Frontier Players Association

Handbook

for the production of:

Frontier Spirit, 1799

Edited by Terry Cochran

Rescanned / edited by Martin Barker

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Editor's Note

This handbook is a work in progress. It is the intention of the Board of Directors of the Frontier Players Association that this handbook be continually added to and improved in order to benefit the production of Frontier Spirit, 1799. Updates and revisions will be made available periodically and each handbook recipient will be asked to place these revisions in his or her handbook.

Additionally, it is the intention of the Board that each family shall have a copy of the handbook, in order to supply a common source of information to provide continuity in its annual production.

In the Fall of 2018, the entire document was rescanned and digitized. To make the document more legible, some sections were scanned from the actual magazine articles from which they were originally drawn. Other pages were cleaned up to eliminate unwanted smudges and marks.

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SECTION B

Historical Background

A BRIEF HISTORY

EARLY SETTLEMENT OF FAIRFIELD COUNTY.

BEING

THE SUBSTANCE OF A LECTURE, DELIVERED BEFORE THE LANCASTER LITERARY INSTITUTE,

WITH ADDITIONAL FACTS

BY GEORGE SANDERSON, ESQ.

LANCASTER:
PUBLISHED BY THOMAS WETZLER.
1851.

APPROBATORY REMARKS.

The foregoing Lecture was published in the Lancaster papers soon after its delivery. JAMES PERCIVAL, ESQ., the then editor of the Lancaster Gazette and Express, introduced it to his readers in the following approbatory and truthful remarks:

"Our paper of this week, as will be seen, contains nothing like its usual variety, but is mostly filled with a Lecture of our fellow-townsman, Gen. GEO. SANDERSON, on the early settlement of this town and its vicinity. This, it is presumed, no one will regret, for there can be no subject more interesting to the present inhabitants of this county, than a faithful history of the incidents and events connected with the first settlement of the American wilds, and more particularly with those that occurred on the spot where we now dwell in peace and undisturbed tranquility, surrounded by all the comforts and plenty found in the older settled portions of the east. In the recital of the facts here recorded, the present and succeeding generations are made acquainted with the perils and hardships which the first settlers endured for their sakes; for it is not often that the father of a family undertakes the dangers and sufferings of a frontier life for his own benefit, but for the sake of his children and their descendants.

"The actors in the scenes so well described in the history under consideration, have mostly passed away; and had not the MAN, to whom we are indebted for this Lecture, undertaken the task of embodying, and

giving to the public so many interesting facts, many of them would have been lost forever; for he is now almost the only living witness of the scenes and times spoken of—we will venture to say, the only one who is competent to the task of collecting and arranging them for public use. As the manners that prevail, and the customs observed are nearly the same in all new settlements, we can say from much experience and personal observation, that the Lecturer has confined his descriptions to simple facts—nothing has been added by way of embellishment. In all new settlements the inhabitants are remarkably kind and neighborly, though they may have previously been entire strangers to each other. Knowing their mutual dependence they live almost like one family, each rendering to his neighbor all the kind offices in his power. Articles of food, in particular, are divided with a generous hand, and the owner never reserves any portion to himself while a neighbor is destitute. As it respects kindness to each other and mutual dependence, the denizens of the woods seem to have escaped the curse of Adam's fall."

LECTURE.

The present generation can form no just conceptions of the wild and wilderness appearance of the country in which we now dwell, previous to its settlement by white people; it was, in short, a country,

> "Where nothing dwelt but beasts of prey,
> And men more wild and fierce than they."

The lands watered by the sources of the Hockhocking river, and now comprehended within the present limits of the county of Fairfield, were, when first discovered by some of the early settlers at Marietta, owned and occupied by the Wyandotte tribe of Indians, and were highly prized by the occupants as a valuable hunting ground, being well filled by almost all kinds of game, and animals of fur. The principal town of the nation stood along the margin of the prairie between the south end of Broad street and Thomas Ewing's canal basin of the present town of Lancaster, and extending back to the base of the hill south of the Methodist Episcopal church. It is said that the town contained in 1790 about one hundred wigwams, and a population of five hundred souls. It was called TARHE, or, in English, the *Crane-town*, and derived its name from that of the principal chief of the tribe. The chief's wigwam in Tarhe, stood upon the bank of the prairie, near where the fourth lock is built on the Hocking canal, and near where a beautiful spring of water flowed into the Hockhocking river. The wigwams were built of the bark of trees, set on poles in the form of a sugar camp, with one square open, fronting a fire, and about the heighth of a man. The Wyandotte tribe numbered at that day about five hundred warriors, and were a ferocious and savage people. They made frequent attacks on the white settlements along the Ohio river—killing, scalping and capturing the settlers without regard to age, sex, or condition. War parties, on various occasions, attacked flat boats descending the river, containing emigrants from the middle States, seeking new homes in Kentucky, by which, in

many instances, whole families become victims to the scalping knife and tomahawk. By the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, the Wyandottes ceded all their possessions on the Hockhocking river to the General Government, and since that time have kept up a friendly intercourse with the white people. The Crane chief, soon after the treaty, with many of the tribe, removed and settled at Upper Sandusky— others remained behind for four or five years after the settlement of the county, as if unable, or unwilling to tear themselves away from the graves of their forefathers, and their favorite hunting grounds. They were, however, so peaceably disposed towards the settlers that no one felt willing to drive them away. In process of time the game and fur become scarce and the lingering Indian, unwilling to labor for a living, was forced by stern necessity to quit the country and take up his abode with those of his tribe that had preceded him at Upper Sandusky. The Crane chief had a white wife in his old age. She was Indian in every sense of the word, except her fair skin, and red hair. Her brief history, as far as I have been able to learn, was this: Tarhe in one of his predatory excursions against the early settlers, on the east side of the Ohio river, near Wheeling, had taken her prisoner, and brought her to his town on the Hockhocking river — she was then about eight years of age, and never having been reclaimed by her relatives or friends, remained with the nation, and afterwards become the wife of her captor.

I have been furnished by an esteemed friend with the following thrilling narrative of a visit of two gallant scouts to the spot where the town of Lancaster now stands — their successful fight with the Indians upon Mount Pleasant, then called the *Standing Stone* — re-capture of a female prisoner, and their narrow and perilous escape from their wary enemy.

As early as the year 1790, the block-house and stockade, above the mouth of the Hockhocking river, was a frontier post for the hardy pioneers of the North-Western Territory, now that portion of our State from the Hockhocking to the Scioto, and from the Ohio river to our northern lakes. Then nature wore her undisturbed livery of dark and thick forests, interspersed with green and flowry prairies. Then the axe of the woodman had not been heard in the wilderness, nor the plough of the husbandman marred the beauties of the prairies. Among the many rich and luxuriant valleys, that of the Hockhocking was pre-eminent for nature's richest gifts — and the portion of it whereon Lancaster now stands was marked as the most luxuriant and picturesque, and became the seat of an Indian village, at a period so early, that the "memory of man

runneth not parallel thereto." On the green sward of the prairie was held many a rude gambol of the Indians; and here too was many an assemblage of the warriors of one of the most powerful tribes, taking council for a "war path" upon some weak or defenceless frontier post. Upon one of these *war stirring* occasions, intelligence reached the little garrison above the mouth of the Hockhocking, that the Indians were gathering in force some where up the valley, for the purpose of striking a terrible and fatal blow on one of the few and scattered defences of the whites. A council was held by the garrison, and scouts were sent up Hockhocking, in order to ascertain the strength of the foe, and the probable point of attack. In the month of October, and one of the balmiest days of our Indian summer, two men could have been seen emerging out of the thick plumb and hazle bushes skirting the prairie, and stealthily climbing the eastern declivity of that most remarkable promonotory now known as Mount Pleasant, whose western summit gives a commanding view to the eye of what is doing on the prairie. This eminence was gained by our two adventurous and hardy scouts, and from this point they carefully observed the movements taking place on the prairie. Every day brought an accession of warriors to those already assembled, and every day the scouts witnessed from their eyrie, the horse-racing, leaping, running and throwing the deadly tomahawk by the warriors. The old sachems looking on with indifference—the squaws, for the most part, engaged in their usual drudgery, and the pappooses manifesting all the noisy and wayward joy of childhood. The arrival of any new party of warriors was hailed by the *terrible war whoop*, which striking the mural face of Mount Pleasant, was driven back into the various indentations of the surrounding brooks, producing reverberation on reverberation, and echo on echo, till it seemed as if ten thousand fiends were gathered in their orgies. Such yells might well strike terror into the bosoms of those unaccustomed to them,— to our scouts these were but martial music — strains which waked their watchfulness, and newly strung their iron frames — from their early youth had they been always on the frontier, and therefore well practiced in all the subtlety, craft and cunning, as well as knowing the ferocity and blood-thirsty perseverance of the savage. They were therefore not likely to be circumvented by the cunning of their foes; and without a desperate struggle, would not fall victims to the scalping knife. On several occasions, small parties of warriors left the prairie, and ascended the Mount; on which occasions our scouts would hide in the fisures of the rocks, or lying by the side of some long prostrate tree, cover themselves

with the sear and yellow leaf, and again leave their hiding places when their uninvited visitors had disappeared. For food they depended on jerked venison, and cold corn-bread, with which their knapsacks had been well stored. Fire they dare not kindle, and the report of one of their rifles would bring upon them the entire force of the Indians. For drink they depended on some rain water, which still stood in the excavations of the rocks, but in a few days this store was exhausted, and M'Clelland and White must abandon their enterprise or find a new supply. To accomplish this most hazardous affair M'Clelland being the elder, resolved to make the attempt — with his trusty rifle in his grasp, and two canteens strung across his shoulders, he cautiously descended to the prairie, and skirting the hills on the north as much as possible within the hazle thickets, he struck a course for the Hockhocking river. He reached its margin, and turning an abrupt point of a hill, he found a beautiful fountain of limpid water, now known as the Cold Spring, within a few feet of the river. He filled his canteens and returned in safety to his watchful companion. It was now determined to have a supply of fresh water every day, and this duty was to be performed alternately. On one of these occasions, after White had filled his canteens, he sat a few moments, watching the limpid element, as it came gurgling out of the bosom of the earth — the light sound of footsteps caught his practiced ear, and upon turning round, he saw two squaws within a few feet of him; these, upon turning the jet of the hill, had thus suddenly come upon him. The elder squaw gave one of those far-reaching whoops, peculiar to the Indians. White at once comprehending his perilous situation,— for if the alarm should reach the camp, he and his companion must inevitably perish. Self-preservation impelled him to inflict a noiseless death on the squaws, and in such a manner as to leave no trace behind. Ever rapid in thought, and prompt in action, he sprang upon his victims with the rapidity and power of a panther, and grasping the throat of each, with one bound he sprang into the Hookhocking, and rapidly thrust the head of the elder woman under the water, and making strong efforts to submerge the younger, who, however powerfully resisted. During the short struggle, the younger female addressed him in his own language, though almost in inarticulate sounds. Releasing his hold, she informed him, that ten years before, she had been made a prisoner, on Grave Creek flats, and that the Indians, in her presence, butchered her mother and two sisters; and that an only remaining brother had been captured with her, who succeeded, on the second night, in making his escape; but what had become of him, she

knew not. During this narrative, White, unobserved by the girl, had let go his grasp on the elder squaw, whose body soon floated where it would not, probably, soon be found. He now directed the girl hastily to follow him, and with his usual energy and speed, pushed for the Mount. They had scarcely gone two hundred yards from the spring, before the alarm cry was heard some quarter of a mile down the stream. It was supposed that some warriors returning from a hunt, struck the Hookhocking just as the body of the drowned squaw floated past. White and the girl succeeded in reaching the Mount, where M'Clelland had been no indifferent spectator to the sudden commotion among the Indians, as the prairie parties of warriors were seen to strike off in every direction, and before White and the girl arrived, a party of some twenty warriors had already gained the eastern acclivity of the Mount, and were cautiously ascending, carefully keeping under cover. Soon the two scouts saw the swarthy faces of the foe, as they glided from tree to tree, and rock to rock, until the whole base of the Mount was surrounded, and all hopes of escape cut off.

In this peril nothing was left, other than to sell their lives as dearly as they could; this they resolved to do, and advised the girl to escape to the Indians, and tell them she had been a captive to the scouts. She said "No! Death, and that in presence of my people, is to me a thousand times sweeter than captivity — furnish me with a rifle, and I will show you that I can fight as well as die. This spot I leave not! — here my bones shall lie bleaching with yours! — and should either of you escape, you will carry the tidings of my death to my remaining relatives." Remonstrance proved fruitless,— the two scouts matured their plans for a vigorous defence — opposing craft to craft; expedient to expedient, and an unerring fire of the deadly rifle. The attack commenced in front where, from the narrow backbone of the Mount, the savages had to advance in single file, but where they could avail themselves of the rocks and trees. In advancing, the warrior must, however be momentarily exposed, and two bare inches of his swarthy form was target enough for the unerring rifle of the scouts. After bravely maintaining the fight in front, and keeping the enemy in check, they discovered a new danger threatening them. The wary foe now made evident preparations to attack them in flank, which could be most successfully and fatally done by reaching an isolated rock lying in one of the ravines on the southern hill side. This rock once gained by the Indians, they could bring the scouts under point blank shot of the rifle, without the possibility of escape. Our brave scouts saw the hopelessness of their situation, which

nothing could avert but a brave companion and an unerring shot — them they had not. But the brave never despair. With this certain fate resting upon them, they continued calm, and as calculating, and as unwearied as the strongest desire of vengeance on a treacherous foe could produce. Soon M'Clelland saw a tall and swarthy figure preparing to spring from a cover so near the fatal rock, that a single bound must reach it, and all hope be destroyed. He felt *that all depended on one advantagious shot*, although but one inch of the warrior's body was exposed, and that at a distance of one hundred yards — he resolved to risk all — coolly he *raised his rifle to his eye*, carefully shading the sight with his hand, he drew a bead so sure, that he felt conscious *it would do* — he touched the hair trigger with his finger — the hammer come down, but in place of striking fire, it crushed his flint into a hundred fragments! Although he felt that the savage must reach the *fatal rock* before he could adjust another flint, he proceeded to the task with the utmost composure, casting many a furtive glance towards the fearful point. Suddenly he saw the warrior stretching every muscle for the leap — and with the agility of a deer he made the spring — instead of reaching the *rock* he sprung ten feet in the air, and giving one *terrific yell* he fell upon the earth, and his dark corpse rolled fifty feet down the hill. He had evidently received a death shot from some unknown hand. A hundred voices from below re-echoed the terrible shout, and it was evident that they had lost a favorite warrior, as well as being foiled for a time in the most important movement. A very few moments proved that the advantage *so mysteriously gained* would be of short duration; for already the scouts caught momentary glimpses of a swarthy warrior, cautiously advancing towards the cover so recently occupied by a fellow companion. Now too, the attack in front was resumed with increased fury, so as to require the incessant fire of both scouts, to prevent the Indians from gaining the eminence — and in a short time M'Clelland saw the wary warrior behind the cover, preparing for a leap to gain the *fearful* rock — the leap was made, and the warrior turning a summerset, *his* corpse rolled down towards his companions — again a *mysterious agent* had interposed in their behalf. This second sacrifice cast dismay into the ranks of the assailants; and just as the sun was disappearing behind the western hills, the foe withdrew a short distance, for the purpose of devising new modes of attack. The respite came most seasonable to the scouts, who had bravely kept their position, and bravely maintained the unequal fight from the middle of the day.

Now, for the first time, was the girl missing, and the scouts supposed that through terror she had escaped to her former captors, or that she had been killed during the fight. They were not long left to doubt, for in a few moments the girl was seen emerging from behind a rock, and coming to them with a rifle in her hand. During the heat of the fight she saw a warrior fall, who had advanced some fifty yards before the main body in front. She at once resolved to possess herself of his rifle, and crouching in the undergrowth she crept to the spot, and succeeded in her enterprise, being all the time exposed to the cross-fire of defenders and assailants — her practiced eye had early noticed the *fatal rock*, and her's were the *mysterious hands* by which the two warriors had fallen — the last being the most wary, untiring and blood-thirsty *brave* of the Shawnese tribe. He it was, who, ten years previous, had scalped the family of the girl, and been her captor.

In the west, dark clouds were now gathering, and in an hour the whole heavens were shrouded in them. This darkness greatly embarrassed the scouts in their contemplated night retreat, for they might readily loose their way, or accidentally fall on their enemy — this being highly probable, if not inevitable. An hour's consultation decided their plans, and it was agreed that the girl, from her intimate knowledge of the localities, should lead the advance a few steps. Another advantage might be gained by this arrangement, for in case they should fall in with some out-post, the girl's knowledge of the Indian tongue, would, perhaps, enable her to deceive the sentinel; and so the sequel proved, for scarcely had they descended one hundred feet, when a low "whist," from the girl, warned them of present danger. The scouts sunk silently to the earth, where, by previous agreement, they were to remain till another signal was given them by the girl — whose absence for more than a quarter of an hour now began to excite the most serious apprehensions. At length she again appeared, and told them that she had succeeded in removing two sentinels, who were directly in their route, to a point some hundred feet distant. The descent was noiselessly resumed — the level gained, and the scouts followed by their intrepid pioneer for half a mile in the most profound silence, when the barking of a small dog, within a few feet, apprized them of a new danger. The almost simultaneous click of the scout's rifles was heard by the girl, who rapidly approached them, and stated that they were now in the midst of the Indian wigwams, and their lives depended on the most profound silence, and implicitly following her footsteps. A moment afterwards, the girl was accosted by a squaw from an opening in a wigwam. She replied in the

Indian language, and without stopping still pressed forward. In a short time she stopped and assured the scouts that the village was cleared, and that they were now in safety. She knew that every pass leading out of the prairie was safely guarded by Indians, and at once resolved to adopt the bold adventure of passing through the very center of their village as the least hazardous. The result proved the correctness of her judgment. They now kept a course for the Ohio, being guided by the Hockhocking river — and after three days march and suffering, the party arrived at the Block-house in safety. Their escape from the Indians prevented the contemplated attack: and the rescued girl proved to be the sister of the intrepid NEIL WASHBURN, celebrated in Indian history as the *renowned scout* to Captain KENTON'S bloody Kentuckians.

The principal facts of this narrative were given by the brother of M'CLELLAND, to a citizen of Lancaster — and the adventures related prove that, "truth is sometimes *stranger* than *fiction*."

On the 17th of May, 1796, Congress, with a view, no doubt, to the early settlement of their acquired possesions by the treaty of Greenville, passed an act, granting to EBENEZER ZANE three tracts of land, not exceeding one mile square each, in consideration that he would open a road on the most eligible route between Wheeling, Virginia and Limestone, (now Maysville,) Kentucky. ZANE performed his part of the contract in the same year, and selected one of the grants on the Hockhocking river, where the town of Lancaster now stands. The road was opened by only blazing the trees, and cutting out the underbrush, which gave it more the appearance of an Indian path or trace than a road, and from that circumstance it took the name of "*Zane's Trace*," a name it bore for many years after the settlement of the country. It passed through the present county of Fairfield, crossing the Hockhocking river at a ripple or fording about three hundred yards below the turnpike bridge, west of the present town of Lancaster, and was called the "CROSSINGS OF THE HOCKHOCKING." This was the first attempt to open a public highway through the interior of the North Western Territory.

In 1797, Zane's Trace having opened a communication between the eastern States and Kentucky, many individuals, from both directions, wishing to better their condition in life, by emigrating and settling in the "back-woods," then so called, visited the Hockhocking Valley for that purpose and finding the country surpassingly fertile — abounding in fine springs of the purest water, determined to make it their new home.

In April, 1798, Captain JOSEPH HUNTER, a bold and enterprising man, with his family, emigrated from Kentucky and settled on Zane's Trace, upon the bank of the prairie, west of the crossings, and about one hundred and fifty yards north-west of the present turnpike road, and was called "Hunter's Settlement." Here Captain HUNTER cleared off the underbrush, felled the forest trees, and erected a cabin, at a time when he had not a neighbor nearer than the Muskingum or Scioto rivers. This was the commencement of the first settlement in the Upper Hockhocking Valley — and Captain HUNTER is regarded as the founder of the flourishing and populous county of Fairfield. He lived to see the country densely settled, and in a high state of improvement — and paid the debt of nature about fifteen years ago. His aged companion, Mrs. DOROTHY HUNTER, yet lives, enjoying the kind and affectionate attentions of her family, and the respect and esteem of her acquaintance. She was the first white woman that settled in the Valley, and shared with her late husband all the toils, sufferings, hardships and privations incident to the formation of the new settlement, without a murmur or word of complaint. During the spring of the same year, NATHANIEL WILSON, the elder JOHN GREEN, ALLEN GREEN, JOHN and JOSEPH M'MULLEN, ROBERT COOPER, ISAAC SHEPPER, and a few others reached the Valley — erected cabins and put out a crop of corn.

In 1799, LEVI MOORE, ABRAHAM BRIGHT, Major BRIGHT, ISHMAEL DUE and JESSE SPURGEON, emigrated with their families from Allegheny county, Maryland, and settled near where Lancaster now stands. Part of the company came through by land from Pittsburgh, with their horses, and part, with their wagons and other goods, descended the Ohio in boats to the mouth of the Hockhocking, and thence ascended the latter stream in canoes, to the mouth of Rushcreek. The trace from Wheeling to the Hockhocking at that time was, in almost its entire length, a wilderness, and did not admit of the passage of wagons. The land party of men, on reaching the Valley, went down to the mouth of the Hockhocking and assisted the water party up. They were ten days in ascending the river, having upset their canoes several times and damaged their goods.

LEVI MOORE settled, with JESSE SPURGEON, three miles below Lancaster. The BRIGHTS and DUE also settled in the neighborhood. These pioneers are all dead, except Mr. MOORE. He resides near Winchester, in Fairfield county, blessed with all this world can give to make him happy.

In 1799, the tide of emigration set in with great force. In the spring of this year two settlements were made in the present township of Green-

field. Each settlement contained twenty or thirty families — one was called the *Forks of the Hockhocking*, and the other *Yankee Town*. Settlements were also made along the river below Hunter's, on Rush-creek, Raccoon and Indian Creeks — Pleasant Run, Fetters' Run, at Tobeytown, Muddy Prairie, and on Clearcreek. In the fall of 1799, JOSEPH LOVELAND and HEZEKIAH SMITH erected a log grist-mill at the upper falls of the Hockhocking, now called the Rock Mill. This was the first grist-mill built on the Hockhocking river. They also erected, at the same place, the first distillery, (then called a "still-house.") This, however, after a few years, proved a heavy curse to the neighborhood, by destroying the peace and happiness of many respectable families, (as all still-houses do,) *broke up* both of its projectors, and finally drove them out of the country. DAVID and HENRY SHALLENBERGER built a log grist-mill on the river three miles below Hunter's settlement.

In April, of 1799, SAMUEL COATES, sen., and SAMUEL COATES, jr., from England, built a cabin on the prairie, at the "Crossings of the Hockhocking," kept bachelor's hall and raised a crop of corn. In the latter part of the year a mail route was established along Zane's Trace from Wheeling to Limestone. The mail was carried on horseback, and was transported through at first, once a week. SAMUEL COATES, sen., was appointed Postmaster, and kept his office at the Crossings. This was the first established mail route through the interior of the Territory, and SAMUEL COATES was the first Postmaster in the new settlement.

JAMES CONVERSE, in 1799, brought from Marietta, by way of the Ohio and Hockhocking rivers, nearly a canoe load of merchandise, and opened a *very large and general assortment* of dry goods and groceries, in a cabin at Hunter's Settlement. He displayed his specimen goods on the corners of the cabin and upon the stumps and limbs of the trees before his door, dispensing with the use of flags altogether — he, of course was a modest man.

The General Government directed the public domain to be surveyed. The lands were laid off in sections of one hundred and forty acres, and then subdivided into half and quarter sections. ELNATHAN SCOFIELD, our late fellow-citizen, was engaged in that service.

In 1800, 1801 and 1802, emigrants in great numbers continued to arrive, and settlements were formed in the more distant parts of the county. *Cabin-raisings*, *clearings* and *log-rollings* were in progress in almost every direction. The settlers lent each other aid in their *raisings* and other heavy operations requiring many hands. By thus mutually assisting one another, they were all enabled, in due season, to

provide themselves with cabins to live in, and prepare their clearings for farming. The log cabin was of paramount consideration. After the spot was selected, logs cut and hauled, and clapboards made, the erection was but the work of a day. They were of rude construction, but not always uncomfortable. And as they have, to a great extent, passed away, and appear to us, at this day, as things that have been, I have taken the liberty of extracting from KENDALL'S life of Gen. JACKSON, (a very valuable and highly interesting work,) the following description of them. Its elegance of style and accuracy cannot be surpassed:

"The log cabin is the primitive abode of the agricultural population throughout western America. Almost the only tools possessed by the first settlers were axes, hatchets, knives, and a few augurs. They had neither saw-mills nor carpenters, bricks nor masons, nails nor glass. Logs notched and laid across each other at the ends, making a pen in the form of a square or parallelogram, answered the purposes of timbers and weatherboarding, and constituted the body of the structure. The gable ends were constructed of the same materials, kept in place by large poles, extending lengthwise of the building from end to end. Up and down upon these poles, lapping over like shingles, were laid clapboards split out of oak logs, and resembling staves, which were kept in their place by other poles laid upon them, and confined at the gable ends. Roofs of this sort, well constructed, were a sufficient protection from ordinary storms. The crevices between the logs, if large, were filled with small stones, chips, or bits of wood, called 'chinking,' and plastered over with mud, inside and out; if small, the plastering alone was sufficient. The earth was often the only floor; but in general, floors were made of 'puncheons,' or slabs split from logs, hewed smooth and resting on poles. The 'lofts,' or attics, sometimes had puncheon floors, and rough ladders were the stairways. Chimneys were built of logs rudely dovetailed from the outside into those constituting one end of the structure, which were cut to make room for a fire-place, terminating at the top with split sticks notched into each other, the whole thickly plastered with mud on the inside. Stones laid in mud formed the jams and backs of the broad fire-places. The doors, made of clapboards, or thin puncheons pinned to cross pieces, were hung on wooden hinges and had wooden latches. Generally they had no windows; the open door or broad chimney admitted light by day, and a rousing fire or grease lamp was the resource by night. In the whole building there was neither metal nor glass. Sometimes, however a part of a log was cut out for a window, with a piece of sliding puncheon to close it. As

soon as the mechanic and merchant appeared, sashes with two or four lights might be seen, set into gaps cut through the logs. Contemporaneously, old barrels began to constitute the tops of chimneys, and joists and plank, sawed by hand, took the place of puncheons.

"The furniture of the primitive log cabin was but little superior to the structure. They contained little beyond puncheon benches and stools or blocks of wood for tables and chairs, a small kettle or two, answering the manifold purposes of buckets, boilers and ovens, and a scanty supply of plates, knives, forks and spoons, all which had been packed on horseback through the wilderness. *Bedsteads* they had none, and their bedding was a blanket or two, with bear and deer skins in abundance."

The early settlers were a hardy and industrious people, and for frankness and hospitality have not been surpassed by any community. The men labored upon their farms and the women in their cabins. Their clothing was of a simple and comfortable kind. The women clothed their families with their own hands — spinning and weaving for all their inmates the necessary linen and woolen clothing. At that day no cabins were to be found without their *spinning wheels*, and it was the proud boast of the females that they could use them. As an evidence of their industry and saving of time, it was not an unfrequent occurrence to see a good wife sitting spinning in her cabin, upon an earthen floor, turning her wheel with one foot and rocking her babe in a sugar trough with the other.

The people at that day, when opportunity offered, (and that was not often,) attended to public worship; and it was nothing new nor strange to see a man at church with his rifle,—his object was to kill a buck either going or coming.

The settlers subsisted principally on corn-bread, potatoes, milk and butter, and wild meats. Flour, tea and coffee were scarcely to be had, and when brought to the country, such prices were asked as to put it out of the reach of many to purchase. Salt was an indispensable article and cost, at the Scioto Salt Works, five dollars for every fifty pounds. Flour brought $10 per barrel; tea $2,50; coffee $1,50; spice $1, and pepper $1 per pound.

FIRST FUNERAL.

William Green, an emigrant, soon after his arrival, sickened and died in May, 1798, and was buried in a hickory-bark coffin, on the west bank of Fetters' run, a few rods north of the old Zanesville road, east of Lancaster. This was the first death and burial of a settler on the

Hockhocking. Col. Robert Wilson, of Hocking township, was present and assisted at the funeral. The deceased had left his family near Wheeling, and came on to build a cabin and raise a crop.

FOURTH OF JULY, 1800.

In the year 1800, for the first time in the Hockhocking settlement, the settlers, men, women and children, assembled upon the knoll in the prairie, in front of the present toll-house, on the pike, west of Lancaster, and celebrated the anniversary of American Independence. They appointed no president or other officers of the day — no oration delivered, nor toasts drank. They manifested their joy by shouting "hurrah for America," firing off their rifles, shooting at targets and devouring a public dinner. It may not be improper to say that their repast was served up in *magnificent style*. Although they had neither tables, benches, dishes, plates or forks, every substantial in the way of a feast, was amply provided, such as baked pone and johny-cake, roasted bear's meat, jerk, turkey, &c. The assemblage dispersed at a timely hour in the afternoon, and returned to their cabins, full of patriotism and love of country. It was my fortune to be present on that interesting occasion.

NEW LANCASTER.

In the fall of 1800, Ebenezer Zane laid out this town, and by way of compliment to a number of emigrants from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, called it New Lancaster. It retained that name until 1805, when, by an act of the Legislature, the word "*New*" was dropped. There were then many inequalities in the surface of the town plat, which we do not now perceive. Where Center Alley crosses Wheeling, Main and Chestnut streets, a pond or swail has been filled up, from two to five and six feet. There was another pond in Main street four or five rods east of the canal, which has been filled two or three feet. Several marshy places have been filled in other parts of Wheeling and Chestnut streets. These ponds and marshes, were not confined to the streets alone, but covered some of the adjacent lots. The plat of the town was covered in many places with heavy forest timber, such as the various kinds of oaks, sugar-tree, walnut, wild cherry, ash, buckeye, &c. The underwood consisted principally of wild plumb, paw-paw and hazel, producing delicious fruits, and spice wood.

A sale of the lots took place soon after the town was laid off, and sold to purchasers at prices ranging from five to fifty dollars each, according to situation. The greater portion of the purchasers were mechanics, and they immediately set about putting up log buildings.

Much of the material needed for that purpose was found upon their lots and in the streets, and so rapidly did the work of improvement progress during the fall of 1800, and following winter, that in the spring of 1801, the principal streets and alleys assumed their present shapes, and gave assurance to the beholder that New Lancaster would at no distant day, become a town of some importance.

About this time merchants and professional men made their appearance. James Converse, Mathews & Seofield, Wm. & C. King, Thomas Hart and John Creed commenced merchandizing.

Robert F. Slaughter, Alexander White, Philoman Beecher, William W. Irvin and Elijah B. Merwin opened law offices.

Drs. William Ervin, Amasa Dolance, John Kerr, and Ezra Torrence commenced the practice of physic.

The Rev. John Wright, of the Presbyterian Church, settled in Lancaster in 1801, and the Rev. Asa Shinn and Rev. James Quinn, of the Methodist Church, traveled on the Fairfield circuit.

Shortly after the settlement of New Lancaster, and while the stumps of the trees yet remained in the streets, a small portion of the settlers deemed it their privilege to take, occasionally, a *small jollification* or *spree*, ending frequently in *kicking up a dust*, or what we would now call a fight. The better disposed part of the population, in the absence of law, took it into their heads to put a stop to the growing evil; and accordingly met and resolved that any citizen of the town found in a state of intoxication, should, for every such offence, *dig a stump out of the streets*, or suffer a *licking*.. The *spreeing* party swore most lustily that the law was unconstitutional, and that they would not submit to it. Convictions soon after took place, and the law-making power after *licking* some half a dozen, enforced obedience. The result was, that after several offenders had expiated their crimes, drum-drinking ceased, and all became, for a time, a sober, temperate and happy people. This was, perhaps, the first *Temperance Society* established west of the Alleghany Mountains.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY.

On the 9th day of December, 1800, the Governor and Council of the North Western Territory, organized the county of Fairfield, and designated NEW LANCASTER as the seat of justice. The county then contained within its limits all, or nearly all, of the present counties of Licking and Knox; a large portion of Perry, and small portions of Pickaway and Hocking counties. By subsequent enactments of the Legislature of the State, it has been reduced to its present limits.

The county contains thirteen townships, which were set off and incorporated in the following years, and named as follows:

Clearcreek—In 1803, and took its name from a creek running through its north-western border.

Hocking—In 1803, and received its name from the Hockhocking river.

Richland—In 1803. The fertility of the soil in the eastern part of the county gave rise to the name of this township.

Rushcreek—This township was set off in 1803, and named from a creek passing through it.

Berne—Gen. SAMUEL CARPENTER, a prominent citizen of the county at that time, named this township Berne from the Canton of Berne, in Switzerland, from which his ancestors emigrated to America.

Amanda—WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ., the first county surveyor of Fairfield county, called this township Amanda from some fancy he had for the name.

Greenfield—Incorporated in 1805, and named from the *green fields*, or prairies, within its limits.

Pleasant—In 1805, and named from a creek running through it of the same name.

Bloom—Set off in 1805, and named Bloom by ——— COURTRIGHT, ESQ., one of its earliest inhabitants.

Violet—In 1808. This township received its name from the flowers which grew in great variety in its western limits.

Liberty—The first settlers of this township were principally from Switzerland, and coming as they did from a land of oppression to a land of liberty, and at their request, it was so named.

Walnut—In 1807, and was called Walnut from the creek of that name, and its fine walnut bottoms of land.

Madison—Laid off in 1809, and so called in honor of JAMES MADISON, one of the Presidents of the United States.

I deem it not out of place to state that the townships of Reading, Thorn, Hopewell, Pike and Jackson were organized by the commissioners of Fairfield county, and now form part of Perry county.

Reading township was named by PETER BUKHMEYER, a pioneer settler, from Reading, Pennsylvania. He also laid out the town of New Reading in that township. Somerset, the seat of justice of Perry county, is situated in this township.

Thorn took its name from the numerous thorn bushes and trees then growing upon its fertile soil.

Pike.—This township was named in honor of Gen. PIKE, who gallantly fell in defence of his country at Toronto, Canada, in the war of 1812.

Jackson—Named in honor of Gen. ANDREW JACKSON.

Saltcreek township formerly belonged to Fairfield, but now forms part of Pickaway county. It was named from Saltcreek, a stream watering its territory. Tarlton, a flourishing village, is in this township.

Falls township, now in Hocking county, was named from the great Falls of the Hockhocking river.

Perry township, in Hocking township, was so called in honor of O. H. Perry, the hero of Lake Erie, in 1813. This township was stricken from Fairfield and attached to Hocking.

The first court of General Quarter Sessions, was held in the county of Fairfield, on the 12th day of January, 1801. Emanuel Carpenter, sen., presiding Justice; Nathaniel Wilson and Samuel Carpenter associate Justices of the Peace, on the bench. The court convened in a log school house on the alley, between Front and Second streets.

Joseph Vanhorn was appointed Prothonatory, and Samuel Kratzer Sheriff.

Alexander White, Michael Baldwin, William Creighton and Robert F. Slaughter appeared as attorneys and counsellers at law.

The court appointed Nathaniel Wilson, jr., Jacob Vanmeter and James Denny Commissioners of the county.

The following persons were impanneled and sworn as the *first grand inquest* for the county of Fairfield, viz:

James Converse, *Foreman*—Abraham Wather, Arthur Teal, Jeremiah Conaway, Robert McMurtry, Abraham Funk, Conrod Fetters, Samuel Coates, Thomas Cassina, Amasa Delance, John McMullen, Joseph McMullen, Edward Teal, David Rees and Barnabas Golden. It does not appear that the jury made any presentments at this term.

At the second term of the court held on the 2d Monday of April, 1801, Emanuel Carpenter, Nathaniel Wilson and Samuel Carpenter Justices on the bench; a case was tried which created a good deal of interest among the new settlers. It was this: Joseph Work charged one Samuel Jewell with shooting his colt, and brought his suit to recover damages.

Robert F. Slaughter and William Creighton appeared for the plaintiff, and Alexander White and Michael Baldwin for the defendant.

The following named persons were impannneled and sworn to try the case, viz:

John Edgar, *Foreman*—John McMullen, John Bryan, William Springer, John Roads, Joseph Howe, William McCarty, John Nersel, James Converse, Sylvestor Lyons, Joseph Stewart and Alex. Dennison.

It appeared in evidence that the defendant was hunting ducks—that he shot at a duck in the river, killed it, and the ball glancing at an angle of about twenty-five degrees hit plaintiff's colt and killed it also. Defendant admitted the killing, but contended that it was accidental, and that he ought not to be charged. This jury did not agree on a verdict, and were discharged. A new jury was forthwith impanneled and sworn, consisting of the following persons:

John Boyle, *Foreman*—David Trainer, Arthur O'Harra, Jacob Loofborough, Jesse Willets, James Brooks, Samuel Hamel, Emanuel Carpenter, jr., George Coffinberry, Beel Fabbs, Jacob Addison and James Jarvis. This jury brought in a verdict of $16 16 for the plaintiff. This was the first action tried in the county of Fairfield.

At the October term of the court this year Philemon Beecher appeared as Attorney at Law.

William W. Irvin and Elijah B. Morvin commenced the practice of law in this or the following year.

At the June term of 1802, Emanuel Carpenter, sen., Nathaniel Wilson and Amasa Delano, Justices on the bench, the court ordered the Sheriff to take Alexander White, Attorney at Law, into custody, and commit him to prison for one hour, for striking Robert F. Slaughter, also an Attorney at Law, in presence of their honors when in session. I note this circumstance to show that the court, at that early period, did not suffer an indignity to pass unpunished.

The first court of common pleas, for Fairfield county, after the State of Ohio had been admitted into the Union, commenced its session in May, 1803.

PRESENT—Willis Silliman, President of the 2d Judicial Circuit. *Associates*—Samuel Carpenter, Daniel Vanmeter and William Irvin.

At this session the court appointed Hugh Boyle Clerk.

Samuel Kratzer continued to act as Sheriff, and Johnathan Lynch Coroner.

The following persons were impanneled and sworn as jurors at this term:

GRAND JURY—David Rees, *Foreman*—Hezekiah Smith, James Brooks, Isaac Meason, Thomas Rees, Joseph Hunter, Henry Miers, Jacob Lamb, John McMeens, Thomas Cissna, Frederick Leathers, Thomas McCall, Joseph Work, James Black, John Shipler, John Wills and David Shellenbarger.

PETTIT JURY — George Coffinberry, *Foreman* — James Hunter, James Wilson, Alexander Wilson, Isaac Willits, George Kester, Emanuel Carpenter, jr., William Harper, John Neely, Abraham Funk, William Davis and Alexander Sanderson.

In 1808, HUGH BOYLE was appointed Clerk of the Supreme Court for Fairfield county, and held the office until his death.

CONVENTION ELECTION.

The first popular election held in the county of Fairfield was for two members of the Convention to form the Constitution of the State of Ohio. It took place on the 12th of October, 1802, and the following was the result of the poll:

Emanuel Carpenter, sen., received	228 votes.
Henry Abrams,	181
Robert F. Slaughter,	168
Philemon Beecher,	144
William Trimble,	124
Samuel Carpenter,	15
Samuel Kratzer,	4
Ebenezer Larimer,	1
Brice Sterrit,	1
Hugh Boyle,	1

The two first named were elected.

The members of the Convention assembled at Chillicothe on the first day of November 1802, and organized by the election of Dr. EDWARD TIFFIN, President, and THOMAS SCOTT, Secretary, and after framing the first constitution of the State of Ohio, adjourned the 29th of the same month. The constitution was not submitted to the people, but to Congress for approval — and on the 1st day of March, 1803, the State of Ohio was admitted into the Union as a sovereign State. It is now the third in point of population and wealth.

The following are brief biographies of the two members of the Convention from the county of Fairfield:

EMANUEL CARPENTER, SEN., was born in Earl township, Lancaster county, in the Province of Pennsylvania, on the 2d day of October, 1743. His ancestors were from the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, from whence, on account of the persecutions of that day, they emigrated to America, and from WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania, acquired a large body of land on Conestoga and Piqua Creeks, in Lancaster county, upon which the subject of this sketch was born. He served as a Lieutenant in the war of the Revolution, and on his return from

service, was frequently chosen to represent the county of Lancaster in the General Assembly of his native State. He was a member at the time Gen. WASHINGTON addressed a last appeal to that body for supplies, without which, he would have been compelled to have disbanded his suffering troops. The appeal was promptly met, and mainly by the exertions of Mr. CARPENTER, as one of the committee appointed for that purpose, in furnishing money and other means, thereby the Pennsylvania line in service were relieved of their wants, and the gloomy cause of the country nobly sustained.

In the year 1800, Mr. CARPENTER removed from the State of his nativity, and settled in the Hockhocking Valley, near where the town of Lancaster now stands. After the organization of the State in 1803, he was elected and served for several years as Associate Judge of the court of common pleas of Fairfield county. The infirmities of old age pressing upon him, and a desire for repose, induced him to retire from public life several years before his death. He passed the last years of his life at the hospitable residence of his near kinsman Mr. DAVID CARPENTER, near Lancaster. He died on the 20th of March, 1823.

