Jan. 2, 1889 aided by the Jackson (Mich.) Oratorio Society, the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and Myron Whitney in the bass

lead. In April their second concert of the season brought Theodore J. and Ella Earle Toedt of St. Bartholomew Church Quartet in New York City, with Franz Remertz, basso and Hattie Clapper, contralto. S. E. Jacobsohn's String Quartet of Chicago was also on hand and local singers remained in the chorus. The Oratorio Society, whether Prof. Torrens realized it or not, was doomed to disband again. It held together long enough to give the third performance of the "Messiah" on Dec. 31, 1889, and in January, Prof. Torrens announced they would begin rehearsals of "Elijah" and "Joan Of Arc" to be given after Easter. The Oratorio Society ceased to exist and Prof. Torrens returned to Chicago.

PROF. W. A. OGDEN also came to Toledo in 1880, after many years of travelling around the United States with his music conventions (now called "music clinics").

He was the author of a great mass of church music; his anthems and carols, songs and Sunday School books were sold in Europe as well as North America. For a number of years he continued his music conventions and in 1889, after Prof. S. C. Bennett left Toledo, was given the position of Supervisor of Music in the public schools.

His superiority in training school children in mass chorus work was brought to the attention of Toledoans during the 1894 Saengerfest, which was held from July 31st to August 6th at the Armory. He conducted 3,000 children in "The Anvil Chorus" and the "Pilgrim's Chorus."

"It was wonderful" wrote the **Blade,** "but when they rendered "Columbia, The Gem Of The Ocean," it was the great event in our lives. Waves of melody rose and echoed throughout the hall as the grand strains were sent from 3000 throats; when 'Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue' rose on the air, myriads of national flags sprang up as if by magic and were waved aloft by the enthusiastic children.

"For a moment, there was a pause as the audience choked with emotion and patriotic love. Soon these feelings were

given expression, and cheer after cheer nearly rent the roof asunder. Even the men wept. Handkerchiefs and hats were thrown aloft and the wildest enthusiasm prevailed, until Prof. Ogden again mounted the director's stand. The last stanza and refrain were repeated. It was a scene of a lifetime . . ."

Three months before his death, Prof. Ogden led a chorus of school children in appropriate song, during the celebration of the laying of a cornerstone for the new High School at Madison and Michigan Streets. Prof. Ogden died in October of 1897, and the following spring a painting of this great musician was presented to the High School by the artist, S. H. Phillips, of Toledo.

* * *

The most interesting of the annual festivals given by the Forsyth Post of the GAR for its Widows & Orphans Fund, took place in 1886 for the formal opening of Memorial Hall. For two weeks, from June 21st to July 6th, different programs of entertainment were given each night, entirely by local talent. Music and vaudeville, comedies and dramas and operettas, found every Toledoan who could play or sing, dance, roller skate, perform slight-of-hand tricks or memorize lines taking part. Here Toledo's first white Minstrel company, "The Amaranths" scored an immediate hit; local composers could hear their own tunes and script writers could see their own plays.

The novelty of the entire festival, however, was the Living Chess Game with prominent Toledo business men acting as the kings, bishops, knights and castles and lovely young ladies posing as queens and pawns. Every chessman was garbed in appropriately elaborate costume. Mr. M. Judd and General Doolittle were the opposing players and the pursuivants were Ed. Locke and I. E. Kniesly. The large audience in the balcony of the hall looked down upon the giant chess game in all its beauty.

In 1888, local music received a tonic of immeasurable value when Nellie Cook returned after 6 years of study in Europe.

With her came Elvin S. Singer, tenor robusto, of Vienna, and an operatic singer of some experience. The Cook-Singer studios soon took on all the color of the typical European Salon, and local musicians were both willing and eager to appear at the strictly invitational musicales and recitals. Often concert artists of national popularity were guests of honor and the arrival of one of Herr Singer's invitations on "thick, creamy paper ornamented with his monogram" was cause for rejoicing.

That year a great and unassuming musician, also from Vienna, came to Toledo for a vacation and moved in. He was OTTO SAND, and when he played in public for the first time "the crowning success of the evening were the Hungarian and Tyrolean airs" which he played. While in his 'teens, Prof. Sand had become fascinated by the music of the Hungarian gypsies and he ran away, travelling with them until he could "execute their music with all the fire and abandon of a native born." Later he joined a group of Poles, mastering their national airs and much of their unwritten music, as he had that of the gypsies.

Zella Brigham (Sand) also came to Toledo from Clyde, Ohio, in 1888 and took her place in local music circles for several years before becoming resident director of music at Albion College, Michigan.

ARTHUR W. KORTHEUR came here in 1884 to teach at Smead School, and he became a member of the staff of a newly organized "Toledo Conservatory of Music" in 1888. Others on the staff were L. A. Torrens, S. D. Cushing and Ralph Millard. In its short life, the Conservatory brought to Toledo such prominent musicians as Otto Bendix, Louis Maas, Charles Knorr and William Sherwood.

The year 1889 showed a burst of speed, musically, which was even greater than that of 1874. Central Congregational Church was continuing its series of musical programs and lectures by out of town notables at $2.00 per season ticket. Almost every church in the city was giving organ-chorus-in-

strumental concerts. The invitational home musicales of Nellie Cook, Belle Wheeler, Harriet May Barlow, the J. B. Ketchams, Elvin Singer and others were equivalent to command performances. The Y.M.C.A. had its own band and booked out of town "Star Concert" series as well. Presq' Isle had become the finest resort and pleasure grounds in the vicinity and opera, concerts and other free entertainments were given there during the summer months.

6. The 1890's

By the 1890's, there was so much of truly great music offered in such competitive quantity that, like a banquet of kings, much went to waste. It is hard to imagine any music lover, today, ignoring an opportunity to hear such stars as Eugene Ysaye, Pol Plancon, Josef Hofmann, the Kneisel Quartet, Leopold Godowsky, Ondricek, Rivarde, Emile Sauret, Edward MacDowell, Watkin-Mills, Ffrangcon Davies, Sieveking, Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler, David Bispham, Gregorowitsch, Teresa Carreno, Plunkett, Greene, Johanna Hess-Burr, Marteau, Silotti—yet many of them were so often ignored, to the distress of Ella Hamilton's box office sales, that in February of 1899 she "determined to abandon all work in Toledo (as an entrepreneur) in high class entertainments."

A concert by Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler, pianist, had found just $120 in the box office, and the lady's guarantee was $300. The **Blade** was apoplectic:

"The fiasco at the Auditorium last night . . . thoroughly demonstrates that Toledo is not a musical town. It does not care for music and won't have music at any price . . . With Eurydice, Apollo Club, St. Cecelias, with 350 music teachers whose classes average fifteen pupils, with a large number of people who pose as musical dilettantes, the fact still remains there are not enough real music lovers in Toledo to support good music. Those Toledoans who do care for the 'heavenly maid' will have to possess their souls in patience and wait until the city grows to a proper appreciation of

music; not as a topic of conversation in which to air a certain superficial knowledge of the art, but as an element of culture that is a necessity to a well rounded life."

It was in 1891 that Helen Beach (Jones) organized the now famous Eurydice Club. The twenty founders were young ladies of Westminster church who had met originally to rehearse for a Sunday School program. So well did they enjoy their work that they continued, building and singing concerts for small groups. Soon their friends wished to join and it was then ruled that any woman whose voice and musical knowledge were of the standard required by the rules of the club, would be permitted to join.

Another important leader in music came to Toledo in 1890. He was Prof. AMOS WHITING, who moved from Pittsburgh to take charge of music at First Congregational Church. From his vocal class of adults he soon formed the "Harmonic Society." For their first public concert, they brought Maude Powell, the famous violinist, and the chorus was made up of one hundred singers. After one season, Prof. Whiting cancelled the mixed chorus and organized a 26-voice all male group called the "Apollo Club." Eurydice accepted the female members of his Harmonic Society and thereafter each club gave its own concerts, with a combined Apollo and Eurydice concert once a year.