He was a farmer by profession — of industrious and temperate habits, of a sound and discriminating mind — educated in and spoke the English and German languages — a man of strict integrity and patriotic feeling, and died as he had lived, bearing the character of an honest man.

HENRY ABRAMS was born in the county of Rockingham, in the Province of Virginia in 1753. His ancestors were from Wales. In 1765, his father, of the same name, removed his family to Bedford county, Pennsylvania, and after a short residence in Bedford crossed the Alleghany Mountains, and fixed his permanent abode in Turkeyfoot settlement, now part of Somerset county, Pennsylvania. Here young HENRY ABRAMS continued to reside until 1795, when he emigrated into and settled, for a short time, in Clark county Kentucky.

In 1797, he removed his family and erected his cabin about one mile below the city of Chillicothe, Ohio, where he lived until the spring of 1801, when he purchased, at the sales of the public lands in that year, in Chillicothe, a tract of land ten and a half miles north-west of Lancaster, Fairfield county, where he spent the remainder of his days.

Soon after the admission of Ohio into the Union he was elected and served two constitutional terms as Associate Judge of the common pleas court of Fairfield county — was appointed and served several years as Trustee of the Ohio University, and took a deep interest in its success

and usefulness. He also served in various other minor offices, all which he filled with signal satisfaction to all concerned.

In stature he was about six feet in heighth, and remarkably well formed — well calculated to endure extreme fatigue, a necessary qualification for a pioneer settler. Although his education was limited his mind was naturally strong and his discrimination quick — in his habits he was correct, and in his friendships sincere and constant. He had a fine taste for music, and was naturally given to good humor and hilarity. He was of a kind and charitable disposition and of almost unbounded hospitality.

Henry Abrams was a farmer, and a good one — was fond of his rifle, and an excellent hunter. In early times it was his custom to devote a month or more to the pursuit of wild game, and by that means furnished his family with provisions for the forthcoming year — a great relief at a time when provisions of a better kind could not be had.

On the 28th of November, 1821, he closed a life of usefulness, in the 69th year of his age, and his remains lie in the family burial ground of his son-in-law Geo. Sanderson, in Lancaster.

MRS. RUHAMA GREEN.

I cannot close this lecture, in justice to my own feelings, without giving a brief history of the life, captivity by the Indians, and sufferings of Mrs. Ruhama Green, one of the earliest settlers of Fairfield county.

Mrs. Ruhama Green was born and raised in Jefferson county, Virginia. In 1785, she married a Mr. Charles Bilderback, and with him crossed the mountains and settled at the mouth of Short Creek, on the east bank of the Ohio river, a few miles above Wheeling. At that time, and for several years after, the Indians were troublesome, and made frequent attacks on the new settlements, killing and capturing many of the settlers, and destroying and carrying off their property. Charles Bilderback was a brave and resolute man, and had, on many occasions, distinguished himself in repelling and driving them back. The Indians having felt, on more than one occasion, the effects of his sure aim, and deadly rifle, had determined, at all hazards, to kill him. On a beautiful summer day in June, 1789, and at a time when it was thought that the enemy had abandoned the western shores of the river to the settlers, Charles Bilderback, his wife and brother Jacob Bilderback, crossed the Ohio, to look after some cattle, which had been placed there some time before, for pasture. After reaching the shore, and securing their canoe, a party of Indians, fifteen or twenty in number, rushed out from an ambush, fired upon them and wounded

Jacob Bilderback in the shoulder. Charles attempted to make his escape by running, but the Indians had too well matured their plans — he was surrounded and taken. Jacob returned to the canoe, paddled out into the stream and got away. In the mean time Mrs. Bilderback, unperceived by the foe, hid herself in some drift-wood near the bank of the river. As soon as the Indians had secured Charles, by binding his arms with straps of buckskin leather, preparatory to a hasty retreat, and not being able to discover her hiding place, compelled him, by threats of immediate death, to call to her to come to him. With a hope of appeasing their fury, he did so. She heard him, but made no answer. "Here," to use the words of this good woman, "a struggle took place in my breast which I cannot describe. Shall I go to him and become a prisoner, or shall I remain — return to our cabin and provide for and take care of our two children." He shouted to her a second time to come to him, saying to her "that if she obeyed perhaps it would be the means of saving his life." She no longer hesitated — left her place of safety, went to him and surrendered herself a prisoner to his savage captors. All this took place in full view of their cabin, on the opposite side of the river, and where they had left their two children, one a son, about two years of age, and the other a daughter, a babe. The Indians knowing that they would be pursued as soon as the news of their visit reached the stockade at Wheeling, commenced their retreat. Mrs. Bilderback and her husband traveled together that day and the following night. Next morning the Indians separated into two bands, one taking Bilderback, and the other his wife, and continued a westward course by different routes. In a few days the band having Mrs. Bilderback in custody, reached the Tuscarawas river, where they encamped, and where they were soon rejoined by the band that had her husband in charge. Here the murderers exhibited his scalp, at the top of a pole, and to convince her that they had killed him, pulled it down and threw it into her lap. She recognized it at once, by the redness of his hair. She said nothing — made no complaint. In her grief she silently thanked them for sparing her the mortification of witnessing his horrid death. It was evening — her ears pained with terrific whoops and yells of the savages, and wearied, by constant traveling, she reclined against a tree, fell into a profound sleep and forgot all her sufferings until morning. When she awoke the scalp of her murdered husband was gone, and she never learned what became of it. As soon as the capture of Bilderback was known at Wheeling, a party of scouts set off in pursuit, and took the trail of the band that had taken him, and fol-

lowed until they found his body. He had been tomahawked and scalped and apparently had suffered a lingering death. The scouts then returned.

The Indians, in a day or two after their meeting at the Tuscarawas river, left with Mrs. BILDERBACK for their towns on the Big Miami river. On reaching their place of destination she was adopted into a family, with whom she continued to reside until released from captivity. She remained a prisoner about nine months, performing the labor and drudgery of the squaws—such as carrying in meat from the hunting grounds, preparing and drying it, making moccasins, leggings and other clothing for the family in which she was placed. After her adoption she suffered much from the rough and filthy manner of Indian living, but had no cause to complain of ill-treatment otherwise.

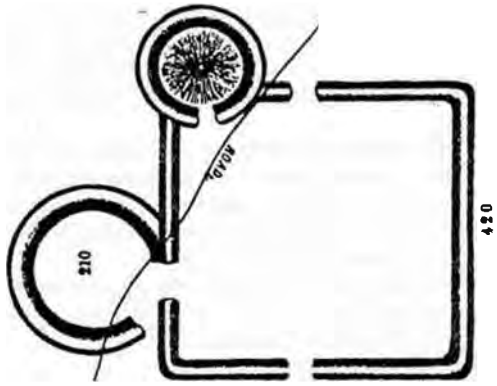
In a few months after her capture some friendly Indians informed the commandant at Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) that a white woman was held in captivity at the Miami towns, and that it was told them she was taken near Wheeling, Virginia. This led to inquiry, and it was soon ascertained that the woman spoken of was Mrs. BILDERBACK. She was ransomed, and brought into the fort, where she was received and treated in the most hospitable manner by the citizens residing at that post. After remaining a few weeks at the fort, she was placed in a canoe, with a suitable guard, and sent up the river to her lonely cabin, and to the embrace of her two orphan children. She then re-crossed the mountains, and settled in her native county.

In 1791, Mrs. BILDERBACK married Mr. JOHN GREEN, and in 1798 they emigrated to the Hockhocking Valley, and settled about three miles west of Lancaster, where she gave birth to the first white male child in Fairfield county, and where she continued to reside until the time of her death, which occurred ab ut nine years ago. She survived her last husband about ten years. Mrs. GREEN lived to an advanced age, having, through a long life of sunshine and shade, discharged the various duties of wife, mother and neighbor, in the most exemplary manner.

The foregoing narrative I had from Mrs. GREEN herself, except the part that relates to the scouts, which I had from the late Col. CHARLES WILLIAMS, of Coshocton, who was one of the pursuing party.

ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS.

There are several ancient fortifications in the county of Fairfield. The most noted one is that upon the heights of the Rock Mill, seven miles north-west of Lancaster. The following is a survey and description by E. G. SQUIER and E. H. DAVIS, and published by the Smithsonian Institute:



"This work is remarkable as being the only one entirely regular in its plan, which has yet been discovered occupying the summit of a hill. It is situated on the road from Lancaster, Fairfield county, Ohio, to Columbus, the capital of the State, seven miles distant from the former place, near a point known as the 'Hockhocking River Upper Falls,' or 'Rock Mill.' It consists of a small square measuring four hundred and twenty feet on each side, in combination with two small circles, one hundred and twenty-five and two hundred and ten feet in diameter respectively. The hill is nearly two hundred feet in height, with a slightly undulating plain of small extent on its summit. The works are so arranged that the small circle enclosing the mound overlooks every part and commands a wide prospect on every hand. Towards the brow of the hill, at prominent points, are two eliptical terraces or elevations of small size. The sides of the square enclosure correspond to the cardinal points. The walls, excepting those of the circular structure, are very light, and unaccompanied by a ditch. The work is clearly not of a defensive origin, and must be classed with those of similar outline occupying the river terraces."

There is also a fort, or fortification upon the Baugher farm, six miles in a northern direction from Lancaster. It consists of walls in direct lines, and contains ten or twelve acres.

In Berne township, five miles below Lancaster, and near Ream's Mill, are, I am told, four fortifications, of square forms, and lying adjacent to

each other. All the forts I have mentioned are encompassed by walls from two to six feet in height — and have gateways.

TOBEYTOWN.

This was an ancient Indian town, and thickly populated by the Delaware and Wyandotte tribes, previous to Wayne's treaty in 1795. It was governed by a Delaware Chief called TOBEY, from which the early settlers named it Tobeytown. Its location is ten miles west of Lancaster, on the southern boundary of Bloom township, Fairfield county. In 1799, HORATIO CLARK, and WILKINSON LANE, with their families emigrated from Bedford county, Pennsylvania, and settled near the town. They were the first settlers in the neighborhood. JAMES KELLEY and BROAD COLE settled soon after. CLARK built his cabin in sight of the town, and at this day, the original plat is covered by a fine orchard of fruit trees, planted by his own hands. MRS. REBECCA CLARK, the venerable relic of HORATIO CLARK, says that in plowing up the ground where the town stood, they frequently found old gun barrels, knives, bullets, pipes, bits of silver, and human bones. The main town had been destroyed about the time of the treaty of Greenville, and it was said that it was done by a party of white people from the western part of Virginia. Notwithstanding its destruction the Indians settled round about it, and were living there when CLARK and LANE made their settlements. The names of the Chiefs, or prinoipal men of the tribes being about Tobeytown at the time of the appearance of the first settlers were BILLY WYANDOTTE, CHEROKEE JOHN and STANDING STONE. These were their English names — their Indian names are not recollected.

HORATIO CLARK and WILKINSON LANE, after having lived long lives of usefulness, not only to themselves and community, but to the new country of their adoption, have long since rested from their labors. WILKINSON LANE was the father of REBECCA CLARK. She yet lives and enjoys the respect of the present generation.

REMINISCENCES OF THE WAR OF 1812.

The following are correct lists of two companies commanded by Capt. GEORGE SANDERSON in the war with Great Britain:

CAMPAIGN OF 1812—VOLUNTEERS.

This company was raised in the month of April, 1812, in the county of Fairfield, by volunteer enrollment, for the term of one year, and formed part of the Regiment of Ohio Volunteers commanded by Col. LEWIS CASS, and was captured with the whole of the American army at Fort Detroit, on the 16th August, 1812, by the British army under General BROCK — and sufferod to return home on parol, and not serve

against Great Britain until exchanged. That exchange did not take place until May, 1814. A few of the men were so exasperated at the disgraceful conduct of Gen. HULL, on that unfortunate occasion, that they disregarded their parol, and joined General HARRISON in the spring of 1813, and continued in actual service until the decisive battle of the Thames, in Canada, gave peace to the north-western portion of the United States—Capt. SANDERSON was one of them. The company was fully organized on the 19th of April, 1812, by the following named officer:

Captain, GEO. SANDERSON — *Lieutenant*, DAVID MCCABE — *Ensign*, ISAAC LARIMER.

Sergeants — John Vanmeter, John Smith, James Larimer and Isaac Painter.

Corporals — James White, Daniel Hudson, Robert Cunningham and William Wallace.

Privates — George Baker, William Brubeck, Daniel Baker, Robert Cunningham, John Dugan, John Davis, William Edmunds, Rees Fitzpatrick, John Hiles, Christopher Hiles, Thomas Hardy, Phillip Hines, Archibald Darnell, William Jenkinson, William Jenkins, Samuel Johnson, Isaac Finkbone, John Kirley, Joseph Loffland, John Collins, Charles Martin, John M'Intire, Jacob Monteith, Jonas Monteith, Jacob Mellen, Daniel Miller, William Mc'Donald, William M'Clung, Henry Martin, William Nelson, Joseph Oburn, Cornelius Post, William Ray, John Swiler, Daniel Smith, Jacob Sharp, Thomas Short, Samuel Work, Joseph Whetson, Henry Shoupe, John Huffman and Samuel Nolan.

CAMPAIGN OF 1813-14.

This company was enlisted in the spring of the year 1813, for the term of one year, in the counties of Fairfield, Frankin and Delaware, and a portion from the Western Reserve, gained by attachment from a company commanded by Captain APPLEGATE, of Trumbull county, Ohio, and formed part of the 27th Regiment of United States Infantry, commanded by Col. GEORGE PAUL, of Belmont county. The part of the company was in the battle of the Thames, on the 5th October. The members of the company were honorably discharged at Fort Shelby, (Detroit,) in the spring and summer of the year 1814. ROBERT MORRISON, of Belmont county, was Lieut. Colonel, and THOMAS PAWLAND, of Columbiana county, Major of said 27th Regiment. They are all dead. The company was officered as follows:

Captain, GEO. SANDERSON — *1st Lieut. Qr. Master*, ABNER P. RISNEY — *2d Lieuts.*, AMORY BUTTLES, ANDREW BUSHNELL JOHN H. MIFFORD, ABRAHAM FISK — *3d Lieut.*, IRA MONER — *Ensign*, WM. HALL.

Sergeants — 1st, John Vanmeter; 2d, Chancey Case; 3d, Robert Sanderson; 4th, John Nebling; 5th, Luther Edson.

Corporals — 1st, John Dugan; 2d, John Collings; 3d Peter Garey; 4th, Smith Headly; 5th, Daniel T. Bartholomew.

Musicians — John C. Sharp, drummer, and Adam Dec[illegible] fifer.

Privates — William Anderson, Joseph Anderson, John Atkins, Joseph Alloways, Thomas Boyl, John Bartholomew, John Berryman, Henry Bixler, Abraham Bartholomew, Samuel Bartholomew, James Braden, Sheldon Beebee, James Brown, John Beaty, Eli Brady, Chas. Burdines, John Batteese, Daniel Baker, John Bussey, Thomas Billings, Daniel Benjamin, Henry Case, Archibald Casey, Joseph Clark, Holden R. Collins, Blades Cremens, Chester P. Cabe, William Cady, Nathan Case, Chancey Clark, Almon Carleton, Stephen Cook, David Crosby, Jesse Davis, Asa Draper, Walter Dunham, George Daugherty, Enos Devore, Benjamin Daily, John Evans, Joseph Ellinger, Peter, Fulk, John Forsythe, Daniel Filkall, John Faid, Ephriam Grimes, Wilson L. Gates, Elnathan Gregory, Joseph Gibeson, Samuel Gause, John Hunt, James Hagerty, Josiah Hinkley, John Hall, Frederick Hartman, David Hughs, Perlin Halcomb, John Harter, Jacob Headly, John Harberson, John Ieas, Ambrose Joice, James Jones, John Johnston, Jas. Jackson, John L. Johnson, John Kisler, James Kincaid, George, Kyainger, Jonathan Kittsmiller, Samuel Kinisman, Joseph Larimon, Frederick Leathers, Henry Lief, Amos Leonard, Morinus W. Leonard, Wm. Lanther, John Mc'Clung, Peter Miller, Morris McGarvy, Joseph McClung, John McElwayne, Francis McCloud, Hosea Merrill, John McCankey, Joshua Mullen, James More, Thomas Mapes, John McBride, Wm. M'Clair, Henry, Mains, Andrew Miller, John McConnell, Alex. McCard, Wm. Haper, Isachar Nickerson, Geo. Osborn, Geo. Parks, Samuel Pratt, Powell Pain, Benj. Burkhart, Luther Palmer, Arzel Pierce, John Ray, David Ridenour, Wm. Reed, Geo. Raphy, Elijah Rogers, Asa Rose, Joseph Stratler, Henry Shadly, Christian B. Smith, Perry Spry, John Sunderland, Christian Shypower, David Severs, John Severs, Henry Skolls, Ephriam Summers, Henry C. Strait, Jonathan Sordan, Jacob Shoup, Chas. Smith, Mynder Shears, Adam Senor, John Smith, T. Sharp, S. Sheanor, G. Shadwick, S. Taylor, D. Taylor, J Trovinger, F. Tesler, B. Thorp, F. Tucker, J. Thorp, J. Twaddle, P. Van Cleaf, J. Vanwy, A. Walker, A. White, J. Weaver, J. Wheeler, T. Wheatly, D. Walters, J. Wright, J. Welshans, C. Wolfly, F. Williams, W. Wallace, A. Wilson, W. Watson, J. Young, H. Zimmerman, D. Zeigler, D. Woodworth, S. Tyler, G. Tennis, L. Van Wy, J. Wilson.

Zane's Trace

By
Norris F. Schneider
and
Clair C. Stebbins

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ZANE'S TRACE

The sound of the woodsman's axe shattered the silence of the Ohio wilderness during the summers of 1796 and 1797 as a small party of trail blazers under Colonel Ebenezer Zane opened a rich new land to civilization. Only a few years before, that same forested area west and north of the Ohio River had been the hunting preserve of the Indians. The savages had not given up without a struggle—but a losing struggle it was, and peace reigned in the Ohio country when the Zane party set out to establish the first road through the wilderness.

In the following pages, the authors of this historical sketch will attempt to describe the need for Zane's Trace, the circumstances under which Colonel Zane was commissioned to establish the road, the importance of the Trace to the settlement of this part of the Northwest Territory, travel methods and conditions, and the road as it exists today.

A road across the Ohio Country was needed in 1796 because the region was at last open for legal settlement. Both France and England had kept the region closed to emigrants. When France ruled the West, the Colonists thought they could make better use of the land than jolly *coureurs de bois* packing furs to Quebec or gaunt priests carrying the crucifix to Indian villages. After the Colonists helped England defeat the French and Indians, they expected that the West would be opened. To their disgust the English king kept them under his thumb on the rocky coastal farms and gave the West to the Indians.

In the Revolutionary War the Colonists took the Northwest Territory from the British. Then they were so determined to push across the Ohio River that Congress established Fort Harmar to keep squatters out. Meanwhile Indian claims to the region were quieted by treaty, and the Ordinance of 1787 pro-

vided for the legal settlement which started at Marietta. In a final flare-up of Indian resistance, "Mad" Anthony Wayne defeated the tribes at Fallen Timbers in 1794 and a wave of emigrants rolled across the Ohio.

Many of the emigrants were farmers. They needed a road to reach new farms. Eastern land soon became exhausted under the farming methods of that time. Fertility and production dropped after a few bumper crops because modern methods of fertilizing were unknown. The only escape from poverty lay in migration. When Eastern farmers heard that corn grew nine inches in one night in Ohio, their fingers itched to guide their plows through the rich Ohio soil.

Other emigrants were Revolutionary veterans. They needed a road to help them reach their land claims. They had received military pay in the form of land warrants. Many of them had fought for the West twice—once against France and once against England. Like the G. I.'s after World War II, they had left their jobs to fight and they wanted economic independence at once. Land claims in Ohio promised that independence.

Settlers in Kentucky also needed a shorter land route to Pennsylvania. While Indian war made travel north of the Ohio River dangerous, Kentuckians took the long journey over Boone's Wilderness Road to carry mail and visit their families in the East. But after the Indian threat was removed, they needed a shorter land route. Travel by the Ohio River to Wheeling and Pittsburgh was slow and dangerous. Ice locked the river in winter, and sand bars blocked the channel in summer. Upstream travel against the current was always painfully slow. A land route linking the Pennsylvania Road with the Limestone Road in Kentucky would speed mail and travel.

The pioneers who were determined to push back the frontiers and establish their homes in eastern and south central Ohio were fortunate to have had a man of Colonel Ebenezer Zane's vision and qualifications to help pave the way for their migration into the wilderness. It is difficult to imagine a more competent trail-blazer than this Virginia-born frontiersman of Danish descent who had lived on the eastern fringe of the Ohio wilderness for twenty-seven years before he undertook the great task of opening that section of the Northwest Territory to settlement.

Map of Zane's Trace showing counties of the Northwest Territory in 1797.

Born in the Potomac valley on October 7, 1747, Ebenezer Zane started westward at the age of twenty, accompanied by two of his four brothers, Silas and Jonathan. They arrived at the mouth of Wheeling Creek on the Ohio River in 1769, and founded the town of Wheeling the following year. Having chosen a strategic spot for a settlement, near the head of navigation in the Ohio River, Ebenezer Zane soon gained title to all of the land where Wheeling now stands, and became the recognized leader of the new settlement. He won his military title of colonel during what is known as Dunmore's War, a brief

outbreak which centered in the Wheeling district. During this War Colonel Zane was made disbursing agent of militia at Wheeling and as such was virtually in command of Fort Finncastle, which he re-named Fort Henry two years later in honor of Governor Patrick Henry after Virginia had renounced her allegiance to Great Britain. He further displayed his military leadership in the defense of that fort in 1782, the battle having been termed the last of the American Revolution. It was during this famous siege that Colonel Zane's sister, Betty, ran the gantlet of Indian arrows to replenish the fort's powder supply and win for herself an immortal place in frontier history.

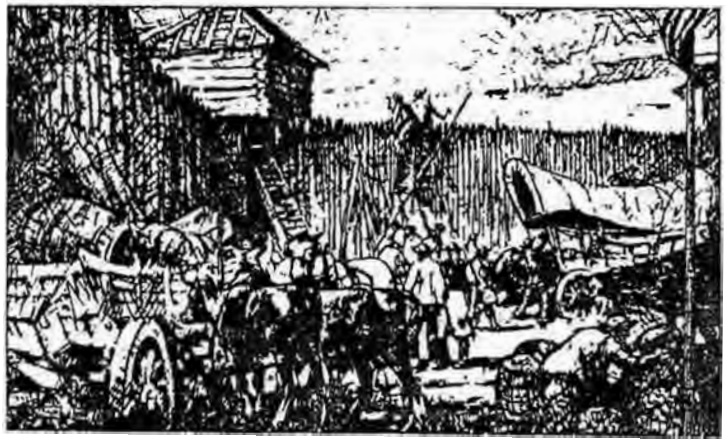
The man who petitioned Congress for permission to establish a road across Ohio had many qualifications, not the least of which was his hardy, frontier family as well as that of his wife, Elizabeth McCulloch Zane. They were hunters, scouts, and Indian fighters. Moreover, they were schooled by experience in the special problems that confronted the impatient army of emigrants, many of them Revolutionary war veterans, who sought to move westward to claim land far removed from the increasingly crowded coastal states.

Colonel Zane helped these people find elbow room by cutting a trail through the forests and, although not a highway or even a road in the sense that we think of them today, it proved adequate first for pack horses and soon for covered wagons and stagecoaches.

Being a man of vision, Colonel Zane was aware that the road would develop rapidly as the result of heavy travel. The succeeding century and one-half have demonstrated how well he planned. Zane's Trace, modified in certain places but still following in general the route of his original path, remains today the shortest overland route between Zanesville and Maysville, and between major intermediate points along the highway.

There was a selfish reason for Colonel Zane's interest in the Trace, but no doubt his determination to further these interests should be included among Zane's qualifications for blazing the trail. He had so extended his holdings at Wheeling

that he owned all of the present site of that city. He had also set out a vast orchard on Wheeling Island. His stake in the future of his settlement of the Ohio river became so great that he was led to appreciate the need for a road that would develop the Ohio country and enhance the value of his own holdings at Wheeling.



Fort Henry at Wheeling was under command of Ebenezer Zane during the Revolutionary War.

After Zane completed his contract with Congress, he returned to his home at Wheeling and left the sale and development of his Ohio tracts to his relatives. He was honored by the use of his name for the City of Zanesville on his Muskingum land. His tombstone in the Walnut Grove Cemetery on Fourth Street at Martins Ferry, Ohio, has the following inscription: "In memory of Ebenezer Zane, who died 19th November, 1812, in the 66th year of his age. He was the first permanent inhabitant of this part of the western world, having first begun to reside here in 1769. He died as he lived, an honest man."

We have already pointed out that Colonel Zane had selfish reasons, although they were in the public interest, for desiring to establish his Trace through the wilderness. It would have sufficed him, no doubt, to open the new road without cost to the government, except for the fact that it was impossible for

him to do the job alone. His helpers deserved pay, and accordingly the shrewd Wheeling colonel bargained with Congress for permission to locate his Revolutionary land warrants in the form of three 640-acre tracts at the crossings of the three principal rivers between Wheeling and Maysville.

In order to obtain from Congress the right to establish the road through Ohio, Colonel Zane—a logical man who had a great deal of common sense but comparatively little formal education (as evidenced by the mis-spellings which appear in almost every line of his writings)—drew up a petition which sets forth eloquently the need for an overland route between Wheeling and Maysville which, he claimed, would save 300 miles on a trip between Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Frankfort, Kentucky.

His zeal to put across this point may have led him to exaggerate the mileage benefits, however, for he gave the distance from Wheeling to Maysville as 190 miles. Actually today, over a road that has been slightly shortened from that built in 1797, the distance is 230 miles.

Colonel Zane did not wait for Congress to authorize him to build the road. In his petition, dated March 25, 1796, he disclosed that he had already, at his own expense, employed a number of laborers, and had made considerable progress in marking and opening the road so that it would be passable for travelers on horseback. He told Congress that it could be converted into a good wagon road at moderate expense.

Acting with a speed that is unfamiliar to present-day legislators, Congress granted him the contract on May 17, 1796.

This contract imposed several requirements upon Colonel Zane. He was required to complete the path between Wheeling and Limestone by January 1, 1797. He was also required to operate ferries across the Muskingum, Hocking, and Scioto rivers as soon as the path was open. The contract provided that Zane should have his 640-acre tracts at the river crossings surveyed at his own expense and send plats of them to the Treasurer of the United States. Zane opened his Trace in 1797 and had his tracts surveyed later the same year. But the deed for the three tracts was not signed by President John Adams until February 17, 1800.

With the contract from Congress in his pocket, Colonel Ebenezer Zane picked his crew of workmen. He selected his brother Jonathan for his knowledge of the trails. He took both Jonathan and his son-in-law, John McIntire, as principal partners in the labor and profit of the venture. William McCulloch was doubly related: he was a nephew of Ebenezer Zane's wife, Elizabeth McCulloch Zane, and his wife was the halfbreed daughter of Ebenezer's brother Isaac and his Wyandot Indian wife. John Green, Ebenezer Ryan, James Worley, and Levi Williams have also been listed among the laborers. An Indian named Tomepomehala gave his knowledge of Indian trails to the expedition.

Left to right, John McIntire, Jonathan Zane, Ebenezer Zane, and Indian guide Tomepomehala arriving at the Muskingum River while cutting Zane's Trace.

This party prepared to cross 230 miles of primeval forest. They had to take with them enough food and camping equipment for the round trip. Zane filled sacks with flour, corn meal, bacon, salt, sugar, potatoes, beans, and coffee for his crew. He took iron kettles and skillets for cooking. Bear skins and

blankets for beds were collected, and tents were packed for shelter in rainy weather. The men sharpened axes and made spare axe handles for the work of cutting trees and blazing the trail. To carry this food and equipment, Zane undoubtedly had pack horses with halters and bells.

Mail carrier leaving Black Horse tavern on East Main Street in Lancaster.

Although the party left no record, we can imagine that every man had an assigned duty. In advance rode Colonel Ebenezer and Jonathan Zane on horseback to select the route. Then came the axemen to cut small trees and blaze the path. Bringing up the rear of the little caravan, John McIntire probably herded the packhorses. A writer in the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* for March 19, 1887, told that one of McIntire's hands was crippled because of a musket accident at Wheeling, and that one leg was shorter than the other. Several accounts say that McIntire acted as hunter and did the cooking when the party camped for the night. Two men stood guard over the horses and provisions while the others slept. A bright fire was kept burning during the night to drive wolves and thieving Indians away.

Thus equipped and organized, the party started to work. Although Chillicothe was the only settlement on the route, the forest had been pierced by Indian trails and paths cut by white armies. Colonel Zane made use of these old paths when they suited his purpose. Near the eastern border of Guernsey County he struck the Mingo Trail and followed its general course to the mouth of the Licking. Although A. B. Hulbert said there was no trail from that point to Chillicothe, E. H. Church and Clement Martzolff describe the Moxahala Trail between those places. Zane probably used the Moxahala Trail to Chillicothe. From that town to the Ohio River he followed the trail cut in 1787 by Colonel Robert Todd's expedition on the way from Kentucky to punish the Indians at Old Chillicothe.

King Louis Philippe of France was entertained by Mr. and Mrs. John McIntire in their hewed-log cabin on Zane's Trace.

There is a legend that Congress compelled Colonel Ebenezer Zane to drive a team of horses and wagon over his Trace to prove that it was opened. McKelvy said in his history of Belmont County that Zane actually drove a wagon over the trail, but it was done "at the peril of his life." We know that this is pure legend because Congress made no requirement of that kind in the contract.

The completed Trace was a narrow trail for mail carriers on horseback, but not wide enough for wagons. The Zane party cut down the brush and chopped blazes on trees, but the Trace was never surveyed. The first mail carriers over the new Trace rode on horseback beneath the spreading branches of great oak, beech, elm, maple, and sycamore trees that shaded the path. In some places their horses clattered along the wind-swept ridges of the divides, and in other places they swished through the tall grass of creek bottoms. For dozens of miles the mail carriers saw no living creatures except startled deer, slinking foxes, and other wild animals.

For five years, from 1797 to 1802, little was done to improve the Trace. New settlers packed their household goods on horses and cattle and walked with them from the East to Ohio. They carried guns and knives as protection against robbers. Before the Trace was wide enough for wagons, some families came up the rivers by canoe. Levi Moore and his party from Maryland floated their goods down the Ohio River in 1799 and then paddled and poled up the Hocking River to their farm near Lancaster. In the summer of 1800 John McIntire's family and servants brought their household goods down the Ohio and up the Muskingum to Zanesville in a flatboat. More determined men cut their way through the woods. William Craig chopped down the trees in his way and drove his team and wagon over the Trace from Maysville to Chillicothe in 1798. John Green drove a four-horse team from Wheeling to Zanesville in 1800. Emigrants drove their wagons westward over the Trace in increasing numbers after 1800.

The first attempt to improve Zane's Trace was made in 1802. Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin wrote to David Hoge, registrar of land at Steubenville, on June 28, 1802, that he had decided to have a road "laid out and opened" from Steubenville to Chillicothe by way of "the place where Zane's road crosses Wills Creek." Between Wills Creek and Chillicothe, the new road followed Zane's route. Gallatin specified that this road should cost six dollars a mile and be "twenty feet wide at least."

Typical emigrant family coming westward on Zane's Trace to a new home in the West.

A wagon road was built over the entire route of Zane's Trace in 1804. The Enabling Act by which Ohio became a state in 1803 provided that three per cent of the income from the sale of public land should be used for "laying out, opening, and making roads." On February 18, 1804, the Legislature appropriated about fifteen dollars a mile from this fund for making a new road over Zane's route. This twenty-foot road was not good by modern standards because stumps of trees were left not more than one foot high. Roads built with the three per cent fund were called state roads. Josiah Espy called Zane's route "the new state road" in 1805. John Melish referred to it in 1811 as "the great state road from Pittsburgh." On the old maps it was also called the Wheeling Road. Each of the three towns of Lancaster, Zanesville, and Cambridge named a Wheeling Street for the route by which this road left the town for Wheeling.

Like other pioneer roads over hilly country, Zane's Trace was steep and full of ruts. In Guernsey County a baby riding in an emigrant wagon going westward over deep ruts was jolted to the ground and killed. At the head of Main Street in Zanesville settlers tied saplings behind their wagons to drag on the ground and act as brakes coming down the hill. There was always a pile of saplings at the foot of the hill. In swampy places saplings were placed side by side across the route to make a corduroy road. It took five days for Thomas Sarchett and his party to drive three wagons forty miles from St. Clairsville to Cambridge in 1806.

When Sarah Oldham left Virginia on horseback with her husband, she carried a sprout from an apple tree for a switch. She planted the switch at her new home in Guernsey County in 1807 and it is still growing in 1947.

English travelers told about Zane's Trace in the books they wrote. W. Faux started at three o'clock one morning in 1819 from a tavern east of Cambridge. An hour later the driver got out to lock a wheel, and the horses jerked the coach against a stump and turned it over. The accident gave Faux black eyes, a bruised side, and cuts on his face. John Melish called the road "fine and level" in Adams County, but on the eastern border of Muskingum County he found it "impassable for even the strong stage wagons used here." Thomas Hulme said in 1819 that the road east of Cambridge "goes straight over the tops of the numerous little hills, up and down, up and down." Travel was very slow. Faux got up at three and four o'clock in the morning to spend as many as fifteen hours a day in the stagecoach. At the rate of four miles an hour for eleven to fifteen hours he spent five days of travel between Wheeling and Maysville.

Travelers crossed streams by ford, ferry, and bridge. Ebenezer Zane ran a ferry across the Ohio River at Wheeling. As late as January 5, 1837, W. G. Lyford spent one hour in a boat while ferrymen poled their way through floating ice to Wheeling Island, and he spent another hour from there to the

Ferry on Zane's Trace across Muskingum River at Zanesville.

Ohio shore. The first bridge was built across the Ohio at Wheeling later in 1837.

A squatter named Ezra Graham had a ferry at Wills Creek when the first settlers came. He was driven away by George and Henry Beymer, who in turn were ousted by John Beatty in 1803. Zaccheus Beatty built a log bridge across Wills Creek that stood until the covered bridge was constructed in 1828. Cuming complained in 1809 that he had to pay 12½ cents to cross the log bridge when it had been weakened by floods.

William McCulloch and Henry Crooks started a ferry across the Muskingum River at the foot of Main Street in 1797. Within a few years the route was changed to Putnam by a ferry at the foot of Fourth Street and a ford at the foot of Fifth Street. A bridge was built from Third Street to Putnam in 1813. Adlard Welby published a drawing of this bridge made in 1819. Melish forded the Muskingum on his horse, and Cuming crossed on the ferry.

Zane's Trace crossed the Hocking River west of Lancaster. Cuming found a wooden bridge there in 1809, and Melsh paid 6¼ cents to cross a toll bridge there in 1811. Benjamin Urmston

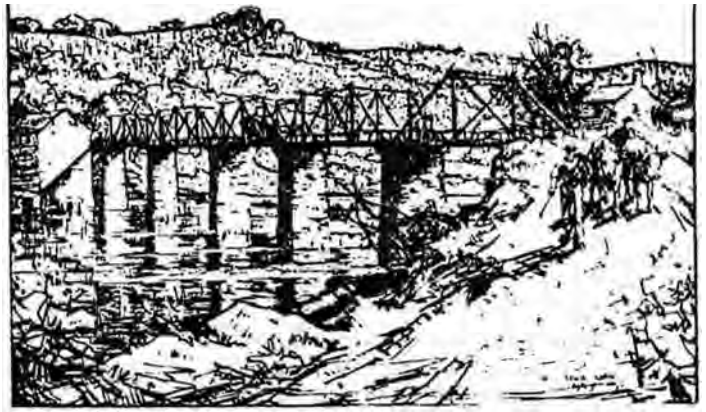
owned the ferry across the Scioto River at Chillicothe.
bridge was finished in 1818. Nathaniel Ellis started the first ferry across the Ohio to Maysville in 1796, and James Edwards entered into competition with him two years later. Skiffs and flatboats dotted the river at that busy crossing. Aberdeen on the Ohio shore was laid out in 1816. Ferries provided the only means of crossing the Ohio River at Maysville until the present bridge was built in 1931.

A colorful cavalcade traveled over the Trace. Pack horses plodded through mud and snow with mail or freight. The covered wagons of the westward-moving emigrants lurched down the hills and jolted over ruts. Stagecoaches carried mail and passengers between Wheeling and Maysville in five days by changing horses frequently. Lumbering freight wagons crept westward with merchandise from Baltimore and Philadelphia. Herds of horses and cattle raised clouds of dust on the way to eastern markets.

Business men, artists, actors, adventurers, statesmen, robbers, and circuit riders used the Trace. Rev. James B. Finley, with his head sticking out of a hole in a blanket, rode through a storm to the home of a Methodist at Zanesville. He had some trouble in proving he was a minister. Bishop Francis Asbury preached at camp meetings along the Trace. Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay patronized the taverns on the Trace on their way to Washington. President James Monroe followed the Trace on his return to Washington in 1817. At his hewed log cabin in Zanesville, John McIntire entertained the exiled Duc d' Orleans, who later became King Louis Philippe of France.

All travelers faced the problem of eating and sleeping on the Trace. Those who had little money could not afford to stay at taverns. In Guernsey County an old woman displayed cakes and other food for sale on the smooth top of a stump. When Abel Lewis walked from Pennsylvania to Zanesville in 1800, he slept in trees and tied his arm to branches so he would not fall

Fortescue Cuming admired the system followed by a family of seven when they camped four miles east of Cambridge in . The daughters prepared supper and baked bread at a fire and then sat down to sew. The boys took care of the five horses while the parents sat and talked. Women slept in the wagons and men spread bearskins around the fire for beds.



Bridge on Zane's Trace across Muskingum River at Zanesville.

Taverns dotted the Trace at an average of four miles apart for those who could afford them. Many farmers hung out tavern signs in front of their cabins. Since travel was slow, it was necessary to have a tavern close at hand whenever a coach or wagon broke down, a storm approached, or night came on. Cuming mentioned forty taverns on the Trace in 1807. We have found references to seventy-five taverns before 1830. Tavern keepers paid license fees of eight dollars a year in Muskingum County in 1809. Some landlords used only their last names, and many tavern owners marked their location with picture signs painted by itinerant artists. Animal names—such as The Buck, The Bear, The Golden Ram, and The Eagle—were popular. A forest of trees grew on the tavern signs. Zanesville had the

Orange Tree and the Green Tree. There was a tavern with the Sign of the Crossed Keys in Cambridge, Zanesville, and Chillicothe.

Tired travelers were glad to see the lights of the inn where the stagecoach stopped for the night, or, as Cuming says, "where the stage sleeps." There were comfortable taverns, like the three-story brick Hope and Anchor at Zanesville. But only five miles west of Zanesville John Logan slept in a bed that was propped up with the fire tongs, and ten cows and one sheep slept in a dog trot that adjoined his room. Travelers often slept in rooms with strangers. At Lancaster and Morristown, Cuming found a married couple in another bed in his room. The couple at Lancaster kept him awake until late by talking. As soon as he went to sleep, bed bugs awakened him and he slept on the floor. At Watson's hotel in Chillicothe, Adlard Welby suggested the wit's spelling, hothell, because of the bed bugs and the heat.

Both Cuming and Melish traveled twelve or fifteen miles before they stopped for breakfast. Cuming stopped at Lybrant's tavern in Tarleton at one p. m. for a breakfast of "good coffee, roast fowls, chicken pie, potatoes, bread and butter, and cucumbers, both sliced and pickled." He paid a quarter for that meal, which was the usual price. At Marshon's tavern in Adams County his supper consisted of boiled corn, wheat griddle cakes, butter and milk. Logan's supper at the Sign of the Buck near Moxahala Park was not so appetizing. His host set "some rusty pork, black looking eggs, rough Indian bread and bean soup on a table about 18 inches square."

These conditions of travel existed for thirty years. As the state filled up with emigrants, they wanted better roads than those that could be built with the three per cent fund. In the 1830's the Zane's Trace route was improved by two methods.

The section from Wheeling to Zanesville became part of the National Road between 1825 and 1830 at a cost of $3,400 a mile. Although the National Road followed the route of the state road,

it was shifted as much as half a mile north or south of the old road. Three-inch layers of crushed limestone and substantial stone bridges made a speed of seven miles an hour possible for

John Melish fording the Muskingum River at Zanesville in 1811, with Hope and Anchor Tavern in background.

stagecoaches. The United States assigned the Road to the states in 1856, and the State of Ohio turned over its section to the counties in 1876. After the railroads drained traffic away from the road a century ago, the development of the automobile flooded the highway with cars in the 1920's.

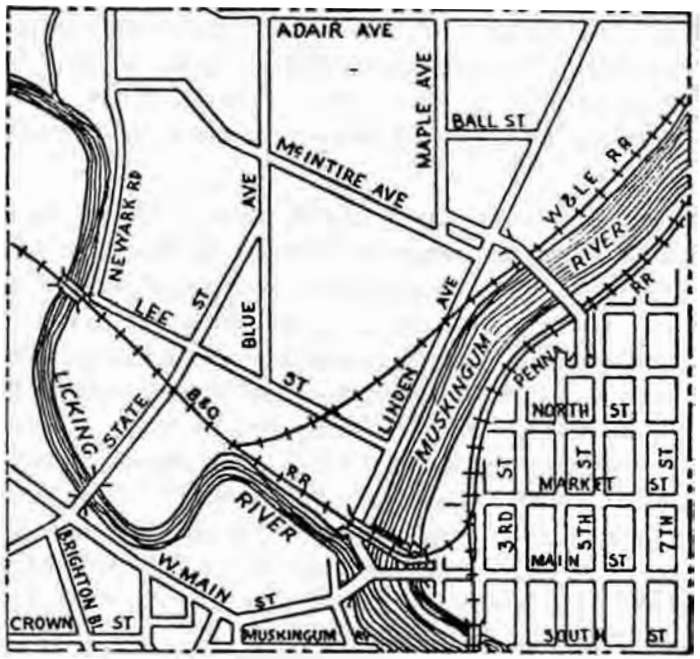
In 1816-17 three turnpike companies were incorporated to build roads with private capital between Cambridge and Chillicothe. But there is no evidence that the companies ever raised enough money to start construction. The Zanesville and Maysville Turnpike Road Company was incorporated in 1836 to build a toll road between Zanesville and Maysville. Capital stock of $600,000 was sold in shares of $25 each. The State subscribed more than a quarter of a million dollars to the project, and individuals and corporations invested more than $300,000. In 1851 the road was in the hands of a receiver, and the creditors

bought it. Late in the nineteenth century the counties bought the company rights. The part of the old Zane route west of Zanesville is still called the Maysville Pike.

"Zane's Trace was a great route of travel for forty years of Ohio's history," according to the W. H. Beer's *"History of Brown County."* Along this road came thousands of emigrants to buy government land at two dollars an acre. As the settlers cut down the trees and raised a surplus for sale, towns developed into large trading centers. The largest towns along the Trace grew near the three tracts Colonel Zane received from the government. The survey of these three tracts was supervised by General Rufus Putnam of Marietta, surveyor-general of the United States, but Zane paid the bill. Zane sent his brother Jonathan and his son Noah to see that the surveys included the land he wanted.

Colonel Zane complained in a letter to Putnam against having the river crossings in the center of his tracts. "Att Muskingham a Barren hill without timber or Soil" would be included, Zane said. He meant that he did not want the present Putnam Hill. This letter and Putnam's directions to the surveyors are preserved by Marietta College. They show that Zane's tract on the Muskingum extended one-fourth mile below and three-fourths mile above the south line of the U. S. Military Land, which ran east and west near the mouth of the Licking. Marietta College also has the "Plan of 640 acres of land on the Muskingum river surveyed for Ebenezer Zane, Esq.," by Joseph Wood on October 27, 1797.

Colonel Ebenezer Zane deeded his Muskingum tract to his brother, Jonathan Zane, and his son-in-law, John McIntire, for $100 on December 19, 1800. The conveyance of the land at that low price was not a sale; it was payment for their help in opening the Trace. Assured of eventual possession of the land, McIntire and Jonathan Zane permitted William McCulloch and Henry Crooks to come to the Muskingum tract in 1797 as the first permanent settlers and operate a ferry. McIntire joined the ferrymen in 1798 and laid out a town called Westbourne



Map of Zane's 640 acres on the city plat of Zanesville.

in 1799. In the summer of the next year he brought his family and household goods in a flatboat to the cabin he had prepared. The postmaster general changed the name of the town to Zanesville when the postoffice was established in 1801.

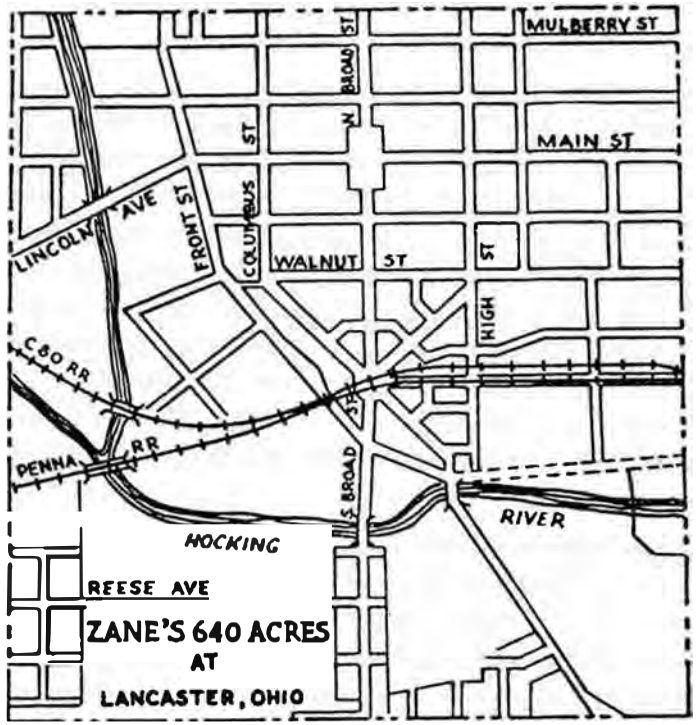
Although the plat of Zanesville was not recorded until April 28, 1802, more settlers kept building cabins close to John McIntire. Lots were designated in the plat for a market house

at Fourth and Market streets and public buildings at Fourth and Main streets. The town grew faster when it became county seat of Muskingum County in 1804 and again when it became State Capital in 1810. In the division of the land outside the plat between Jonathan Zane and McIntire, the section now known as the Terrace went to McIntire. After his death in 1815, his widow married Reverend David Young and lived until 1854. Since McIntire's will provided that his land should not be sold while his wife lived, her death made possible the sale of lots in McIntire Terrace. Zane's 640 acre tract on the Muskingum was bounded by South Street, Seventh Street, Adair Avenue, and a north and south line near Rutland Street on the west.

Colonel Zane did not like Putnam's plans for the survey of his Hocking tract. Zane wrote to Putnam: "If this is the Cace it involves me in greate inconveniences as running south of the hauhaukin. I must inclose within my section near half the Lot of a flag-griagmire." Putnam granted his request and gave him land above the quagmire. Zane appointed his two sons, Noah, and John, as his attorneys to sell his Hocking tract. Captain Joseph Hunter made the first settlement on the site of Lancaster in 1798. To attract more settlers, Zane offered free lots to a blacksmith, a carpenter, and a tanner. He also gave four lots at the intersection of Broad and Main streets for public buildings. The City Hall now stands on one lot, and the other three are parks.

When the two Zane sons had the town on the Hocking laid out in 1800, they named it New Lancaster, according to C. M. L. Wiseman's history of Fairfield County, "at the request of Emanuel Carpenter, Sr., who lived near by, in honor of his old home, Lancaster, Pennsylvania." On December 9, 1800, about a month after lots were placed on sale, Fairfield County was organized and New Lancaster was made the county seat. To avoid confusion with a town by the same name in Pennsylvania,

the Legislature dropped the word New from the name in 1805. A brick courthouse was built in the public square in 1807. The



Map of Zane's 640 acres on the city plat of Lancaster.

town was incorporated in 1831 and it grew to cover nearly all of Zane's 640 acres. The Zane tract is bordered by Maple Street on the east, the alley between Union and King streets on the north, a line through Spring and Clark streets on the south, and a line near Zane Street on the west.

Zane's land on the Scioto was less valuable than his other two tracts. Since the State of Virginia kept the land west of the Scioto for her Revolutionary veterans, Zane had to be satisfied

with 640 acres of river bottom on the eastern side of the river. Virginians settled Chillicothe in 1796, the year before the Trace was completed. When Ohio was organized in 1803, Chillicothe became the first Capital. Humphrey Fullerton bought Zane's tract in 1804 for $5,190. The town never spread to the eastern bank, and Zane's tract is still farm land. Zane's only serious mistake in selecting his land was his failure to realize the need for a ferry across Wills Creek. When he could not acquire land in Chillicothe, he would have made more profit by choosing a tract on the site of Cambridge instead of the Scioto bottom.

The Sign of the Orange Tree Tavern at Zanesville entertained many travelers on Zane's Trace.

Henry Howe says in his *History of Ohio* that Colonel Ebenezer Zane gave his Muskingum tract to Jonathan Zane and John McIntire because it was "the least valuable section of the three." It is more likely that he gave it to them because it was the most valuable. He would not cheat his brother and his son-in-law. He wanted to reward them for their help in opening the Trace. All members of the Trace party saw that the Muskingum crossing offered unlimited water power for factories.

McIntire started to develop this power as soon as possible. He was an organizer of the Zanesville Canal and Manufacturing Company, which administers his fortune for the education of poor children in Zanesville. At the 1940 census Zanesville had nearly as many people as Lancaster and Chillicothe combined.

Colonel Zane's advance appraisal of the importance of his Trace was soon borne out. Opened in 1797, with ferries in operation, it became a post road the following year, with the result that Kentucky and the entire middle south were brought closer to the big eastern markets such as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.

Archer Butler Hulbert, in his *Historic Highways of America*, wrote that Zane's Trace was "the first post road in all the territory northwest of the River Ohio." In *Land of Promise* Walter Havighurst said of the Trace: "For a time it was the only road in the whole Northwest."

Also—and here again Colonel Zane's original claims prove correct—the road became an important link in the overland route from Philadelphia to New Orleans, with the result that travel time between these important cities of pioneer America was materially reduced.

Nevertheless, the shortening of distances between two already-settled areas may be considered secondary to the fact that the Trace opened a vast fertile section of the United States to development. The emigrants' wagons followed closely behind Zane's trail-blazing party, and it wasn't long after ferries were put in operation across the rivers until farm houses and taverns began to spring up along the road. Some were built of logs, some were of weatherboard, and a few were built of brick or stone—reflecting the varying degrees of wealth, or in some cases ambition and building talent, of the frontier settlers.

Before the construction of Zane's road, emigration to this part of the west had followed the principal streams. Hence the Ohio river and immediately adjacent territory had been opened

to settlement a number of years before the densely forested interior. Zane's Trace opened a pathway into the wilderness and soon become a major lifeline into the heart of America's rapidly expanding western empire. However, it is not to be construed that the rivers lost their importance with the coming of the road. The Ohio river was, and still is, an important thoroughfare for the movement of freight, and the Muskingum, largest of the three rivers which the Trace crossed in the interior of Ohio, remained an important traffic artery for more than a century.

Aside from its importance as a short-cut post road and an emigrant's trail, Zane's Trace became famous for its indirect part in a now historic controversy over internal improvements. Expenditure of federal funds had been authorized by Congress for the improvement of the Maysville-Lexington extension of the Trace, but President Andrew Jackson vetoed the bill in 1830 on the grounds that it was unsound policy for the government to spend such money for what he considered an improvement of purely local character. Perhaps the president did not understand the importance to the entire nation of a highway linking two sections of the country; perhaps he did not wish to set a precedent that would result in many other demands for similar finances. In any case, his policy has long since been reversed.

A motor trip today over Zane's Trace—or the roads which roughly follow the route of Colonel Zane's original trail through the wilderness—leaves the traveler with a definite feeling that he has passed over historic ground, even though few of the natural features of the country which the Trace-makers saw are still in existence.

The rivers and streams are still there, of course, although much altered in appearance. At Zanesville, there is Putnam Hill, which Zane mentioned, still frowning down upon the business section of the city which bears his name. And Lancaster's famous Standing Stone, a landmark frequently referred to from the earliest days, now dominates the landscape at the Fairfield

Travelers on Zane's Trace saw this building in Chillicothe, the Capitol of Ohio from 1803 to 1810 and from 1812 to 1816.

County Fairgrounds, although not visible from the present-day route of the Trace through the city. The rich farmlands of the Pickaway plains south of Circleville have changed but little from early days, and the rugged hills north of Chillicothe, from which the picture on the Great Seal of Ohio was modeled, remain today a source of interest to the traveler.

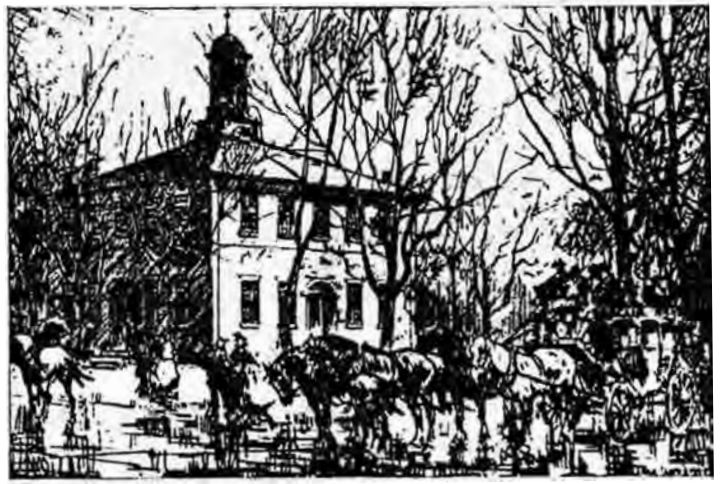
Instead of ferries, the rivers are crossed by modern, substantial bridges. From Wheeling to Bridgeport, the broad Ohio river is spanned by steel bridges leading from the island where Colonel Zane had his orchard to the West Virginia shore on one side and Ohio on the other. From Aberdeen, Ohio, to Maysville, Kentucky, the Ohio river is crossed by a beautiful suspension bridge, now toll free.

Across the Muskingum River, the modern Trace traveler is routed over the Sixth Street bridge from the business section of Zanesville to Putnam. The original ferry crossing was upstream several hundred yards—near the foot of Main Street. At Lancaster the traveler is hardly aware that he has crossed the narrow Hocking River by a concrete bridge just west of the center of the city. The Scioto crossing at Chillicothe is over an iron bridge leading from Zane's bottoms, which are still farming land, to the city proper.

At Chillicothe the motorist passes the present Courthouse which stands on the approximate site of the handsome old stone building which served as the State Capitol from 1803 to 1810 and from 1812 to 1816. This city, so named for the Indian word meaning town or settlement, was the only one which was established before the Trace was cut. Lancaster remains today a city of beautiful homes dating from the early nineteenth century, and Zanesville and Chillicothe likewise boast a number of architecturally fine residences dating from the same period.

Still standing along the Trace today is an occasional stone tavern where once the travel-weary stagecoach passengers found rest from their journeys across the sparsely settled frontier land. Most famous of these is the former Treber Inn, now a private residence in a fairly good state of preservation, located on Lick Branch Creek in Adams County five miles north of West Union.

Traveling from Wheeling to Maysville, one cannot escape the observation there have been numerous changes in the route between the Ohio river and Zanesville since the day of Ebenezer



State Capitol, 1810 to 1812, on site of present Courthouse in Zanesville, with stagecoach carrying passengers on Zane's Trace.

Zane. There have been a number of road-straightening projects in recent years, although the present National Highway (U. S. Route 40) follows in general the path of the pioneers. From Bridgeport, originally called Canton when it was laid out by Zane, the road leads through St. Clairsville (once called Newelstown) to Morristown, Fairview, Old Washington (formerly Beymerstown), Cambridge and Zanesville. New Concord and Norwich, two well known places on the road between Cambridge and Zanesville, were not laid out until the National Pike was built.

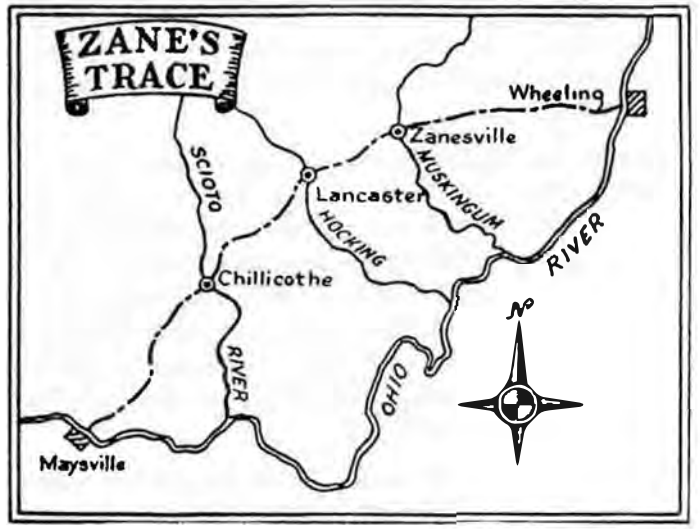
That section of the present-day Trace leading from Zanesville to Amanda, in Fairfield County, is a part of U. S. Route 22. Here again, the road-makers who followed Zane changed the route in many places. Somerset, founded in 1810, was not on the original Trace, although the main road soon came to pass through that Perry County village.

Guernsey County was organized in 1810 at Tingle's Crossed Keys tavern on Wheeling Avenue in Cambridge.

The Trace, or Maysville pike as this section of the highway has been best known for more than a century, acquires a new route number at Amanda, when it becomes State Route 159 until it reaches Chillicothe. Principal historic settlement between Lancaster and Chillicothe is Tarlton, once famous because of Nye's Tavern, reputed to have been a favorite stopping place of Henry Clay on his way from Lexington to the nation's Capital. The tavern is no longer standing, but the village retains a historic flavor by reason of its many old brick houses. South of Tarlton, the road passes through the famous Pickaway Plains, about which early travelers seldom failed to write. Sometimes they wrote in praise of the rich, fertile soil of the Plains. On other occasions, they complained of the mud which, in rainy weather, bogged down stagecoaches in that area.

From Chillicothe, the Trace follows the present U. S. Route 50 to a point just west of the pioneer town of Bainbridge, after which it swings southward and becomes State Route 41, passing through such communities as West Union, Jacksonville and Sinking Springs before reaching the Ohio River at Aberdeen, directly across from Maysville, Kentucky.

In Adams County, of which West Union is the county seat, the road follows creek beds through some of the most rugged country in the state. Tobacco fields appear on both sides of the highway, the farmers selling their crops at Maysville, which is reputed to be the nation's second largest tobacco market.



Map showing principal cities on Zane's Trace.

These are the eleven counties in Ohio through which the Trace passes: Belmont, Guernsey, Muskingum, Perry, Fairfield, Pickaway, Ross, Pike, Highland, Adams, and Brown. The 230-mile automobile trip from Wheeling to Maysville is enjoyable because the route is scenic and the road is reasonably good. Ebenezer Zane built for the future, and his faith in the future of his native Wheeling, the adjacent Ohio country, and the state of Kentucky to the south, proved to be well justified.

THE VISION OF EBENEZER ZANE

Against the angry Northern Sea
  My fathers fought with heavy oar;
Their Viking hearts, fearless and free,
  Quaked only at the wrath of Thor.
From sire to son we still impart
  The courage of the tribe of Zane,
And here like them in soul and heart
  I am a Viking and a Dane.

I hewed my home in Wheeling Town
  From lofty oak and hickory trees
Then poured a hail of bullets down
  On renegades and red Shawnees
And now I hear afar the creak
  Of wagons creeping slowly here
With homeless wanderers who seek
  A haven on some new frontier.

If Indian braves will never press
  Their feet on trails their fathers trod,
And eager millions will possess
  This western wonderwork of God;
If I rest on Ohio's shore
  And younger men will lead the quest,
Then I must open wide the door
  Into the riches of the West.

Where Licking and Muskingum keep
  Their tryst, my path will lead.
Where deep Hockhocking's valleys sleep
  And where Scioto's sunsets bleed,
Strong men through forests dark and cold
  Will march in hope from every race,
And when my sons die their sons will behold
  Bright city lights along Zane's Trace.

— N. F. S.

HOW TO MAKE A COUNTRY

The Ordinance of 1787: The First Step in Nation Building

By Harry Coles

Editor's note: The following was adapted from a speech given by Harry Coles, an Ohio State emeritus professor of history, in celebration of the bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance. Coles made the speech at Ohio University, the first public university established in the territory, which encompassed the area now occupied by the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota.

Thank you for your kind invitation to come to Ohio University to speak to you about the legacy of the Ordinance of 1787. When asked, I accepted with alacrity, because in this year of the bicentennial of the Constitution I am afraid the Ordinance will be pushed into the background. Our Constitution deserves all the attention it will get, but the Ordinance in many ways anticipated the Constitution both in providing a frame of government for states to be added to the Union and a bill of rights. Let me remind you, the Constitution had no bill of rights originally, and one was not added until 1791.

During the course of my remarks this evening I hope to demonstrate that the Ordinance of 1787 was a document expressing the high ideals of the American Revolution, and like the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, it proved adaptable to changing circumstances. If these generalizations are true, you might ask why the Ordinance is less well-known than the Constitution.

The answer is simple. The Ordinance provided the mechanism for nation building, the means whereby a loose confederacy of 13 states became a united nation of 50 states. The work of the Ordinance is largely done; the work of the Constitution goes back two hundred years and stretches into the indefinite future. The Constitution applies to a nation made, the Ordinance to a nation in the making.

But if the Constitution overshadows the Ordinance in our times, it was not always the case. In the eras before and after the Civil War, the Ordinance was often put on a par with the Constitution and sometimes above it. Speaking to an audience in 1837, Judge Timothy Walker of Ohio said: "The Ordinance of 1787 approaches as nearly to absolute perfection as anything to be found in the legislation of mankind. For after the experience of 50 years it would perhaps be impossible to alter without marring it." You might ask why this unusual reverence and this great respect. I do not think any historian or public figure would say such a thing today. He or she might

pay respect to the Ordinance, but would not describe it in such extravagant terms.

Let me suggest some of the reasons for the veneration of the Ordinance in former times. If you recall the history of the 19th century, you will remember that as the United States grew in numbers and expanded in area, there arose a sectional quarrel between the North and the South over the nature of the Union and the type of society that should prevail. Southern statesmen developed — and not only developed, but acted upon — the doctrines of nullification and secession. These doctrines were developed to defend the South's "peculiar institution" — slavery. Presently we shall examine the provisions of the Ordinance in some detail. Here, let me simply remind you that the Ordinance provided a mechanism for ►

achieving statehood and specifically said the states were forever to remain a part of the union.

Second, the Ordinance provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in the Northwest Territory. Thus the Ordinance laid the ax at both slavery and secession. Let me remind you also that when the Republican Party was formed in 1854, two of the planks in its platform were permanent union and no further extension of slavery into the territories. Thus this party, new in 1854 but rapidly growing in numbers and influence, reached back to 1787 for some of its basic principles. To many Americans of the 19th century, loyalty to party and even loyalty to country meant loyalty to the principles of the Northwest Ordinance.

But how did this document come into being? What were the circumstances giving rise to its birth? The American Revolution was conducted by the Second Continental Congress — what we would call a *de facto* government, for it had no legal underpinnings. The Continental Congress became the Congress of the Confederation when the Articles of Confederation were adopted in 1781.

One reason for the delay, one reason that a legal government was not instituted earlier, is that certain states had western land claims. Based on colonial charters issued by the British Crown, these claims covered the whole of the vast area north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Many were overlapping and conflicting. Seven states had such claims, but the six states that did not said they would not join any kind of union or confederation until the trans-Appalachian lands were ceded to the general government. By 1781, the states had indicated their intention of ceding their claims and the Articles were adopted; by 1784, Virginia, Connecticut and Massachusetts had completed their cessions in what we now call the Old Northwest. Thus the United States came into possession of a vast public domain, an area into which people could move and expand.

The question immediately arose: how was this immense natural resource to be administered? Would the people who moved west retain all their rights as American citizens or would they become second-class citizens? Would new states be equal to or subordinate to the original states? How would the land be surveyed and divided? Would the land be considered a source of revenue or would it be granted to actual settlers who would improve it?

In 1784, Thomas Jefferson, who was then a member of the Confederation Congress, drew up two reports having to do with these questions. One of Jefferson's reports of 1784 dealt with the survey and sale of land. In adopting a system of survey, Jefferson had two sets of precedents from which to choose — the Southern and the New England systems. In New England, they had what is called a town planting system, which called for surveys prior to entry and a rectangular system of land division. The southern states generally had what we call an indiscriminate system of surveys.

Jefferson, as a lawyer, knew about the endless litigation in some of the middle and southern states over conflicting and overlapping boundaries. Consequently, he opted for the rectangular system of survey; but he went further and tried to put the surveys on a sound scientific basis by introducing astronomical boundaries. I will not pursue the matter of surveys further than to emphasize that the system laid down by Jefferson, modified and refined in later years, was extended across the continental United States and into Alaska. Jefferson's report on the survey and sale of land was never adopted, but some of its essential features were incorporated into the Ordinance of 1785 and later laws having to do with the surveys.

A second report had to do with the type of government and the mechanism for forming new states. There were several drafts, revisions, and redrafts, but again Jefferson's report of 1784 formed the nucleus out of which the final Ordinance emerged. Jefferson's plan reflected the liberal thinking of the American Revolution. Like the British Empire itself, the American nation intended to grow and expand. But it intended to do this on principles different from the British colonial system. Jefferson's plan said that as the western areas filled up, the *people* would form such temporary governments as best suited them. There was no provision for the central government doing anything. When there were 20,000 people in a district, they could draw up a constitution that must be republican in form, provide for permanent union, and abolish slavery after 1800.

Jefferson's plan, be it noted, would have applied to all the area west of the Appalachian mountains, which was to be divided into 16 states whose boundaries would be parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude. In the area north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi he would have 10 states. Combining his knowledge of Indian dialects with classical languages, some of the names he gave these states were Sylvania, Assenisipia, Pelispia and Cherroneseus. These proposed names occasioned mirth at the time and have been the objects of derision ever since.

But remember the circumstances: Congress was meeting at the time in Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, but a small provincial town. Often Congress could not find a quorum to do business. Occupying a small, scantily furnished room, Jefferson was without books or reference works. It must have appealed to his wry sense of humor that in such circumstances he was drawing up plans for an empire of the future. But if fanciful plans for the new world could delight and amuse him, the old world with all its harsh realities beckoned. Soon after making his reports, Jefferson left Congress

and became our second minister to France, succeeding Benjamin Franklin. After striking out the anti-slavery clause, Congress adopted Jefferson's report but it was never put into effect.

Jefferson left Congress with troubles, and as time went on those troubles increased. Under the Articles of Confederation the Congress could lay requisitions on the states, but the states honored those requisitions as they pleased. And more often than not, they pleased not to pay. Efforts to amend the Articles so as to enable Congress to lay a tariff for revenue failed. An agricultural depression led in 1786 to an uprising in western Massachusetts known as Shays' Rebellion. This defiance of law and order was put down by state troops, but sober citizens began to wonder if the experiment in self-government would survive. Restless veterans of the American Revolution held various certificates of indebtedness which they wanted to exchange for western lands owned by the national government. Faced with increasing financial troubles and mounting social unrest, the one resource available to the government was the public domain. In 1786, James Monroe, who had succeeded Jefferson as chairman of the land committee, turned his attention to the problem and revised Jefferson's work along more practical lines. No definite action was taken, however, until Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, succeeded Monroe in 1787.

By this time, a change had taken place in the political climate. The emphasis shifted from liberty to order. This is not to say that the ideals of the Revolution had been repudiated. They were not. What the new conservatives wanted above all else was to make the experiment in self-government work. Perhaps we should call this change the "new pragmatism" rather than the "new conservatism."

At any rate, the provisions of the Ordinance as passed in 1787 were less democratic than before. Ultimately, the people were to achieve self-rule, but full control of their state governments was to be obtained only after passing through three stages of tutelage under the general government. During the first, or district stage, a governor and three judges were to be appointed by Congress. The governor and judges were to adopt such laws of any existing state as best suited conditions in the district. When the population of a district reached 5,000 free male inhabitants of full age, the settlers could elect a House of Representatives. During this second stage, the upper house, or Legislative Council, of five members was to be appointed by Congress from a list of 10 names nominated by the House. The General Assembly, consisting of the House of Representatives, the Legislative Council and the governor, had the power to make "laws in all cases for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles of this ordinance." The governor, in addition to being the commander-in-chief of the militia, had an absolute veto on all legislation.

During this second period, the House and the Council meeting in one room were to elect a delegate to Congress with a right of debating but not voting. A third territorial official was the secretary, to be appointed by Congress and whose duty was to keep records. Eventually, the secretary performed many, if not most, of the routine duties of government. For all office-holders there were property qualifications as follows: governor — freehold estate of 1,000 acres; secretary — freehold estate of 500 acres; judges — freehold estate of 500 acres; representatives — freehold estate of 200 acres.

In order to vote for members of the legislature, a citizen had to have a freehold of 50 acres. Whenever a territory had 60,000 free inhabitants, it could draw up a constitution and be admitted to the Union on a basis of equality with the original states, provided the constitution was republican in form and in conformity with the principles of the Ordinance.

And what were those principles? In discussing Jefferson's original draft, I should have mentioned that he made it clear that the Ordinance was to be considered a compact between the original 13 states and the people in the territories, and was forever to remain unalterable, unless by common consent. These same phrases were repeated in 1787. In the quarrel that developed before the Revolution, the Americans maintained that their rights under their colonial charters and their rights under the British constitution had been violated, that the government of England had altered basic laws without their consent. In dealing with their own colonial people, the Americans were intent on avoiding what they considered a breach of faith in their dealings with England.

The first articles of the covenant dealt with religious freedom: "No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments." Next came the article dealing with legal rights, such as trial by jury, benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and judicial proceedings according to the common law.

So far the authors of the Ordinance are confirming a claim to a long-standing inheritance. But when we come to the third article, it seems to me they broke new ground: "Reli- ►

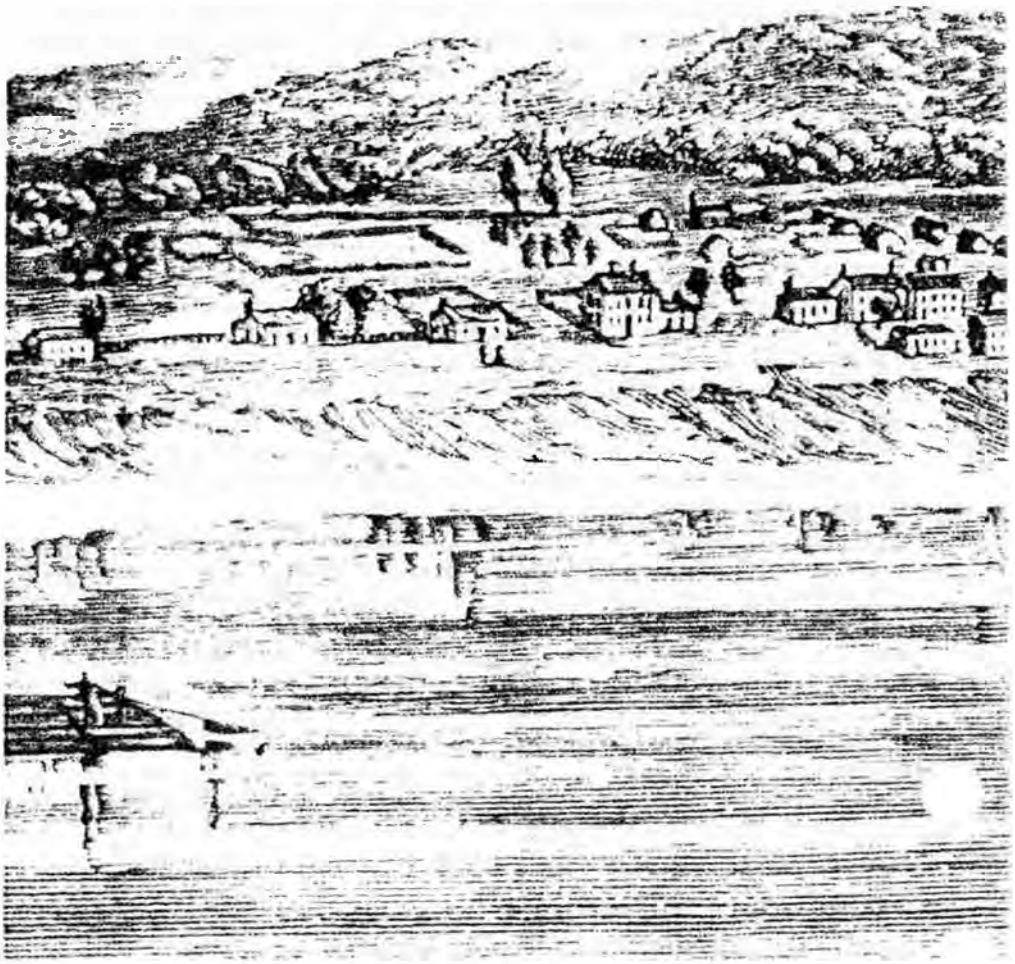
gion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." True, in other times and other countries, the sovereign had established schools of various sorts considered useful to the states, but I know of no country previously that had made the encouragement of education for the welfare and happiness of the people a part of its fundamental law.

The idea was not new in America. During the colonial period, the New England states, in administering their public lands, set aside certain lands for the use of schools and churches. What the authors of the land ordinances of this period did was to nationalize a New England practice. The Ordinance of 1785, which, let me remind you again, should always be studied in connection with that of 1787, provided that townships of 36 square miles should be surveyed with section 16 of every township reserved for schools. The history of public lands set aside for the use of schools and colleges is a long, interesting and complicated one and I cannot go into it in detail this evening. Fortunately another lecture in this series will be devoted entirely to this topic.

The same article having to do with education also tackles a minority problem that has troubled us throughout our history. With regard to the native Americans, Article III provided that "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent . . . but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them . . ." In the light of what happened later, some historians have dismissed these phrases as "pious platitudes." Perhaps so, but if the ideals both as to education and the Indians had been executed as conceived, can there be any doubt our history would have been a happier one?

Articles IV and V provided for permanent Union and the formation of new states as we have already noted. Finally we come to Article VI, which provided that slavery should not exist in the Northwest Territory. The anti-slavery clause had a checkered history, as I have already suggested. It was in Jefferson's original draft, then it was struck out, and here we have it again. If there was any debate over its final inclusion, it was not recorded. Our knowledge of the matter is scanty at best, but we know at least two things: it was added by Nathan Dane at the last moment, and it passed by unanimous consent of the states.

Historians, particularly some who lived through the civil rights movement of the 1960s, tend to discuss the anti-slavery clause in terms of its inadequacies. They point out, for example, that the Ordinance contained neither the mechanism for ending slavery nor punitive measures for failure to comply. Further, slavery continued to exist in parts of the Old Northwest as late as the 1840s. Why? One reason is that the Treaty of Paris of 1783 ending the American Revolution provided that the inhabitants of the trans-Appalachian area should continue to enjoy their property rights. Thus, some of the old French inhabitants, as well as Americans who moved there before 1787, were allowed to keep their slaves. In both Indiana and Illinois, more or less successful efforts were made to evade or to delay the operation of the anti-slavery clause. But if slavery continued to exist, it was in vestigial form and the important point, it seems to me, is that the Ordinance did



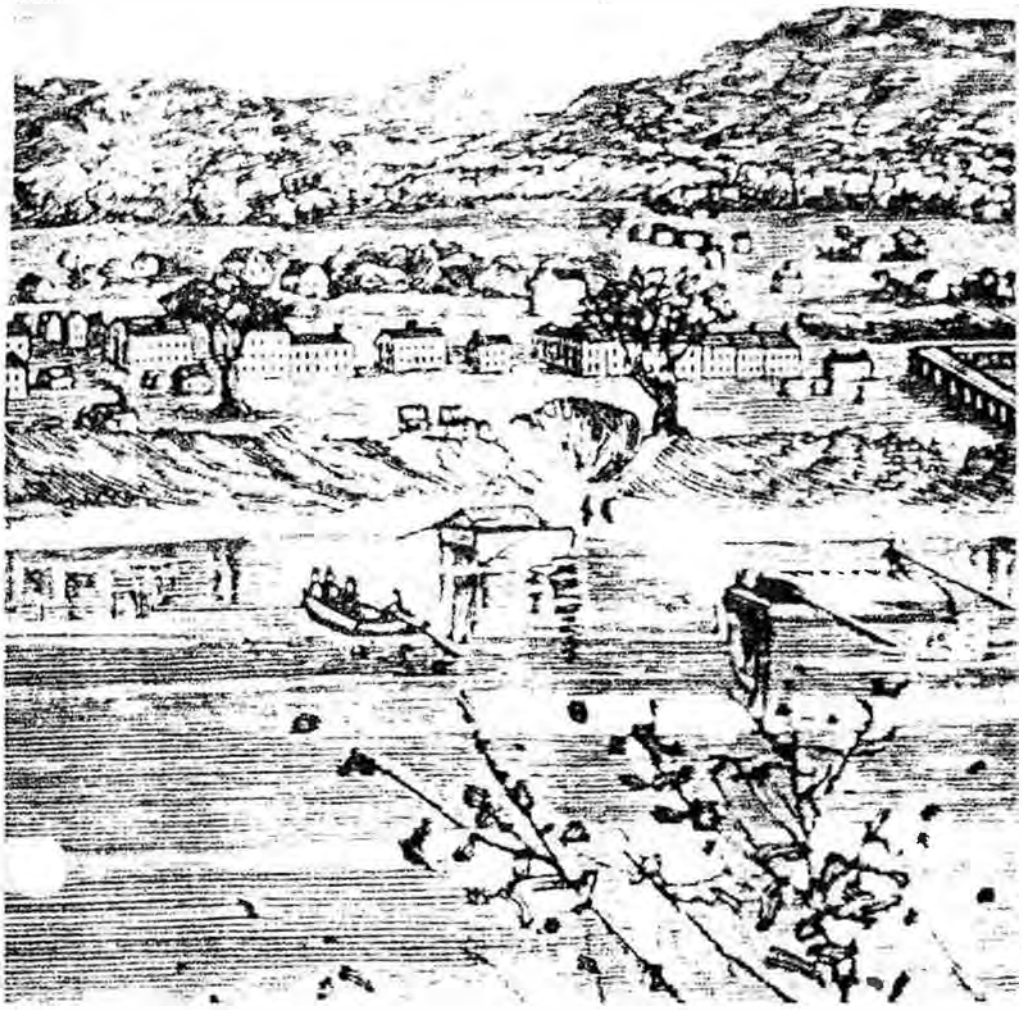
what it was supposed to do: prevent the spread of slavery into a large and growing area.

But you may say slavery did expand. It did indeed, but for causes that the Ordinance was powerless to prevent. With the invention of the cotton gin in the 1790s, the mechanization of cloth manufacturing, and the industrialization of New England and old England, the demand for cotton became well-nigh insatiable. Cotton culture spread across the Gulf South and marched steadily westward, taking slavery with it.

While the Congress of the Confederation was writing the Ordinance of 1787, a convention at Philadelphia was turning out an even more famous document. This convention finished its work, the ratifying conventions were held, and the new Constitution went into effect in 1789. One of the first things the new Congress did was to re-enact the Ordinance of 1787. President Washington appointed a veteran of the American Revolution, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, and settlers began to enter the state in large numbers.

Gov. St. Clair was by birth a Scotsman and a staunch conservative. He was perhaps moderately able, but certainly not popular with the people under his rule. Not anxious to lose his job, he opposed growing sentiment for statehood. The governor was so unpopular and so pro-Federalist in his politics that soon after becoming president, Jefferson removed him from office. With this obstruction out of the way, Ohio moved rapidly toward statehood and was admitted to the union in 1803. As one statesman of the day put it, Ohio was the first fruits of the Ordinance of 1787.

In the same year that Ohio became a state, the United States doubled the size of its territory by means of the Louisiana Purchase. The country now extended beyond the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. Other annexations were to follow: Florida in 1819, Texas in 1845, Oregon in 1846, New Mexico and California in 1848. The process of expansion into contiguous territories was completed with the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. All the treaties acquiring these territories provided that the inhabitants would eventually become citizens of the United States.



In administering this vast continental empire during the course of more than a hundred years, Congress passed an organic act for each of the territories following the outlines of the Ordinance of 1787. As we noted before, the Ordinance was adopted in a period when many leaders felt that democracy and liberty should be curbed in favor of order and discipline. During the course of the nineteenth century, there was a gradual relaxation and liberalization of policy. With one or two exceptions, Congress eliminated the first or district stage of territorial government. In other words, most of the territories had an elected legislature from the beginning. And after 1816 the upper, as well as the lower, house was elected, not appointed as before. Further evidence of liberalization in favor of democracy was the lowering or dropping of property qualifications for voting and office holding.

At the risk of repetition, let me emphasize in conclusion that the Ordinance attempted to achieve the ideals of the American Revolution by providing the stability and continuity necessary to make the experiment in nation building work. Although there are traces of conservative reaction, it was the product of the American Enlightenment with its emphasis on reason and science as opposed to history and tradition. In substituting eventual quality for perpetual subordination, the founding fathers repudiated the old colonialism and provided a new basis for growth and expansion.

Finally, the Ordinance is an example of good long-range planning. Mind you, I said good planning, not perfect. If ever we find statesmen who can lay down perfect plans, we will have entered another world. ■

Harry Coles is an emeritus professor of history at The Ohio State University.

Ordinance of the Northwest Territory (1787)

AN ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO

SECTION 1.

Be it ordained by the United States on Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purpose of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

SEC. 2.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among, their children and the descendants of a deceased child in equal parts, the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them; and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parent's share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate, her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her in whom the estate may be, (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers, shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery, saving, however to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, Saint Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

SEC. 3.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

SEC. 4.

There shall be appointed from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings every six months to the Secretary of Congress. There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court who shall have a common-law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

SEC. 5.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

SEC. 6.

The governor, for the time being, shall be commander- in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

SEC. 7.

Previous to the organization of the general assembly the governor shall appoint such magistrates, and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the general assembly shall be organized the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

SEC. 8.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

SEC. 9.

So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly: PROVIDED, That for every five hundred free male inhabitants there shall be one representative, and so on, progressively, with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: PROVIDED, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in feesimple, two hundred acres of land within the same: PROVIDED ALSO, That a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

SEC. 10.