After four highly successful years as conductor of the Apollos, Prof. Whiting resigned "without any explanation except 'circumstances'." Choosing his successor was managed in a very democratic and diplomatic manner. Six well known musicians were auditioned: Rudolph Brand and J. H. Belling of Toledo; W. H. Pontius of Dubuque, Iowa; Christian Thelen, of Mansfield, and two popular gentlemen of Detroit—William Yunck and Samuel Richard Gaines. Prof. Gaines was chosen and for a year he made the trip to Toledo three times a week to conduct the "Apollos" and to teach his private pupils. After the death of Prof. Ogden he was offered the position of Supervisor of Music in the schools and declined due to the time already needed at his Detroit

and Toledo studios. His versatility in music was quickly recognized as he acted as accompanist for travelling concert artists, gave organ concerts or sang with local groups. He arranged two compositions for the voices of Eurydice and when he sang with that club the reviewer said:

> He has a true, well cultured tenor voice and his French is admirable.

After his marriage to Miss Charlotte Miller, of Columbus, Prof. Gaines moved to his new home here on Putnam Street. In October of 1899, Prof. Gaines organized his own 14-voice male chorus and called it the "Orpheus Club". Its aim was to increase public interest in the work of talented LOCAL artists.

Such were the trends and fashions in local music for twenty-five years. Wagner's music, having long been considered heavy, noisy and without melody, was now entirely acceptable and understandable. Debussy's music was now being deplored as too modern; Ravel's caused more commotion in the audience than George Antheil's caused in the orchestra —and the new trend for the coming century was being established. Vocally speaking, "Rag Time" did its share to cause utter confusion of the Art.

In 1897, the vaudeville team of Morton and Ravelle brought words to a type of music which had for some years been considered a brand of Negro spirituals in a Spanish rhythm. John Phillip Sousa had written a "Rag Time March", and Stanley Whiting had written a song called "Syncopated Sandy", but few could compose in black-and-white the music they knew was "ragtime" but couldn't explain how they knew. James Morton, of Morton & Ravelle, explained that those who could write "Ragtime" were mostly southern musicians who had heard darkies sing and play. "There appears to be no rule for composition," he added. Morton's "ragtime" routine consisted of the addition of certain "pig-latin" types of words between vowels in the words of his songs, producing

an off-beat rhythm still in use by modern tinpan alley composers. To illustrate two of his favorite tunes:

> "All Coons Look Alike to Me" was rendered as "All Coon GA doons look ADUKa Li GAD ike to me GAD ee."
>
> "Mr. Johnson, Turn Me Loose" became "Mr. Jo GAD ohnso GAD on tu GAD urn me GADEE loo GAD oose."

"Now this looks idiotic in print," Mr. Morton concluded, "but songs sung all the way through in 'ragtime' wording never fail to 'bring' the audience." Toledo composers Will Stackhouse and George W. Stevens collaborated on such tunes as "Once In A Lifetime," "Where Have I Seen That Face Before" and "I've Suffered From the Same Complaint" which were published and sold to a vaudeville team.

Ragtime, jazz and be-bop—short, simple and loud.

The turn of the Century was to bring a new era of musical prosperity to Toledo, as the publicity of our talented young stars in the outside world of music gave Our Town new prestige. Such famous names as Sada Wertheim, Ninon Romaine Curry, David Stanley Smith, Corrine Rider-Kelsey and Roy Bargy; such leaders in their fields as William Leonhardt, Mary Willing, John Koella, Jr., Lina C. Keith, Linnel Reed and others, proved that their teachers could teach if the pupils were receptive. Nearly all of our best known musicians were pupils of the teachers who were taught by Louis Mathias.

The Story of Religion in Toledo, 1875-1900

(Part Two)

By Gordon A. Riegler

VI

Leadership in the Churches: Toledo boasted of no Phillips Brooks, no Theodore Parker, nor any of the distinguished pulpit luminaries of the late nineteenth century. Yet I believe the clerical leaders in Toledo may be termed **fairly strong.** The majority of them seemed to be men of sincere purpose and good character. Occasionally one ran into conflict with the law, mostly innocently. A Negro preacher performed a marriage ceremony without proper knowledge of the law. Incidentally, the Lucas County Court complained from time to time that ministers were dilatory in sending in their reports of marriages solemnized, a failing which is somewhat limited today, perhaps, by the fact that now returns not made within thirty days may draw a fine of fifty dollars. The Rev. John I. Wean, later to receive some distinction as pastor of the Lakewood, Ohio, church—one of the largest in Methodism—was censured for selling excursion boat tickets to members of his Albany St. M. E. flock for their convenience when they were about to board the steamer at the Madison Street pier. No dishonesty was involved, the steamship line was to be paid, the members of the congregation to be convenienced. (**Blade**, August 11, 1894.)

Some misdemeanors, it is suspected, were not without intent. Perhaps knowledge of sound business was lacking, or a sense of Christian ethics, or both, in the case of the Rev. J. L. Brandt, pastor of Eleventh St. Christian Church. At any rate he headed the Brandt Submerged Heating Company, of which for a time he paid investors dividends from the prin-

cipal. People sustained a loss more than 50%. Apparently this was not his first venture into a shady commercial transaction. (**Blade**, January 19, 1896.)

On seemingly rare occasions some clergyman incurred the wrath of a member, or members. Such appears to have been the case of the Rev. Dr. J. L. Albritton, superintendent—in those days known as the **presiding elder**—of the Toledo district, Methodist Episcopal Church. Immorality was among the charges launched against him, and he was suspended from the ministry. (**Blade**, July 9, 1897.) For a time his fortunes varied; he was in and out. At St. John's M. E., when he came to preach and to conduct the quarterly conference, official members remained away from the service. The Official Board at St. Paul's was somewhat more refined, perhaps, when it conceded Dr. Albritton's right to preach and preside at the conference, but declined to let him administer the sacrament of Holy Communion. Two bishops helped the Board to revise its decision by declaring that no body in any local parish had the right or power to exclude any Methodist clergyman from exercising all the prerogatives of his office. Fortunately for the Church and the ministry, as well as for Albritton, he was completely exonerated by an ecclesiastical court presided over by Bishop John M. Walden. (**Blade**, December 8, 1897.)

Toledo clergy had among them a man of more than one talent, which came to light after he removed from the city. The Rev. A. T. Perkins, having settled in California sometime later than his tenure as associate rector of Trinity Church, was for years treasurer of the California Horticultural Society. As an engineer and in relation to his interest in horticulture, Perkins turned his attention to refrigeration of cars, and perfected a method which seems to have been taken over by Westinghouse in 1895. (**Blade**, January 13, 1895.)

Sometimes honors came to these men in the ministry, serving Toledo churches. The Rev. Leighton Coleman, rector of Trinity, and the Rev. W. C. Hopkins, rector of Grace Church, each received honorary degrees in theology while ministering

to local congregations. Several others also had such academic recognition: Drs. McCracken, Williams, McGaw, Bacon, Whitlock and Quigley—the last name may have had an earned degree. Toledo clergy were not infrequently honored by their ministerial brethren in the State of Ohio, and occasionally beyond, when they were chosen to represent pastors and churches wthin the state at some national conclave or were invited to serve on some national committee or board. The Rev. Mr. Scadding, of Trinity, represented the Diocese of Ohio at one General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Dr. DuVal, of Westminister Presbyterian Church, was a delegate to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Omaha. (**Blade,** Apr. 23, 1887.) At the annual meeting of the General Association of Ohio Congregationalism, Dr. Bacon of Central Congregational Church read a paper on shortage of ministers. (**Blade,** February 2, 1875.) This last named clergyman also wrote articles for some of the national magazines. A doctorate in sacred theology was conferred on Dr. Coleman by Racine College in 1875. Coming as it did from Wisconsin on the heels of his election as bishop of the new diocese of Fondulac, it would seem almost that it was awarded in order to help him decide favorably acceptance of the episcopate. After some careful thinking on the matter, Coleman declined in order to remain with Trinity and to see completion of his plans for the new parish house. Later he was offered and accepted the episcopal office in Delaware. This was after the termination of his rectorate in Toledo, which he surrendered when the illness of his wife caused him to take her to England. He was the author of several books and is one of the few Toledoans of whom there is a biographical sketch in the scholarly and standard **Dictionary of American Biography.** In that account of his life, we are told his long flowing beard (a portrait of him with his beard hangs in Trinity Parish House) caused the children of Delaware to call him **Santa Claus.** After Bishop Coleman came Drs. Atwill and Scadding who also became Episcopal bishops: the former, father of ten children, was the first bishop of the diocese of Western Missouri—his election occurred while at Trinity. Scadding moved from Toledo to La-Grange, Illinois, and after that became the bishop of Oregon.

Atwill debated long and seriously before accepting the call to Missouri. Nor did Trinity let him go without first calling a congregational meeting, the purpose of which was to help him decline the episcopate. Ever after that on his trips across country, he never failed to conduct services, to preach and to confirm at Trinity and in the other Toledo Episcopal Churches, whenever it was possible. Persons today actively interested in Trinity—some of them—remember Bishop Scadding with admiration and affection. (For dates of consecration to the Episcopate, see issues of **Living Church Annual.**)

Both Dr. Quigley, able Roman Catholic scholar, former teacher, and pastor of St. Francis de Sales; and Father Hannin, of St. Patrick's, became irremovable rectors of their respective parishes, indicating that their leadership found favor even as far away as Rome. Strength of the city's Roman Catholic leadership is attested to by the tremendous number of young people confirmed each year and by the increasing number of growing parish churches, parochial schools and other institutions. Qualities of Methodist leadership are also seen in the large number of local churches, the power of Lakeside, together with the number of Toledo Methodists prominent in it, and the relationship between the Toledo churches and Ohio Wesleyan University. It was also an achievement of local Methodist leaders to move, in this era, St. Paul's Methodist Church from its downtown location to its present site, which in the 1890s represented considerable foresight. It was one of the great church buildings of that communion. Special mention should be made of Dr. McCracken who served First Presbyterian Church in the earlier years of this period. One is privileged to more insight into his mind than into that of most any other Toledo minister in this quarter century because the **Blade** had sufficient appreciation of his ability as a preacher to publish his weekly sermons, which were good. He was without doubt the most learned of all Toledo's pastors in these years, notwithstanding the fact that Dr. Cravens and Dr. Jennings, the Unitarian clergy were men of no mean intellectual stature. From Toledo, Dr. McCracken moved to Pittsburgh, to the presidency of Western College. Then came the call to the chair of phil-

osophy, then the department chairmanship, and the vice chancellorship of New York University, with the powers of president. Under his guidance, the University was reorganized and forged ahead to become a great metropolitan place of higher learning. A somewhat extensive sketch of his life appears in **Dictionary of American Biography.**

To some extent, under the heading of church activities, we saw the work of ministerial leaders in Toledo. What the full extent of this labor was we shall never know. The Rev. Hayden Rayburn, blacksmith, farmer and school teacher as well, often read the marriage service in his blacksmith shop, having in 46 years united more than 1200 couples in holy wedlock and having officiated at some 500 burials. (**Blade,** May 23, 1894.) In his 12 years at First Presbyterian Church, Dr. McGaw delivered 1,185 sermons, baptized 88 infants, 64 adults, received 490 into full membership of the Church, read the marriage service 173 times and the funeral offices 196 times. (**Blade,** September 23, 1893.) Dr. Hopkins, in 2 years at Adams St. Mission, pedalled his bicycle 3,900 miles to make 15,000 calls, in addition to 102 services with sermons, 152 prayer meetings, 16 baptisms, 14 marriages and 12 funerals, plus trying to meet the needs of the poor and needy and civic responsibilites as he saw them. Men who did all this occupied a large place in the affections of the people. Such must have been especially true of Dr. W. W. Williams, dean of them all, for 44 years pastor of First Congregational Church. Even an unsatisfactory newspaper cut gives him a benign and wonderful countenance.

Still individuals and congregations were not always satisfied with their clergy as the following verse by no poet laureate reveals:

THE FAULTS OF PREACHERS

Some are too weak, and some are too strong;
Some are too short, and some are too long;
Some are too stout, and some are too thin;
Some always look out, and some always look in;
Some are too good; and some are too bad;

Some are too grave, and some are too glad;
Some in their clothing are too exquisite;
Some never study, and some never visit;
Some are too fine, and some are too plain;
Some preach the same sermon again and again;
Some spite of whatever the criticism may say,
In the midst of their most solemn sermons look gay;
And some, however pleasing the fact they rehearse,
Are unable to smile, but look grave as a hearse;
Some in their business transactions are muffs;
Some can't keep their temper, but get into a huff;
Some are too high, and some are too low,
And some are too humble, and some are too proud;
Some are too faint, and some are too loud;
Some have many faults, and some have but one;
But I never heard of one that had none.

(**Blade**, July 16, 1887.)

No evaluation of religious leadership would be complete without a reference to the laity. Unfortunately it is not nearly so easy to determine and assess contributions of lay leaders, for the simple reason that we do not always have their names. That there were such, there can be no doubt, however. The participation of 10,000 children in a Sunday School field day, as any clergyman well knows, is not accomplished by ministers alone. (**Blade**, June 27, 1894.) It meant that men like Marion Lawrence, over at Washington St. Congregational Church, did a big job; that a large number of Sunday School superintendents, teachers, parents and young people got behind it. Chief Justice Waite, of the United States Supreme Court, was on the vestry, first of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Maumee, and then at Trinity. It was from Trinity that his burial services were held, and local papers contained extensive accounts of his life and passing when it occurred in 1888. Several judges were prominently identified with the Unitarian and Roman Catholic churches of the city. The Hon. John Sinclair, member of the Board of Trade, the Library Board and the City Council; Drs. Lundgren and Bergen, and Probate Judge D. R. Austin, were all among the churchmen. (**Blade**, March 10, May 5, 1875; January 1, 1876.) Most prom-

inent of them all, exceedingly active, and often host to large numbers of Methodist clergy, was the Hon. Rutherford B. Hayes, ex-president of the United States, who lived in nearby Fremont. (**Blade**, October 3, 1887.) His wife was representative of a host of active churchwomen, she being at one time president of the Methodist Women's Missionary Society.

A comparison of attitudes toward the Bible in the 1880s and the 1950s testifies to the sanity of Toledo's religious leadership. In the former decade, the then new Revised Version of the Bible made its appearance in England; in 1952 the latest revision of the English Bible rolled off the presses. So far as we know in the current hysteria of Bible-burning in various parts of the United States, none has occurred in Toledo. Then as now, the city's religious leaders, both clerical and lay, were too intelligent and too sane to permit blind prejudice and love of personal ideas to cut off the quest for truth. Generally that leadership was sane and able, a blessing to individuals, to the churches and to the community as the city moved from the old century into the new.