The representatives thus elected shall serve for the term of two years; and in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township, for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

SEC. 11.

The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum; and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and when met they shall nominate ten persons, resident in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to Congress, five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress, one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term; and every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of the council, the said hose shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress, five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives shall have authority to make laws in all cases for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the general assembly when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

SEC. 12.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity, and of office; the governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled, in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

SEC. 13.

And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the Federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest.

SEC. 14.

It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact, between the original States and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent, to wit:

ARTICLE I

No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

ARTICLE II

The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writs of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings

according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts, or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud previously formed.

ARTICLE III

Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ARTICLE IV

The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted, or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes for paying their proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the districts, or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts, or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and Saint Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

ARTICLE V

There shall be formed in the said territory not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western State, in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the said territorial line and by the said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, the Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: PROVIDED, HOWEVER, And it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government:

PROVIDED, The constitution and government, so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles, and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

ARTICLE VI

There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: PROVIDED ALWAYS, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23rd of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby, repealed, and declared null and void.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of their sovereignty and independence the twelfth.

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The Zane Family of Wheeling, WV

Ebenezer, Andrew, Silas, Isaac, Jonathon and Betty, all children of Andrew Zane were among the first settlers in what is now Wheeling. In 1769, Ebenezer,who is considered the founder of Wheeling, arrived with his family. He married Elizabeth McColloch, the sister of Samuel McColloch. The children of Ebenezer b 1747 were:

Gretchen 1768
Catherine 1769 who married Absalom Martin
Ann 1771
Sarah 1773 m Jonh McIntire
Noah 1778
Rebecca 1776
Samuel 1784
John 1780
Hetty 1786 m Elijah Woods
Daniel 1792
Jesse 1790

Isaac, b1745 was captured by Indians at the age of 13 and never returned to his family, choosing instead to live his life with the tribe. He married Myeerah, daughter of Chief Tarhe of the Wyandot Indians.

Ebenezer 1771
Samuel 1773
William 1775
Isaac 1777
Nancy 1778
Elizabeth 1780
Sarah 1783
Catherine 1793

Betty, the heroine of Ft. Henry, married Ephraim McLaughlin

Sarah
Rebecca
Miriam
Mary
Hannah m Ebenezer Martin

and married Jacob Clark

Catherine
Ebenezer

nathon b1749 who married Hannah Mills, children were:

Isaac 1778
Eliza 1776

Catherine 1776
Cynthia 1793
Sally 1796
Hannah
Nancy
Asa 1780
Benjamin

Andrew b1751 married Elizabeth Margaret Mills, his children were:

Lydia
Hannah
Andrew

Silas b1745 m Rachel ? and Catherine McColloch, his children were:

William 1774
Elizabeth 1775
Silas 1781
Joel 1783

SECTION C

Biographical Sketches of Notable Persons

TARHE GRAND SACHEM

C.A. Buser

When dealing with a history largely oral there comes the moment when one must choose between fancy and probability. In the case of Tarhe, if one is to accept the eye-witness accounts of his contemporaries as truth, there is little need for fiction.

During the period 1789-1818 many famous Indians lived in the Old Northwest Territory. Such men as Tecumseh, Little Turtle, Captain Pipe, Black Hoof, Buckongehelas, Walk-in-the-Water and Round Head helped to shape the history of the region. But none was more distinguished than Tarhe, Grand Sachem of the Wyandot Nation.

There are literally dozens of names for the tribe known generally as Wyandot (its very tribal identity is debated by student osf Indian history); and the great chief himself is variously referred to as Tarhee, Tarkee, Takee, the Crane or - by the French - as Le Grue, Le Chef Grue, or Monsieur Grue.

Further complicating an already invfolved story, a well known and no doubt well-meaning novelist contributed his own romanticized version of tribal history and his version became widely accepted. Zane Grey, in his book Betty Zane, told of a young boy who was captured and raised by Indians and subsequently married the chief's daughter. Much of the story was true.

The boy Mr. Grey wrote about was Isaac Zane, a member of the famous Zane family of Wheeling that helped lay out the National road and for whom Zanesville, Ohio is named. Since Zane Grey himself was related to that family, it all bore the stamp of truth.

Later generations of Wyandots came to accept the story in its entirety. After all, everyone would love to have an Indian Princess as an ancestor, and who could ask for a better princess than Myeerah, daughter of the famous Tarhe, Grand Sachem of the Wyandots?

Grey wrote that Tarhe was born in the beautiful Muskoka Lake region of Ontario, married a beautiful French captive, fathered a beautiful daughter and named her Myeerah, the name carried by his own mother and grand-mother.

Actually Tarhe was born very near Detroit, the son of a woman of the Porcupine Clan. The name Myeerah, belonged to one of the Turtle clans. His grandmother may have been named Myeerah. It is certain that his

mother was not. (It does appear to be true that the young girl, Myeerah, was beautiful)

Tarhe's own name is intriguing. The English meaning is unknown. The name is not believed to be a clan property name and it apparently died with the man. It may have been given to him because of some particular deed or attribute of the man or boy. Old-time Wyandots said the name meant "at him" or "at the tree", or was perhaps the personification of "the tree". Tarhe's great height lends credence tot the latter theory.; He was six feet four inches tall in an era when few men reached six feet.

The name is now pronounce Tar-hee, but the earlier writers indicated that the accent was on the second syllable. (Pronounced more correctly, Tar-Hay)

Little is known of Tarhe's early years. It is thought he served in all of his nation's battles, possibly even the Braddock fight. (He would then have been no more thatn thirteen or fourteen years of age.) Some references are made to his going on war parties against the Cherokees as a young man. The first explicit mention of Tarhe as a warrior is in the account of Dunmore's war. Tarhe was conspicuous at the Battle of Point Pleasant where he served under the Wyandot Chief, Chiyawee, and under the great Shawnee Chief, Cornstalk.

The Shawnee, Puckenskinwa, father of Tecumseh, was killed at this battle on the Kanwha. Forty years later Tarhe was in the immediate vicinity during the Battle of the thames wehre Tecumseh himself was killed. The careers of Tarhe and Tecumseh ran somewhat parallel but there was often serious disagreement between the two men.

The Wyandots were prominent in the defeat of Braddock in 1755. A Huron/Wendat from Lorette, near Quebec, commanded all of the Indians in the battle. Although there was French support, not enough has been made of the fact that it was in truth an Indian victory.

If a youthful Tarhe actually did fight against Braddock it makes for additional conjecture. In that same battle the contingent of Ottawa warriors was led by Chief Pontiac. Since Tarhe supproted Pontiac at Detroit eight years later it would be interesting to know if the older man noticed the young Wyandot at that early date.

Ponticac depended heavily on the Wyandots in 1763. The chieftain whom Parkman refers to as "Takee" was almost certainly Tarhe. Another Wyandots, Teata, went along (with some reluctance), but his group of Wyandots never exhibited the enthusiasm of Tarhe's followers.

The victories at the Battle of Bloody Bridge, at Fort Sandusky, at Presque Isle and elsewhere could hardly have been won without the Wyandots' contribution. Parkman was surely correct when he sttaed that the

Wyandots were the premier warriors of the Midwest.

By 1763, when barely twenty years of age, Tarhe was regarded as a leading warrior, but he may not have become even a minor chief at that point.

The war chief carried the title of Ron-Tun-Dee, or Warpole. There is no record of Tarhe's ever having become Ron-Tun-Dee. Although regarded as a very brave man, Tarhe was not considered a truly great warrior by his own tribe. The Wyandots loved and respected him but they believed Round Head, Zhaus-Sho-Toh, Khun, Slitlog and others to be superior warriors. In a nation of warriors excellence was commonplace.

The Sachem was the titular head of the Wyandot nation and held the title of Sastaretsi. There was no royal family as such, among the Wyandots, but since the title of Sastaretsi was in actual practice often inherited, there developed something of a hereditary line of chiefs. If Sastaretsi died without a suitable heir, the tribal council selected a successor.

Such an occasion arose in 1788 when Too-Dah-Reh-Zhooh died. he was better known by his many other names, such as Half-King, Pomoacan, Dunquad, Daunghuat and Petawontakas. (Care should be taken to avoid confusion with the Oneida Half-King and thee Seneca Half-King and with another Wyandot of lesser stature named Dunquad who was chief some years later.)

Tarhe was chosen to be the successor of Too-Doh-Reh-Zhooh. There is no record of any other member of the Porcupine Clan having become Sastaretsi up until that time. Sachems had always come from the Deer, Bear and Turtle clans. But Tarhe, a Porcupine, because of his unique abilities was selected by general concensus to guide the Wyandots in those desperate days. Although he assumed the duties and powers of Sachem it is not believed that Tarhe ever assumed the title Sastaretsi.

He had already gained the respect of the various tribes and of the French, British and Americans long before this time. In 1786 Tarhe and his son-in-law, Isaac Zane, were listed among the witnesses to a United States Treaty signing with the Shawnee. Both before and after this time, Wyandots were often invited to sit in on negotiations between the Government and various tribes.

Isaac Zane had come a long way since his capture at the age of nine. The tribe treated him vdery well and Tarhe took him into his own household to live. When he reached manhood, Isaac married Myeerah, Tarhe's only daughter.

Isaac visited his Zane relatives many times. However he always returned to the Wyandots. Isaac acted as interpreter on many important occasions. He served under Anthony Wayne for a time and, upon his return, was

welcomed into the Wyandot lodges where he was respected for having done his duty as he saw it.

A bit of mystery surrounds Tarhe's first wife, the mother of Myeerah. It is generally believed that she was French of the Durante family. Some say she was captured as a child, raised by the Wyandots and subsequently married to Tarhe. One stgory claims that she was recognized by her blood father while at Detroit and that Tahre took her away from the area and never permitted he to bo back, fearing that he would lose her. This would appear to be romantic fiction. She may very well have been French and a Durante, but almost certainly she was not a captive. The Wyandots were on excellent terms with the French during those years and such a seizure would surely have been unthinkable.

Whatever the truth of the matter, Myeerah's mother is rarely, if ever, mentioned again in writing. She may have died at an early age, or Tarhe may have been divorced from her. He married at least once more, and that marriage too d in mystery. He probably married Sally Sharpe. They had one son who was severely disabled and died at the age of twenty-five.

Sally Sharpe subsequently married another Wyandot, Between-the-Logs. She moved west with the tribe in 1843 and at some point married a man named Frost. She is most generally referred to as Sally Frost. She was said to have been captured at Greenbriar, Virginia in 1782, at the age of one or two. Another version says that Sally Frost was actually Caty Sage, who was captured in Elk Creek Valley, Viriginia and died in Kansas at the age of sixty-six after having been married three times, etc. Caty's brother is said to have visited her in Kansas in 1848, but she reportedly refused to return to Virginia with him. She said to him, "Though you may think my lot has been a hard one- and certainly it has- I have no reason to complain. I have always been treated tenderly in the way I have been raised." It was generally considered that the Wyandots treated prisoners more kindly thatn did other tribes.)

Another story of an Indian captive that concerns Tarhe tells something of his personal character.

Peggy Fleming, a white girl, was brought as a captive to Upper Sandusky, a Wyandot town, by a small group of Cherokees in 1789. The party camped about one-quarter mile from Tarhe's village. Word soon spread that there was a white captive nearby.

A white man named Whitaker who had himself been captured and raised by the Wyandots went to visit Peggy. Whitaker had by this time achieved a position of influence in the tribe. He had frequently gone on trading missions to Pittsburgh where he had often stayed at a tavern owned by Peggy's father. Whitaker recognized the girl immediately and she begged him to help her escape.

He returned to Upper Sandusky and told Tarhe the prisoneer was his sister. Tarhe believed Whitaker and went to the Cherokee camp asking for Peggy's release. The Cherokees refused. Tarhe then offered to purchase the girl and again they refused his request. he was determined to secure her release and returned to the Wyandot town, telling Whitaiker to raise a fair sum of money or a quantity of silver brooches. Early the next morning Tarhe and eight or ten other warriors returned to the Cherokee camp and found them asleep. Peggy was naked and painted black, an indication that she was to be killed. Tarhe cut her bonds, secured her clothing and then awakened the Cherokees. He told them Peggy was now his prisoner and tossed the money and brooches at their feet. The Wyandots took Peggy to Upper Sandusky and delivered her to Whitaker. After a few days she was escorted back to Pittsburgh. Whetern Tarhe ever learned Peggy was not related to Whitaker is not know.

Among the close friends of Tarhe was the greaqt Mingo chief, Logan. They lived near each other for a time and the Mingo felt very close to the Wyandot nation. It is believed the Wyandots buried this famous chief when he died.

Tarhe lived at various locations in Ohio including present day Lancaster, Columbus, Solomonstown, Zanesfield, Upper Sandusky and Cranetown (named for him).

Tarhe helped negotiate many treaties during the time he was Grand Sachem. Throught this time he attempted to hold his tribe together, to serve the other tribes in the area and to relinquish each parcel of land only after the pressures had become unbearable.

He fought against Clark, Boupuet, Mamar, St. Clair and Wayne. Although Tarhe was eventually defeated, both his enemies and his friends knew he was dedicated first and last to the welfare of his people.

It is believed the last battle Tarhe fought in personally was in 1794 at Fallen Timbers. That action was a brief but devastating one for the allied tribes. The only tribe to fight with distinction that day was the Wyandots. They were pinned down near the river and lost heavily. The Wyandot chiefs were decimated. Of the thirteen chiefs who entered the battle, only Tarhe survived and he was severely wounded in the right elbow.

Most Indians realized their cause was lost after Fallen Timbers. The British had failed to supprot tem and the tribes could assemble no force capable of opposing Wyane. When he summoned the tribes to Greenville, almost all of the Indian leaders in the Midwest responded. A notable exception was Tecumseh.

In July 1795, nearly a year after Fallen Timbers, a great assemblage of Indians met with Wayne at Greenville, Ohio. The acknowledged leader of

the Indians was Tarhe, and a principal interpreter was Isaac Zane.

During the lengthy negotiations Tarhe made several speeches. The following example of his eloquence gives some measure of his intellect:

"Elder brother! Now listen to us. The great Spirit above has appointed this day for us to meet together. I shall now deliver my sentiments to you, the fifteen fires. I view you, lying in a gore of blood. It is me, an Indian who caused it. Our tomahawk yet remains in your head- the English gave it to me to place there.

"Elder brother! I now take the tomahawk out of your head; but with so much care you shall not feel pain or injury. I will now tear a big tree up by the roots and throw the hatchet into the cavity which they occupy; where the waters will wash it away to where it can never be found. Now, I have buried the hatchet, and I expect that none of my color will ever again find it out. I now tell you that none in particular can justly claim this ground- it belongs in common to all. No earthly being has an exclusive right to it." (Spoken on a blue belt.)

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"Brothers, listen! I now wipe your body clean from all blood with this white, soft linen (a white wampum) and I do it with as much tenderness as I am capable of. You have appointed this house for the chiefs of the different tribes to sit in with you, and none but good words ought to be spoken in it. I have swept it clean- nothing impure remains in it.

"Brothers, listen! We are both placed on this ground. I now wipe the tears from your eyes and open your ears. I see your throat is so stopped that you are nearly suffocated- I now open your throat and make it quite clean, that whatever the Great Spirit may think proper for you to swallow may go down without any obstruction. I see also that your heart is not in its true situation- I now place it in its proper position, that anything you may hear from us, your brothers, may descend directly to it, and what you shall say may come with truth and ease from it.

"Brother! I clear away the hovering clouds that we may enjoy a clear, bright day; and easily see the sun which the Great Spirit has bestowed on us, to rise and set continually." (A white string.)

"Brother! Listen to us Indians, who now speak to you. The bones which lie scattered of your ancient warriors who fell in defense of the present

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"Brother! You have proposed to us to build our good work on the treaty of Muskingum. That treaty I have always considered as formed upon the fairest principles. You took pity on us Indians- you did not do as our fathers, the British, agreed you should. You might by that agreement, have taken all our lands; but you pitied us, and let us hold part. I always looked upon that treaty to be binding upon the United States and us Indians.

"Brother! Listen to us Indians- I told you just now that we were upon business of the greatest moment. I now conclude the great work we have been employed in, and with this, I cover the whole earth, that it may appear white, and shine all over the world. I hope the Great Spirit will have pity on us, and make this work lasting." (Four large mixed belts presented.)

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"Brother! We are all sensible that when you struck the boundary, at that time, it ran from Tuscarawas to a little way below Loramie, where the fort stood, which was destroyed in 1752. I understand the line has since been moved a little toward us. Be strong, brothers, and fulfill your engagements.

"Brothers, listen! I have told you that I speak from my heart- you see the speeches I have delivered. Peruse them and see whether or not I have

spoken with sincerity. This is all your brothers of the different nations present have this day to say to you."

Chief Tarhe died in November 1816, at Cranetown near Upper Sandusky Ohio. The funeral for this 76 year old man was the largest ever known for an Indian Chief. Among the Indians coming from great distances was Red Jacket, the noted leader and orator from Buffalo New York. The mourners were without paint or decorations of any kind and their countenance showed the deepest sorrow.

TARHE

Mrs. Thelma Marsh
Upper Sandusky Ohio

Chief Tarhe, according to the engraving on his memorial marker was "A distinguished Wyandot Chief and Loyal American."

There was probably no other individual who did so much to bring peace between the Indian people and the whites of Ohio as Chief Tarhe, the Crane. He was the leading spirit at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, and used his influence with all the tribes to keep the terms of the treaty

Born in the vicinity of Detroit, Mich. in 1742, he was a member of the Porcupine clan of the tribe, known also as the descendants of the Petuns, or "Tobacco Nation," of the Huron Confederacy.

William Walker says "When in his prime he must have been a lithe, wiry man, capable of great endurance as he marched at the rear of his warriors through the whole of General Harrison's campaign into Canada. He was an active participant in the Battle of the Thames, although 72 years old. He was a man of mild aspect and gentle in his manners when in repose, but when acting publicly exhibited great energy, and when addressing his people there was always something that to my youthful ear sounded like command. he never drank spirits, never used tobacco in any form."

"His Indian name is supposed to mean crane (tall fowl) but this is a mistake. Crane is merely a sobriquet bestowed upon him by the French, thus: Le Chef Grue, or Monsieur Grue, the Chief Crane or Mr. Crane. The nickname was bestowed upon him because of his height and slender build. He had no English name but the Americans adopted the French nickname. Tarhe when critically analyzed means "at him" or "at the tree"...

Chief Tarhe married the daughter of Chevalier Durante, a French Canadian. They had a daughter named Myerrah (White Crane). Myerrah became the wife of Isaac Zane who was the brother of Ebenezer Zane and the historically well-known Betty Zane. Isaac was the founder of Zanesville, Ohio, in Logan County. Indian villages at this time were not permanent but moved as food and game became scarce. Most of the Wyandot Indian villages or camps were within the Sandusky River watershed. Before the Greenville Treaty, Tarhe was living at Solomanstown, believed to be in Logan County. He afterwards took his camp to the banks of the Hockhocking River at what is now Lancaster, Ohio.

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Address of Tarhe, Grand Sachem of the Wyandot Nation to the assemblage at the Treaty of Greenville

July 22,1795
Isaac Zane, interpreter

Editor's note: Tarhe was the first chief to sign the Treaty of Greenville as chief of the tribe that headed the Northwest Confederacy. As keepers of the Camulet, the Wyandots were entrusted with the Indian copy of the treaty.

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SIMON KENTON

by David A. Simmons

A frontiersman like Kenton undoubtedly used many different firearms in an active life. This one is credited as Kenton's and was obtained by an early-twentieth-century newspaper publisher and gun collector. While the lock appears to be of the late eighteenth century, the stock shows evidence of rebuilding in the early nineteenth. *Huntington Museum of Art*

POPULAR LITERATURE AND motion pictures have created an image of the heroic frontiersman, wise in the ways of the Indian, who was an expert marksman, skilled hand-to-hand fighter, and adept tracker. Such an idealized individual of almost supernatural physical and mental capabilities must be the figment of an imaginative mind. Actually, early settlers in what became Kentucky and Ohio fervently believed that such a man truly existed, and that his name was Simon Kenton. Many of Kenton's exploits almost sound like the work of a Hollywood scriptwriter, but most are corroborated by the statements of a host of his contemporaries.

Even the beginnings of Kenton's life on the frontier smack of a novelist's pen. In 1771, at the age of sixteen, while living with his tenant-farmer parents in northern Virginia, he was involved in a vicious fight with a rival youth who had won the hand of his sweetheart. Wrongly fearing that he had killed his opponent, Kenton fled to the West, changing his name to Simon Butler and joining a group of hunters and trappers headed into the Ohio Valley. From these men and others, he learned the woodland skills that combined with his natural quickness and keen sense of observation to eventually make him one of the most renowned hunters and scouts in the Ohio Valley. Kenton was physically well equipped for the role, measuring over six feet in height and weighing a solid 190 pounds.

Among those who befriended him in these pre-Revolutionary days was the famous renegade Simon Girty. Despite Girty's villainous reputation, Kenton always considered him one of his best friends, defending him from abusive attacks and labeling him a "good man" (See TIMELINE, June • July 1985).

Kenton's abilities as a guide were highly respected and sought after by settlers moving into the Ohio Valley. Because of his skill as a tracker and marksman, he often was asked to supply various settlements with wild game during the long destitution of the winter months. Especially noteworthy was his service to Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in the bitter winter of 1776-77, a year, in Kenton's words, when "the Indians became very harsh on us." Under the constant surveillance of the Indians, Kenton could only leave the fort during darkness, to spend the cold winter night in the woods. Afraid to risk an open campfire, he built a small fire and crouched over the glowing embers, covering himself with a blanket until morning. The next day, after distancing himself from settlement, he began his hunt. Any deer that he shot were immediately butchered and the skin fashioned into a backpack

David R. Barker, Photographer

Portrait of Simon Kenton
by Louis M. Morgan. Oil on canvas,
29 3/4 x 25 inches, 1836.
Ohio Historical Society

With the passage of his rifle-toting days, Kenton reportedly always walked with a long staff. Painter Louis Morgan, commissioned to produce the frontiersman's portrait for a biographical series of "distinguished Americans," found the venerable pioneer before a fireplace where he liked to sit and reminisce, occasionally stirring the embers with his staff.

to carry the meat home to Harrodsburg. These hunts were repeated frequently, since they remained the primary source of food during that winter.

Initially, many of Kenton's activities centered in Kentucky, and by the end of the Revolution he had established "Kenton's Station" near modern Maysville. But his knowledge of the land also extended through what became the Northwest Territory.

Such a wide geographical familiarity made Kenton valuable as a scout or "spy" for military expeditions, and he led a remarkable number through the wilderness over a forty-year period. His first was in 1774 when, at age nineteen, he helped guide Angus McDonald and Lord Dunmore in campaigns against the Ohio Indians (See TIMELINE, August • September 1987). He joined the famous expeditions of another of his Kentucky friends, George Rogers Clark, into the Illinois Country in 1778 and into the Ohio Country in 1780 and 1782. General Anthony Wayne asked him to organize a company of spies for his expedition in the 1790s and designated him "advance pilot of the army," but illness forced Kenton to miss the decisive Battle of Fallen Timbers. Even as late as the War of 1812 Kenton was still held in high esteem and participated in General Harrison's invasion of Upper Canada. Due to his familiarity with Tecumseh, Kenton was called on to try to identify the famous chieftain's body after the Battle of the Thames.

It was, in fact, Kenton's knowledge of the Indians that guaranteed his immortality with the frontier populace. Examples abound of his amazing alertness, lightning reflexes, and extraordinary understanding of Indian ways. Despite his repeated involvement in the violent and retaliatory frontier fashion of dealing with native Americans, he seems

to have maintained a healthy respect and caution whenever meeting with Indians. Numerous pioneer reminiscences reveal the deference shown to Kenton's opinion and advice when Indians were concerned and to his skills in combating them.

One distinctive display of his abilities occurred when he organized a party to rescue a wagoner captured in northern Kentucky by Indians in the fall of 1790. The pursuit crossed the Ohio River and continued for several days to a point where the trail divided into three courses. After studying each, Kenton, without explaining, chose the middle route. This was followed for several miles to where the trail split into two branches. Again Kenton studied and this time led the party along the one on the right. By the end of the day, they came upon the Indians with their captive and after a brief exchange of shots, obtained the freedom of the wagoner. Even though faced with five different trails, Kenton had chosen the right one in each case. While pure luck should probably not be ruled out, Kenton's contemporaries preferred to see it as an exceptional feat of woodcraft.

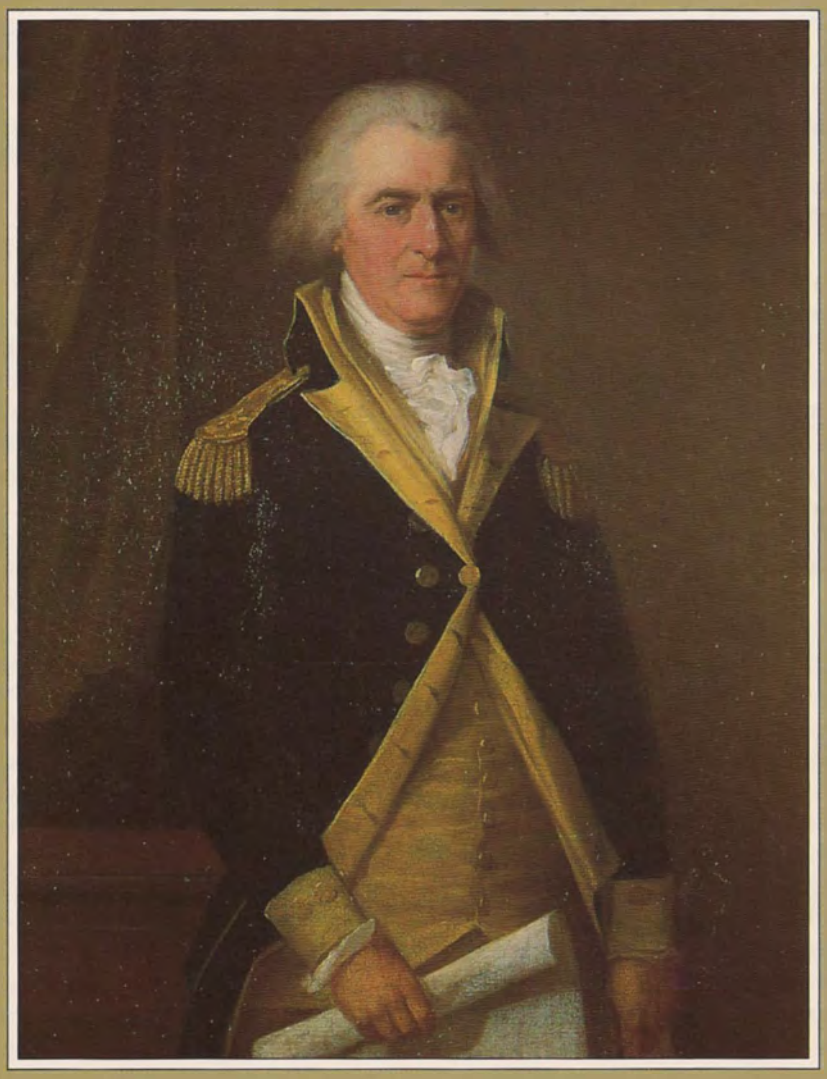
Unquestionably, Kenton's greatest exploit came with his Indian captivity and escape in 1778-79. As Kenton's only real biographer, Edna Kenton, stated in 1930, it was "an adventure which for its momentous succession of perils, transitions and hairbreath escapes has not its parallel in all the adventurous annals of Western border history." While in southern Ohio on a spying mission, he was captured and accused by the Indians of horse-stealing. An extraordinary series of torments, insults, and indignities followed, the first of which involved being bound tightly and strapped to the back of a wild horse that was driven through tree branches and underbrush. Painfully bound at night, he repeatedly was forced to run the gauntlet as his captors traveled to various villages. His upper arm was broken and left unset for days. Sentenced to burn at the stake, his execution was delayed, first by Simon Girty, then by the Mingo chief, Logan. Finally ransomed by an emissary from British Detroit, Kenton spent the winter as a prisoner there, but eventually escaped, arriving back in Kentucky in July 1779. Simply surviving such an unbelievable ten-month ordeal would have ensured his perpetual fame. But having gained valuable intelligence of the land, at his first opportunity, Kenton again returned to the Ohio Country as part of a military expedition.

Kenton's real passion in life was not, as might be expected, fighting Indians, but the ownership of land. Once he learned that his teenage fight had not resulted in his opponent's death, he dropped his pseudonym of Butler and under his real name proceeded to claim vast tracts of land. One of his friends labeled Kenton "land-crazy," and for good reason. He took advantage of his position in the vanguard of settlement, marking off the best lands for himself, and his ultimate holdings were estimated to be almost a half-million acres in Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Unlike restless frontiersmen such as Daniel Boone, who chafed at the approach of civilization, Kenton owned a substantial estate in northern Kentucky by the 1790s and lived in a fine brick house, surrounded by children, slaves, horses, and tenant farmers. This he gave up from a fear that all the good land had been taken in Kentucky and because of the irresistible lure of "the fertile Territory Northwest of the Ohio that was ripe for speculation." In 1799 he removed to the Mad River north of Springfield to take up land that he had observed during his captivity and numerous military campaigns. Here he settled into Ohio society and in 1804 was appointed a brigadier general in the state militia. Although he soon resigned his commission in order to investigate lands in the new Louisiana Territory across the Mississippi, he was thereafter known as "General."

But Kenton was never to recreate the landed wealth and status that he had enjoyed in Kentucky. A variety of business enterprises failed, and he was on several occasions put in debtors' prison; for a time Kenton and his family occupied the Champaign County jail in Urbana, Ohio. He spent his last days in poverty on a small farm near Zanesfield, in Logan County, where he died in 1836.

Still, as long as Kenton was alive, his knowledge and especially his phenomenal memory assured him of a certain status in frontier society. One of the last trips he ever made was to testify in Kentucky, where the Virginia land survey system of metes and bounds led to interminable legal wrangling over conflicting land claims. Kenton's uncanny faculty for recalling the exact lay of the land was invaluable in settling such disputes, and although he remained illiterate throughout his life, he was frequently called as an expert witness in these proceedings.

James Finley, one of Kenton's late-eighteenth-century contemporaries, described the frontiersman as "the master spirit of the time in that region of the country. He was looked upon by all as the great defender of the inhabitants . . . ready to fly at a moment's warning to places of danger for the protection of the scattered families in the wilderness." But Kenton was more than just a local protector, for his knowledge of the Old Northwest made possible the success of many military expeditions. His importance to the conquest and settlement of the Northwest was recognized by his fellow pioneers, and Kenton should be remembered today in company with popular recollections of frontiersmen like Boone and Davy Crockett. □



ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

by J. Martin West

THE OFFICERS AND MEN of the First American Regiment snapped to attention in preparation for rendering military honors. These troops were garrisoned at Fort Harmar, at the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, on the edge of the Northwest Territory. Their ceremony marked the arrival on July 9, 1788, of the first territorial gover-

nor, Arthur St. Clair of Pennsylvania. Seconding the military salutes and music of the troops were a loud clap of thunder and heavy downpour of rain that began just as the governor entered the fort. The symbolism of the event was all too revealing of St. Clair's career—there always seemed to be a cloud over the man, his success was inevitably dampened.

St. Clair was a prominent and controversial figure in the American Revolution and the early republic. Throughout his life he experienced wide swings of fortune; amassing great wealth and suffering abject poverty, achieving high military and civil honors and being degraded and humiliated by defeat and failure. As governor of the Northwest Territory and for a time the ranking officer of the United States Army, St. Clair was at the center of events in Ohio during the turbulent decade and a half before statehood.

Born in the north of Scotland in either 1734 or 1736, St. Clair's early life is obscure. He is known to have been in the American colonies by 1757, the same year he purchased an ensign's commission in the newly raised Sixtieth Regiment of Foot, the Royal Americans. Two years later he saw conspicuous service against the French in Canada.

After the British victory in the French and Indian War, St. Clair was assigned to Boston, where he courted and married Phoebe Bayard, a daughter of a prominent Massachusetts family. She brought to the marriage a fortune that permitted his resignation from the army, but four years later, in 1766, he was appointed civil caretaker of the decommissioned Fort Ligonier in southwestern Pennsylvania. By accepting grants of public land for military service and purchasing additional tracts, he eventually created a grand estate in the Ligonier Valley, becoming the largest resident landowner west of the Alleghenies. Simultaneously his political star began to rise, through connections with the Penn family and appointment to numerous positions in county government. On the eve of the Revolution, St. Clair was the leading citizen of western Pennsylvania.

The early years of the Revolution were dotted with successes that reached their apex with St. Clair's appointment early in 1777 as a major general in the new Continental Army. Having served successively as a militia officer, a colonel of an infantry battalion, and as brigadier general, St. Clair had played key roles in the first invasion of Canada and in the defeat of the Crown's forces at Trenton and Princeton.

In the spring of 1777, after a brief staff appointment, St. Clair was given a coveted independent command: Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. Ticonderoga's overblown reputation as a key to the northern defenses bore little relationship to its deteriorated condition and understrength garrison. The arrival of a British army that took command of nearby heights compelled St. Clair's decision to abandon the place in early July 1777. Given the alternatives of a hopeless defense or a chance of saving his army to fight again, St. Clair probably made the correct choice; but it brought down upon him the most bitter denunciation and acrid criticism imaginable. Although he was acquitted by a military court, Congress never again entrusted St. Clair with a major command. He spent the remainder of the war recruiting and training new troops and absorbed in personal affairs that were complicated by his wife's decline into mental illness.

Wartime devastation and St. Clair's long absence resulted in the neglect of his Ligonier properties and the erosion of his personal fortune. Having moved to Philadelphia, he began to rebuild his political career, being elected vendue-master (public auctioneer) and member of the Council of Censors, and then to Congress, where he took his seat in February 1786.

One year later he achieved the supreme moment of his political life. His election in February 1787 as president of Congress, the highest office in the land under the Articles of Confederation, indicates the regard accorded St. Clair by his peers. Unfortunately for St. Clair, in the same month, Congress authorized the convention that would ultimately form a new Constitution and a different sort of legislative body. With the adoption of the Northwest Ordinance on July 13, an executive for the newly created territory was needed. St. Clair was evidently not above using his considerable influence to guarantee passage of the Ordinance in exchange for this position, and so Congress appointed its own

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Preceding page:
General Arthur St. Clair by Jean Pierre Henri Elouis. Oil on canvas, 18 x 14 inches, circa 1795.
Fort Ligonier Association

Painted in Philadelphia during one of his many absences from the Northwest Territory, this portrait depicts Governor St. Clair at around age sixty. He is shown in the uniform of the federal army's highest ranking officer, which from 1791 to 1792 he had been. The dark blue wool coat is faced and edged with buff, the color designated for general officers and their staff. The rise-and-fall cape, or collar, and cutaway style of the front are indicative of 1790s military fashion.

Elouis immigrated to the United States just prior to the French Revolution. He established a studio in Philadelphia in 1793, where he gave drawing lessons and painted miniatures. In 1799 he left the United States and eventually returned to his native France, where he died in 1843.

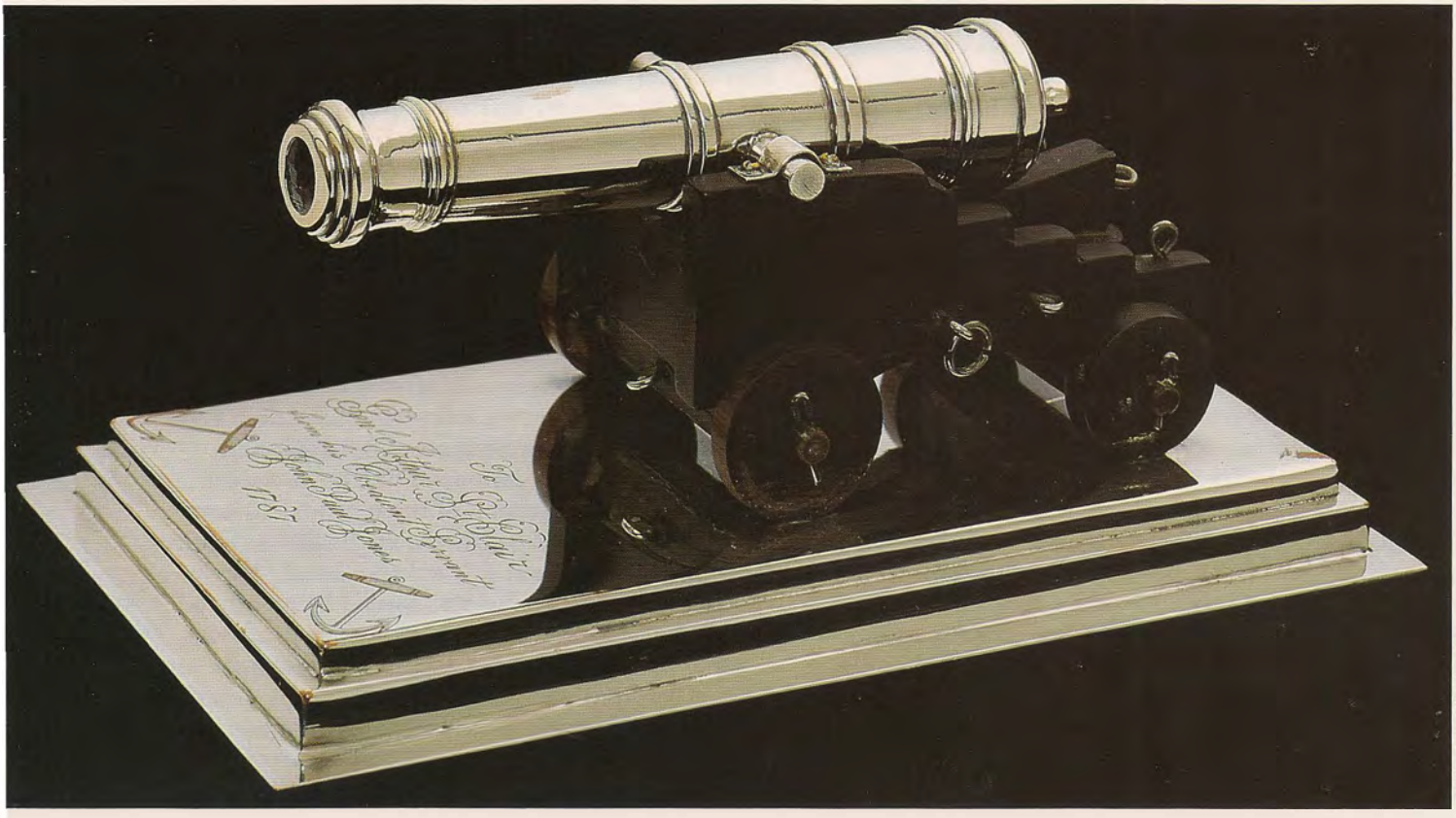
president on October 4, 1787, as the first "Governor of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio."

What kind of man was the new governor? Contemporaries described him as a figure "of imposing appearance," tall and graceful with blue eyes and graying chestnut hair; they regarded him as intelligent and well educated, "of great uprightness of purpose, as well as suavity of manners." Emotionally mature and stable, St. Clair was devoted to his wife and seven children. In his early fifties, he suffered from severe gout that often made it impossible for him to mount a horse and sometimes confined him to bed for weeks; the disease frequently rendered him unfit for the responsibilities and hardships he faced in the Northwest Territory. In an era not known for temperance, St. Clair was considered a hard drinker.

Philosophically, St. Clair was an ultra-conservative, a political orientation not unusual for a military man of his privileged background. Ardently nationalistic, like many veterans, St. Clair undertook an assignment that required him to represent the interests of the national government and to exercise jurisdiction over some of the most fervent believers in the primacy of local sovereignty and democracy in the nation. It was an era of acute political extremes and violence; Federalists like St. Clair were certain that the Antifederalist views of Thomas Jefferson and his followers would lead to mob rule, overthrowing the fragile Constitution and established order. For their part many of the Jeffersonians were convinced that their Federalist opponents lusted after wealth and power, intending to destroy democracy and ensure a government dominated by monied interests and the propertied class. Both were extreme views and, clearly, compromise was not the order of the day.

If St. Clair is to be believed, his governorship "was, in large measure, forced upon me" by his friends in Congress. From the start he was dissatisfied with both the job and its $1,500 annual salary, and he longed for another position. After ratification of the new Constitution in 1788, St. Clair's name reportedly was freely canvassed—surely with his encouragement—for vice-president. While nothing came of that, in 1790 he sought the Pennsylvania governorship, but his identification with the sparsely settled western part of the state and the albatross of Ticonderoga were such political liabilities that he was crushed by his opponent, 27,188 to 2,869. In 1792 St. Clair entertained thoughts of election to the U.S. Congress from Ligonier, but he became convinced that a race in that Jeffersonian

St. Clair formed a lifelong friendship with fellow Scottish immigrant and American naval hero John Paul Jones. The commodore found in St. Clair a strong supporter of the American navy and shipbuilding industry and claimed that no one had more respect for the governor's "character, talents and greatness of mind" than he. In 1787 Jones presented St. Clair with a mounted set of miniature silver naval cannons, presumably in recognition of his election as president of Congress.
Fort Ligonier Association



David R. Barker, Photographer

stronghold would be hopeless.