VII

Preaching and Church Music: These subjects for this era

can be discussed only in a very incomplete fashion. Turning to the latter, we discover comparatively little remains in the way of information concerning the people who occupied church choirs and what they sang. Here and there a congregation seems to have developed a demand for what was better, and asked that it be well rendered. First and Central Congregational Churches, First, Third and Westminster Presbyterian Churches, and Trinity Episcopal Church were apparently among these, if church news in the papers is any criterion. The fact that Moody came to Toledo a number of times would almost guarantee that in many of the city's churches gospel hymns, popularized by the noted evangelist's companion, Ira D. Sankey, were sung. At least one church,

the First Presbyterian, did announce the singing of such songs. (**Blade**, December 2, 1893.)

It was in this generation that the chancel at Trinity was rebuilt, the organ moved to its present location, and the choir was brought from the rear balcony to the front of the church. This was about 1887, when the new boy choir, under the direction of Miss Mary Pomeroy, came into being. Some of the churches had quartets—presumably paid. Salem Church choir sang at the Y.M.C.A., mostly in German; some 200 persons heard them. At First Congregational Church, the quartet pleased the congregation with such numbers as "How beautiful upon the mountain," and there was also a song service for the people. A number which rightly belongs in the Roman Catholic Church because of its corresponding theology, "Ave Maria", was also sung in St. John's Episcopal Church, undoubtedly because of the latter's high churchism. The Oratorio Society, organized in this quarter century, was able to enlist 130 voices and 25 instruments for a rendition of "The Messiah" in the Christmas season. Very likely the chorus was composed almost entirely of members of church choirs. (**Blade**, October 1, 1886; June 6, November 11, December 1, 1887; January 27, 1888.)

Occasionally interest and experience in the local church choir led, if not to fame, at least to further application to music. Thus, we read that Miss Lilly Lang, of the First Presbyterian choir, spent her summer with Dr. McCracken's family at Martha's vineyard. From there she journied up to Boston to take organ lessons from H. H. Howard of the New England Conservatory, at that time the best school of music in America. (**Blade**, August 16, 1883.)

If it be true, as so often it is alleged, that choirs are the war department of the Church, either it was not so in Toledo, or it was skilfully concealed from the eye and ear of the roving reporter. The nearest approach to difficulty seems to have been an act on the part of the music committee at Trinity Church. One must read between the lines. All we know is that Organist-Director W. H. H. Smith was retained, the

quartet discharged because of insufficient funds, then the committee turned around and engaged a double quartet, plus Mr. C. S. Bennett to have charge of music in church and Sunday School, with presumable authority over Smith.

In these years the First Congregational Church installed a fine, new **vocalion.** St. Joseph's was almost the exception among Roman Catholic parishes, when it advertised an organ concert. (**Blade,** February 7, 1887.) Guilmant, the well-known French composer, gave a recital at First Congregational Church, and Clarence Eddy came from Chicago to provide a "Grand Organ Concert" at First Presbyterian Church. (**Blade,** November 14, 1883.) When George E. Whiting, head of the organ department, of the New England Conservatory, was to visit Toledo to play, First Congregational Church sent out 1500 special invitations for the event, hoping that music lovers from as far away as Detroit and Cleveland would be present to hear him. (**Blade,** January 23, 1892.)

There were special occasions, too, when the church music forces of the city joined together to do a job. Now and then a music festival brought together the choirs of several churches. It seems that in song even Congregationalists and Roman Catholics met once or twice. When a convention, such as a conclave of Christian Endeavors, came to town, bringing 1,000 to 1,500 delegates, a great chorus of 200 voices might be regarded as worthy of the event.

Of the preaching, there is, of course, no detailed record. In many cases there is not a single sermon left. Perhaps many of these men did not believe in writing sermons. This would be especially true among Methodists, Baptists and Disciples of Christ. Even the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the West had strong prejudices. In the latter case, a complete reversal of practice had taken place since the eighteenth century, when the minister peered at his manuscript of little writing on small pieces of paper, while his congregation took notes. The frontier developed scarce respect for scholarly productions and a postive antagonism for anyone who dared to read his message. Sneering references to such are found

in some of the letters belonging to the American Home Missionary Society collection housed at the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Still we are not wholly without knowledge even though the voices of 1875 to 1900 are now mostly silent and there are few of their sermons left to us. The **Blade** has preserved some record of topics through the Saturday church announcement column, telling us what the preachers expected to speak about on Sunday; sermons of local clergy were sometimes published; and for a good share of this period, Dewitt Talmadge's pulpit utterances appeared, in full, weekly, together with the occasional homily of some other notables.

Preaching was somewhat varied, if the **Blade** may be relied on as a true picture of what was being said. Out of something like 39 sermon topics noted, only one: "Unitarian Faith," could be considered strictly denominational. (**Blade,** January 1, 1895.) Undoubtedly there were others and more by Trinitarian clergy, for the Unitarian is less apt to be sectarian than the more orthodox. Still this would indicate that such preaching was at a minimum. Only one sermon dealt with ritualism, (**Blade,** December 8, 1896), again revealing less interest in this subject than in some others. About eight could be described as strictly theological. (**Blade,** December 26, 1885; January 16, 1886; May 17, 1888; August 21, 1889, etc.), and these included such questions as man's need of salvation, God's power to forgive and the fatherhood of God. Then, as ever, "The Unpardonable Sin" intrigued some pastors. "Our Public Schools," "Profane Swearing," "Religion and the State," "Banking," "Spiritualism versus Materialism —Which?" "Background Characters of the Bible," "Needs for Toledo," "The Sunday Question," "Our Debt to Great Doubters," "Looking on the Sunny Side," "The Reign of Principles," "Conscience in Trade," "The Good Old Times," "Christ in Art," "Government in Transportation," and "The Estrangement of the Masses from the Church" were all subjects upon which Toledo clerics presumed to speak. The literary sermon apparently was rare, Dr. H. M. Bacon, over at Central Congregational Church, preached on "Tennyson, the

Teacher." (**Blade**, March 15, 1890.) Here was considerable variety with noticeable emphasis upon man's relation to his fellow creature. Dr. Atwill's "Needs for Toledo" included: better care for the poor, better educational facilities, better recreational facilities, covering fewer saloons and a good system of parks, and better men and women—God-fearing Christians. (**Blade**, January 8, 1889.)

There was a certain timely timelessness about these subjects. They were pertinent to the needs of that generation, and yet they could be used with profit in our own day. This was because they attempted to meet the requirements of men in their daily living. Moreover, this variety of preaching was consistent with the minister's concern for a free pulpit, of which men like Rabbi E. Schreiber, of the Tenth St. Reformed Synagogue, were vigorous and eloquent advocates. Coming from the Old World where such freedom did not prevail, he was the more appreciative of it in the latter nineteeth century in America. (**Blade**, August 28, 1897.)

Such evidence as we have in the form of sermons published in full in the **Blade** would lead us to believe, having read many hundreds of nineteenth century homilies, that even though the local clergy did not possess the eloquence of a Beecher, nevertheless the better ones did a very respectable job. Dr. McCracken's weekly messages were very good. And, no doubt, those of Talmadge which appeared regularly, had something to do with elevating the tone of all preaching being done in this city.

Preaching did not always please all the people — true preaching never does. Very likely complaints were entered, then as now, "Why doesn't he preach the Gospel?" Sometimes criticism took the form of satire:

FREE TRADE AND CHURCHES

We've hired a 'cute strange dominy;
He's just stepped out o' kolidge,
Whar, es I heard, he beat 'em all,
An' larnt a sight o' nolidge,
But when he preaches hairezee,
Or leastways a parfic nonsense,
I hain't agoin' to hold my tongue,
An' smother kickin' konshuns.

He read a sermon yisterday—
They say 'twas edifyin',
I can't be sartin, fur one pint
Set all my tho'ts aflyin',
For actually aour dominy—
He gave free trade a praisin'!
Naow, haow on arth the man could go
So fur astray's amazin'.

Afore Pete Jinks had built his mill,
Aour dwindlin' church was strivin'
To hang ter life, but sence that time
We've had a big revivin'.
A lot o' people cum and jined—
There hain't no call for starvin'
Aour preacher naow, (es once we did)—
We pay him well for sarvin'.

(Blade, September 10, 1884.)

For some years, the Rev. Robert McCune, local pastor in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, was also editor of the **Blade.** Perhaps he began it all, but over the years, this paper did not hesitate to preach to everyone upon every conceivable subject. Its editor did not like the idea of a Roman Catholic cardinal in America, and said so. He disagreed with wishes of their clergy to raid the public treasury for parochial schools. He took to task certain Episcopalians for their high churchism. He carried on a quarrel with Dr. Wiltise, pastor of St. Paul's M. E. Church. There were times, too, when he

was positive in his support of religion. So it may have been with some glee that he chose to include the following in his church news:

> To prevent people from sleeping in church, says the **Christian Advocate**, three things are necessary: ventilation, animated preaching, and brains in the hearers. Ventilate the church, ventilate the subject, and only the sick, the imbecile, or those broken of rest will sleep in the house of God. (**Blade**, October 16, 1886.)

Nevertheless the editor of the **Blade** was on the side of the clergy:

> Your preacher may not be a Whitefield, or a Simpson, or a Spurgeon, but he can preach a much better sermon than you could, and if you will listen attentively you will find much in his discourses that will be profitable to you, and if you live up to it (it) will make your life purer and better and happier. And this is the object of all preaching. Go to church tomorrow, give close attention to the sermon, don't criticize it but practice it, and you will be better at the end of next week than you were at the end of this. (**Blade**, August 19, 1876.)

VIII

Controversies and Other Difficulties in the Churches. There

is purpose in relating something of controversies and difficulties in the churches, for not to do so would be to present a false picture. Such a correct narrative can also do much to remove certain erroneous conceptions popularly held.

Perhaps it is only fair for this writer to begin with his own communion and his own parish church. Affairs at Trinity Episcopal Church appear, generally, to have been quite harmonious, if the daily **Blade** is valid authority for what was happening. However, it is too much to expect that over a

quarter of a century all should be serene at all times. Not even human nature within the Christian Church is quite equal to that. Some rectorates were brief; none of them attained the length of that under Dr. Walbridge who was here from 1848 to 1868. Underlying some of the brevity, at least, must have been some unrest and some difficulty. Between the time that Dr. Coleman took his wife to England (already alluded to) and the beginning of Dr. Atwill's ministry there was some dissension—pew rents declined. Then when Atwill began his work, there was a noticeable increase — a fact which seemingly elated the Vestry. At any rate the **Blade** published this as good news. (**Blade,** July 18, 1887.) It is significant, too, that after his consecration, Bishop Atwill might almost be said to be a frequent and welcome guest at Trinity, whereas Bishop Coleman rarely visited the parish. The Reverend S. H. Gurteen sometime in this period was rector for less than one year. (Incidentally a Roman Catholic graduate student at the University of Wisconsin is now engaged in writing the story of Gurteen's life. Interest centers in the fact that he introduced the first social service work into Buffalo.)

There was the long-drawn-out controversy between the rector of St. John the Evangelist (now defunct) and Bishop Bedell. The rector, the Rev. Mr. deGarmo, or "Father" deGarmo, as he would wish to be called, was a pronounced high churchman and the bishop was not. The latter declined to make episcopal visits to the parish while this rather extreme high churchism prevailed. He advised this clergyman to enter the Roman Catholic priesthood, which the minister declined to do; however, not without publicly stating that the bishop was a childish old man and that he was being led around by the nose by Dr. Atwill of Trinity.

Mild were the eruptions among Congregationalists. In all likelihood, to one who reads between the lines, as Prof. Gwatkin of Cambridge counselled his students in church history to do, Mr. Northcott, pastor of the Washington St. Congregational Church, was relieved of his office because, at least in part, his preaching a social gospel was not popular

with his congregation. (**Blade**, January 24, 1883.) At First Congregational Church, there was some small controversy over the question of an assistant. Dr. Williams, the pastor, did not want one at that time imposed upon him, while certain members did. In this difference of opinion, a majority sustained their clergyman. To outward appearances, Baptist churches were fairly peaceful though their religious leaders came and went. The same was true of the Disciples of Christ, except in the case of the Rev. J. L. Brandt at Eleventh St. Christian Church, here he induced members to purchase stock in his Brandt Submerged Heating Company. Whether with dishonest intent or because he did not know any better, stockholders were paid dividends from the principal, and they lost up to 50% of their investment. (**Blade**, January 19, 1896.) Among the Methodists, the Albritton case, previously mentioned, seems to have been the most serious. A disturbance, practically national in scope for the Presbyterians, also bothered a local congregation. Should the **Psalms** be read responsively or not? The New Testament allusions to worship were silent, and therefore the dissidents objected. When a group from Westminster Presbyterian Church protested to the Presbytery it was referred to a committee, of which the Rev. G. A. Adams, Perrysburg, seemed to be chairman. At any rate he reported that Presbytery had no authority to stop the same. The case was dismissed. (**Blade**, May 22, 1875.) The German Lutheran Church of St. Lucas was also torn with dissension. Dissidents secured a temporary court order restraining the Rev. A. B. Weber, pastor, from exercising his ministry, the treasurer from paying bills, and the officers from performing their duties. Charges against their spiritual leader were " 'intemperance, untruthfulness and unchristian conduct'." It was further stated that Weber had resigned the preceding fall to become effective March 29, 1891, but he did not leave. An illegal meeting, they contended, was held at which he was re-elected to his office. Weber requested a dissolution of the injunction, in which he was apparently successful, for he remained in this pastorate for sometime longer.

Little Tin Church, in the neighborhood of Spielbusch and

Canton, began its history about 1883. To meet requirements of the fire code, the building was covered with tin—hence the name. A sign on the pulpit: " 'Please do not spit on the floor,' " characterizes it as somewhat unconventional, and it further added to its interest by the frequency of its difficulties. Question of ownership resulted in court action. Parties who held the keys locked doors; those who gained entrance by force or by windows changed locks and keys. The story is written in the **Blade** of April 24, 1889 and other issues.

Strange as it may seem and of more than ordinary interest were the trials and tribulations of the Roman Catholics. There is no evidence to suggest that dissension ruled in the average parish. Tenure of pastors, reassignment of resident priests to other city parishes, return of others for a second ministry here, together with extensive growth would all point to considerable harmony among their people as a whole. Nevertheless there were troubles, some of them serious, attested to by their own historian for Ohio. (George F. Houck, **The Church in Northern Ohio.**) While Bishop Gilmour, of Cleveland, diocesan for northern Ohio, perhaps because of proximity to the situation, came to regard Toledo as a lawless group, nevertheless the condition seems not really to have been local. It may be that this church was actually suffering from growing pains. Seriousness of the difficulties confronting the American hierarchy may be seen in what happened in St. Louis, where Archbishop Kenrich, who objected to the dogma of papal infallibility, was deposed. (**Blade**, June 4, 1895.)