In the meantime he was obliged to give attention to his duties as governor of the Northwest Territory. According to the Ordinance, he shared all governmental powers with three congressionally appointed judges and a territorial secretary. The arrangement was an uneasy one, but steady progress was made in appointing minor officials, establishing a legal framework, organizing counties, and raising a militia, all crucial in St. Clair's determination to the establishment of federal authority. The most pressing problem was the ever-increasing friction between Indians and newcomers. While St. Clair made strenuous efforts from 1788 to 1790 to peacefully negotiate these differences, all were to prove fruitless.

St. Clair is probably most remembered for his 1791 campaign against the Indians. President Washington had named him, in addition to his civil duties, major general and head of a recently expanded federal force to be directed against the Algonquin peoples of what are today Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, the senior post in the army. The previous year a military expedition had been defeated near Kekionga (modern Fort Wayne, Indiana). Now St. Clair's army, an understrength amalgamation of regulars, six-month levies, and militia, was hurried into a second attempt, but they too proved utterly incapable of matching their skilled opponents. Ill-trained and poorly equipped, the fourteen-hundred-man force was virtually annihilated on the Ohio headwaters of the Wabash River on November 4, 1791.

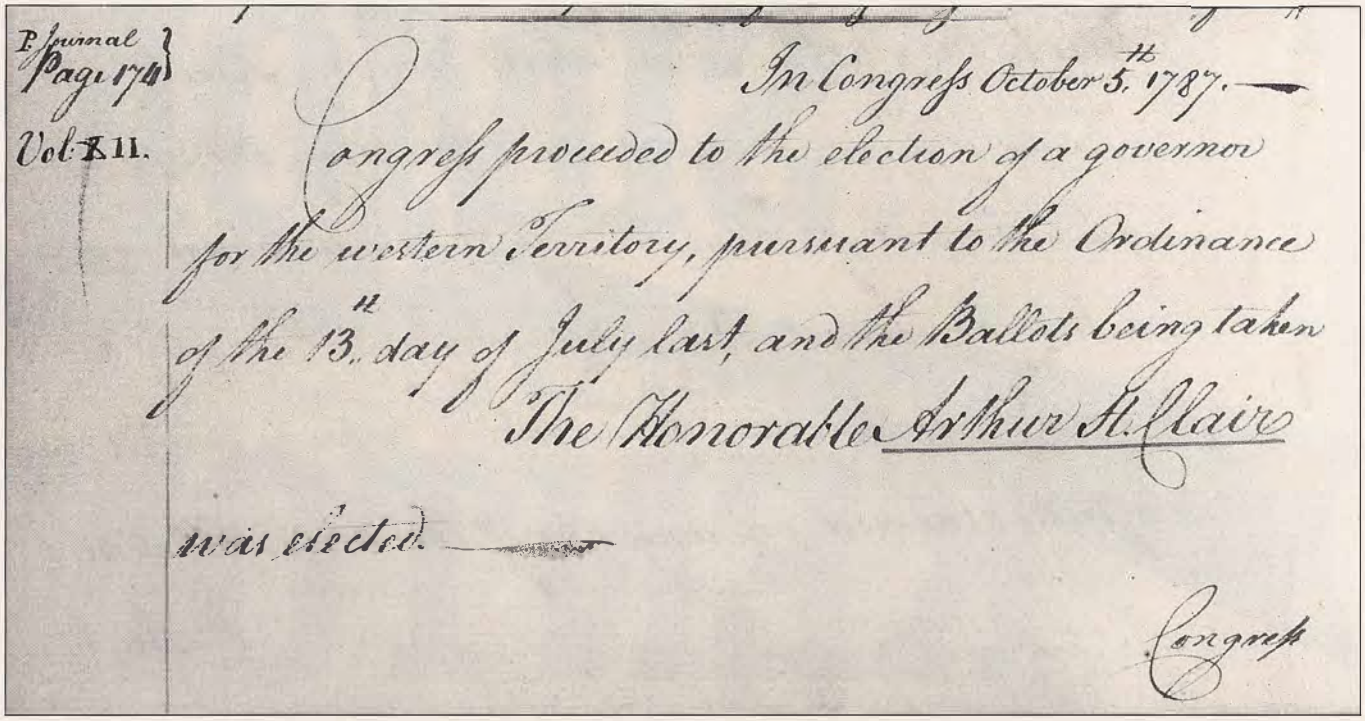
St. Clair's losses—the best estimate is 650 killed, 260 wounded, and some 60 to 200 civilians killed—were heavier than those of any single battle in the Revolution. Failures on the part of the War Department and the chief quartermaster were partly to blame for the disaster. Factionalism among his subordinates and a lack of sufficient mounted troops were further handicaps. But the army's wretched intelligence and tactical failures were the responsibility of its commander, as was the prebattle decision to split off the best regiment to pursue deserters and safeguard supplies. Surprised at dawn in an unfortified camp, the militia panicked; the resulting confusion neutralized St. Clair's potential superiority in disciplined firepower and tactical cohesion. The best, perhaps, that may be said of St. Clair was his own incredibly brave conduct under fire. At the start of the engagement, a musket ball grazed the side of his face, clipping a lock of his hair. Eight more balls pierced his coat and hat, and several of his horses were killed. Ignoring gout and danger, he led bayonet attacks to drive back the enemy, and he headed the troops that broke through the Indian lines, allowing the remnant of his army to escape.

St. Clair's health was so impaired that he should have declined command initially. His sense of duty—as well as the lure of extra military salary and the potential political dividends of military success—blinded his judgment. Now outgeneraled by his Indian opponents, he requested a military trial to clear his name. Instead, due to a lack of senior officers qualified to sit on a court martial, he was required to resign his commission, and then inquiry was made by a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives (the first such congressional action). Because he apparently had discharged his duties to the best of his ability and because of his unquestioned personal valor, St. Clair was exonerated. The administration even permitted him to retain his governorship, but he was never again given command of so much as a corporal's guard. Twenty-one years after the fact, he wrote a defense of his Indian campaign, bitterly conscious of his having presided over the worst defeat ever of any European or American army at the hands of the Indians. St. Clair's record has never been broken.

His military reputation in tatters, St. Clair spent seventeen months in Philadelphia justifying his actions and battling ill health. Only then did he reluctantly return to the Northwest Territory, confiding to Alexander Hamilton a few months later that he felt like "a poor devil banished to another planet."

It was an embittered, defensive St. Clair who began a descent into a political fire storm from which he would never recover. Many of the governor's problems were rooted in his unbending attitude and especially in his frequent absences from the Northwest Territory. In his first ten years as governor, St. Clair was back East over half the time, ostensibly always on official business, but also attending to personal matters as well as exploring other political options.

St. Clair certainly was an unpopular figure to many Ohio Country residents. Increasingly, it became evident to most that the governor would delay the statehood process for as long as possible. He feared, in the absence of strong national sovereignty, the destructive influence of Spanish and British intrigues originating in Louisiana and Canada. As early as January 1790, he devised a strategy—the subdivision of the territory to keep population densities below the Ordinance's requirement for advancement toward statehood. But by 1798 the governor's hand was forced by an official census that permitted the evolutionary process to proceed to the next phase, locally elected representation. Petulant and self-pitying, St. Clair quickly found himself unable to cooperate with a truculent new legislature and was liberal in the use of his veto, particularly to block establishment of new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In Congress October 5th 1787.

Congress proceeded to the election of a governor for the western Territory, pursuant to the Ordinance of the 13th day of July last, and the Ballots being taken

The Honorable Arthur St. Clair

was elected.

Congress

National Archives

counties and to control the tax apparatus.

The election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800 was the beginning of the end for St. Clair. The territory was finally divided, although along lines not to the governor's liking, with the western section, the new Indiana Territory, to be administered at Vincennes and the eastern section from Chillicothe (which St. Clair believed was a hotbed of Jeffersonian radicalism). Under able leaders, including Thomas Worthington and Edward Tiffin, the push for Ohio statehood became irrevocable, and St. Clair now realized that his days as governor were indeed numbered. He unwisely sought and received permission to speak unofficially to the first Ohio Constitutional Convention in Chillicothe. Over his vehement objections, this body had been authorized by the Enabling Act in 1802, federal legislation that St. Clair characterized as "in truth a nullity" since he believed Congress had no authority over domestic activities in his "colonial state." Confrontational instead of conciliatory, inflammatory rather than mollifying, a frustrated St. Clair handed his opponents the sword on which he would be impaled. Jefferson had hesitated to remove him out of respect for his age and Revolutionary service, but the open flaunting of the president's policies by an appointee could not be tolerated. Acting through Secretary of State James Madison, Jefferson dismissed Arthur St. Clair on November 22, 1802.

A weary, broken St. Clair returned to Ligonier, financially ruined and compelled to sell his estate and other properties. Impoverished, he found himself responsible for an ailing wife and his widowed daughter and her six children. His son Daniel provided him with a cabin near Ligonier from which he operated a tavern, barely eking out a living. He attempted to document his government's financial indebtedness to him from his military campaigns but was mostly unsuccessful, receiving only small pensions from Pennsylvania and the U.S. Congress near the end of his life. In 1818, in his early 80s, he was critically injured in a wagon accident and died several days later.

How should history evaluate Arthur St. Clair? By general consensus he was a talented and fearless soldier who performed ably in the Revolution as a subordinate. His independent command decision at Fort Ticonderoga, while bitterly criticized, was the best choice in an impossible situation, requiring considerable moral courage. Tragically, by 1791 he was no longer up to the demands of command and led his forces to disaster. In the political realm, St. Clair proved himself a success both as a local officeholder and national legislator, but his record as an executive is at best mixed. Inflexible and aristocratic, St. Clair was often at odds and out of touch with the strong democratic movement in frontier Ohio. Although openly contemptuous of the processes of self-government provided for in the Ordinance, his initial implementation of the territorial system in the Northwest Territory was an unqualified success, setting the stage for the creation of five new states. Amidst the controversy that still surrounds his name, that accomplishment is memorable. □

LEWIS WETZEL: WARFARE TACTICS ON THE FRONTIER

By George Carroll
(From *West Virginia History*, Vol. 50, Pp. 79- 90)

Military involvement in Vietnam reacquainted the American public with guerrilla or partisan styles of warfare. In 1976, one scholar labeled the 1782 massacre of Christian Delaware Indians on the Muskingum River as the "My Lai of the American Revolution," and characterized George Rogers Clark as acquiescing to his 1782 Miami Valley campaign because "sadistic frontiersmen . . . made it impolitic to oppose such action." This author concluded, "The White man's pathological hatred of the Indian would not allow him to distinguish friendlies from enemies."1 Certainly this interpretation is in agreement with that of James Buchanan, Esq., who in 1824 was His Majesty's Consul for the State of New York, and defended the British use of Indian allies during the War of 1812.

> **So overpowering and awful is the solemn gloom of an American forest, that to an European, under ordinary circumstances, the effect is a strange sensation of loneliness and inability to move in any direction without being immediately bewildered; . . . it is no reflection upon the high character of our troops to observe, . . . they are neither calculated by their habits nor discipline to contend with the riflemen of Kentucky. . . . If the mode of warfare of the Indians was ferocious, that of the enemy with whom we had to contend was equally so. Every man who has served in that country can attest the fact, that the Kentuckians invariably carry the tomahawk and scalping knife into action, and are dexterous in using them.2**

Irregulars or detached units of regular troops operating with loose central control are frequently prone to actions described as atrocities. This is especially true when communications are poor, no stabilizing "front" can be distinguished, and small-group surprise raids predominate. It was within such an atmosphere of constant isolation and emergency that Lewis Wetzel and others, such as Samuel Brady and Simon Kenton, became military operatives representing the Euro-American settlements of the Upper Ohio Valley during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The task of an adequate scale of judgment for assessing the homicidal actions of Lewis Wetzel is difficult to establish apart from the frontier society he inhabited. By the time of his first captivity by the Indians in 1778, he and his brother Jacob were barely teenagers.3 In effecting their escape, Lewis demonstrated some of his precocious aptitude for border warfare.

The two boys were captured while tending corn at the Wetzel clearing. They had been given their father's rifle and powder horn and sent to the cornfield while the rest of the family remained under threat of Indian attack at Fort Shepherd in Ohio County. The Indians surrounded the two boys and fired upon Lewis. A ball grazed his breastbone, but caused no serious damage. His captors soon brought the bleeding under control by binding powdered and chewed sassafras leaves to the wound. With the eldest weakened, the two boys were hustled toward the Ohio River. On the second night, after crossing the river, Lewis and Jacob succeeded in slipping their bonds. They took their father's rifle and each secured a pair of moccasins before creeping away. Lewis had sufficient presence of mind and dexterity to retrieve the powder horn and shot pouch before fleeing the camp. The Indians conducted a search which the boys evaded, several times hiding within earshot of their captors. Upon returning to the Ohio River, they constructed a crude raft and made their crossing. It was after arriving safely at Fort Henry, Wheeling, that Lewis supposedly made his public vow to make Indian hunting his vocation.4

Several members of the Wetzel family were the victims of an ambush in 1786 when they were attacked while in a canoe. Lewis refused surrender demands and managed to get the canoe out of rifle range, but not before his father John Wetzel, Sr. and brother George were mortally wounded. His brother Martin suffered a flesh wound in the shoulder which did not prove serious. Clarence B. Allman, Lewis Wetzel's most devoted and recent biographer, contends that from this date, as concerned their forays against the Indians, "he and his brothers now hunted for sport and vengeance."5

Judgment of Wetzel by his contemporaries is revealing. General Josiah Harmer was outraged when in 1791 Wetzel shot and seriously wounded QueŸshaw-say, a Delaware chief and peace emissary to Fort Harmer, Marietta, Ohio. On July 9, 1791, Harmer wrote Secretary of War Henry Knox concerning the incident.

> **This George Washington is a trusty confidential Indian and was wounded by some vagabond whites from the neighborhood of Wheeling. He is well known to Governor St. Clair, and I believe there is not a better Indian to be found. The villain who wounded him I am informed is one Lewis Whitzell. I am in hopes to be able to apprehend him and deliver him to Judge Parsons to be delt with; but would much rather have it in my power to order such vagabonds hanged up immediately without trial.6**

Harmer was doubly incensed when the citizens of nearby Mingo Bottom, whom he was presumably to protect, refused to allow Wetzel to be arrested and tried. When Captain Kingsbury arrived with a company of soldiers, settlers who had gathered for a rifle match became so threatening that Kingsbury retreated to avoid a general engagement between army and citizenry.7

Not all opinion was as favorable toward the Wetzels as was that of the riflemen of Mingo Bottom. Hamilton Karr, grandson and namesake of the Hamilton Karr who was a contemporary of the Wetzels, wrote in 1867 to Lyman C. Draper that he had been told emphatically several times that his grandfather "ever avoided the Wetzels not because they were not brave men but because they were rash men subjecting themselves and their companions to danger and difficulty."8 R. L. Stevenson communicated to Draper in 1863 that the Indian war veterans whom he knew during his youth,

> **. . . would say but little about what many of them thought was murder as they were mostly all of them Calvinistic Presbyterians. . . . But they would tell about Brady. They would all agree that he was brave but was not fit to command but was of a solitary turn like Wetzel who never made truce or peace but would kill and scalp an Indian for pastime [*sic*] when he had the opportunity.9**

Samuel Brady (1756Ÿ1800) was somewhat older than Lewis Wetzel, but their characters and abilities seemed to be matched in conducting daring and ruthless assaults upon the Indians. J. C. Plumer recounted to Draper a story he had from his father concerning Brady. During a cabin raising a Scottish immigrant with a broadsword declared that Brady's reputation with a rifle far outstripped his actual accomplishments. With no more rationale than the immigrant's dare to match scalps taken, both men attacked an Indian camp on the headwaters of Yellow Creek in eastern Ohio. Brady reappeared alone with a scalp in hand. Plumer concluded that "many men in the neighborhood did not relish the trick, and but seldom would Brady speak of it."10

For pure audaciousness, no joint exploit of Brady and Wetzel has more appeal than their dressing as Indians and boldly walking into the Sandusky villages for the purpose of ascertaining Indian strength. After some time the ruse was detected, but both scouts succeeded in fighting their way out and avoided pursuit.11 The matter of Indian costume addresses issues of both tactics and appearance as regarded scouts generally, and Lewis Wetzel particularly. When the aged George Roush, who served under Captain Samuel Brady at Pittsburgh from 1777-80, made application for a military pension in 1855, he described the following dress requirements:

> **Declarant states that in obedience to the order of his said Captain Brady, he proceeded to tan his thighs and legs with wild cherry and white oak bark and to equip himself after the following manner, to wit, a breechcloth, leather leggins, moccasins, and a cap made out of a raccoon skin, with the feathers of a hawk, painted red, fastened to the top of the cap. Declarant was then painted after the manner of an Indian warrior. His face was painted red, with three black stripes across his cheeks, which was a signification of war. Declarant states that Captain Brady's company was about sixtyŸfour in number, all painted after the manner aforesaid.12**

That such Indian dress became generally utilized is attested by Joseph Doddridge in his 1824 accounting of early settler social practices in western Virginia and Pennsylvania.

> **In the latter years of the Indian war our young men became more enamored of the Indian**

dress throughout, with the exception of the matchcoat. The drawers were laid aside and the leggins made longer, so as to reach the upper part of the thigh. The Indian breech clout was adopted. This was a piece of linen or cloth nearly a yard long, and eight or nine inches broad. This passed under the belt before and behind leaving the ends for flaps hanging before and behind over the belt. These flaps were sometimes ornamented with some coarse kind of embroidery work. To the same belts which secured the breech clout, strings which supported the long leggins were attached. When this belt, as was often the case, passed over the hunting shirt the upper part of the thighs and part of the hips were naked.

The young warrior instead of being abashed by this nudity was proud of his Indian like dress. In some few instances I have seen them go into places of public worship in this dress. Their appearance, however, did not add much to the devotion of the young ladies.13

Descriptions of Lewis Wetzel's appearance are similar to other accounts of contemporary white and Indian scouts. Christian Cackler recalled, "Lewis Wetzel was a man about six feet and well porportioned rather raw boned & active dark and swarthy. I have seen Indians since I thought was about as white as he was."14 Lewis Bonnett remembered him as possessing very muscular arms and shoulders with well-proportioned legs and smallish feet, braided hair carefully knotted around his shoulders which reached nearly to his calves when combed out, extremely piercing black eyes, swarthy complexion much pitted by smallpox, and pierced ears from which he wore silk tassels and other ornaments.15

Wetzel's legendary athletic prowess was attested by Caleb Wells. When attacking an Indian camp with Wetzel, Wells began chasing an Indian only to be outrun by Lewis. By the time Wells reached the stricken Indian, Wetzel had tomahawked and scalped him. Since Wells had considered himself swift of foot, he later challenged Wetzel to a race of one hundred yards. Not only did Lewis easily win the race, but he discharged his rifle at the beginning, reloaded as he ran, and fired again as he reached the finish line.16

Foremost among Wetzel's skills was his ability to load a rifle while running at top speed to avoid capture. His adroitness was illustrated by his escape after Colonel Crawford's defeat on the Sandusky in 1782. Thomas Mills implored Wetzel to return and assist him in retrieving a valuable horse. Although Wetzel warned Mills that the Indians might lay in ambush for just such an attempt, he persisted. Lewis accompanied him only to see his worst fears realized. Mills was shot while reaching for the animal's tether rope. After shooting one of the assailants, Wetzel outdistanced all but four of the most determined Indians. They laid aside their guns, assuming the white man would never succeed in reloading. Lewis accomplished this near impossible feat three times, and shot as many of his pursuers. The fourth gave up the chase with the exclamation, "No catch [th]at man, gun always loaded."17

Wetzel's ability to reload on the run is an exploit not even claimed by Samuel Brady. A rifle, its barrel interior configured with raised and spiraling lands, presents a more difficult task of normal reloading than does a smoothbore weapon. This is especially so after an initial discharge due to the heavy residue of black powder. Present-day students of material culture are perplexed at providing a probable explanation for this phenomenon so generally attributed to Wetzel. One possibility is, when making his famous races against death, Wetzel loaded with unpatched balls of considerably less size than the caliber of his rifle. He might then have seated the powder and ball by bouncing the butt of his rifle on the ground as he ran, as well as striking the breech area of the barrel with the heel of an open palm. This would avoid the cumbersome use of a ramrod. An enlarged touchhole could also allow the flintlock pan to have become self-priming.

Jacob Wetzel was credited with a quick reload during the late 1780s when Indians attacked a cabin occupied by himself and his sister Susannah. After Jacob cleverly used a wooden head decoy to attract the first shot, the Indians rushed the cabin on the assumption that he had been killed. "Jacob shot one dead on his approach--and Susan quickly shut and bolted the door. Jacob soon had powder in his gun and roling two naked bullets down, and fired out a porthole just as the Indian was in the act of making off--the two balls taking effect in the ndian's back which soon brought him to the ground." This quick reload employing "two naked bullets" clearly suggests no use of a ramrod or the normal greased patch.18

Jeptha R. Simms published an account of Nathaniel Foster, born about 1767 in Vermont, who became a much-noted hunter in the vicinity of Herkimer, New York, by the early 1790s. Foster is credited with an ability to fire six shots per minute with his rifle.

> **While hunting he usually wore three rifle balls between the fingers of each hand, and invariably thus in the left hand, if he had that number of balls with him. He had a large bony hand, and having worn such jewels a long time, they had made for themselves cavities in the flesh which concealed them almost as effectively as they were, when hid in the moulds in which they were run from the fused lead. The superficial observer would not have noticed them.**
>
> **Foster's quick shooting was in the days of flintlocks. He had a powder flask with a charger, and with six well pared balls between his fingers, he would pour in the powder, drop in a ball that would just roll down without a patch, and striking the breech of his gun with his hand, it was primed; soon after which the bullet was speeding to its mark. These rapid discharges could only be made at a short distance, as to make long shots it became necessary to patch the balls and drive them down with a rod, the latter being dispensed with the former case.19**

Such patches were usually linen but sometimes buckskin, and were saturated with bear or other animal grease. They provided a much needed lubricant to overcome load resistance from the black powder residue and the spiral of the rifling.

Lewis accomplished his reloads while being chased at full speed over unfamiliar wilderness terrain. If he used unpatched balls of lesser caliber, he could not have relied upon the patched ball accuracy of normal rifle shooting. It would have been necessary to allow his adversaries to get within near reach of himself, and fire at what must often have been point-blank range. During the Thomas Mills's horse episode, one of the three Indians succeeded in grasping Wetzel's barrel before he could shoot. Joseph Doddridge quotes Wetzel as saying that "he and the Indian had a severe wring" before he forced the muzzle to the Indian's breast and fired.20

After the loss of his father and brother during the 1786 canoe ambush, Lewis made his home for some time with Lewis Bonnett's father, then living on Wheeling Creek. From this base he crossed the Ohio River as opportunity presented itself.

> **He discovered an Indian camp near the west bank of the Ohio river. The fire was still burning and Wetzel concealed himself nearby waiting with patience the return of an Indian. At last there were three that made their appearance. One was an old Indian carrying his rifle and a deer skin. The other two were young lads, probably his sons, carrying their bows and arrows. Lewis waited with anxiety until they got safely around their fire. The old Indian put his gun in the back of the camp. Lewis concluded that the proper time had come, and he took deliberate aim at the old Indian with his old "kill devil." As soon as he pulled the trigger he rushed on the young Indians calling aloud to come on, signifying that there were more with him. The young Indians took to flight. Lewis pursued and soon had his gun reloaded. He could easily outrun the young braves and coming up close to them he shot one through the body. The young Indian sank to the ground the blood coming from his mouth. Lewis soon dispatched him with his tomahawk, and made his way back to the camp, scalped the one there and made his way for home. Upon his return he was asked what luck he had, his reply was I treed three but got only two of them, at the same time pulling the two scalps from his shot pouch.21**

No action could illustrate any better what a skillful and remorseless terrorist Lewis Wetzel had become by his mid-twenties.

In mounting guerrilla-style forays against the Indians, Wetzel was certainly not unique to the

era. Other successful transŸAppalachian scouts adopted not only the dress but the tactics of their adversaries. A "spoils of war" motive often accompanied the public service aspect of a venture. The famous rifleman Tim Murphy, who in the 1777 Saratoga Campaign picked off British General Simon Frazer on specific orders from Daniel Morgan, was described two years later by Lieutenant Colonel Adam Hubley. Hubley, commander of the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment in General John Sullivan's 1779 expedition against the Iroquois, noted in his campaign journal on September 13, "this Murphy is a noted marksman, and a great soldier, he having killed and scalped that morning, in the town they were at, an Indian, which makes the three and thirtieth man of the enemy he has killed, as is well known to his officers, [in] this war."22 S. E. Fouts likewise described his brother Daniel Fouts's activities during the border war period to Lyman C. Draper in the following terms: "my Br. never had much to say about his Indian hunts. When persons would speak of Indian signs he would inquire the particulars and soon be missing some times for 2 or 3 days[.] [A]fter returning he would be seen with some Indian trinkets which would lead persons to suspect where he had been."23

The spoils from a fortunate raid could be of considerable value by frontier standards. Indian trinkets were frequently silver, and often became a circulating medium of exchange in frontier fur trading communities, which were chronically short of hard cash. James Hollister recounted to Draper an episode wherein after pursuing Indians to the vicinity of present St. Clairsville, Ohio, it was determined that further chase was futile because the Indians were all mounted. So abruptly had the Indians departed that members of the expedition "found an Indian head dress hanging on a bush at the spring[,] which when Wetzel saw [it] he declared that it was on the head of the Indian that caught him and it was given to Lewis Wetzel[.] [I]t contained 60 silver brooches about the size of an American quarter of a dollar I have seen 5 or six of these brooches which he give to his brothers children. . . ."24 When interviewed in 1855, John Morgan remembered that his brother Levi had killed an Indian in October 1778 on Booth's Creek in presentŸday West Virginia. The Indian "had an elegant gun, considerable ammunition, a tomahawk and scalping knife, and between forty and fifty dollars in gold and silver, which fell to Levi, according to the custom of the times, which he divided with father."25

So accustomed to adventure and spoils were some elements of both the Indian and white populations, that they mutually resisted efforts at peace settlements. The same Levi Morgan indignantly reported to Virginia Governor Robert Brooke on November 14, 1795:

> **. . . when I was on my way home from escorting prisoners I met with two men who live in Mason County in the State of Kentucky on the Ohio near a place called Limestone, who told me they were on their way to the Indian Country to steal horses from the Indians. I strove to dissuade them from it telling them we and the Indians had now made peace and a conduct like they were about to engage in might irritate the Indians and likely provoke them to distress some hapless families, on the frontier . . . before I left that country . . . I saw one of the same two men who then told me they had taken off three of the Indians valuable horses, two of which they got into Kentucky and sold them, and they had pushed up river until the alarm (if any should be made) was over.26**

Noted Mohawk leader Joseph Brant wrote similarly in 1788 from the other side of the conflict. Peace negotiations which he was attempting to foster were jeopardized due to ". . . the Shawnees, Miamis, and Kickapoos, who are now so addicted to horseŸstealing that it will be a difficult task to break them of it, as that kind of business is their best harvest, will of declare for war, . . ."27 Thus, the opposition between peace and war factions was evidenced in both Indian and EuroŸAmerican societies during the early national period in the Old Northwest.

The overall effectiveness of the guerrilla tactics in achieving desirable military outcomes has

been questioned. In characterizing the Indian's "primitive war," which the scout frontiersmen are acknowledged to have learned, H. H. TurneyŸHigh has commented upon the extreme individualism which, ". . . overdeveloped the war honor concept almost everywhere. It is valuable always, but the practice of war for its own sake rather than the achievement of some socioŸeconomic end is militarism. The Americas were, paradoxically, continents rife with militarism but with little war."28

While acknowledging General Washington's preference for a professionalized standing army, George Athan Billias nevertheless credits the American Revolution's citizen-soldiers with successfully employing thin skirmish lines, the aimed fire of rifles versus volley firing, and the general utility of fast, light infantry which "demonstrated more military flexibility in employing swiftly moving forces for hit and run tactics."29

In his recent study of Indian military tactics, Leroy V. Eid has concluded that Indian military maneuvers of the late eighteenth century were effective. Indian tactics depended upon the existence of partisan raids as normal social procedure, and "a general military preparedness resulted from these partisan or private war parties. When national war was called for by the political arm, it could count on officers and soldiers trained in petite war."30 C. B. Allman's assessment of the role of frontier society in the employment of Lewis Wetzel and others was essentially correct. "We may not agree that the settlers were right in their view of the correct principle of protection, but we must confess that they had no other adequate protection than that which they took in their own hands."31

An evaluation of Lewis Wetzel's place in the military history of the Old Northwest is inextricably tied to an analysis of guerrilla warfare tactics. One need not be unsympathetic with the decent and unoffending citizenry described by Hector St. John de Crevecoeur on Pennsylvania's frontier as he lamented, "from the mountains we have but too much reason to expect our dreadful enemy; the wilderness is a harbour where it is impossible to find them." Crevecoeur insisted that any man still possessing abstract ideals of patriotic military devotion should test them by ". . . being situated where I am . . . his house perpetually filled, as mine is, with miserable victims just escaped from the flames and the scalping knife, telling of barbarities and murders that make human nature tremble. . . ."32 The plea of humanity notwithstanding, Crevecoeur's testimony is clearly suggestive of how effectively unnerved much of the American rural population was, and how much food producing western territory was depopulated by guerrilla warfare which in reality employed few armed forces. Would that the large armies of the Revolution had been as effective.

Richard Slotkin has insisted that the frontier partisans have bequeathed us a lethal national mythology which ". . . has blinded us to the consequences of the industrial and urban revolutions and to the need for social reform and a new concept of individual and communal welfare."33 The problem is not a national but an international issue. Virtually every society in the world has a memory record of national or regional partisans. In discussing Daniel Morgan's use of snipers in the Saratoga Campaign and the criticism engendered, Don Higginbotham decided that "as an Indian fighter, Morgan had concluded there was nothing chivalrous about war: it was ugly business, with one's chances of victory enhanced by crippling an opponent in any way possible, not by observing time honored rules and customs."34 Should comparison with Vietnam be entertained it is conceivable that we would not have been caught so emotionally and tacticaly off balance had we remembered our own traditions. The best assistance might well have been to confine our efforts to guerrilla-style forces.

As for Lewis Wetzel, his name and fame were perpetuated into the twentieth century by Zane Grey's first three novels--*Betty Zane* (1903), *The Spirit of the Border* (1906), and *The Last Trail* (1909). The novelist expressed the hope that his treatment of Wetzel "softens a little the ruthless name history accords him." Grey insisted that "the border needed Wetzel. The settlers would have needed many more years in which to make permanent homes had it not been for

him. He was never a pioneer; but always a hunter of Indians."35

However damaging a national legacy Wetzel and his cohorts may have left us, according to the Richard Slotkin model, John Hollow believes the literary character type to have been well and firmly established. "Zane Grey's character, for whom Wetzel is just the first of many names, went even further west. He became all those lonely gunfighters in Grey's other novels."36

Notes

1. James O'Donnell, "The Plight of the Ohio Indians During the American Revolution," in *The Historic Indian in Ohio* , ed. by Randall Buchman (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1976), 18Ÿ19.

2. James Buchanan, "Sketches of the History, Manners and Customs of North American Indians," *The London Quarterly Review* 61(Dec. 1824): 102-03.

3. Lyman C. Draper, *Draper Manuscripts Collection, 1728-1891* , 20(Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1982), S84 and S64. Hereafter cited as *Draper MSS* , with relevant internal citation. Lewis Wetzel's birth is typically cited as 1764, but Lewis Bonnett informed Lyman C. Draper that Lewis was born in August 1763. The use of the term "Indian" in this article rather than "Native American" or "Amerindian" is due to the fact these alternatives are themselves as broad as to pose additional problems.

4. *Ibid* ., 11E96, 97, 98, 99, 100. Original spelling adhered to in all direct quotations.

5. C. B. Allman, *Lewis Wetzel, Indian Fighter* (New York: DevinŸAdair Co., 1971), 109.

6. Gayle Thornbrough, ed., *Outpost on the Wabash* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1957), 208.

7. Wills De Hass, *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia* (Wheeling: H. Hoblitzell, 1851), 357Ÿ58. De Hass offered a detailed accounting of the confrontation between Captain Kingsbury and the settlers, but unfortunately identified his informant simply as an "eyeŸwitness."

8. *Draper MSS* , 5E69.

9. *Ibid* ., 5E70.

10. *Ibid* ., 5E36.

11. *Ibid* ., 6E82.

12. John C. Dann, ed., *The Revolution Remembered* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980), 259.

13. Joseph Doddridge, *Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania* (1824; reprint, Parsons: McClain Printing Co., 1960), 92-93.

14. *Draper MSS* , 6E39.

15. *Ibid* ., 11E132; Allman, *Lewis Wetzel*, 192-95. When Wetzel's skeleton was exhumed near Natchez, Mississippi, by Dr. Albert W. Bowser in 1942, the grave was identified by the remains of his rifle and shot pouch contents with which he was known to have been buried. The skeleton revealed a broad-shouldered man of five feet nine inches in height. Dr. Bowser,

who was familiar with forensic medicine, found the mid-forties male skeleton to match Wetzel's age at death.

16. *Draper MSS* , 5E55.

17. Doddridge, *Early Settlement and Indian Wars* , 231.

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19. Jeptha R. Simms, *Trappers of New York, or a Biography of Nicholas Stoner and Nathaniel Foster; . . .* (Albany, New York, 1860), 249Ÿ50, as quoted in [The Engages], "The Long Hunters of New York," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 5(Summer 1989): 5Ÿ6.

20. Doddridge, *Early Settlement and Indian Wars* , 231.

21. *Draper MSS* , 11E84. As quoted in Allman, *Lewis Wetzel*, 80, Lewis Bonnett's correspondence of 3 Nov 1846 to Draper is shortened and the grammar standardized.

22. Adam Hubley, "Journal of Lieut.ŸCol. Adam Hubley," in *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1777* , ed. by Frederick Cook (Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thompson, 1887), 162.

23. *Draper MSS* ., 5E61.

24. *Ibid* ., 7E34.

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29. George Athan Billias, ed., *George Washington's Generals* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1964), xiv.

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32. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters From An American Farmer* (New York: New American Library, 1963), 195, 200Ÿ01.

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THE ADVENTURE AT WETZEL'S SPRING

By Curt Schmidt

NEAR THE END OF JUNE 1782, John Mills (often confused in some accounts with his brother Thomas who was killed two years before) made his way back to Fort Henry in Wheeling after the disastrous defeat of Colonel William Crawford (De Hass 348; Doddridge 231; Withers 338). His horse had become jaded, and Mills was forced to leave the animal behind near Indian Springs close to where the modern town of St. Clairsville would be built (Caldwell 136).

Mills tried to enlist his cousin Joshua Davis to accompany him to retrieve the horse. After some discussion Davis persuaded his anxious cousin to wait until Lewis Wetzel returned to the fort and try to interest Wetzel in going along. That very night Wetzel returned and was talked into the venture. With Wetzel leading the party, John Mills felt that his fifteen-year-old cousin should stay behind, but after some hard coaxing and whining, Mills allowed the teenager to go. Lewis Wetzel looked the teenager over and replied, "Josh'll make a scout yet; he's got metal!" (Caldwell 137).

At daybreak the next morning, the three headed out for Indian Springs. They crossed over the Ohio River below the point of Wheeling Island and cut up the ridge south of Wheeling Creek. By noon they were approaching the springs. Being a hot day, Wetzel was worried that the Indians would be getting water at the springs and volunteered to scout ahead. He indicated that Mills should follow behind at a little distance followed by Joshua.

Lewis Wetzel and John Mills disappeared through some bushes. Suddenly, Davis heard the crack of rifles, the scream of Indians and the yell of his cousin all at the same time. A party of 40 to 50 Indians had spied Wetzel and Mills at the same instant, and the chase was on. Mills and Wetzel fired at the foremost Indians, Wetzel dropping his target while Mills spun to the ground with a ball through his heel. Mills hobbled to his feet and chased after Wetzel. The Indians quickly caught up with Mills and tomahawked him to the ground.

Joshua Davis watched Wetzel bounding through the bushes with a long-legged dogtrot, the Indians chasing close behind at a full run. Davis raised his gun and fired into the Indians as Wetzel sped past, saying, "Trot, Josh. And keep to the trail!" (Caldwell 137).

Wetzel and Davis jogged down the trail with long strides that kept them ahead of the pursuing Indians. The Indians played themselves out running at full speed and many gave up the chase. Over the mile that the two had covered, Wetzel had already reloaded his rifle on the run. Wetzel wheeled and fired at the closest Indian, dropping him. Then he spun around and trotted off, already reloading.

Less than a mile farther, Wetzel looked back over his shoulder and spied only four Indians still in pursuit. He cried out, "There's only four of them now. I'll pop the foremost!" (Caldwell 137). He turned and fired, dropping the closest. In a flash he was running again and reloading.

Joshua Davis was quickly getting winded, the pair having run close to two miles. Wetzel looked back, noticing that the Indians were falling behind and that his partner was breathing hard. Wetzel yelled, "Don't run! They's a good piece behind now, Josh! Just trot along" (Caldwell 137).

During the brief conversation, one of the Indians had cut toward them at an angle and came up next to Wetzel. Wetzel spun to his right to fire, but the Indian was quick and snatched the muzzle of Wetzel's longrifle. Quick as a flash Wetzel leaped to the side of the Indian, causing the muzzle of the rifle in the Indian's hands to point into his chest. Wetzel pulled the

In the past twenty years, Curt Schmidt has been involved with numerous eras, including the French and Indian War, the Revolutionary War and the fur trade. Schmidt holds a degree in 18th and 19th century history.

trigger and the blast knocked the Indian aside. Only two Indians remained in the chase. Wetzel and Davis trotted up a hill.

Looking around quickly, Wetzel turned to Davis saying, "Josh, at the next turn of the hill there's a high bank and clump of bushes right below it. You jump down and lay there until the Indians pass. They'll follow me. I'll meet you at the creek" (Caldwell 137).

Davis spied the clump of bushes and dove into them. Wetzel ran on.

The foremost Indian came up the hill and spying the fleeing figure of Wetzel ran past Davis' hiding place. The second Indian came up and halted next to Davis.

Lewis Wetzel, his rifle reloaded, turned and brought the longrifle to bear on the leading Indian. The Indian saw him swing the rifle up to take aim and dodged behind a sapling. Wetzel's rifle cracked and the Indian fell, mortally wounded.

The second Indian, standing next to the secreted Davis, gave out with a yell and said, "Whew! No catch him; gun loaded all the time!" (Caldwell 137). Before Wetzel could reload, the Indian turned and ran off. Fearing pursuit, Wetzel finished reloading and ran on.

Joshua Davis made his way to the creek where Wetzel was waiting, and together they made their way back to Fort Henry unmolested. A week later the two returned to bury John Mills. His ankle had been broken by the impact of the bullet and he was scalped.

The Indian's strange outburst in English that Wetzel's gun was loaded all the time provides a unique insight into a legendary frontier skill that has been applied and attributed to a number of famous frontiersmen. It has been said that on the frontier it was not how well you placed your first shot that was as important as how fast you could reload your second. Generations of writers would later romanticize this skill and the 19th century biographers of Lewis Wetzel would often claim that this skill "was a most remarkable event—an exploit rarely equaled for courage and daring in any country or any age" (Caldwell 136).

ALTHOUGH THE incident at Indian Springs highlighted Wetzel's practiced skill, the story is usually told after the incident where Wetzel uses his talents for the first time at the age of sixteen (given as fourteen by Withers 161, 346).

As Caldwell relates, one day in June 1780, a party of Indians had made an incursion into Pennsylvania near the headwaters of Wheeling Creek and had taken some horses. A party of settlers was hastily put together and took off after the Indians, hoping to catch them before they could reach their Muskingum towns. As the party passed the Wetzel cabin, they noticed Lewis working in the cornfields and invited him along. Although his father had forbade him to leave the farm until his chores were done, Wetzel jumped at the chance for excitement and unhitched his father's favorite mare from the plow and fell in with the pursuers (Caldwell 136).

The trail of stolen horses was easy to read, and the pursuers followed the prints down to the Ohio River, across the water and onto the trail leading to the Muskingum towns. Surprisingly, the Indians had felt themselves safe enough from pursuit that they had encamped for the night at Indian Springs and put the horses out to graze. Many of the Indians napped in the shade.

Wetzel slipped down from his horse and "treed" but did not hear his companions fire their rifles as planned.

At the appearance of the unexpected white party, the Indians bolted in all directions leaving the horses behind. The party of settlers, having easily achieved their purpose, immediately set about returning home. Unfortunately, their horses were worn and jaded from the forced march, and the decision was made to leave the tired mounts to feed and rest with three of their company as guards. The rest of the company would take the stolen horses back.

The bulk of the party had gone but several miles when the three guards came riding up stating that the Indians had returned and cut them off from the horses. The surprised whites called a council and hastily decided that they should continue homeward, leaving the horses in the possession of the Indians.

Lewis Wetzel had a fit, for his father's prize mare was one of the horses left to the Indians. He protested that he would rather lose his scalp than lose the mare, and he urged his companions to retake the horses. However, the council ignored his entreaty, and despite his insults and threats to go alone if need be, only two of the men agreed to go with Wetzel after the horses.

Wetzel offered a plan to "tree" and fight it out with the Indians from behind cover. Returning to the spring, they spotted only three Indians guarding the horses. Wetzel's companions hesitated but reluctantly agreed to follow him.