The question: in whom should title to Roman Catholic property in the United States be vested bothered the people over a period of years; the controversy, which involved even more than property rights, was known as **trusteeism.** Prior to the consecration of John Carroll in 1790 as the first American bishop, undoubtedly some irregular practices developed —among them the incorporation of a board of trustees in the city of New York, which not only claimed the right to hold property, but to call and dismiss pastors without episcopal interference. (Thomas O'Garman, **a History of the Ro-**

man Catholic Church, American Church Series, IX, 269.) This, the hierarchy, could not accept. The practice of the church generally is to vest all property in **the bishop a corporation sole.** Trusteeism lingered on, and when Bishop Gilmour demanded title to St. Vincent's, on Cherry Street, the Gray Nuns, who had financed the institution and who held the title, objected. Cardinal Gibbons was here in 1888, in an attempt at adjudication. Ecclesiastical courts seemed to have sustained the bishop. (**Blade,** August 9, 17, 1888; August 3, 1889.) But in the end the decision of civil authority prevailed—the Gray Nuns are still in possession and Mercy Hospital is the diocesan project. In 1889 when the subject of an offering for St. Vincent's Orphanage arose, the home made it clear that such gifts must come directly to the home, it would not reach its proper destination through parish churches. One "M. W. A." in a letter to the **Blade** stated that Bishop Gilmour heaped injustice upon the sisters and ordered no collections in the diocese for St. Vincent's. (**Blade,** November 29, 30, 1889.)

Matters were further complicated, in this controversy, when Dr. Quigley, pastor of St. Francis de Sales, and Father Primeau, of the French congregation of St. Louis, sided with the Gray Nuns. Bishop Gilmour thought he had "to deal with a lot of 'very small, but very noisy, men in Toledo.' " Primeau, he regarded as one of " 'Quigley's tools.' " (**Blade,** April 16, 1889.) It was probably natural that the bishop could not approve of this attitude on the part of two clergymen within his jurisdiction. Then Dr. Quigley preached a temperance sermon, thereby offending one Dennis Coughlin, wealthy brewer and communicant of Quigley's parish. Coughlin complained to the bishop who summoned the priest to Cleveland. But the pastor of St. Francis de Sales declined to go, and Archbishop Elder, of Cincinnati, with troubles of his own, would not interfere. We do not know all the steps which were taken, but the result was suspension from their cures for both Quigley and Primeau. The latter was said to have had difficulties elsewhere before coming to Toledo, and he was not canonically resident in the diocese anyway. (Houck, I, 10.)

The Primeau cause was in both civil and ecclesiastical courts. All details are not known to us, but Bishop Gilmour was confident he would win the case. Primeau had secured a temporary injunction restraining his eviction from the rectory of St. Louis. Incidentally in the courtroom, while the judge was "your honor," the bishop was "your lordship." Somewhere Archbishop Elder entered the picture by sending one Father Smith with a letter to Father Primeau, and presumably instructions to take over the duties for a time. Primeau was at the altar, when Smith brought the letter to the chancel steps. The priest refused to receive the letter, saying, so all the congregation might hear, that he never would receive a communication from the archbishop. He proceeded with the mass. This was reported in the **Blade,** September 20, 1889, twelve days after he was supposed to have been evicted from the premises of St. Louis; and on the Sunday preceding September 15th, it was said that he officiated at the services to the delight of the congregation. (**Blade,** September 15, 1890.) Ultimately it appears that Primeau was transferred to another parish within the archdiocese of Ohio.

Returning to the Quigley case, we understand that Cardinal Gibbons had a hand in it, whether to settle it or to facilitate Quigley's appeal to Rome we do not know. (**Blade,** August 5, 1889.) The pastor of St. Francis de Sales stopped to see the cardinal on his way to Rome where he remained for a long time. He even made a trip to the Near East before coming back to America. Rumors concerning his early arrival in Toledo were fairly frequent. Finally he did make his way to the United States and to this city. There was a magnificent reception for him; his was a complete victory for now he was the irremovable rector of St. Francis; anyone presuming to interfere with his tenure would be excommunicated; here he remained till he died. Incidentally on his death the **Blade** contained a picture of him—a man of mature years, but not in clerical garb. He wore a collar and necktie.

This was not the last of Quigley. He encountered trouble with the civil powers when he disobeyed the State Truancy

Law. His offense was that he refused to report absences of parochial school children to civil authorities. This was about 1891. He was indicted, fined, and even went to jail for a period of fifteen minutes, until his attorney provided bail to the amount of $200.00—this was his second breach for the same cause. (**Blade,** May 28, 1892.)

Still another trial for the Roman Catholics in Toledo in this era was the unrest among the Poles. This, too, was a common occurrence in Polish communities throughout the country. There were riots and bloodshed. In Pittsburgh an attempt was made to assassinate Father Miskewitz. (**Blade,** October 11, 1886.) At St. Adelbert's in Chicago, priest and Poles were at sword's points. (**Blade,** September 21, 1889.) The Polish congregation at Winona, Minnesota, was another hot spot. (**Blade,** July 16, 1894.) Rumor had it that the Rev. John Thein, priest-in-charge at the German Catholic Church on the east side did his best to stir up trouble among the Poles. (**Blade,** September 27, 1885.) Feeling ran high when some Poles attempted to liquidate the priest with a home made bomb—too crude to do much harm. (**Blade,** June 23, 1885.) Many details are missing, but it is sufficient for our purpose to relate that real trouble ensued when, in a riot, about three persons were killed, 30 were indicted, 11 of them for first degree murder. (**Blade,** January 11, 1886.) The first to go on trial was Lorenze Dulanski.

Again in 1895 there were more Polish troubles, when dissension arose over the teachers in St. Anthony's parochial school. (**Blade,** July 31, 1895.) It was rumored even that the parish would withdraw from the Roman Catholic Church. Still again in 1896, St. Anthony's was in turmoil over the priest's refusal to baptize a sick child because of an argument concerning the qualifications of a sponsor. (**Blade,** August 17, 1896.) Apparently it was in this same parish that two infant children died, the parents claiming it was from over exposure in the first tender hours of life because the priest, in this instance too, declined to baptize over a question as to sponsors, the children were taken elsewhere for the sacrament.

Summarizing and evaluating these controversies, it may be said with considerable truth that they did not enhance the power and prestige of the Church. But it may be maintained with equal vigor that, within the total picture of all church activities, the extent of these troubles was far from disastrous. In all instances, save that of the Little Tin Church of whose fate we are not aware and of St. John's Episcopal Church which is defunct, the individual congregations survived, and the communion having the most difficulty is now the strongest in the city.

IX

Relation of the local churches to their national bodies:

Generally speaking, it may be said that local churches were loyal to their denominational affiliations. In fact there is no case of actual disloyalty. Parish churches probably seldom did all that their leaders at headquarters expected of them, and in all likelihood could have done considerably more than they did in support of denominational programs. But that was no more true then than it is today. The action of the Gray Nuns of Montreal in contending for their property rights, alluded to earlier, were not disloyal, even though Bishop John Carroll, in 1785, five years before his consecration, maintained that the procedure of trusteeism would ruin the Roman Catholic system. Whether his statement was true or whether it was only his opinion, we neither claim the competence to state nor is it necessary to do so. The tremendous reception given Bishop Horstman, successor to Bishop Gilmour, attests to the great loyalty of Toledoans of the Roman Catholic faith to their church.

In the case of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the rector of St. John the Evangelist was introducing ways, especially auricular confession each Saturday evening and terming Holy Communion the Mass, into the church, especially in the Diocese of Ohio, which were foreign. He was certainly at odds with the bishop, and if his ways were to prevail through-

out this communion there would not be any longer a Protestant Episcopal Church.

Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting in Chicago in 1886, issued what has since became known as their **Chicago Quadrilateral,** offering to discuss church union with any body or bodies accepting or willing to accept: (1) The sixty-six canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, (2) The Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, (3) The Apostles' Creed, and (4) The historic episcopate. That local Episcopalians knew of this there cannot be much doubt, for the **Blade** commented on the same quite favorably. Moreover, several of Trinity's rectors in this era took a fairly liberal stand in their attitude toward other bodies, Dr. W. C. Hopkins, of Grace Church was very cooperative, Episcopalians in various capacities worked with other denominational and interdenominational causes. Others like Rector deGarmo took a very strict view. It is strange that nothing at all was said concerning the bishops' proposal, either for or against it.