Lewis Wetzel rode in front. The plan was for the three men to advance in single file, taking cover behind designated trees as they went. When Wetzel reached the foremost of the three trees, it would be the signal to open fire. Wetzel slipped down from his horse and "treed" but did not hear his companions fire their rifles as planned. Wetzel turned in time to see his two companions disappear from sight as fast as they could. Realizing his situation was critical, Wetzel quickly thought out another plan.

From behind the tree, Wetzel placed his hat on the end of his ramrod and slowly pushed it out from behind the tree. No sooner was it done than the three Indians opened fire on what they thought was the white man's head peaking around the tree. The hat danced as the musket balls found their mark. Wetzel dropped the hat to the ground and waited.

With a gleeful yell, the three Indians drew their tomahawks and rushed toward the tree intent upon finishing the job and securing the scalp. As the Indians bore down on him, Wetzel popped out from behind the tree and shot the leading Indian

dead. Then Wetzel tore off away from the Indians at a full run, reloading on the run as he had practiced so many times before. In less than a minute the longrifle was loaded. Wetzel wheeled and shot the almost Indian.

The last Indian was wise to Wetzel's trick, realizing his only hope of catching the white youth was to run him down before he could reload, and charged forward with a renewed burst of speed. But Wetzel was still the quicker of the two, and as the Indian lunged forward with tomahawk flailing, a rifle ball dropped him dead.

WETZEL QUICKLY collected the three Indian scalps and his mare as well as the other stolen horses. Upon catching up with the main party, the teenager with three fresh scalps hanging from his belt and the missing horses in tow raised many eyebrows. After his return to the Wheeling settlements, word quickly spread and established Lewis Wetzel as a daring adventurer and local hero even though he was but sixteen (Caldwell 136).

These accounts give us an interesting perspective into the qualities and woods skills needed to survive and prosper playing the Indian game." The first explorers and settlers in the wilderness fared poorly in their first contacts with the Indians and the Indian manner of warfare.

To the Indian, warfare was the art of stealth, ambush and surprise. A warrior's status had much to do with his cunning and skill and the re-telling of his exploits around the fires and in dances. The bitter lessons of Indian warfare came slowly on the frontier. But the longrifle, adopted and modified from the rifles of Old World hunters to meet the needs of the rovers of the American forests, became the paramount tool of frontier existence.

The combination of the development of the American longrifle with the lessons of Indian warfare shaped both the character and nature of life on the frontier for many years. The longrifle provided much of the frontiersman's food and livelihood. It gave a hunter tremendous mobility and, when added to a few basics, could sustain a man in the wilderness for months at a time.

The eccentricities of the flintlock longrifle, in terms of its complicated loading requirements and of the skill necessary for shooting well, gave rise to many tales of frontier lore and marvels. To master the elements of shooting as well as Indian warfare took considerable fortune, skill and practice. Daring, nerve, patience and skill were the prerequisites

Many springs flow from the rolling hills near the modern city of St. Clairsville, Ohio, giving the area its frontier name of Indian Springs. Indian Springs, because of its fresh water supply, was a frequent stopping place for Indian raiding parties.

of the frontier Indian fighter. Those who had them, or who developed them, survived. Those lacking them died in countless unknown skirmishes in the forest.

Lewis Wetzel became famous on the frontier for his determination once he set his mind to the task at hand, for his keen patience in the ambush and for his practiced skill in reloading on the run. Loading a longrifle on the run was a survival technique designed for life-and-death situations. Loading on the run violates many firearms safety rules and offers many opportunities for accident or injury. But in the quick-and-dead choices of frontier Indian warfare, the risks to Lewis Wetzel were not as great as the threat to his life at the hands of the Indians.

As Davis' account shows, even the well-practiced Wetzel did not always judge distances and timing with enough room for error. The one Indian closing the distance and grabbing the barrel of Wetzel's rifle shows that there was no room for misjudgment when split-second timing made the difference between life and death. But Wetzel's quick thinking in jumping to the side to swing the muzzle against the Indian's chest is that additional "something" that left one man the victor and the other the victim. Such is the stuff of frontier legends....

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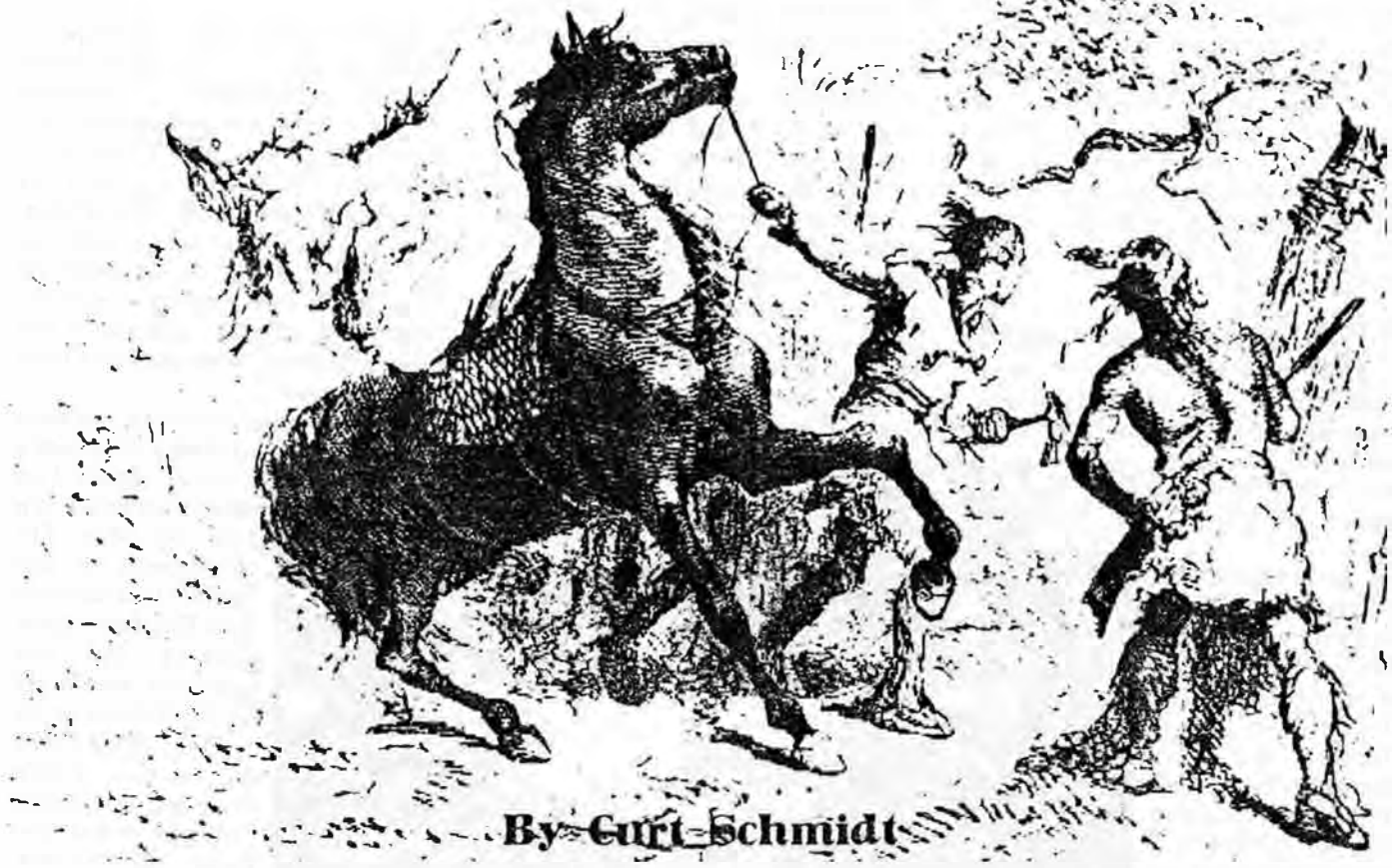
SAMUEL BRADY

CAPTAIN OF SPIES



By Curt Schmidt

CHARLES MCKNIGHT, in his 1875 vintage work, *Our Western Border in Early Pioneer Days*, asks the question. "Who in the West has not heard of Samuel Brady, the Captain of Spies, and of his wonderful exploits and hairbreadth escapes?" (426). Yet today the name has been eclipsed by the exploits of Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton and Davey Crockett and a name that once represented the hero and savior of the Ohio frontier has largely been forgotten.

The American frontier was indeed a dark and bloody ground. American expansion into the Ohio Country during the 1770s–1790s was marked by a particularly savage form of warfare described as border warfare, partisan warfare or guerrilla warfare.

As the frontier settlements pushed westward across the Alleghenies and down the Ohio River, the isolated log cabins of the settlers were prime targets. Appearing suddenly from the dark woods, Indians would kill, loot, pillage and disappear with a settler's few possessions, and possibly a captive or two, before returning to their villages across the Ohio River.

With a string of shorthanded frontier forts such as Fort Pitt, Fort MacIntosh and Fort Henry, there was no adequate protection or defense possible when hundreds of square miles of unknown wilderness stretched out before them. Period militia laws called for able-bodied males to be members of the militia, but frontier sentiment about marching off while homes and farms were left defenseless ran high. For example, after St. Clair's defeat in 1791, fear of a general uprising swept along the exposed frontier and the settlements knew that they were on their own hook. One settlement's response included the following resolution:

At a Meeting of the Frontier Inhabitants living on the Ohio River in and near Holliday's Cove, held on Saturday, the 4th day of February, 1792, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted, Collo. Rich'l Brown, chairman.

RESOLVED, That every member of this Meeting shall bind himself, and We hereby bond ourselves, in the most sacred Bonds of Honor and good Faith, Each of us to Keep in good order at least one Gun, and have always in readiness a sufficient quantity of ammunition to be prepared at a Minute's warning to repulse any Attack which may be made on this part of the Frontier where we inhabit. (Newton et al. 318)

During the Revolutionary War, organized "spy" companies patrolled the frontier areas around forts and

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For the past eight years, Curt Schmidt has focused on the hunters and scouts of the Ohio Country, researching primary accounts, site locations and the artifacts of the Colonial frontier period. MUZZLELOADER *readers have enjoyed the fruits of Schmidt's work in many articles, most recently "The Salt Boilers" in the Sept/Oct 1997 issue.*

settlements. The 18th century definition of *spy* did not carry quite the same meaning as we give it today. Although espionage and military secrets were sought by classical spies, frontier spies were a different breed of men. They were chiefly scouts employed as messengers, trackers, hunters, rescuers, intelligence gatherers and roving patrollers. In army pay at the rate of six shillings and three pence per day, a spy was a combination of army regular, militiaman and scout all at the same time (Draper 9S: 11). When the politeness of the formal war was over in 1783, these men had the needed experience to form groups of vigilante rangers and scalp hunters for the new frontier posts and settlements.

TO INCREASE THEIR effectiveness and to create a certain daring image, spy companies often imitated not only the tactics of the Indians but their appearance and manner of dress as well.

An 1832 act of Congress created a comprehensive pension act for veterans of the Revolutionary War. John Roush, who in June of 1777 had become a spy at Fort Pitt, was required to indicate the time and place of his service, the name of his unit and officers, and the engagements in which he participated. Roush dictated his statement and revealed a little of his service under Capt. Brady:

Declarent states that in obedience to the order of his said Captain Brady, he proceeded to tan his thighs and legs with wild cherry and white oak bark and to equip himself after the following manner, to wit, a breechcloth, leather leggins, moccasins, and a cap made out of a raccoon skin, with the feathers of a hawk, painted red, fastened to the top of the cap. Declarent was then painted after the manner of an Indian warrior. His face was painted red, with three black stripes across his cheeks, which was a signification of war. Declarent states that Captain Brady's company was about sixty-four in number, all painted after the manner aforesaid. (Dann 259)

Another spy in Capt. Brady's company, John Cuppy, recalled:

Spy dress—a handkerchief tied around the spy's head of any color, sometimes a capeau [shorter than a hunting shirt] *of cloth or a hunting shirt, and moccasins; and thick, loose woolen leggings reaching above the knee, so thick that a rattlesnake could not penetrate through with their fangs.*

Sometimes we took along wheat bread, and bacon and flour to make ash cakes, and sometimes chocolate; and [we] *could always get venison, turkies* [sic], *and sometimes bear meat, but never took any parched corn meal... in cold weather,* [we would make] *a fire to lie down by, taking off the moccasins and drying them off, and in warm weather, sometimes a small fire to raise smoke for the night to drive off gnats. Spies often practiced before going on a scout, shooting at a mark, throwing their tomahawks and sticking them in a tree* [at] *two or three rods and jumping over fences.* (Draper 9S: 36, 37)

The modern site of "Brady's Leap" near Kent, Ohio. The raging waters of the Cuyahoga River were dammed up by Zenas Kent's 1836 dam to produce water power for his grist mill, and the rocks on either side were blasted and quarried in the 1830s for the nearby Ohio Canal and railroad.

Cuppy had happened upon Samuel Brady in February of 1790. Brady had just been authorized to raise a spy company and invited the young Cuppy to enlist (Draper 9S: 11). Cuppy, who was immediately impressed with his new captain, described Brady as "tall, large—with muscles of steel, when he ran he appeared to fly over obstacles, and never appeared fatigued. He could throw a tomahawk straighter and further than anyone I knew" (Draper 9E: 124).

Capt. Brady's spies had a simple task—either patrol regular routes looking for troublesome Indians or chase after Indians conducting raids into the settlements. Brady summed up his duties quite well in a letter to Col. Baird:

Mouth of Yallow Creek, March 20, 1792.

D'r Col:—I am Glad I have it in my power to Send you a Line, and Likewise happy that I have not as yet made aney Discovery of Indiens, altho' everey Industerey Has bean made by myself and brother Spies; but Every Day Expect to have the pleashure of meeting with Some of them. We have bean about twentey miles out from the river, and in the flat Lands the Snow last thursday was at Least ten Inches deep, which, I Expect, is one reason why they have not paid us a Vissit before this time.

I start to-morrow morning, and make no doubt I Shall mak a Discovery Before I am maney days on the west Side the ohio. The Inhabitants in this Quarter have bean for these Three weeks past, Looking for and Expecting men to fill the Block-house at the mouth of yallow Creek. But this Day, to their Great mortification, they have Heard news Quite the reverce, which is, there are nomen from Pennsylvania to Range Lower Down than the mouth of big Beaver. Some families who heard the news before the People at this place heard it, have already Moved of, and the rest are, tho' Contrarey to their Former Intention, makeing ready; and it is my opinion that if Something is not Done shortly for their Safety there Will be but a few people, if aney, Between the mouth of Little beaver and the Cove. I thought it onely my Duty to inform you what I have done, and do declare I much Lement the Situation of the Inhabitants in this Quarter.

I am D'r Sir, with Due Respekt
your H'l Servant,
Sam'l Brady.

(Newton et al. 318)

Samuel Brady's talents and skills as an "Indian Fighter" were not developed

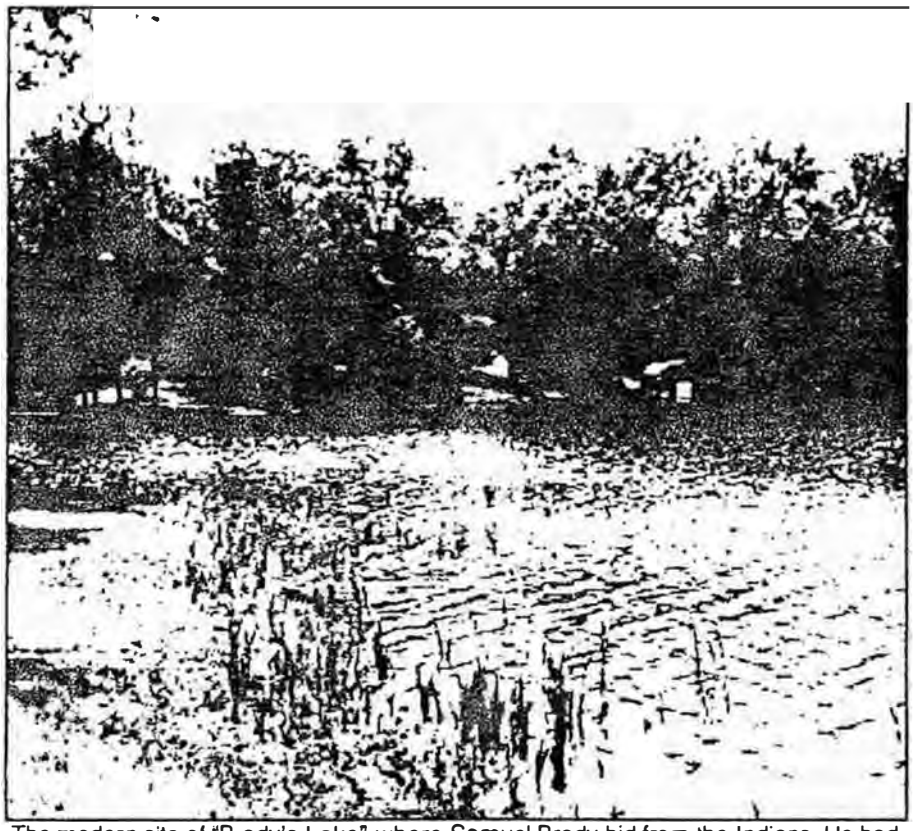
until later in life. Brady was born in Newark, Delaware in 1756 (Truman 79). De Hass says he was born in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania (381). When the Revolution broke out in 1775, the nineteen-year-old Brady and his brothers James and John enlisted in Washington's army and headed for the Siege of Boston (Truman 79). Samuel Brady fought through the Continental Army's successes and failures at Boston, Long Island, White Plains, Valley Forge and Trenton. On July 17, 1776, the young Brady was promoted to lieutenant, after which he continued to serve through the major battles in the East and was commissioned a captain on February 28, 1782 (De Hass 382).

It may have been the death of his brother at the hands of the Ohio Country Indians in August of 1778, or the death of his father also at the hands of the Indians in 1779, that pushed Lt. Brady to seek revenge (De Hass 382). It may have been his prior service as a rifleman under Gen. Hand, the former commander of Fort Pitt, that gave Brady the opportunity to follow through on his plans, for he was ordered west to Fort Pitt with Col. Daniel Brodhead for service on the frontier.

When the Revolutionary War formally ended in October 1781, Brady remained at Fort Pitt. Shortly after being made captain in 1782, the 27-year-old Brady was made chief ranger of the patrols on the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders (Truman 80).

Unfortunately for historians trying to research Samuel Brady's life, much of our knowledge exists only as oral histories. These oral traditions are largely the recollections and remembrances of surviving individuals collected in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s by such distinguished people as Joseph Doddridge, Alex Scott Withers and Wills De Hass. Oftentimes the memories of those being interviewed had faded and the details of stories they remembered varied in important areas such as dates, places or even the events themselves. But more times than not, there are threads woven into the variations that are the same or similar, and we are challenged to sort out the probable truth from so many gathered memories.

One such controversial Brady story concerns his legendary leap over the Cuyahoga River in what is now the Akron–Kent area of modern-day Ohio. In the summer of 1780, Brady was out on a scout west of Fort Pitt. He was surprised by a party of Indians who had come upon his trail and followed him with the hopes of taking a prisoner. Brady was overpowered in the rush, bound securely and whisked off to the Sandusky Towns. There he was made to run the gauntlet, stripped naked and painted in preparation for burning at the stake. Brady was tied to the stake by his hands but not bound in the usual fashion while the warriors, squaws, children and elderly tormented and taunted him (De Hass 390). Then the fires were lit.



The modern site of "Brady's Lake" where Samuel Brady hid from the Indians. He had been wounded after his leap across the Cuyahoga River and waded out into the shallow end of the lake where he stayed all night beneath the cold waters.

AS THE INDIANS danced back and forth mocking him, a squaw of one of the chiefs with a baby in her arms approached to heap her insults upon the soon-to-be-burned captive. What she did not know was that Brady had slipped the ties securing his hands. Quick as thought, Brady reached out, grabbed the baby and tossed it on the burning wood pile.

In horror the Indians rushed forward to rescue the infant from the flames. Brady, now free, crashed through the panicked Indians, bowling them over left and right. In the midst of the confusion and excitement, Brady ran off and managed to duck into a thicket with the angry Indians howling on his heels (De Hass 390).

When they had passed, Brady emerged from the cover of the thicket and raced east toward Fort Pitt with the hope of eluding his pursuers through 200 miles of wilderness. He managed to keep in front of his pursuers for over a hundred miles as he paralleled the major trails leading from Sandusky to the Great Portage that connected the Ohio River to the south and Lake Erie to the north. The Great Portage was also intersected by the Great Trail coming west from Pittsburgh (McKnight 440).

By the time Brady managed to near the Great Portage and the Cuyahoga River, he knew that he was being gradually surrounded by the Indians, hemmed in on the north, west and south. The portion of the Cuyahoga River near modern Akron, Ohio, was a rough and tumble cataract of white water and waterfalls through deep gorges. Brady was familiar with the area and headed for the Standing Stone, a large rock near a quiet section of the Cuyahoga used by the Indians for councils because of its closeness to the portage. As he turned south for the ford at the Standing Stone, Brady detected Indians coming up to meet him.

With the Indians closing in on three sides and the wild gorge of the Cuyahoga roaring ahead, Brady ran toward the sound of rushing water. He ran to the edge of the gorge and stared over the edge at the

twenty- to thirty-foot drop to the raging water and sharp rocks below. His only avenue of escape was across the chasm some 21 to 23 feet away.

Brady summoned up all of his reserve strength and made the running broad jump, sailed through the air and crashed into the bushes just below the opposite edge of rocky cliffs. He scrambled up the vertical wall just as the Indians reached the ledge behind him. The Indians let out a frustrated howl, and three or four of them fired at the fleeing Brady (McKnight 440). One of the balls struck him in the leg and seeing their prey hit, the Indians thought that they had him at last. They turned toward the south and raced toward the ford at the Standing Rock where they could cross the wild waters and continue the chase.

Brady knew that the Indians would be fording the Cuyahoga just a dozen or so yards downriver and that he would soon have them hot on his heels once again. He ran off toward the east as best he could with his wounded leg, but soon he heard the Indians closing the distance behind him. He ran on, keeping the Indians behind him, for four miles before his strength was drained by the loss of blood. Knowing that his only chance of surviving was to find some manner of cover until the Indians moved off, Brady pushed himself to go on. As he approached the southern shores of a small lake, he saw his chance and waded out to a floating log surrounded by water lilies. He hid behind the submerged log with only his face sticking out among the water lilies (McKnight 442).

The Indians quickly followed his blood trail to the lake. Some concluded that Brady, knowing that he was about to be recaptured, had preferred drowning to losing his life and scalp. Not all were convinced of this as the Indians searched around the shore of the lake. Hunting parties fanned out and explored the surrounding area but found no sign. They searched for the rest of the day and into the night before giving up (McKnight 440).

Sure that the Indians were finally gone, Brady crawled out of the lake and continued on his journey back to Fort Pitt.

Brady was seen often by Joseph Quigley when visiting Joseph's father's house back in the settlements. Joseph reasoned out that Brady "walked quite lame" from the wound he received when he leaped the Cuyahoga River and that he was "pretty deaf" from lying so long in the cold waters of the lake (McKnight 442).

This Brady adventure is often intermingled and confused with a second nearly identical story. Throughout the 19th century there was much controversy between the two tellings, and I suspect that they were actually two different events with similar overtones.

The final resting place of Capt. Samuel Brady in the West Liberty Cemetery in West Liberty, West Virginia. Brady escaped all of his exciting adventures only to die at the age of 37 on January 4, 1796.

THE BEAVER RIVER valley west of Fort Pitt was part of Brady's regular patrol area for the spies. The Yellow Creek area (modern Steubenville, Ohio, area) was a major fording area for the two main Indian war trails. Naturally the vicinity was always a hotbed of Indian activity. One day Brady had lead a patrol to Slippery Rock Creek, a branch of the Beaver River, without seeing any Indian sign. Toward evening they came across Indian tracks and followed them until it was too dark to see without overtaking them. The next morning, Brady and his men were back on the trail as soon as there was light enough to see by (Newton et al. 146).

The spies came upon the Indians while they were having their breakfast. Little did Brady know, as he maneuvered his men into position, that another party of Indians had come upon their tracks and had pursued the spies with all possible speed. As Brady gave the order to open fire on the camp, the other Indian party opened fire on him dropping two men and cutting the tomahawk from Brady's belt. With a whoop the Indians in the rear cried out, and the Indians in the front answered back knowing that the white attackers were now caught between them (Newton et al. 147).

Trapped, there was nothing for Brady and his men to do but scatter. Brady ra off, closely followed by the screaming Indians, and soon found himself approaching Slippery Rock Creek, a wild chasm some thirty feet deep and twenty feet across the top. Seeing their prize just ahead, the Indians gave up on Brady's men, dropped their guns and charged forward with tomahawks.

Brady heard the roaring of the water in front of him and knew the chasm was just ahead. Without a thought he jumped from the edge, cleared the distance and landed on the other side. As the Indians appeared on the other side behind him, he realized that, in his haste to flee, he had forgotten to reload his longrifle. In a flash Brady primed his rifle, for it was always his practice to prime it first, and as the horn went up to the muzzle for a quick emergency load, the Indians ran up and halted at the edge of the chasm.

A large Indian, who had been in front of the pursuers, yelled out at Brady in broken English, "Blady make good jump!" Before Brady could finish reloading and repay the compliment in lead, the Indians darted away zigzagging and leaping high to discourage a good ai (Newton et al. 147).

Brady later returned to the site of his jump and determined that the broad jump

was about 23 feet over a chasm with water twenty feet below. It would have to be assumed that Brady made the jump before the leap over the Cuyahoga River where he received a bullet wound and permanent limp.

BRADY'S NAME AND reputation became a household word along the settlements that spread down the Ohio River from Fort Pitt. Having survived countless running fights with the Indians, suffered numerous hardships and privations and having lived through a violent and turbulent era, Samuel Brady took ill the following winter after the Treaty of Greenville ended the Indian wars on August 7, 1795. He was living with his wife of nine years, Drusilla, daughter of the well-known Capt. "Indian Van" Swearingen, and his two sons, John and Van Swearingen, near West Liberty, Virginia.

Local tradition varies on what laid the famous spy on his deathbed. Some accounts credit Brady's illness to the debilitating effects of his escape in the lake, and others credit his demise to measles. According to his gravestone, Samuel Brady died on January 4, 1796, at the age of 38 [Truman gives the date as 1795 (83) and Newton gives it as 1800 (147).]

The memory of Capt. Samuel Brady, a forgotten hero from a forgotten war, passed very quickly as the western frontier raced on toward the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. Perhaps the best lament came from Wills De Hass in 1851:

Devoted as this man was to the interests of the west, and sacrificing as he did, almost everything but life, it is a burning shame that his memory should have been so long neglected, and that some public recognition of his services has not been made. It is a reflection upon our gratitude and patriotism, that while whole galleries are to be found of men whose services in behalf of their country were not to be compared with those of Brady, live upon canvas and in marble, not one single bust or portrait of the gallant leader of the spies is anywhere to be found. And what is still worse, his remains lie in an humble burial ground without even a stone, bearing the most simple inscription to mark the spot from the undistinguished mass around. (381)

Today the wind blows through the waist-high grass and weeds beyond the black iron gate of the West Liberty Cemetery. Near the center of the gently sloping hillside can be found a small four-sided white gravestone nearly worn smooth. All but a portion of the inscription for Capt. Brady remains. To his left lies his son John, and the stone was placed there at John's death in 1879. Behind the stone lies two slate grave markers—one crumbled into pieces and dust, and the other lying in several worn pieces. One slate fragment reads "RADY" if you push the weeds aside.

But there was a time when the name Samuel Brady was on the tip of everyone's tongue, and, as De Hass said, "Such was Brady, the leader of the spies" (393). **M**

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SECTION D

Domestic Matters

Captain Pipe

By Don Blackburn

CAPTAIN PIPE WAS AN orator to compare with Chief Logan or the great Tecumseh. In war he was equal to the fearsome Blue Jacket and Cornstalk. However, little has been written about him, even though he resisted the whites more years than any of them and outlived them all.

Wherever there was bloodshed, smoke and flame in western Pennsylvania and the borderlands that were to become the states of Ohio, West Virginia and Kentucky, chances are you would find Captain Pipe and his band of Delawares. In Allan Eckert's latest book, *A Arrow in Our Heart*, he refers to Pipe first as a Wyandot, then a Delaware and then a Wyandot again. In all his previous books, Eckert always referred to Pipe as a Delaware. Other references I have found refer to Pipe as a Delaware. He was one of the most feared Indians of the period from about 1750 to late 1795. Yet history has not given him the recognition of many of the other Indian chiefs of that period. Perhaps it was because the once mighty Delaware were by then a rather small tribe and did not wield much influence in the overall politics of that time.

The Delaware, who called themselves *Lenni Lenape*, "True Men," had been a powerful tribe along the Delaware River, the river being named after Lord Delaware, an early Virginia governor. The settlers then started referring to the Indians living in the area as the Delaware tribe (Eckert, *Wilderness Empire* 636). During the early settlement of the area, the Delaware were induced to sell some of their lands to the settlers. This enraged the Iroquois league, who chastised them severely. That, combined with the pressure of white settlement, caused them to move to the area of western Pennsylvania and central Ohio in the early 18th century.

Captain Pipes' Indian name was Taulangecaupouye (Farver 164). I have no translation of this name or any explanation of how he came to be called Captain Pipe. He was probably born between 1720 and 1730 in the vicinity of Kittanning, Pennsylvania, beside the Allegheny River, upstream from the Forks of the Ohio where Pittsburgh came to be located. By 1749, according to Allan Eckert in *Wilderness Empire*, he was a chief (138).

During the French and Indian War, which was in reality the first world war, the Delaware were at first allied with the English but then changed to the French. Even after the defeat of the French, the Delaware, along with other tribes, resisted the English up to and including Pontiac's uprising. After Pontiac was defeated, seeing that the main threats to the Indian were the Colonials and the Colonial militia, they became firmly allied to the English until the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. It was during this period that Pipe achieved his greatest power and influence.

As the Delaware were pushed out of western Pennsylvania, they settled along tributaries that make up the headwaters of the Muskingum River in north central Ohio. This area became to them as sacred as the Black Hills are to the Lakotah. If you have ever passed through this area, you can understand why they fought so hard to keep it. Even today it is a charming area of rolling hills, clear streams, hardwood forest and rich farms. Many small villages are found here.

Pipe's band roamed the Clear Fork and Black Fork valleys, which were pleasant to the eye and rich in game and fish. Legend has it that the Black Fork of the Mohican River between Whitney Avenue and State Street in Shelby, Ohio, was the favorite fishing hole of Captain Pipe. Alas, you would not believe it now. The Clear Fork of the Mohican valley is probably where Pipe spent more time than any other, and it is still a pleasant stream. Many years ago I fished the Clear Fork in the area of Gatton Rocks, and it was excellent for nice small-mouth bass.

Don Blackburn started shooting muzzleloaders in 1967 with a H & A underhammer, quickly graduating to flintlocks. He has been active in buckskinning and rendezvous since 1978, first in the East, now in the Rochester, Washington, region where he lives.

When Pipe was the principal chief of all the Delaware, his beautiful daughter became a princess. It was said that one warrior became so enamored that when she rejected him, he ate the poison mayapple and died. Legend also declares that one of the reasons for Pipe's hatred of the Colonists was that his sister was killed by several white hunters in the vicinity of Pipes Cliffs (Farver 164-166).

Where are Pipes Cliffs? "This romantic ledge of rocks situated in the southern part of Monroe Township (Richland County, Ohio?) is near the section 28. The Lexington-Perrysville road curves around the base of the rocks" (Farver 164-166). Apparently in the late 1800s it was a well-known picnic spot. But as I was involved in moving to Rochester, Washington, at the time I learned of this, I was unable to find them. No one I have talked to since ever heard of them. The Lexington-Perrysville Road is not shown on any maps of the area to which I have access. Perhaps some reader knows the location and can advise me.

According to Farver's *Indian Lore of the Muskingum Headwaters of Ohio*, "the summit of the cliff rises a full 100 feet above the valley" (165-166). In Ohio that is a fair-sized cliff. "Near the center of the summit is a singular rock about six feet in diameter and two feet high resembling an alter. Tradition has it that this is the place Pipe annually offered a sacrifice in memory of his murdered sister. Near the western extremity of the cliff is a perpendicular rock about 40 feet high completely detached from the main cliff. In the late 1800s, this was called Onalaska's Tower. It was believed that Onalaska was the name of Pipe's sister" (166). That there are two small towns named Onalaska is an interesting coincidence—Onalaska, Wisconsin, and Onalaska, Washington. The latter is said to be named after the village in Wisconsin. But, where did the Wisconsin village get its name?

Pipe achieved his greatest fame and hatred by the whites in the years between the end of the Revolutionary War and the signing of the Greenville Treaty. He was the principal Indian chief at the burning of Colonel William Crawford on June 13, 1782 (Eckert, *Frontiersmen* 253-264). I had the privilege of participating in the memorial service of the 200th anniversary of that tragic event.

The events leading to the burning of Crawford are some of the most savage and unsavory in our relations with the Indians. Zane Grey in his novel *Spirit of the Border* tries to blame Pipe for the massacre of the Moravian (Christian) Indians at Gnadenhutten (243-246). Why, I do not know. However, there is no doubt that Colonel Williamson and his militia were responsible for killing about 100 unarmed Christian Indians (Eckert, *Frontiersmen* 247-251). It is true that Pipe and others tried to get the Christianized Indians to join them in their warfare against the white settlements, but they would not.

After Colonel Williamson's militia massacred the Indians at Gnadenhutten, Colonel Crawford was induced to lead another expedition to the Sandusky River to destroy all Indian villages along that stream, which was one of the principle north/south routes in Ohio. He was defeated just north of Upper Sandusky at a location still known as Battle Island. One of my earliest memories is of the little monument located there. His army in retreat, he was captured in what is now Crawford County, probably near Galion, Ohio, and taken to the Indian camp along Tymochtee Creek just above where it joins the Sandusky.

According to Edward Ellis in his book, *The Life and Times of Daniel Boone*, Captain Pipe personally painted Crawford black to make him "Cut-ta-ho-tha," one who was condemned to death, usually by burning. Ellis also claims that Crawford appealed to Simon Girty for mercy and Girty would do nothing for him (149-153). Allen Eckert in *The Frontiersman* refutes this and claims that Girty did everything possible, even putting his own life in danger to save Crawford (253-264). Pipe was not to be denied and personally supervised this gruesome event. But before you judge him too harshly, remember, whites had only stopped burning people not too many years before.

In 1791 we see Captain Pipe as fourth in command of the Indians at the defeat of General Arthur St. Clair (Eckert, *Frontiersmen* 367). Probably not until the defeat of George Custer was there such a disaster for the U.S. Army in fighting the Indians.

After almost 50 years of resisting the whites, Captain Pipe saw that continuing the fight was useless and signed the Treaty of Greenville and forever after was a firm friend of the whites. The years passed, and it is believed that Pipe continued to live in the vicinity of Mansfield, Ohio, as there were a number of Indian villages in the area. The Indians and whites lived peacefully with even some intermarriage until the outbreak of the War of 1812. At that time outside influences on both sides lead to another outbreak of violence.

Even though he was along in years, Pipe was asked to lead the Indians into battle once more. He nobly replied, "When I signed the Treaty of Greenville it was understood that I was again not to take up the hatchet as long as tree grow, and the water runs" (Farver 165). Captain Pipe kept his word. In 1878 a Mrs. Lucas recalled knowing Captain Pipe very well and the last time she had seen him he had told her he was about 100 years old (Farver 165).

When he died and where he is buried no one knows. It is fairly certain that he outlived many of his foes and friends. Although he was hated in his time, he was defending his land and his people. To us he was a barbarian; to him we were the barbarians.

This is the best information about Captain Pipe that I can find. I will probably never see Pipe's Cliffs, for the smoke of my campfires no longer mingles with the mists of time in the beautiful Ohio country. Like so many others I have crossed the Shining Mountains, but it would be nice if some of my friends would locate the cliffs, and if the present-day owner agrees, they would smoke a pipe and lift the cup there in remembrance of Captain Pipe. He deserves it.

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COOKWARE AND COOKERY

By Beth Gilgun

DEAREST FRIENDS,

I must offer you my deepest apology for taking such a long time between letters. We have been very busy, and there just doesn't seem to be enough hours in a day to keep up with everything! The weather has been just horrible, and the garden is showing the effects. We have been getting rain almost every day, so the ground is very wet. One of the rows of beans that I sowed has only three plants—if you don't count the weeds! I think the rest of the seeds drowned. I am hoping to replant sometime this week and hope to have better luck. At least beans have a short enough growing time that I can still plant at this late date. Many of the farmers aren't so lucky. In some places, big parts of cornfields are under water, so there will be less of a crop. The strawberries ripened about two weeks early (because of some very warm weather in the early spring), but then the days of rain prevented picking and also caused a kind of mildew on them. We are hoping to get a decent crop of raspberries this year, but we cannot tell yet.

We have had many birds in the yard this year. One day before the leaves really came out, I looked out of the window at the maple tree to see it full of birds. It was really a sight, as there were birds of blue, yellow, red and black, and purple, all sitting together. I love to watch their antics, especially the little hummingbirds. They like to sit on open branches or the tops of garden poles and survey the yard. They do not seem to mind rain, as they will sit there even if it is pouring. For such little birds, they are very territorial and often chase and squawk at each other.

Even though there is so much to do here at home, Chris and I have been traveling quite a bit. I suppose that is one reason why we are so busy here. We were fortunate to be able to visit with many of our friends while we were away. We will stay home for the next few months, so I hope to catch up on things around here. Our dogs, Nutmeg and Kate, will be happy to have us here. They stay home when we leave and miss having us around. Chris is planning to work with Kate quite seriously this summer. She needs more experience with pointing birds before the fall hunting season. They will both enjoy the time in the woods.

While we were away, circumstances often made cooking outside necessary. Many of the pots and kettles that I use at home on the fireplace can also be used outside, but some things are more specific to home or outside. A typical kitchen has a variety of cookware as can be seen by looking at probate inventories. In February 1754, the estate of Elder William Hasey, a yeoman of Chelsea, Massachusetts, was probated. His kitchen contained the following cookware: a Brass Kettle, a Copper Kettle, a Frying Pan, two Trammels, a Gridiron, a Toaster, three Brass Skillets, an Iron Kettle and Pot, Andirons, two fire Shovels, and two pairs of Tongs (Cummings 154–155). This is a similar listing to other people in the same class. A wealthier gentleman, Lieut. John Bridge of Roxbury, had a far more extensive list of cookware. He had two brass kettles, a brass pan, two skillets, one quart pot, one pint pot, a dripping pan, a pasty pan, a colander, one iron pot, two iron kettles, a frying pan, chafing dish, gridiron, two trammels, tongs, fire shovel, andirons and a spit (Phipps 88).

While not mentioned in the two inventories above, many other listings include copper tea kettles, coffee pots, kettles and skillets. Brass and copper are more expensive than cast iron but have advantages over iron. They are lighter to lift and carry and also dent rather than crack or break when they are dropped. In fact, brass and copper pots and kettles appear in many inventories and perhaps in a greater ratio to those made of iron (Phipps 84).

Breakfast being cooked at Fort Ticonderoga. Three dutch ovens are being used on top of braziers. Our hanging griddle is on the ground.

Several items mentioned perhaps need defining. A *trammel* is an adjustable hook hung from the crane or lug pole in a fireplace that holds pots and kettles. Some are made like a ratchet. There is a flat bar of iron with saw

teeth on one side that can be moved up and down by catching on a loop on the upper section of the trammel. Trammels are also made with the upper part consisting of a flat piece of iron with a series of holes punched into its length. The lower part of the trammel hooks into the holes, adjusting the length. A *gridiron* is used to broil meat or fish. It has parallel bars or wires in circular or rectangular frames, usually has a handle and often feet. They are sometimes cast but can also be made from iron stock. "A chafing dish is a kind of round iron, made hollow like a basin, set on feet, either three or four, with an handle to move it from place to place; its office is to hold hot coals of fire in, and to set dish-meats thereupon, to keep them warm till the time of serving them up to the table, or to heat a cold dish of meat, on the table" (Hawke 55).

At home most cooking is done over the fire, on the hearth and in the oven. Pots and kettles can be hung from the crane or lug pole using hooks and trammels to adjust the height over the fire. Many pots and skillets have legs to raise them above the coals, and flat-bottomed pots and kettles can be raised on trivets. Cooking can be controlled quite well by moving the pot closer or farther from the coals. Most baking is done in the oven that is built into the back or side of the fireplace, although some women use a dutch oven. This is certainly the most economical way if you only have one thing to bake. "I was up this Morn before the (Lazy) Sun, baked a Large loaf of bread in a Duch oven (our usual mode of baking in Summer) which I mixed and sit to rising last night) put on the tea kittle—while I was thus employed our boy Ben harnessed the horse, and put him to the Chaise—My husband and self stepped in, and had a charming ride and returned at Seven o'clock and took our breakfast" (diary of Mrs. Ann Smith, 1806–1807; qtd. in Innes 76). Mrs. Smith used a dutch oven in the summer because it kept her kitchen cooler than firing the big oven. It is also faster, as it takes two hours to heat up the brick oven and no time at all to heat up a dutch oven, if you already have a fire and coals available.

Amanda Lipps is cooking forced eggs. The large copper kettle on the left holds hot water.

I will describe the dutch oven for you, if by chance you are unfamiliar with it. It is a cast iron kettle usually with three short legs and a tight-fitting lid that is quite flat and has a large ridge around the edge. It can be of almost any diameter, although 12 to 16 inches will be the most practical. The kettle is warmed by the fire before use. To bake a pie in one, put a low trivet or even some pebbles on the bottom and place your pie dish upon them. This helps to keep the bottom of the pie from burning. Then place the lid on the kettle. Place the kettle over a bed of hot coals and shovel more hot coals onto the lid. Thus the kettle is heated from both top and bottom. It is often necessary to replace the coals on the lid with fresh hot ones, but the ones on the bottom can usually be left. Baking time is close to what it would take in the fireplace oven, but it pays to check to make sure it is not cooking too fast or slow.

A dutch oven is especially useful when you must cook out-of-doors. First of all, you have no other oven available to you. Second, it is a most versatile kettle

and all manner of food can be cooked in it, thus saving you from carrying many different types of pots. The dutch oven usually has a bail handle so that it can be hung over the fire for stewing or boiling. The almost flat lid can serve as a frying pan if you find a way to support it inverted over the fire or coals. A trivet works well, but stones or even pieces of firewood will often serve the purpose. When cooking or baking in more than one dutch oven, they can be stacked one on the other so that the coals on the top of one heat the bottom of the other. We have actually stacked three on top of each other, and baked some very good pies that way.

THERE ARE OTHER ITEMS THAT I consider necessities when cooking outdoors. One is a set of irons for hanging pots. This set consists of two uprights that are pounded into the ground and a cross piece that is strong enough to hold a full pot. Sometimes this cross piece can be used as a spit as well. Trammels and hooks adjust the height of pots over the fire, just like in the fireplace. It is much harder to control the heat of an outdoor fire than one in your kitchen. For one thing you are subjected to the wind, which can actually blow the heat away from the pots. It can also whip up a fire, making it hotter than you expect. In the house you can set a pot aside on the hearth and still keep it warm. It is often more difficult to do this when outside. Another variable is getting coals. At home, the wood we use is good and dry and of the variety that produces nice coals. I have often found that wood in other places will produce a fine fire, but it will burn to ash, leaving no good coals for cooking. This can require you to be quite flexible in your method of cooking.

The uncertainty of the fire is the reason that there is another item that I consider indispensable when traveling and cooking outdoors: a *brazier*. A brazier is a portable metal container that holds coals. It can be used for cooking upon and for heating a tent or small room. Some braziers are made from sheet metal. They are generally square, with a bottom pan, legs to keep it off a table, four sides and a hinged grate on the top. A handle sticks out on one side so that it can be carried. Other braziers are cast iron and are round. These are often seen as ship's braziers and are used for cooking aboard ship.

Cooking on a brazier is often the easiest method available. You can control the heat quite well, as the coals are not subject to the wind. If you have a table, you can put the brazier on top and then cook without bending over the fire. (You might need to put something under the brazier to keep the table from burning. A large dutch oven lid works well—one more reason to have a dutch oven.) Braziers do not produce much smoke, so that you are not dealing with smoke in your face. They also heat some things more quickly, especially if you can put the pot or kettle directly on the coals, as we can with our water kettle on our cast brazier.

We are often in situations where we are outside cooking for twenty to thirty (or more) people. While this might sound daunting, it really isn't any harder to cook for a lot of people than for several. What is needed are larger pots, and more of them, and a larger quantity of food. For cooking breakfast, we have found that braziers are the best. The braziers that we use are large enough to allow the frying pans to sit directly upon the grates. By adding coals or charcoal when necessary, even heat can be maintained. We sometimes carry our own charcoal made from hardwood burned at the local charcoal oven. That way we are assured of having good coals for cooking. Heat can be controlled for cooking eggs without burning, and toast can be made directly upon the grate. For pancakes or fried toasts, the even heat is almost necessary. If you have not a receipt for fried toasts, I enclose one here:

Take a penny-loaf, cut it into slices a quarter of an inch thick round-ways, toast them, and then take a pint of cream and three eggs, half a pint of sack, some nutmeg, and sweetened to your taste. Steep the toasts in it for three or four hours, then have ready some butter hot in a pan, put in toasts and fry them brown, . . . (Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery, Made Plain and Easy*, 1760; qtd. in Carson 62)

If you are in a situation where making toast first and then soaking it for hours is not practical, try cutting bread and soaking it in the egg mixture for a short time and then frying it. Chris feels that this toast is best cooked slowly on a griddle or fry pan using low heat. That way the toast is cooked through without burning the outside. While it is unusual for a man to cook, I must admit that Chris cooks breakfast much better than I. I have no patience, so I burn bacon because I try to cook it too fast, and I do not lavish attention on things like fried toast. (Martha Ballard's diary [1785–1812] "suggests a strong taboo against male involvement in [cooking]; if Martha Ballard was not at home to get her husband's breakfast, some other female had to be" [Innes 89].)

On a recent trip to Fort Niagara, we were fortunate to eat breakfast and dinner each day with about thirty friends. Circumstances were such that I did no cooking and very little in helping to prepare the food, so I was most fortunate to have Amanda, Kate, Carol and Patty there, who prepared wonderful meals. The dinners were planned well ahead and were delicious. The first night Amanda roasted

Tim Greene cooking breakfast Sunday morning at Old Fort Niagara. He is using frying pans on two braziers.

beef on a spit over the fire. (We prefer roasted meat over the more common boiled meat.) Roasting may seem a simple affair, but it is often tricky, especially over an open fire. For a small cut of meat or bird, a "pretty little brisk fire" so that "it may be done quick and nice" is desired. (Glasse, qtd. in Carson 52). If the fire is too hot when cooking a larger piece, the "meat is scorched, the outside is hard and prevents the heat from penetrating into the meat, and will appear enough before it be little more than half done" (Carson 52). It is considered that three hours is sufficient time for roasting twenty pounds of beef cut thick. Short of poking the meat or slicing into it, one way of testing for doneness is "when the Steam from the Meat is drawn toward the Fire, 'tis a Sign it is near done" (Bradley 33).

A large quantity of green beans were cooked in a pot over a different fire, and there were many varieties of bread that had been baked at home. There was also a fresh salad of spring greens. It was dressed simply with vinegar and oil. While we are able to pick greens out of the garden, I heard of an interesting way of having fresh salad aboard ship. Janet Schaw, in the chronicle of her journey from Edinburgh to the West Indies, commented that her brother's servant Robert "had placed [a few turnips] in such a manner, as to spring and produce us greens and sallad, . . ." (Andrews 52). He probably cut the tops off of the turnips and put them in water so that they sprouted leaves.

When the meat was off the fire, Kate used a trivet to support the fry pan and cooked some fish. They were delicious and not at all greasy. Mrs. Bradley is not an advocate of frying.

It is a coarse and greasy Kind of Cookery, in Fashion in the Country, where there are great Appetites and strong Stomachs, but is at present entirely left off in genteel Families, except for nice Things, and in a particular Manner; these we shall show how to dress in their proper places, but we here treat only of plain frying. As nothing shall be omitted that can be useful to a Servant in any Rank or Condition, we here give the Rules for doing this. Frying Meat answers the Purpose of broiling, but not so well; the Heat of the Dish is a great Matter, so that there must always be a Chafing-dish of Coals ready to set it over, that the Meat may be put into it hot. Let the Frying-Pan be clean, and Fire brisk and Clear, for Smoak will get in if there be any. (Bradley 42)

She does allow that beef steaks could be prepared by frying.

Let the Steaks be cut thinner than for broiling, and when a Dish is set over a Chafing dish of Coals, shred an Onion into it with a very little Water; put a Piece of Butter into the Pan, and when it is melted put in the Steaks peppered and salted; when done a little, turn them, and repeat this as Occasion requires. Finally, add a very little Flour, and then put them into the Dish. Some fry the Onion with the Steak, but this makes it stronger.
(Bradley 42)

I brought one of the desserts that we ate at Niagara, and I have enclosed two receipts for this dish. It is called Blanc Manger or blancmange. Harriott Pinckney Horry's receipt for Blanc Manger:

Roast beef cooking on a spit. The long-legged trivet is off to the left. Braziers and other cookware are to the right.

Take one ounce of Isinglass, pick it fine, put it in a Pint of Milk and let it Simmer 'till 'tis resolved, sweeten it to your tast and you may add half an Ounce of almonds blanch'd and finely beaten, strain it thro' a cloth; stir it till almost cold then put it into the Moulds. When you omit the Almonds put a little orange flow'r or rose water. (Horry 74)

Isinglass is a form of gelatin made from the air bladders of sturgeons. It comes in semi-transparent sheets and is the purest form of gelatin available. Calvesfoot jelly or hartshorn shavings can also be used. Calves' feet produce a better jelly than hartshorn shavings. The receipt that I use is a little different than Mrs. Horry's.

Dissolve 2 tablespoons of gelatin in 1/4 cup of lukewarm water. This will be very thick. In a saucepan, combine the grated peel of one lemon, 2 cups heavy cream and 1 cup white sugar. Heat carefully, stirring constantly, until the mixture reaches scalding but does not boil. Remove from heat and mix with the gelatin. Blend well and set aside to cool. When room temperature, blend in the juice of one lemon and 1/2 cup sherry wine. To make a pretty mold, rinse a 4- to 5-cup mold with cold water. Pour in the cooled mixture, cover and chill to set. To unmold, dip the mold into very hot water and turn onto the serving plate.

It can also be served out of a bowl and is best served with berries on top. We were fortunate to be able to find ripe raspberries to top the bowl of blancmange that I brought to Fort Niagara.

WE GOT UP TO RAIN ON Saturday. It was intermittent for a while, but several times there were downpours. There was no wind, which was fortunate. Fort Niagara is situated at the mouth of the Niagara River and Lake Ontario, and there are often wild, windy storms that come up over the lake. In spite of the wet, we were able to have fried toasts for breakfast because they could be cooked on the braziers. The toasts were topped with maple syrup that was made this spring. Maple syrup is a treat, as we have to make most of it into sugar so that it will keep.

The plan for the evening meal was to roast chickens on a spit, but because of the rain, the chickens went into the pot instead. As I mentioned earlier, boiling is actually the more common method of cooking meat, as it is the simplest.

A platter of delicious-looking forced eggs.

"Boiling is the dressing Things by Means of Water, as Roasting does it by the naked Fire; this is the whole Difference, but in general Boiling is the easiest Way, as it requires less Nicety and Attendance. To keep the Water really boiling all the Time, to have the Meat clean, and to know how long is required for doing the Joint, or other Thing boiled, comprehends almost the whole Art and Mystery" (Bradley 37).

Along with the chicken, we had broccoli, squash and onions, and forced eggs. To make forced eggs, you first need to boil the eggs till hard. Then remove the shells and cover the eggs with seasoned ground pork. Try to get an even coating that is not too thin, as you do not want the covering to part and expose the egg. The coated eggs are then put into a skillet or fry pan and fried until the pork is cooked. To accomplish this, Amanda set a fry pan on top of a long-legged trivet so that the heat was just right to fry but not burn. Amanda rolled the eggs around continuously to keep them round and cooking evenly. Once cooked, they were cut in half lengthwise and placed on a serving platter. Everyone liked them quite well.

Sunday morning arrived with a clear sky. Breakfast of eggs, bacon, sausage and muffins was cooked upon two braziers. Muffins are easily made. Mrs. Glasse's receipt calls for mixing a soft dough of flour, salt and thin ale. Set this to rise and then break off pieces and shape them into small balls or disks. Cover these with a cloth and let rise again. To cook, lay them on a hot griddle or pan. When one side browns, turn them over. Do not brown too much or burn them.

When you eat them, toast them with a fork crisp on both sides, then with your hand pull them open, and they will be like a honeycomb; lay in as much butter as you intend to use, then clap them together again, and set it by the fire. When you think the butter is melted turn them, that both sides may be buttered alike, but don't touch them with the knife, either to spread or cut them open, if you do they will be heavy as lead, only when they are quite buttered and done, you may cut them cross with a knife. (Glasse, qtd. in Carson 86)

It was a sumptuous meal and much appreciated. In mid- afternoon, fires were started, and two pork loins were put on spits to roast. To complement the pork, we had cabbage boiled with apples, along with a large kettle of potatoes as well as bread and even some rice. There were many cakes for dessert. It was another wonderful meal enjoyed with good friends.

Before we departed on Monday morning, breakfast was once again prepared. This time it was eggs, bacon and toast. It fortified us for the journey home, which sadly meant that we had to leave our friends. But our dogs were at home waiting for us, as were the gardens and general housework.

I promise to be better at returning your letters from now on. I hope that you are having better weather than we are and that your crops are doing well. The early heat has allowed an early crop of hay, and we may have three cuttings this year. I must admit that the weather cooperated when the hay was cut and allowed for it to dry well before it was raked.

I need to get out to the garden and do some weeding. Today the weather is nice enough to plant some more bean seeds. I hope that I have better luck with them coming up this time, or we will not have many beans dried for the winter. In another day or two, I will be able to pick the first of the squash, and I will cook it for dinner. I should also check to see if there are any peas. Up until now we have only been able to pick greens for salad.

Give the family our best. I hope the post rider does not have problems with muddy roads or washed out bridges. I have heard that there are a lot of bridges that were washed away when streams flooded. And many roads are in very bad shape because of the flooding. There will be much work to do to get everything back in good shape before winter.

With Respect and Warm Regards,

Your friend,
Beth Gilgun

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18TH CENTURY MEDICINE

By William Lee Davis, M.D

THIS ARTICLE IS MEANT to be a brief overview of 18th century medicine with some particular attention to Colonial frontier and military practice. I will begin with a consideration of the variety of medical practitioners found in America at that time.

Medical practitioners can be arranged roughly in the order of their prestige. European-trained physicians with medical degrees from such universities as Edinburgh or Leiden were considered the "best." Those who had American university medical degrees, which were available after the 1760s, were next on the list. The preceding two groups with university medical degrees represented about 5% of the estimated 3,500 established medical practitioners just prior to the American Revolution. Another 5% were those with some formal training (Wilbur, *Revolutionary Medicine* 1). The best of this group would be a graduate of an arts college who had "read" medicine and acquired some practical experience. This latter group included many clerics and explains why in many areas the minister also dispensed medical care. Medical professionals without degrees represented the bulk of practitioners, and most of these were trained in three to six year apprenticeships with other medical professionals. The apprentice would read available medical texts and learn by example and practice. No matter what degrees were held, all American medical practitioners were expected to do surgery and to sell medicine. This was in contrast to the English separation of duties between physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. As early as the 17th century, medical practitioners of every level of training were referred to as "doctor" in America.

The next level of medical expertise was held by those who were educated and in positions of authority such as magistrates, planters and community leaders. The other limited practitioner I will mention is the midwife. These women were the sole birth attendants until the mid-18th century and ranged from the incompetent observers of birth to those who were quite skilled in their ministrations and would perform other medical treatments as their skills and necessity dictated.

DESPITE THIS ARRAY of medical practitioners, medical care was overwhelmingly self- or family-administered. Knowledge for this self-medication came from family herbal lore, patent medicine, advertising in newspapers and self-help medical books from the ever-popular English herbals, like *Culpeper's Complete Herbal,* through the simple and very successful *Primitive Physick* written by the Reverend John Wesley to the more sophisticated *Domestic Medicine* by Dr. William Buchan, which was "shelved next to the Bible in many a frontier home" (Lyons 493).

Even for the highest levels of society, the 18th century was a much coarser time than the present in the areas of personal hygiene, diet, comfortable housing, public health and effective medical care. People were at great health risk from the time of birth to their death at what was often half of our present life expectancy.

Long labors from pelvic malformation, uterine weakness or bad positioning of the baby led to deaths of mothers and babies or to birth injuries or weakness of the mother that persisted for a lifetime. Hemorrhage or infection frequently led to the death of the mother. Labor problems were compounded by the belief that hot, dark, airless rooms and frequent alcoholic punches were helpful for the mother. By the mid-18th century the most skilled midwives could perform "podalic version," which is the internal turning of a sideways infant with delivery by the feet. Midwives were helpless in handling most other labor complications. After the revelation of the Chamberlin family's secret obstetrical forceps in 1727 and their use for the royal family by William Hunter, obstetrics gradually became a part of

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Lee Davis started muzzleloading target shooting in 1975 while in the Navy. He went on to become involved in buckskinning and rendezvous. Lee currently reenacts a 17th century apothecary, an 18th century military surgeon and a Union assistant surgeon.

Author portraying French and Indian War British regimental surgeon.

medical practice and man-midwives became known for providing safer, shorter labors in complicated cases (Lyons 481).

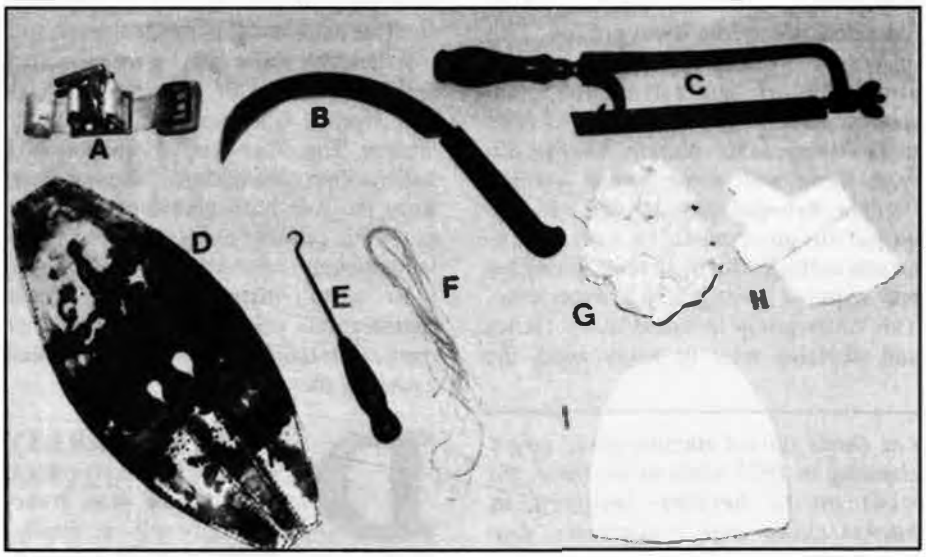
As soon as a child was born its troubles increased. Belief at the time was that the child would be hungry after labor and delivery and should be force fed with "pap" which is bread or flour soaked in water or milk and occasionally beer. The babies were sometimes "fortified" with alcoholic drinks, often the same drink that the mothers and midwives had used during labor. The baby would continue to be fed "pap" until weaned on solid food. Breast-feeding was not fashionable, and many of the children who were breast-fed were let out to wet nurses of questionable health, cleanliness and morals. The infant was probably much better fed on the frontier since the healthy but poor and unfashionable women had little choice but to breast-feed.

Indifferent care, infectious diseases, accidents and useless medical care led to very high infant mortality. In 18th century London one-half of all children died before age two and two-thirds before age five. Statistics for Great Britain in 1784 showed that half of all children died before age twelve (Williams 49). The later rate is probably closer to that of the American frontier since it includes rural areas. In addition to the diseases that adults were prone to, children faced measles, chicken pox, diphtheria and whooping cough. There was much home dosing of children with patent medicines such as Elixir Salutis, which was made of senna, jalap, anise seed, caraway, juniper berries and alcohol, and Godfrey's Cordial, which was made primarily of opium (Williams 51). Treatments by medical practitioners was by equally useless potions, purging and bleeding. Even teething was thought to cause serious problems, and children were bled with leeches and had their gums lanced routinely. Those people who reached adulthood did not face any better medical prospects.

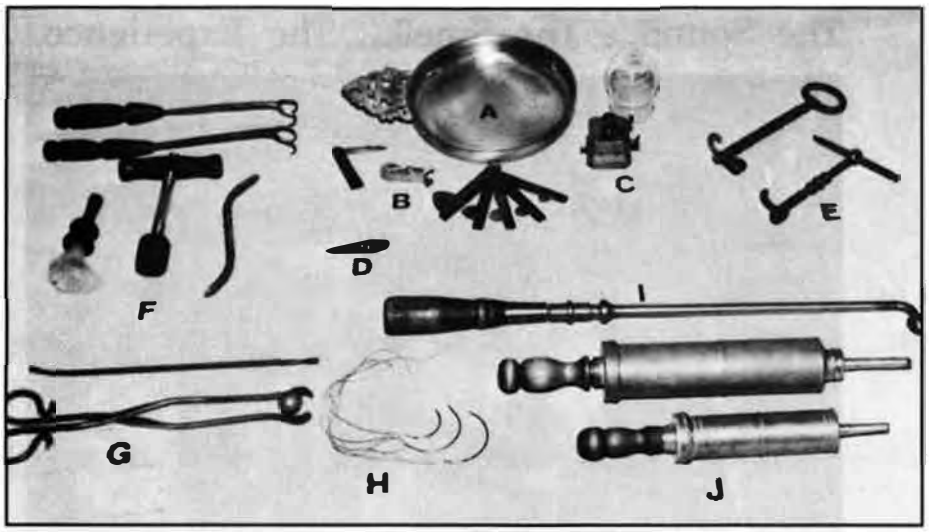
MEDICAL PROBLEMS ran the gamut from nutritional deficiency through parasitic and infectious diseases, to the multiple injuries of an agricultural society. Two common deficiency diseases were scurvy and rickets, which result from lack of vitamins C and D respectively. Even the rich suffered from the lack of variety and fresh foods during the winter months. Poor hygiene based on the old belief that bathing was harmful to the health practically guaranteed that everyone regardless of station had skin infections, lice and scabies. Crowding and unsanitary conditions of water and sewage bred problems with intestinal parasites and infectious diseases such as typhus, typhoid fever, dysentery (bloody flux), malaria, smallpox and tuberculosis. There were also problems not specifically related to the environment such as venereal disease, arthritis, mental illness, fractures and what few cancers or degenerative diseases that could be found in young people or those who had lived long enough to get them. It was the job of medical practitioners to treat these maladies.

The treatment for some maladies such as a fracture, a laceration or a bad tooth were obvious, but for most medical disorders, the best course of treatment was not readily evident. In order to treat this type of problem, one had to have a theory about its origin. Fortunately, over a thousand years earlier, the Greek physician Galen had borrowed the philosopher's four elements of earth, air, fire and water and transformed them into the four bodily humors of blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. The imbalance of these humors produced disease. Which humors were out of balance for which diseases were the principles of the academic studies in medicine for hundreds of years. Treatments for diseases that were developed were all ways to shift or influence various bodily contents. Some of the most common treatments were diet, vomiting, purging, sweating, enemas, blistering and bleeding.

The new thrust of scientific inquiry in the 17th and 18th centuries demonstrated new truths such as the concept of acidity and alkalinity in chemistry and the movement of muscle with nerve stimulation in physiology. While these advances had no direct useful effect for the patient, they did affect medical theories. Binary theories of opposites were revived, and the most successful and simplest was the Brounian "unity" theory. The Scottish physician John Brown felt that good health depended upon a proper balance of nerve stimulation to muscle and blood vessel response. Excessive stimulation gave muscle spasm and then disease; too little stimulation gave



Amputating tools: (A) petit tourniquet, (B) curved amputating knife, (C) bone saw, (D) leather retractor, (E) tenaculum (hook), (F) waxed linen ligatures, (G) lint, (H) rolled bandages, and (I) stump stocking.



Medical and surgical supplies: (A) bleeding bowl, (B) bleeding lancets, (C) cupping scarificators and cup, (D) leech (E) tooth "keys", (F) trephining instruments (for skull surgery), (G) bullet forceps and probe, (H) curved needles and waxed linen, (I) blistering or cautery iron, and (J) clysters.

weakness or atony. The state of too much stimulation was called "sthenic" and too little was called "asthenic." Brown also simplified his treatments to match his theory using opium for quieting the excited state and alcohol for exciting the under-stimulated. Brown really believed in his theory; he died as an opium-addicted alcoholic. For most practitioners, however, new theories made little difference in their use of multiple traditional treatment modalities.

Medicines used for affecting the body's harmony included opium for pain; Peruvian bark or quinine for fevers and arthritis; ipecac and paregoric for dysentery; tartar emetic to inducing vomiting in jaundice and digestive complaints; wine and ardent spirits for muscle spasms; Epsom salts, Glaubers salts, rhubarb, jalap and castor oil as purgatives to reduce intestinal irritation; mercury applied or ingested causing salivation and for venereal disease; camphor and rhubarb used to induce sweating to lower fevers and help recovery from intestinal complaints; and digitalis, dandelion and juniper berries as diuretics to reduce swelling (dropsy). Combined use of the above medicines with blistering and bleeding was considered proper.

Bleeding was the major physical modality of medical treatment in the 18th century. The process was dramatic and could be done when there was no other treatment available. A practitioner could treat almost any malady with a bleeding bowl and fleam, a lancet and cupping or a handy leech. Blistering could be done with mustard or Spanish fly plasters or blistering irons. Clysters or enemas were used when the oral route for medicine was difficult. Lacerations were sewn with large curved needles and waxed linen thread. A painful tooth could be drawn with a tooth key. Skull fractures were treated by trephining, which is the use of a small circular saw called a trephine to remove a disc of bone so that blood clots on the brain could be removed or depressed pieces of bone lifted.

Major crush injuries or complicated fractures would kill by infection if amputation were not performed. Amputation was accomplished without anesthesia and the assistance of a couple of strong men and some opium for pain relief, if it was available. Alcohol was generally thought of as a stimulant by the medical community and not usually used as an anesthetic except as administered under battle conditions in the military. Even then it was probably secretly administered by the patient's friends. A tourniquet was then applied above the area to be amputated. Skin and muscle were cut with a quick rotation of the curved amputating knife, the bones were sawed with the bone saw, and the major arteries were tied off. The preceding ministrations were carried out to one degree or another by all of the American practitioners depending on their skill, nerve or situation.

Pharmaceutical supplies: (A) apothecary scales and weights, (B) brass mortar and pestle, (C) pill tile, spatula and ointment, (D) drugs, and (E) drug formulary books.

MILITARY MEDICINE in America during the 18th century was, with a few exceptions, the same as civilian medicine. Dealing with constant scarcity of all commodities, large groups of crowded men and battle injuries were the areas of exception. The military encountered a higher proportion of diseases due to contagion like typhus and smallpox and those caused by poor sanitation and malnutrition, like dysentery and scurvy. Contemporary references note smallpox epidemics at Ft. Loudon, Pennsylvania, Ft. Frederick, Maryland, and Ft. Cumberland, Maryland, in 1758. Scurvy and "bloody flux," or dysentery, was reported in accounts of Ft. Loudon, Pennsylvania, Ft. Frederick, Maryland, and Ft. Loudon, Virginia, in Winchester (Powell, *Fort Cumberland* 34). On the day of the battle at Fort Necessity, 100 of Washington's 398 men were reported sick with dysentery and malnutrition (Riggs).

During and after battles there were many bullet, some sword and some bayonet wounds. The surgeons worked long hours amputating, trephining, suturing and extracting bullets. This activity was all carried out under very primitive conditions and with little in the way of supplies or assistance. Civilian help was always welcome. Hugh Mercer volunteered his services to help with the wounded at Ft. Cumberland, Maryland, after Braddock's defeat in 1755 (English 18).

Some positive aspects of medicine that came out of military practice were the recognition of the need for fresh air, less crowded conditions, nourishing food and warm quarters for optimal care of the wounded; widespread inoculation for prevention of smallpox epidemics among army personnel; and the use of brews like spruce beer to prevent scurvy among wintering troops.

Perhaps this presentation will give the reader a little better feel for the terrible medical problems faced by our ancestors and the difficulty of dealing with them in the absence of our present knowledge of bacteriology, pathology, biochemistry and physiology. M

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APPLES AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

By Loren E. Heinlen

A FEW DAYS AGO IN THE middle of a gentle spring rain, I finished setting out a dozen more young apple trees in the small yearling orchard that has taken over the southeast corner of my property. Among those trees were a number of varieties whose names for me reverberate off of their computer-printed identification tags like echoes from this country's earliest years. For both in the Colonies and on the edge of the American frontier, apples like Fameuse, Spitzenburg, Gravenstein and the Newton Pippin were an integral part of our unfolding culture either as welcome grafts from the old country or as the fortuitous offspring of an unrestricted cross-pollination.

As a matter of record, the new world had its own abundance of fruit, but nothing, including the native crab apples, could compare in practical application with the domestic apple varieties already known to the transplanted Europeans. As a result the old apples, whose roots extended deep into antiquity, began their own emigration to the new world by popular demand.

It is an irony of the Colonial and frontier periods that the apple was principally used to provide the settlers with beverages to be consumed as an alternative to water. While, of course, taste played some part in this demand, the largest motivation was a concern for good health and the prevention of disease.

Although Loren Heinlen has been admiring and shooting muzzleloading rifles since the early 70s, his interest turned to passion in the early 80s when he began to hunt whitetails with smokepoles. When he discovered black powder shotguns, things definitely got out of hand.

The logic behind this concern was based upon the poor public sanitation experienced in Europe and a related centuries-old decline in water quality around populated areas. Water was viewed with a suspicion born of common observation, if not then a scientific understanding. In many Old World communities, the alternative to drinking water fouled by city sewage had become wine and beer. In England, hard cider or more correctly apple wine was preferred. The irony, of course, was that there was little need to fear this continent's water, for at that time its quality was unsurpassed by perhaps any in the world.

Depending on their individual cultural heritage, each settlement in America leaned toward some popular fermented drink. Unfortunately the native grapes did not provide a drink on par with European grape wine, and European grape vines were subject, when planted in the American soil, to root destruction by a native louse. Beer was favored by settlers from northern Europe, but in general cider became king. Apple trees were readily adaptable to the climate and the quality of the fruit was not particularly critical to making a serviceable cider.

In the Colonies and on the frontier, apple quality was both a philosophical and a practical issue. While apples may readily be grown from seed and at a very reasonable cost, specific varieties cannot be perpetuated except by grafting. That is, a branch or "scion" is taken from a tree with exceptional fruit and inserted into a cut made in the prepared base of a young tree with a hardy root system called the "stock."

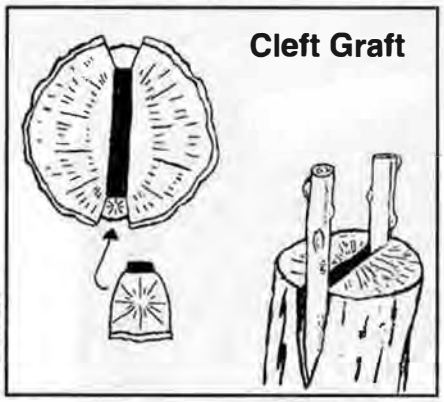
Because apple trees raised from seed will carry the genetic information of both parent trees, it is not entirely possible to predict which genes will dominate and thus what kind of tree will result. Planting grafted stock then becomes an efficient way of controlling orchard production and quality.

The ad hoc products of free pollination may on the one hand be very desirable and our earliest popular varieties have resulted from grafts taken from the odd exceptional seedling tree. On the other hand, much of the fruit from seeded trees is mediocre at best. For cider making the earliest settlers, living on an extremely tentative budget, would often opt for an orchard based upon seeded trees alone, hoping for one or two "good ones" for eating or cooking. Those desiring a specific variety of apple for home use or even to market would obtain the more expensive grafted stock for their orchard.

In my own area, many of the old orchards found at the sites of abandoned homesteads are of the seeded variety. One overgrown orchard in particular comes to mind. For of all the trees in that orchard, there is only a single tree that seems to periodically throw out blemish-free and succulent fruit. Coincidentally, the apples on this tree ripen the first week of the deer season each year, and I often stop by there

in the course of still-hunting for whitetails to fill my pockets or even a gunny sack with fruit. It is my intention to take a few scions from this tree and top dress one of my young orchard trees with this variety to perpetuate it further.

FOR A NUMBER OF OUR earliest orchardists, the idea of grafting apple trees was simply beyond consideration as it opposed not just their economic philosophy but also their religious beliefs. Among these men and women, one young radical frontiersman was John Chapman, more commonly known as Johnny Appleseed.



Cherry Lloyd

John Chapman was born two years before the American Declaration of Independence in the town of Leominster, Massachusetts. He was in every sense, word and deed a native American. He is now the source of many frontier legends, particularly in Ohio and Indiana, and his eccentric life on the edge of the frontier was in little need of embellishment. A follower of the Swedish mystic, Emanuel Swedenborg, Chapman was the personification of frontier frugality. As such, and while he was by no means poverty stricken, he did not surround himself with any comforts. Instead he lived in discarded clothing, seldom wore shoes (even in winter) and spent what money he possessed on more land to plant his extensive seedling orchards from which he distributed, at a small fee, apple trees to frontier settlers.

It is clear from the records that Chapman did not believe in grafting. He viewed the practice as a mutilation of one of God's gifts. Instead, he acted upon his faith that good fruit would always be the reward for following the Swedenborg view of man's role in the scheme of things. It is also clear from the records that in spite of legends to the contrary, Chapman was not the first orchardist on the frontier nor even the first apple man in my native Indiana. His grave in Fort Wayne commemorates the dedication and sacrifice of one who thought to bring a new order to the "wilderness," but his was not a singular effort in this.

Actually, there is evidence that the first trees on American soil appeared from Europe in Massachusetts in the early 1600s, perhaps at the hand of a clergyman by the name of William Blaxton. Other records indicate that about the same time the French also were bringing in seeds and grafts to Quebec, as were other Europeans all up and down the seaboard. The advantages of these actions were almost immediate, as Colonists harvested the fruits within a few seasons of planting and processed cider, distilled brandy and inoculated cider with yeast to form vinegar, the latter being indispensable for cooking and pickling.

Large orchards and nurseries were established in short order. Notable were those of John Bartram in Philadelphia and Robert Prince on Long Island, established in 1730. The varieties these businesses were to offer the public as apples and grafted apple trees numbered into the hundreds.

While the frontier changed hands as a French, English and then finally an American holding, apples followed the westward expansion. In some cases apples actually preceded the takeover as the Native Americans were quick to recognize the benefits of adopting the domestic apple and planted their own orchards well west of the frontier borders. Early forays into these lands by long hunters sometimes uncovered apple orchards far from the cider barrels of the eastern settlements and of considerable age.

With the push of the frontier beyond the Mississippi, frontier orchardists like Henderson Lewelling braved the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains to finally reach the Williamette Valley of Oregon with enough living plants to begin a successful West Coast fruit and tree business. In time others followed his example and the continent was bridged with fruit.

WHILE TODAY'S supermarkets display only a limited number of varieties, most notably the easy to keep but often flavorless Red Delicious, the old orchards were a plethora of variety. Having spent my high school years working in a large orchard among a number of the antique varieties, I can testify to the amazing diversity of flavor, texture, appearance and storage capabilities that apples exhibit. For our

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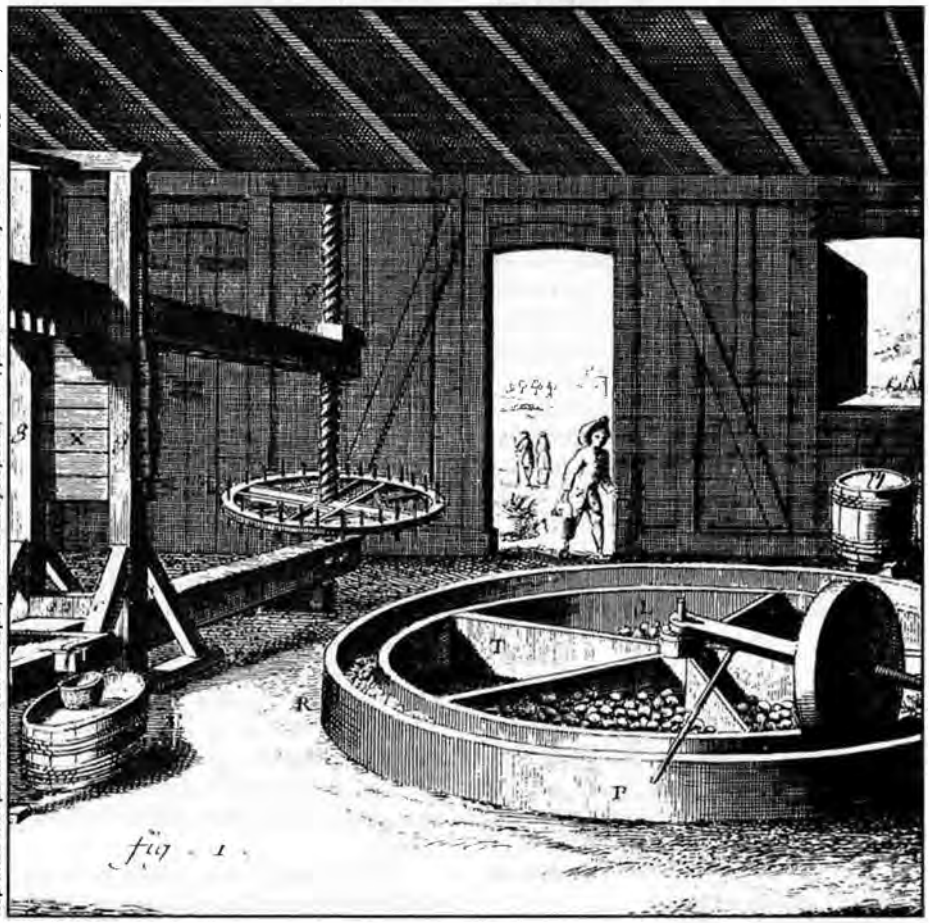

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forbearers on this continent, this diversity inspired a competitiveness to develop highly marketable apples that met the varied demands of the nation.

In this competition some familiar names come to the forefront. Thomas Jefferson is reported to have greatly admired and grown at Monticello the Spitzenburg apple, which had its origins in Ulster County, New York. He is also reported to have tended grafts of the Newton Pippin whose first appearance was made in the early 1700s in what is now Queens in New York.

A greenish-skinned apple with an exceptional flavor and long keeping ability, the Pippin was the first apple to be exported back to "jolly old England." Benjamin Franklin distributed some of the first samples himself in 1759 during a visit to court on behalf of American political interests. While the Pippin was a sensation on his visit, the American cause met with a cooler response from King George the Third.

Sadly for the British, the Pippin grew well only in the Hudson River Valley and efforts to grow it in England met with some reportedly inferior fruit. When the Americans reacted to the continued English lack of consideration with a revolution, the best of the Pippins stayed on this shore. One can only speculate whether it was our military superiority that prevailed upon the British to finally surrender the Colonies or whether an extended separation from Pippins of excellent quality on the home front put the English over the edge.

A continued interest in historical accuracy during reenactments and in rendezvous should lead us to an intensified concern for paralleling, on those occasions, the early American diet. Apples were a decided dimension in those formative years, certainly as much a part of the settlement and frontier table fare as were the rapidly adapted products of Indian horticulture including corn, beans and squash. Continued access to the antique varieties of apples will serve us in the effort to study and even attempt to duplicate the experiences of those times.

Fortunately for that necessary access, it is possible to grow these apples today. In spite of the concerns of purists like Johnny Appleseed, grafting has preserved for us an amazing tradition of variety.

Because of a few dedicated orchardists, we may still savor the original European imports such as the Russian Duchess of Oldenburg, the French Summer Rambo, the German Gravenstein, Sops of Wine (traceable to medieval England), and the diminutive Lady, whose lineage extends to classic Rome.

In spite of rises and falls in popularity (and the impact of modern marketing, which extols the virtues of some less-than-interesting fruit at the expense of apples far superior in every aspect other than a financial return on investment), American originals are still available for the home orchardists and frontier history enthusiasts today. These American apples include the Black Gilliflower, which first appeared in 18th century Connecticut; Grime's Golden, which is from Brooks County, Virginia, and was recorded as a popular seller in New Orleans as early as 1804; the Roxbury Russet (America's oldest apple, first cultivated in Roxbury, Massachusetts and then transported to Connecticut in 1649); and the Winesap, revered in the settlements for its cider. Setting out even a modest orchard of antique apples opens up one's eyes to what has been lost over the generations as our American heritage, rich in horticultural traditions, becomes re-routed into the monocultures of agribiz and urban consumption.

For those who would use these old apples for the table, the surviving recipes for preserves, butters, sauces, pies, cakes, puddings, fritters, stuffings and salads, not to mention the bracing brandies, punches and toddies bring to mind a moment in this country's past when there was an unbroken link between the fruit of a family's labor and the quality of their lives. Even a cup of the apple's simple juice, taken as a crisp and effervescent cider, embodies that heritage and, like the names tagged to my orchard trees, serves to refresh the spirit where contemporary offerings do not always satisfy.

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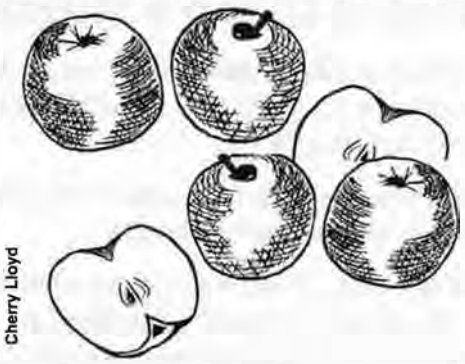

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PUT BY FOR WINTER

By Beth Gilgun

DEAREST FRIENDS,

The harvest season is upon u . and we have been very busy getting ready for winter. In your latest letter, you said that you had been having too much rain and that many of the creeks were overflowing their banks. I wish that there were some way you could send some of that water to us, for our growing season has been exceedingly dry and many crops have been the worse for it. Our friend Eric had his well go dry for a time. Fortunately it wasn't for very long. Today it is cloudy and looks like we will get some rain, but we have been fooled by the clouds before.