Bishop Leonard, ordinary for the diocese, was rather stern, in his address to the annual convention, that Episcopalians were not doing their full duty to their church on diocesan and national levels; but the attendance of clergy and lay delegates at all conventions, the convening of regional and diocesan meetings in Toledo, the visitation of church leaders to the churches of the city, the contribution of local churches to the whole church in the way of leadership, all indicated a degree of cooperation which was acceptable on the whole.

Congregationalism was disturbed over heresy. Should the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions send to the mission field men and women whose beliefs were not orthodox as understood by that communion? About 1885 Andover Theological Seminary, founded about 1808 in answer to Harvard's deflection to Unitarianism, was suspect—the president was removed, charges were brought against five faculty members. It was from Andover that many mis-

sionaries came. For the next eight or ten years there was denominational disturbance, ending in liberal interpretations. Toledo Congregationalists were fairly conservative. Still there was no rift with the national body. As a matter of fact the American Board even held a meeting here, with excellent feeling. Congregational ties were strange, however. Although the First Congregational Church was founded before 1850 and Central Congregational Church was organized early in the period under discussion, one did not find either of these churches listed in the year books of the Congregational Churches, but in those of the Presbyterian Church. Founded as Congregational Churches, they were both under the jurisdiction of the Maumee Presbytery, their ministers being members of the same Presbytery. To understand this unique relationship, one is obliged to go rather far back into the history of these two communions. A shortage of clergymen among Presbyterians even before the Revolution and a suspicion on the part of New England Congregationalists that their form of church government would not prosper outside of those colonies, led the Presbyterians to look to New England for recruits and to the famous Plan of Union of 1801 whereby the two bodies worked together. A local congregation could choose to be Presbyterian, Congregational or Union; it could have as its minister either a Congregationalist or Presbyterian, it could change its affiliation from one denomination to the other. The outcome of the plan was summed up in a popular saying: "Congregationalism is a stream which has its rise in New England and ends in Presbyterianism." Old Stone Church, Cleveland; First Presbyterian Church in Detroit and Chicago were founded and ministered to largely by New England Congregationalists. But in 1837, the Presbyterian Church split over theological and other issues; between 60,000 and 100,000 Presbyterians (probably mostly of New England heritage) in four presbyteries were excommunicated. It all began when Nathaniel Taylor of Yale, in a sermon, denied that he was responsible for the sins of Adam, or that his generation was. A weak relationship continued between the excommunicated or New School Presbyterians and the Congregationalists until 1852, when the Congregationalists quit the plan. Here is real evidence that

old customs die slowly. First Congregational Church continued its tie with the Presbytery till 1893. What is even stranger is that Central Church, founded more than twenty years after the abrogation of the Plan of Union, by both Presbyterians and Congregationalists, should have sought fellowship in the Presbytery when such association was available in the Congregational fold, especially so when one adds another fact: that the pastor Dr. H. M. Bacon came from a line of distinguished Congregationalists. In 1893, or thereabouts, it, too, sought membership in the Congregational Association. Other Congregational Churches in Toledo and vicinity were members of the Association and loyal in every respect to their communion despite the fact that Congregationalism was not nearly so centralized as today; it had neither central offices nor a state superintendent, now corresponding in some respects to an Episcopal bishop. Ordinations and installations of the clergy were regular in every respect—those reported—and the churches conformed to Congregational polity and forms of worship insofar as we have been able to determine.

Baptists and Disciples of Christ were even less centralized than were Congregationalists. Still independence did not deprive the churches of this communion from all fellowship one with another. First Baptist Church was outreaching in that it maintained several missions here in the city. The President of Denison University (the Baptist College for Ohio) was a familiar preacher in local Baptist pulpits. Baptist and Disciples gatherings covering the area outside Toledo as well as the city convened here from time to time and clergy and representatives from these churches attended meetings elsewhere.

The assembly of some of the Lutheran convocations, the Evangelical and United Brethren Conferences, the Swedenborgians and some others indicate that local churches of communions organized on a state or national scale were all in touch with the larger bodies. Methodists were especially conscious of their ties. A district superintendent, then known as the presiding elder, had his office here. Several times a

year he visited each of the charges (local churches for the most part were separate charges and not circuits or several small churches under one minister) to preach and to hold the quarterly meetings. Clergy and laity met at district and annual conferences. Between times, bishops and other connectional leaders came to the city. On one occasion Epworth was host to the college of bishops—the **Blade** contained the picture and biographical sketch of each of the visiting dignitaries; St. Paul's entertained the annual conference and a meeting of one of the national mission boards. Ohio Wesleyan, Baldwin University and German Wallace College sent their representatives to the churches. Many bonds related local Methodists to Lakeside, the summer conference center; and to one General Conference—the national law-making body of Methodism—Toledo ministers and laity, together with their colleagues in the annual conference, sent a memorial on annual conference boundaries. Toledo Methodism was responsive to the National Church.

Presbyterians, too, were quite regular. This was the era when the Presbyterian Church was being disturbed. Inerrancy of Scripture and strict adherence to the Westminster Confession (signature to which was required of every minister) troubled the Church, as did the use of Psalms previously mentioned. Heresy trials involved distinguished leaders: Professor Charles A. Briggs of Union Theological Seminary and Professor Henry Preserved Smith of Lane Seminary. While it is likely that most Toledo Presbyterians and their pastors were orthodox, still it is interesting that the Rev. S. G. Anderson, pastor of the Westminster Church publicly expressed sympathy with Dr. Briggs, but was not branded a heretic. Toledo ministers stood well with their brethren in Presbytery and Synod—they were sent sometimes to the General Assembly.

X

Interdenominational Fellowship: In the several sections of this chapter, we have already had occasion to indicate what the story was. It is often customary to play up denominational differences; it was—or at least we have been led to believe that it was common practice in the nineteenth century to magnify such differences. That they existed and that people were conscious of them, we have no wish to deny. But there is no point in exaggerating them. To one who reads the correspondence and manuscript journals of the Rev. Jeremiah Porter, first Presbyterian and Protestant pastor in Chicago, for the early 1830s, there was considerable cooperation between himself and two other clergymen, the one a Roman Catholic priest, without entering into union services. These men made it a point that at no time would all three of them be away from the village. There is no evidence whatsoever to show that bitter denominational and sectarian rivalries prevailed among the old line churches in Toledo in the years of this study; indeed, very little friction even between older and newer groups, or between those whose historic differences were great. It is true that some of the leading Roman Catholic clergy were insistent upon public support for parochial schools and Protestant ministers vigorously demurred. But they met together on a common platform at some patriotic occasion or for the sake of fighting their common enemy, liquor, under the banners of a non-sectarian Anti-Saloon League, child of the churches. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, The Young Women's Christian Temperance Union, The King's Daughters, The Young People's Society for Christian Endeavor, the Y.M.C.A., The Y.W.C.A., The Protestant Hospital, The Protestant Orphanage—all brought together Christians of the several churches in Toledo. Both in the Young Women's Christian Temperance Union and in the King's Daughters were officers ranging all the way from conservative Episcopalians to liberal Unitarians, and the same situation prevailed in the work of the Adams St. Mission and its several arms for Christian social action. When Congregationalists, Methodists

and Baptists on the east side held union revival meetings, the Lord's Army and the Lord's Navy met harmoniously enough. There is even some slight reason for believing that Dr. W. C. Hopkins, Episcopal minister in charge of Adams St. Mission, administered Holy Communion to non-Episcopalians in a day when most people thought the Protestant Episcopal Church was strictly **closed communion.** (Those who still think so should read **Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate** by the late Bishop Whipple of Minnesota.) Ministers of the several churches—some did not enter into such fellowship, it is true — were bound together in a pastors' union which held monthly meetings.

Walls, then as now, were not insurmountably high for those who did not wish them to be so. Leaders could see over them, as did some of the people, and frequently passed through open doors to work and to worship together. Perhaps walls exist more in men's minds than they do in reality. At any rate now and again Christians of several names found a goodly fellowship in the Holy Catholic or universal Church.

XI

The Influence of the Church on the Community: Influence is something like an iceberg, in that most of it is not apparent to the eye. Hence it is not easy to measure, and therefore to be dismissed as non-existent or unimportant. Still the tendency of children to copy the behavior and speech of their elders, the desire of adults to do the popular thing, the way in which people adopt fads should make all of us aware of the reality of influence. Such awareness leads us to a consideration of whether the Church has had an effect on life in general, and more specifically whether the Church in Toledo from 1875 to 1900 had anything to do with forming the thought and promoting action in the community.

Later in this era, the Toledo Sunday School Union estimated, with an array of statistics in support of the figure,

that there were more than 10,000 children in Sunday school classes in this city. Though admittedly inadequate, such teaching did cover in part the Church's position with regard to ethics, morals and religion. Many of these children lived in homes of parents who actively belonged to the churches of the city and acknowledged the derivation of their values and standards from the Church. These boys and girls also received instruction from public school teachers whose thinking was often colored by life in the Church. Then, of course, there were the young people enrolled in parochial schools which so definitely stressed religious teaching. Youth participated in Christian Endeavor, Epworth League and the Baptist Young People's Union and kindred organizations, whose intent was to direct thought patterns and habits along churchly lines. Thus the Church in Toledo, through its preaching, teaching and activity, was frankly trying to assist people to develop a certain philosophy or way of life consistent with what it stood for. Not a few of these products of the Church became influential in Toledo society, and while, perhaps, it is regretable from the Christian viewpoint, that behavior was not more distinctly conformable to Church teaching, still it must be recognized that not everything learned in the Church was forgotten in everyday life.

Here and there are some more definite evidences of influence. For example, in the 90s when Washington Gladden, Graham Taylor, Josiah Strong, Jane Addams and others visited the city to stress the social aspects of the Christian gospel, one mayor of the city became interested. He went to Chicago to visit Hull House, and he spoke of the Christian way of meeting such problems as unemployment, advocating that work be divided, so that every able-bodied person needing a job could have one. Then, there was the case of the **Blade** so long critical of the clergy's advocacy of prohibition. A time came when this paper changed its stand, to outdo the clergy in preaching the solution of the liquor problem in terms of prohibitory legislation. A negative, but nevertheless revealing indication of the Church's effect on local society is also seen in the action of the School Board, to lay on the table a motion to eliminate Bible reading from our

public schools. Obviously the Board did not desire to win the opposition of Protestant ministers and their congregations in this community. A definite, but somewhat unusual tribute to the influence of the Church on life in the city is also evident from not a little of the advertising, of which the following is a sample:

> On penitential couch I lie,
> Weeping for every sin;
> Selfish and worldly am I without,
> Worldly and selfish within.
>
> But to my heart a message sweet,
> On scented air is born;
> I'll wear a Milner hat and wrap
> To church on Easter morn.
> (**Blade**, March 28, 1896.)

XII

The Influence of the Community on the Church: As Professor Latourette, of Yale, has pointed out in this great **History of the Expansion of Christianity**, the Church not only influences the places to which it goes, but it in turn is altered by its environment. The effect of the community on the Church here in Toledo is seen in fragmentary ways: here a little, there a little. The Christian community's response to secular pursuits is noticed. An expanding number of activities of a this-world nature promoted by Y.W. and Y.M.C.A. and even the churches themselves bear witness to the influence of the community and of the time upon Toledo's Christian institutions. Hiking, streetcar and bicycle riding were among the recreational occupations of the people. Excursions on steam trains and moonlight rides on boats appealed to thousands. So the local churches, Y.M. and Y.W. and the Roman Catholic societies and parishes organized hiking, streetcar and bicycle clubs, sponsored excursions and moonlight rides. St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, moving

from its downtown site to its present location at Madison and Thirteenth Sts., frankly recognizing this influence, became the first institutional church in Toledo, with gymnasium and other facilities for playlife, ranking with First Congregational Church, Jersey City (whose parish building was known as the People's Palace), and Pilgrim Congregational Church, Cleveland, to mention only two.

Impact of the world upon the Church is also evident, in this era and in this city, in the innumerable efforts on the part of Christian organizations, to endeavor to help men, women and children to make a better adjustment to everyday life in the community, such as expanded curricula in the educational departments of the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., and also various attempts, previously mentioned, to provide training and work for young people and others—Adams St. Mission, for example, maintained a kind of vocational guidance center for poor children, teaching sewing, cooking, etc.

Interesting, worldly and wholly unnecessary to the work of the Church, as seen in thousands of successful church meetings where it has not been employed, was the installation of a telephone in the First Congregational Church (presumably in the room where they met) when that congregation played host to the Toledo Association of Congregational Churches. (**Blade**, May 10, 1882.) Innumerable sermons to railway men, policemen, travelling men and others, are indicative of the Church's desire to influence the community, but also revealing with regard to their influence upon the Church. The clergy and the Church could not ignore them.

An outstanding example of community influence upon the Church comes to light in the days leading to and culminating in the War with Spain in 1898. While it is only too true, as was pointed out earlier, that the clergy and churches in Toledo did not speak as a strong voice against war and violence and in behalf of international goodwill, still one must see the ministry and the Church against a secular background. Hardly an issue of the **Blade**, in many months preceding the conflict, was without some bit of propaganda, some diatribe

against Spain, some word in favor of Cuban independence. Against this background the Church and the pulpit were remarkably silent. Only rarely was there any indication that the Church was aware of this growing tension. American forces were practically on their way to battle before the clergy took up the cause with any enthusiasm. The Church did not lead, it followed. The only conclusion, then, is that the Church did not influence in this matter, but was influenced.

Conclusion: The story of religion in this city, 1875-1900, ends with the nineteenth century. In many respects the era did not really conclude until 1914, the outbreak of World War No. I. In the final years of the old century, nobody foresaw what the future would be like. Optimism, intelligence and faith declared that the age of bloody conflict was over, that the instruments of modern war had become so devastating no nation would risk it again, that with the increase of knowledge and the spread of the Christian social gospel, a new and better world would be born. The New Century Club, in which the Unitarian ministers were especially though not exclusively interested, was composed of church people, largely, who not only envisioned what the future would be, but in a real sense, by study and discussion, hoped to prepare intellectual, professional and spiritual Toledo for the dawn of the new age. It was unfortunate, though, that in those years, religious leadership was not more alert to the future and its needs, that it could not dip deeper in the future than human eye could see. Still, if men can profit by mistakes, and if they can learn lessons from their failures, then a world that has lost its way in a maze of secularism may well listen to the narrative of the Church and its experience with men.

The famed Robert G. Ingersoll came (not once but a number of times), was seen and heard for his eloquent attacks on the Church and organized religion. There was a world of truth in what he said. Too much complacency characterized the Bride of Christ, too much attention was given to things which did not matter. But apparently Ingersoll did

not know that there was always that "saving remnant" of Isaiah's day, never lost in the Christian ages, which remained in the late nineteenth century, and was also in Toledo. He did not destroy the Church here. It greeted the new day as a growing, living organism, stronger than it was in 1875. The history of the Church in this city, as elsewhere, is worth pondering. As Professor Jernegan quotes in one of his books: " 'No man is fit to be entrusted with the control of the **Present,** who is ignorant of the **Past,** and no **People,** who are indifferent to their **Past,** need hope to make their future great.' " (**The American Colonies,** front section.) Religious people of Toledo would add, this is certainly true of the story of our faith.