When not busy with the harvest, Christopher has been building a fine new fowler for our friend Bert. I think the stock an especially nice color and figure to the wood. The gun should be ready soon, and Bert will be happy as he has waited for a long time for it to be finished. I think Chris is going to fire the gun tomorrow to make sure everything i as it should be.

I have been putting food by and sewing and have had time for little else. Everyone in town is just as busy, so no one has seen much of each other. We will all be looking forward to Muster Day so that we have a break and can catch up on the news. I am in desperate need of some new clothing, but all my sewing time has had to be devoted to working for other people. If I can find two days' time, I should be able to get done what I need. Maybe in another few weeks.

We were glad to hear from you and find that the raiding parties I had expressed concern about in my last letter have not been in your area. Word ha come from Number 4 that Lieutenant Parker and Mrs. A ahel Stebbins have been captured by the French and brought to Montreal. Mr. Stebbin was killed at the same time. The French are asking a large ransom for Mr. Parker's return. This is the second time this has happened to him (August 27, 1758). Thi must be a terrible time of worry for his goodwife Ruth and all of the children. We are not very worried here in Warwick, because the raiding parties have usually kept to the Connecticut River Valley, and we are quite up the mountain from there.

Even with the lack of rain, the crops have been enough. The corn has been especially good this year. We have been eating some of the sweet corn fresh—often roasting the ears in their asks on the hearth—although most will be dried for use until the next harvest. Several varieties of corn are grown, some suitable for the animals and others used as vegetables or for milling into meal. It is said in the Colony of Rhode Island that the best corn for milling is a white-cap flint. It is not suitable for eating fresh, and the cattle do not seem to like it, but it grinds to meal very well. One of its best properties is that it does not shrink as it dries like dent corn does. All types of corn must be dried for winter storage. The ears are picked when they have started to dry on the stalks. The husks are drawn back from the ears to help keep them from getting moldy. The ears can be hung from beams in the barn, garret or loft or spread out on the floor, although they dry better when hung because there is better air circulation. When the kernels are dry, they can be removed from the cobs. This is accomplished by drawing the ears over a sharp edge with something set on the floor underneath to catch them. Even the long handle of a spider (frying pan on legs) can be used for this purpose. Peter Kalm in his travel journal of 1749 writes of another way to dry corn used by a Mrs. Vischer, with whom he stayed. This method is for drying sweet corn which will be used for a winter vegetable, not for grinding into meal:

They take the corn before it is ripe, boil it in a little water, allow it to dry in the sun and preserve it for future use. Corn prepared this way is then boiled with meat, etc. when it, as well as the soup in which it is boiled, is good to eat. The younger the corn is when picked, the better it is, provided, however, that it is not too young. When the corn is prepared this way it is not necessary to remove the hull as this is not yet hard. When it is boiled, it is done in the following manner: The whole cob is placed in the saucepan and when it is ready, the kernels are removed from it. (615)

The dry kernel are kept in baskets or cloth bags in a dry room.

Once the kernels of hard corn are dry they are brittle and crack when pounded. Dried corn is usually ground into meal by the miller's grindstones or pounded into meal with a mortar and pestle designed for the purpose, which is called a samp mortar. Samp mortars are normally a log or stump about a yard high that has had the top hollowed out. The pestle is a branch, thicker at the working end which pounds the corn. The pestle can be attached to a springy piece of wood attached above the samp or to a green sapling. The spring helps to raise the pestle while you pull it down to pound the corn, thus lessening the labor involved.

I have read that corn can be beaten into meal without drying it first. In the last century, Roger William wrote of parboiling the corn for half a day, then pounding it in a mortar until it dried as it was beaten to a coarsely ground meal. It would seem that this type of meal would not be suitable for keeping, but I do not know as I have not tried it..meal boiled with water. Several years ago

meal is a staple of our or pudding as well as in of bread. The simplest meal boiled with water. Several go (1729) when William Byrd wrote *History of the Dividing Line*, he commended that Indian meal be boiled with portable soup. Portable soup is a jelly made from veal bones that can be cut into pieces and wrapped in bits of cloth for carrying. He says, "It was more heartening if you thicken every Mess with half a Spoon of Rockahominy which is nothing but Indian Corn parched without burning and reduced to powder" (Phipps 121). A sweeter pudding is often baked rather than boiled. Scald a quart of milk. Stir in seven tablespoonfuls of corn meal, a teaspoonful of salt, a tea cupful of molasses, and a spoonful of ginger or cinnamon. Bake three to four hours (Child 61). The simplest of breads is the ash cake. Take 1 cup meal, 1/2 teaspoon salt and 1-1/4 cups boiling water. Mix the ingredients thoroughly in a bowl and let stand a few minutes to thicken. Mold the batter into cakes with your hands. The cakes can be cooked directly on the floor of the fireplace that has been swept clean and then covered with ashes to cook. A cleaner way is to put them onto a board. The board is propped in front of the fire while the cakes bake. Of course the cakes can also be cooked on a griddle or spider if you have one. One of the names for these cakes is the jonnycake. This name supposedly comes from the popularity of carrying them or making them on a journey. (Making them as needed certainly makes more sense as they do not require utensils for cooking.) Journey-cake became corrupted as jonnycake, perhaps because of the slang that names every common man "John." Another name is hoe cake, which may come from cooking these cakes for a noonday meal while working in the fields using the hoe for a griddle or because the cakes when cooked directly on the fireplace floor need to be "hoed" out of the ashes. No matter what the name, they are delicious and simple to make.

Indian meal is used in loaf breads, too. It is used along with rye flour to make wheat flour go further. The three flours are mixed in thirds. When there is no wheat flour, a heavy bread is made of just Indian meal and rye flour. I try to make sure that the meal and flour I use are well-sifted but not everyone is as careful. One of the gentlemen in Deerfield wrote that he had been served a loaf of rye and Indian that had been "sifted through a ladder with every other rung out" (Benes 53).

ANOTHER MAJOR winter-keeping crop is apples. One of the first things to be planted when establishing a new household are young apple trees. There are many varieties, some suited better for cooking and others for cider. Our former house in Woburn had a fine tree of Baldwins that made a most excellent pie. We keep some apples in the cellar. Only perfect fruit should be put into storage this way, as bruises and nicks will cause the fruit to spoil quickly and affect the rest of what has been stored. To store this way, put down a layer of straw, dry leaves or the like in the bottom of your barrel. Then carefully put in a layer of apples. It is best to have the fruit not touch each other. Then put down another layer of straw and another layer of apples, etc. Apples, or anything else stored in this manner need to be checked regularly for spoilage as "one bad apple spoils the barrel!" Our cellar is cool all year 'round, but does not get to freezing in the winter. This is important as freezing temperatures will ruin the food stored in your barrels in this manner. One year I had half of my winter-keeping squash ruined because the cellar door was open for a time—I do not remember why—and the squash was too near the door and froze. I, alas, did not discover the situation until the squash had spoiled.

Many of our apples are dried in the fall, and we also dry the ones we find in the barrels that are starting to spoil, if we cannot use them right away. To dry apples they are cut across the fruit into rings. Remove the core and run a string through the flesh, making sure that the fruit is not touching. Hang like a festoon from the beams, close to the ceiling in the kitchen along with the herbs. When they are dry, the slices will be leathery. Apple pie is a common dish. Dr. Israel Acrelius, a Swedish visitor to our shores writes that, "Apple pie is used through the whole year and when fresh apples are no longer to be had, dried ones are used. It is the evening meal of children. House pie, in country places, is made of apples neither peeled nor freed from their cores, and its crust is not broken if a wagon-wheel goes over it" (Phipps 124). (Acrelius was in the colonies of Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania from 1749 to 1756). I certainly hope that my pies are better thought of than that! A decent pie can be made from slices of dried apples if a little bit of water is poured over the slices and allowed to sit for a time before they are put into the crust with sweetening and spices.

While we have fresh apples I often make apple dumplings.

[T]*ake an apple and pare it, make a dough of water, flour and butter. Roll it thin and enclose apple in it. This is then bound in a clean linen cloth, put in a pot an boiled. When done it is taken out, placed on table*

and served. While it is warm, the crust is cut on one side. Thereupon ... mix butter and sugar, which is added to the apples; then the dish is ready. (Kalm 173-4)

dish can also be called apple pudding.

A MOST INTERESTING use of apples is found in a periodical that has found its way to town. It is published by a Mr. Benjamin Franklin. The March 1741 edition contains a receipt for "A new sort of Molasses made of apples, the Account communicated to the Royal Society, by Paul Dudley, Esq., of New England, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, Numb. 374." It goes as follows:

The Apple that produces the Molasses is a Summer Sweeting of a middling Size, pleasant to the Taste and Full of juice, so that 7 Bushels will make a Barrel of Cyder. The Manner of Making it is thus; you must grind and press the Apples, and then take the Juice and boil it in a Copper till three Quarters of it is wasted, which will be done in about 6 hours gentle Boiling and by that time comes to be of the Sweetness and Consistency of Molasses.

Some of our People scum the Cyder as boils, others do not, and yet there seems be no great Difference in the Goodness.

This new Molasses answers all the Ends of that made of the sweet Cane imported from beyond Sea. It serves not only for Food and Brewing, but is in great use also in preserving of Cyder; two Quarts of it put into a Barrel of rack'd Cyder will both preserve it and give it a very agreeable color.

The Apple-Molasses was discovered a few Years since, by a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, at Woodstock, in this province, a town remote from the sea and where the West-India Molasses is dear and scarse; he ingenuously confesses the Discovery was purely accidental, but ever since he has supplied his Family with Molasses out of his Orchard, and his Neighbors also now do the like to their great advantage.

Our Country Farmers run much upon planting Orchards with these Sort of Sweetings, for fatning their Swine, and assure me it makes the best Sort of Pork. And I know the Cyder made of them to be better than that of other Fruit, for Taste, Colour, and Keeping. (Zeus 41)

This molasses is not as sweet as that brought in from the West Indies but is quite suitable for any receipt. When making a smaller quantity such as a gallon, the time required for boiling will be shorter than the six hours recommended above. Somewhere around three hours will often be sufficient. As it boils be careful to watch that it doesn't burn. It thickens as it cools, and if you boil it down too much it will turn into jelly overnight. If you do boil it down overmuch, rub the jelly through a sieve and add a small amount of cider. Thi. apple molasses ill suffice in any receipt calling for West India molasses, and if you have a . ufficiency of apples, it will be most economical.

Apples are, of course, also preserved as cider and old cider is used to make vinegar. The best cider is made from a mixture of apples. Sometimes when cider spoils it becomes vinegar on its own, but it is most reliable to keep a vinegar barrel going at all times. Mrs. Child, in her book for housekeeping, recommends that you start with a barrel or half-barrel of really strong vinegar. As you use it, fill the barrel with old cider, sour beer or wine-settlings. You must take care not to add these too often or in too large a quantity, because if the vinegar gets too weak, it is quite difficult to restore (Child 15-16).

Vinegar is necessary to pickle vegetables and meats. I have a nice receipt for pickled crabapples. Run a needle through each apple to prevent it bursting. For 5 pounds of fruit, combine 8 cups of sugar with 6 cups of vinegar and 6 cups of water. Break cinnamon sticks into 1-inch pieces and add six or seven of them. If you have it, add 1/4-cup each of whole cloves and whole allspice. Bring the liquid, sugar and spices to a boil in a large kettle and add one layer of crabapples. Cook very gently until tender but not soft. Repeat until all of the crabapples are cooked. Remove the pot from heat and put all the apples back into the syrup and let stand overnight or for as long as 24 hours in a cool place. Pack these into a stoneware pot and make sure that the liquid covers the fruit by a good inch or two. Tie a piece of parchment or brandy paper over the top and store in the cellar. (For the modern kitchen, pack the apples into hot sterile jars, reheat the syrup to boiling and pour over the apples, leaving 1/2-inch head space in the jars. Seal and process in a boiling water bath. If there is not enough syrup to fill the jars use boiling water to fill after dividing the syrup evenly.)

OTHER CROPS ARE quite important for our winter diet, too. Pumpkins and winter-keeping squash of several sorts are grown. When they are ripe, we pick them and lay them in the sun to harden the skins and make sure no wetness is upon them. Many can be kept whole. "They keep fresh for several months and even throughout the winter, if

they be well secured in dry cellars (for in damp ones they rot very soon) where the cold cannot enter, or, which is still better, in dry rooms which are heated now and then to prevent the cold from damaging the fruit" (Kalm 517). Those not kept whole are "cut in slices, drawn upon a thread, and dried. They keep all the year long, and are then boiled or stewed" (Kalm 182).

Pumpkins and squash are prepared in a variety of ways. A favorite of ours is to cut them in half and take the seeds out. Put the halves together again and roast in the oven. When done, put butter into the middle and let it seep into the pulp. This makes a quite tasty dish. They can, of course, be boiled in water and then eaten—a way that is quite common. Pumpkin or squash that has been boiled and then mashed can be mixed with corn meal and then fried or cooked as an ash cake. I find these quite good, and even better if there is some sweet to put in the cake.

My husband's favorite way to eat pumpkin or squash is in a pudding. This can be baked in a crust or a baking pan. Pare the vegetable and remove the seeds, stew it and strain it through a sieve or colander. You will want about half a quart. Stir in about the same amount of milk or cream and 2 eggs. Sweeten to your taste with molasses or sugar—about a teacupful. You will want some salt and two large spoonfuls of sifted cinnamon; one of ginger. I also like a grating of nutmeg. This should bake for around an hour, more or less according to your oven. When done a knife will come clean when put into the center. This can be made from dried pumpkins as they are boiled the same as fresh.

We store turnips, onions and potatoes as well. We generally prefer turnips to potatoes because they have a better flavor. But as Mr. Kalm says, "Potatoes are planted by almost everyone. Some people prefer ashes to sand for keeping them in during winter (336). Turnips and potatoes are kept in the cellar, much the same way as the apples. We roast some of the potatoes in the fire, and both potatoes and turnips are boiled and mashed with milk or water. They are served with a meat dish or as the main supper dish.

Not all of the food we put by in the autumn months is from the harvest. Butter to be stored is made and put into a clean, scalded firkin. It is covered with strong brine and a cloth is fixed over the top. This is also the time to make and store lard. I wrote that we had gotten a pig from our friend Tom. All the fat from the pig is made into lard. The fat is cut in pieces and put into a large kettle. You want to keep

the fire low to keep the fat from getting too hot. Stir often so that the bits of tissue don't stick to the kettle. As it renders, the lard should get to a temperature somewhat above that of boiling water. Once all the fat is rendered, set the kettle to cool a bit so all the extra bits settle to the bottom. Dip the clear fat from the kettle and put it into a scalded tub or barrel. The bottom can be strained through a cloth and packed in the same way. Lard requires no other care than to be kept in a cool, dry place. Lard makes especially nice pastry.

Well, I am almost as weary from writing about all the work as from doing it. This is certainly a season where every hour is filled with a chore. I must go and gather some more of my scarlet beans and shell them. They will then be set to dry in the sun. I will use them, along with some of the pork that has been salted, for baked beans throughout the winter. The scarlet beans have been a most satisfying crop. Their red flowers are pretty to look at and have been attracting the hummingbirds and bees all summer. And now we are getting a good harvest of beans. I will certainly put some of the beans by for seeds to be grown next summer.

I hope this letter finds you drier than you have been. Travel must have been very difficult with all the swollen streams and the mud, although your letter arrived in good time. We hope that your harvest has not been affected too much or you will have a lean winter. Give the family our best and keep writing, as we so look forward to hearing from you.

With Respect and warm Regards,
Your friend,
Beth Gilgun

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COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

By Beth Gilgun

DEAREST FRIENDS,
Your latest letter was most welcome. I am glad that your winter has been mild and open. We are having similar weather. At the beginning of December we had a terrible snowstorm. The snow began falling on Friday the 6th and was heavy and wet. It looked quite beautiful because all of the trees were covered. By Saturday morning the snow had stopped, and we had about thirteen inches on the ground. It was still cloudy with no wind, so the snow stayed on the trees.

By Saturday evening it was snowing again and was once again wet and heavy with no wind. By Sunday morning there was a total of about 24 inches on the ·nd and the wet heavy snow had ·ied many trees and tree limbs. It was so bad in places that it almost looked like a tornado had been through. Pine trees were uprooted and blocked roads. The small birches had their tips bent to the ground and many are still like that. It was most fortunate that few of the trees or limbs damaged houses or barns. Fortunately the sun came out on Sunday.

A wedding procession.

In the weeks since then there have been so many gray days and fluvial amounts of rain, that I have been forced to think of something positive while wishing for the sun. The gray days and rain have kept the temperatures quite warm so the house has been much warmer than normal this winter. Even the upstairs chambers where there are no fires are bearable to work in. However the ground is not frozen enough for the men to use sledges to bring in the firewood, and the mud has caused some problems for travelers. Usually winter is a time of easy travel over nicely frozen roads or packed snow.

When Two Fond Hearts in Love Unite, The Yoke is Easy, the Burden Light

We have already had a large gathering at our house this winter. It was quite festive and we had much good food and company. I am now looking forward to the next gathering in several weeks. Even though there has been very little snow, ·er is still a time when there is little to do for chores so that ·y people have time to visit. Chris has been able to get out and hunt some partridge in the last couple of weeks. He and Nutmeg were successful on several days so we had partridge for supper. Most of the covers where they used to hunt have had no birds this year, so Kate, the younger dog, has not had as much training as Chris would have liked. We are all hoping for a better hatch this coming spring.

It has been a year since our nephew and niece married last November and December. Their anniversaries have gotten me to thinking about the subject of courtship and marriage here in the Colonies. Marriage is a much more universal state here than in England. Colonel William Byrd wrote of the advantages of his colony of Virginia. "Matrimony 'thrives so excellently' that 'an Old Maid or an Old Bachelor are as scarce amoung us and reckoned as ominous as a Blazing Star'" (Spruill 137). In England as many as 27 percent of the adult population remains unmarried. Here in the New England colonies, bachelors and spinsters are quite uncommon; 94 percent of the women and 98 percent of the men are married (Fischer 77). This is most likely because the numbers of men and women here are roughly equal, which is not true in Europe. Many writers have commented upon this. An emigrant to South Carolina wrote to his brother in Switzerland:

We have provided well for our single women, who consisted of 13 persons. They have all been favourable married. In the old country they would not have had such good fortune . . . poor females who are of scanty means should come to America if they are virtuous and sensible. They will get along nicely inasmuch as all can make their fortune, for here men do not care for money as they do in Switzerland. (Spruill 137)

George Alsop encouraged women to come to Maryland:

The women that go over into this Province as Servants, have the best luck here as in any place of the world besides; for they are no sooner on shoar, but they are courted into a Copulative Matrimony, which some of them (for aught I know) had they not come to such a Market with their Virginity, might have kept it by them untill it had been mouldy. (Hall 358)

Cresswell wrote in his ...he Colonies are "a paradise ...or women. That great curiosity, ... Maid is seldom seen in this ...try. They generally marry before they ...e twenty-two, often before they are sixteen" (271–272). In fact in New England the average age of marriage was 20 to 22 for women and 24 to 26 for men. In the Chesapeake region, the average age for men was nearly the same, but the average age for women was below twenty (Fischer 75, 284; Ulrich 6). Also women were almost universally married in the Chesapeake region, but in the last 50 years of the 17th century, at least one quarter of the men died as bachelors (Fischer 286).


George Bickham, *The Universal Penman*

BEFORE MARRIAGE THE couple goes through a period of courtship. One writer has proposed that "Marriage then, or at least proper marriage, result[s] not from falling in love, but from a decision to enter a married state, followed by the choice of a suitable person" (Morgan 59). The "suitable person" is often picked by the other individual, but each needs the approval of the other's parents. A young man will often ask permission of the young lady's parents before he starts courtship. Custom requires that the parents of the young man as well as those of the young lady agree to a marriage.

South Carolinian Henry Laurens wrote a letter reproaching a middle-aged, fortune-hunting Frenchman who had paid unauthorized attention to Laurens' daughter. The Frenchman pleaded that Laurens remember his own courtship, whereupon Laurens replied, "When I paid my addresses to [my wife], I was in the vigour of youth and there was little disparity between our ages. That lady [his wife] was also under guardianship, and altho' my life and conversation, my connections and prospects were intimately known to her guardians, to her father and brothers, I scorned to attempt an attachment to her affections, 'till I had obtained the consent and approbation of the other parties so nearly interested. I should have deemed a contrary conduct a species of dishonourable fraud" (letter probably written in the late 1770s; Spruill 143–144).

George Washington wrote to Nelly Custis some questions that she should ask herself about potential suitors:

Is he a man of good character; a man of sense? . . . what has been his walk of life? Is he a gambler, a spendthrift, or drunkard? Is his fortune sufficient to maintain me in the manner I have been accustomed to live, and my sisters live, and is he one to whom my friends can have no reason[able] objection? (Spruill 154)

I do not want to imply that marriage is merely a contract between two "suitable persons" who do not love each other. In fact it has been written that love forms the chief duty of marriage and that courtship provides a period of trial "necessary in which to bring the affections into the proper direction" (Morgan 22). Benjamin Franklin complained about the lack of love in some marriages. "What abominable prostitution of persons and minds are daily to be seen in many of our marriages! How little a share has real friendship and esteem in most of them! How many play the harlot for a good settlement, under the legal title of a wife! and how many the stallion, to repair a broken fortune, or to gain one!" He continues on to warn that "mercenary views in one or both of the parties" leads to "unhappy matches" (Talbot 4–5). However while "there is plenty of evidence from northern New England to suggest that sexual attraction played a central role in courtship, . . . there was no inherent conflict between that motive and the need to find a hardworking and productive spouse capable of bearing his or her full share of the work of a farm or business" (Ulrich 146).


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Large gatherings of the community provide opportunity for seeing other young people and for courting. Frolics are held often after other communal work such as house raisings, huskings and quilting. Abner Sanger of Keene, New Hampshire, reported on November 28, 1782, "There was a frolic at Major Willard's. Esther Scovill at it" (Stabler). Young people also get together for sleigh rides and shooting matches. Young people might also meet during daily work. Abner Sanger often writes in his diary of encounters with young women during his daily routine. On January 21, 1779, he wrote, "I stop at Washburn's to get cloth for a pocket. Her girls want me to go up

chamber." On February 23, 1779, he wrote, "I go to Washburn's to grind my axe but don't. I spend until ten o'clock with Washburn's girls" (Stabler).

Men did not always go home at night. [illegible] New England part of courtship might include bundling. Bundling is a form of courtship that started as a European custom. The courting couple are put in bed, supposedly fully clothed, with a bundling board in the middle. It is said to allow the young couple a degree of privacy where they can find out if they love each other, while still remain under the supervision of her parents [they are in her parents house]. After all, a man who dallied with a woman under the covers in her own house rather than clandestinely in the haymow or barn or woods knew that he could be held accountable for his behavior and what might result.

ABNER SANGER REFERS TO a practice he calls "staying with" quite commonly. He distinguishes "staying with" from another practice called "buggery." "Staying with" at least in Abner Sanger's circle of acquaintances did not result in pregnancy. Ebenezer Bragg " 'stayed with' Nab. Abner 'stayed with' Rachel and Poll. Joseph Reed [illegible]adock Dodge 'stayed with' Grate Willard and Hephzibah Crossfield . . . Nab Washburn was not pregnant at marriage, nor as far as we know were any of the other girls Sanger or his friends 'stayed with' " (Ulrich and Stabler 28). Becoming pregnant or not may have much more to do with the couple involved than to do with bundling itself.

This is not to say that premarital pregnancy is unknown. In fact it has increased every decade of the 18th century to peak in the early 1770s. In many New England towns 30 to 40 percent of brides are pregnant when they get married. In Keene, New Hampshire, 31 couples got married between 1774 and 1782. Of those couples, fourteen of them had a child less than nine months into the marriage. The average time between marriage and birth was five months. One woman gave birth on her wedding day (Ulrich and Stabler 25).

"However the prevalence of premarital [illegible]ancy does not make it less a sin, at least here in Massachusetts. Before a child born less than seven months after a marriage can be baptized, the couple must confess publicly to the sin of fornication. Though public confession might deter some couples, pregnancy helped others get their own way. In 1792 the town clerk of Hallowell, Maine, entered 21 intentions of marriage into the town book. One was between John Chamberlain and Mary Brown. The certificate was "barred by a written objection filed by his Father." That was in May. However in December he added, "Certificate issued by consent of the Father who filed the objections aforesaid" (qtd. in Ulrich 139).

Martha Ballard, a midwife in Hallowell, entered into her diary on December 16, "John Chamberlain was marid the 10 instant, removed his wife to Sidney the 11th; Shee was delivered of a daughter the 12th and it Expired before night" (Ulrich 139). (Ballard's dates do not agree with the town clerk's records. He said the certificate was issued December 12 and the couple was married on December 16. It is likely that they were married after the birth rather than before. Ulrich note 3, page 389.) It is impossible to say whether Mary was pregnant in May or whether the baby was premature, but this pregnancy enabled a couple to marry who had been barred by family objections.

Cate Nance and Sue proved
just and true,
Tho' bundling did practise;
But Ruth begull'd and proved with child,
Who bundling did dispise. (Ulrich 123)

Premarital pregnancy was by far statistically just that—premarital. Of the 40 births in Martha Ballard's diary that were conceived out of wedlock, only nine were born illegitimate. Granted, some couples married days or hours before the birth, but nonetheless they were married. In the cases of illegitimate births, the midwife was required to ask the mother—during labor—who was the father. Even in the 18th century, an unmarried mother was entitled to child support or at least a cash payment. [By 1840 in New England premarital pregnancy had dropped to as low as five percent in some towns (Larkin 199). It can be theorized that the demise of early pregnancy can be linked to the male–female ratio. During most of the 17th and 18th centuries, women were outnumbered by men. By the early 19th century, women outnumbered men and it was necessary for women to establish "value" as a potential wife (Rothman "Intimate Acquaintance" 184).]

Once courtship has been completed (hopefully before the woman became pregnant!), the couple goes through a period of betrothal or espousal. This period varies in time but is often six months. In New England betrothal is also considered a legal contract. Marriage here is not considered to be a religious ceremony but rather a secular rite. Before 1692 marriages in Massachusetts could only be performed by a magistrate. Now either a magistrate or clergyman may officiate, but the ceremony rarely takes place in a church (Fischer 81, 282).

After the period of betrothal, the couple must post banns. This seems to be universal throughout the Colonies. Peter Kalm writes that in Pennsylvania, "All persons who intend to be married, must . . . have their banns published three times from the pulpit in the same way as in Sweden, . . ." (Kalm 223). Banns are said to be cried out during meeting. "There was cryed in order for maridge asa wells and bets Smith who both live here in this town" (Dickenson Sept. 1787). The notice could alternately be published by posting for "the space of fourteen days in some publick place" (qtd. in Ulrich 139). This posting was often on a board outside the meeting house.

There was a block or board about a foot square, its four edges surrounded by a moulding, and was nailed to the building near the left-hand side of the south door, and was used for posting every sort of notice. In those days notices of marriages were required to be published to the world three weeks before the marriage ceremony could take place. It might be "cried off" as the expression was, by the town clerk three Sundays in open meeting, or have the notice posted on the bulletin board. (Thompson 540)

A new law was passed in Massachusetts in June of 1786 called "An act for the Orderly Solemnization of Marriages." This law regulated magistrates and ministers so that they could only perform marriages when either the bride, groom or both resided in that town. The couple also had to present a certificate signed by the town clerk certifying that their intention to marry had been published in an appropriate manner. The town clerks kept lists of marriage intentions, certificates and completed marriages (Ulrich 139).

Virginia has laws barring ministers or

others from marrying couples without proper publication of banns or a license. One of these laws extends to ministers who go outside of the colony to Maryland to marry couples eloping there in order to marry contrary to the laws of Virginia. It subjects the minister to the same penalties as if the offense was committed in that colony. Licenses are also granted in Pennsylvania as an alternative to the publication of banns. Peter Kalm writes:

The license is directed only to protestant clergymen, because the Catholic priests have no right to marry anyone here. The Quakers have a special permission for their marriages. According to English law a man must be twenty-one and a girl eighteen before they can marry; but then they can do so whenever they wish without asking their parent's permission. Before this time, however, they have to get consent from their parents or guardians. (223)

IT IS COMMON FOR THE parents to be consulted even after the couple comes of age. Some fathers leave wills depriving children of inheritance should they marry against their parent's wishes. "Andrew Percival of South Carolina left a sum of £3.000 to his daughter Mary to be paid when she was twenty-one or married with the consent of his wife, but providing that in case of her marrying without such consent her portion was to be divided between the wife and other children" (Spruill 145). It goes without saying that children who expected to inherit little would feel less bound by parental disapproval.

It is not until the period of betrothal that a girl starts to gather the household goods that she will take to her new home. These goods become part of her marriage portion. (The word dowry was not used in this context until the middle of the 19th century. Rather, dower rights were the widow's rights to one-third of the real property owned by her husband.) In New England it is custom that the girl's family supply as many of the household goods as possible, while the man provide the house and land. The relative wealth of each family makes a difference of course. When great wealth is involved, contracts are sometimes executed in court regarding the property each person will bring to the marriage. Even without a legal contract, exact arrangements are made, as these letters between Thomas Walker and Colonel Bernard Moore of Virginia demonstrate:

Dear Sir:

My son, Mr. John Walker, having informed me of his intention to pay his addresses to your daughter Elizabeth, if he should (be) agreeable to yourself, lady and daughter, it may not be amiss to inform you what I feel myself able to afford for their support, in case of an union. My affairs are in an uncertain state, but I will promise one thousand pounds, to be paid in 1766, and the further sum of two thousand pounds I promise to give him: but the uncertainty of my present affairs prevents my fixing on a time of payment. The above sums are all to be in money or lands and other effects, at the option of my son, John Walker.

The answer was as follows:

Dear Sir:

Your son, Mr. John Walker, applied to me for leave to make his addresses to my daughter, Elizabeth. I gave him leave, and told him at the same time that my affairs were in such a state it was not in my power to pay him all the money this year that I intended to give my daughter, provided he succeeded: but I would give him five hundred pounds more as soon after as I could raise or get the money, which sums you may depend I will most punctually pay to him. (qtd. in Spruill 146)

Fathers keep accounts of the value of household goods given to their daughters so that they can be tallied against the amounts received by the sons and future inheritance. The goods usually include beds and bed linens, pillows and bolsters, cooking pots, plates and eating utensils, chairs and tables, and almost always a looking glass. The girl's clothing is not counted as part of her portion.

Financial contracts become more important when the marriage is a second one for either party and if the inheritance of children of the first marriage is a consideration. Ebenezer Barnard made a list of "What Household Goods or utensils Mrs. Mary Arms Bro't with her when she came to me." The list looks very much like the list of household goods she would have brought into her first marriage (Sheldon 67).

Some widows were left with debts from their husbands for which they were responsible. Upon remarriage these debts would be the responsibility of the new husband, so an interesting custom has developed.

When a man dies, and leaves his widow in great poverty, or so that she cannot pay all the debts with what little she has left, and notwithstanding all that, there is a person who is willing to marry her, she must be married in no other habit than her nightgown. By that means she leaves to the creditors of her deceased husband her clothes and everything which they find in the house. But she is not obliged to pay them anything more, because she has left them all she had, even her clothes, keeping only a nightgown to cover her, which the laws of the country cannot refuse her. As soon as she is married, and no longer belongs to the deceased husband, she puts on the clothes which the second husband has given her . . . I particularly remember the following account: a woman went, with no other dress than her nightgown, out of the house of her deceased husband to that of her bridegroom, who met her half way with fine new clothes, and said, before all who were present, that he lent them to his bride, and put them on her with his own hands. It seems he said that he lent the clothes, for if he had said he gave them,

the creditors of the first husband might have come and claimed them, pretending that she was looked upon as the relict [widow] of her first husband until she was married to the second. (Kalm 225)

MOST COUPLES HAVE new clothing for their wedding. It is not clothing that will be worn only on that day, but clothing that will be used for "best" in the years following. Samuel Lane, of Stratham, New Hampshire, included the cost of the wedding gowns in the accounts of the marriage portions for his four daughters. Mary, who was married December 8, 1762, had a gown of Chenee (a type of wool) that cost sixty pounds. She was later given a stuff gown to make the cost equal to the silk gowns of her sisters (Nylander, "Provisions" 21). "Wedding clothes of the eighteenth century were not always white. Though silver and white were thought seemly, and were a popular combination, white weddings were not yet an established tradition" (Tozer and Levitt 47). There are five known 18th century wedding dresses at the Gallery of English Costume in Manchester, England; two are blue and white, two are pink and one is yellow brocade.

After the period of betrothal and the publishing of the banns, the couple has their wedding ceremony. Invitations are usually by word of mouth, rather than in formal, written form. This can cause some misunderstandings. On February 18, 1767, the Reverand John Ballantine wrote:

Was at Jonathan Fowlers, married his daughter Basmath to John Armstrong of Bennington. Supt there, talked to some young men who gathered together & raised a dead creature on a pole and made a fire under it to show their resentment that they were not invited—they dispersed. (Christman)

Then on October 17, 1769, he wrote:

Married my daughter to Capt. John Ashley. Mr. Gay made ye last prayer in ye Meeting house. I gave a general invitation, some stayed away because they thought some had a more particular invitation, some stayed away because they thought there would be too many for comfort. (Christman)

In any case, the wedding itself is often a very small affair with just the immediate family. It is the festivities following that are attended by others. "They were married in the drawing-room of the bride's house, at half past eight in the evening, by Dr. Channing. The moment the ceremony was over, crowds of company began to arrive; . . . The transition from the solemnity of Dr. Channing's service to the noisy gayities of a rout was not at all to my taste" (Martineau 64–65).

Ceremonies in Virginia are conducted by a minister according to the laws of the Anglican Church and the Book of Common Prayer. The book *Pamela* gives a glimpse of this service when the title character marries her master:

"My dear master came to me, at entering the chapel, and took my hand, and led me up to the alter . . . I never was so absent in my life, as at first; even till Mr. Williams had gone on in the service, so far as to the awful words about *requiring us, as we should answer at the dreadful day of judgment*; [she is referring to the passage about knowing any impediments to the marriage] . . . Then followed the sweet words, *Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife?* &c . . . answered to every article of *obey, serve, love* and *honour*. Mr. Peters gave me away; and I said, after Mr. Williams, . . . the words of


William Hoga


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betrothment; and the ceremony of the ring passing next, . . . *With this ring I thee wed*, &c. (Richardson 363–364)

There is often another ceremony that follows. This is the ancient pagan practice of the bride and groom jumping over a broomstick, a ritual long practiced throughout Britain and other parts of Europe. While a second ceremony for whites, it is the only type of marriage allowed black sla es (Fischer 282).

The Society of Friends has marriage customs peculiar to themselves. The couple cannot marry without the approval of both sets of parents. The Quakers are forbidden to marry first cousins—a practice also banned in New England but quite common in Virginia. The couple, after consulting their parents, jointly announce their intention to the women's and the men's meetings. A committee from the men's meeting and one from the women's meeting meets to "see that the relations of those who proceeded to marriage were satisfied, that the parties were clear from all others: and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children, before they married again, and what else was needful to be inquired into" (Spruill note 84, 158). If there are no objections, the couple can then announce when they will marry. They marry at Meeting. No magistrate or minister presides, but at least twelve Friends need to be present as witnesses.

The Society of Friends requires at least twelve people to witness the ceremony. Most other wedding ceremonies are not attended by large numbers, nor are there always attendants to the bride and groom. (Actually, the idea of a wedding party of bridesmaids and groomsmen started in the 19th century. Bridesmaids were upposed to be younger than the bride—remember the wedding of Charles and Di where the bridesmaids were children? Etiquette books abounded by the 1840s and gave advice on wedding parties as well as dress and food.)

WHERE MARRIAGE IS secular, there is no restriction on days of the year marriage can take place. However in the Anglican Calender, there are prohibitions on marriage during Lent, Advent and the three weeks before the Feast of St. John (Fischer). In a farm-based economy, the favorite times for weddings are November and late December when the crops are in and there is still a quantity of food. They are hardly ever held on Saturdays and Sundays. Weddings can be held at any time of day. Pamela and her master were married in the morning after breakfast (Richardson 362–363). According to Doddridge weddings in the backcountry took place at noon (Spruill 111). Ceremonies are often held in late afternoon or evening, as evidenced by the three wedding alluded to previously.

After the ceremony there are often festivities. "It is Customary and Commendable to begin with a marriage feast" (Morgan 33). When Reverend John Ballantine's daughter was married in October of 1769, parishioners brought food and drink to his house the day before. Ballantine noted in his journal:

Mrs. Parks 1 Gallon Rum, Capt. Moseley 2 qts Rum, Deacon Shepard a Breast of Mutton, Mr. Bildad Fowler, a Loin of Mutton, Mrs. Clap 1 qt Rum, Thomas Root 2 qts Brandy, Mr. Matthe Noble Flour & suet, Ensign Ingersol 2 qts Rum, Mrs. Margaret Ashley a Loyn of Mutton, Mr. John Kellogg Cranberries, Mr. Seth Sacket Cranberries, Mr. David Mosely a Pigg, 3 Fowls & suet, Mr. Nathaniel Weller, piece of veal and suet, Ensign Weller apples, flour & suet, Mr. Ford cabbage & potatoes, Mr. Stephen Noble 2 Fowls & Por, Deacon Root 2 qts Brandy. (Christman 16 Oct. 1769)

Often after feasting the assembled company dances. Doddridge says that in the backcountry dancing starts after the dinner and lasts until morning (Spruill 111). In Greenfield, Massachusetts, Elihu Ashley spent three days dancing after one wedding. "After they were joined, we went to Dancing: there was a Number invited out of y^e^ Town to y^e^ Wedding." The next day he "Got to y^e^ Grooms House about two, where we dressed ourselves, then walked to Capt Dwight's & Dined, after which was over returned back to y^e^ Grooms & went to Dancing. We had no Fiddle but a fine Singer: danced some time." The revelries continued the third day. "Dined, after which returned & went to Dancing. Had a large collection yr ye second day. About 5 Pliny & Chariss. Poy [Mary Cook Williams, Ashley's fiancee] & I took a walk, returned about sunset & again to Dancing. Danced till nine" (all in Sheldon 690: 27–29 Sept. 1774).


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Cake has been a component of the wedding feast at least since the 17th century. In Puritan New England, "when economy led the General Court of Massachusetts to forbid the sale of cakes ...uns in the markets, an exception was ... of wedding cakes" (Morgan 33–34). Wedding cakes are either a fruited cake or a rich pound cake. In 1821 the Carter family prepared fourteen loaves of cake and spent an entire day stoning the currants "that people might not break out their teeth eating wedding cake." Mrs. Parsons was quite frustrated and concluded "we would petition the people of Zante to send more currants and fewer stones, for in time we feared all their island might be transported here in casks of currants" (Nylander, *Fireside* 260). When Elizabeth Porter Phelps went to her cousin Polly's wedding in 1808, they had cake and wine after the three o'clock ceremony and a cold supper after the bride and groom left (Nylander, *Fireside* 258).

A couple is not considered fully married until the relationship has been consummated. Some hours after Pamela and her master were married in a religious ceremony, he said, "She is very right, Mrs Jewkes, . . . for we are but yet half married" (Richardson 368). This may be the reason behind so many customs of putting the bride and groom to bed. In the ...ountry of the Chesapeake, friends o... ...e bride slip her away from the frolic and bring her up to bed. Young men then bring up the groom and he joins her in bed. The young people then often amuse themselves with "throwing the stocking." A stocking is rolled into a ball. The young women take turns standing at the foot of the bed with their backs toward it and toss the stocking over their shoulders. The first to touch the bride's head is said to be the next married. This game may be continued by the young men, throwing the stocking at the groom's head of course. The assembled company may stay in the chamber drinking and singing for a while (Spruill 111–112).

Once married, the couple might receive visits from family and friends over the next few days. When there are friends and relatives who live far apart, the couple might take several weeks to go visiting, staying several days at each home. It is said that the couple "goes to housekeeping" when they move to their own home. This is not always as soon after the marriage as you might think. S... ... Parsons and Charles Phelps married ... Year's Day in 1800. Afterward Sarah stayed at her uncle's house in Newburyport for three months while Charles returned to Hadley to stay at his mother's. April 1st, they went to Boston together and stayed with two of her cousins until June when they both returned to Hadley. Charles stayed there for two weeks and then returned to Boston. Sarah stayed in Hadley all summer, but Charles did not return until August. The couple stayed there until returning to Boston on August 25. They took rooms and "went to housekeeping the first day of September" (Nylander, *Fireside* 61).

Martha Ballard's daughter spent the six weeks after her marriage living at Martha's house. Her husband was there some nights and not others. In her diary Martha continues to refer to Hannah as one of "the girls" until she went to housekeeping. After that, Hannah becomes "Daughter Pollard." Henry Sewall married Tabitha on February 9, 1786, at her parent's in Georgetown. He spent a few weeks there and then returned to his home in Hallowell. Tabitha didn't arrive in Hallowell until July 7 (Ulrich 141).

May God prolong the lives and happiness of the new made pare. May she fill the place of a mother and a mistress to the acceptance of the great Parent of the universe. May the children committed to her parential care, be obedient and ready to receive her good council at all times, and may the God of peace delight to dwell with them, Amen.

Martha Ballard, Augusta, Maine
November 13, 1799
(qtd. in Sprigg 21)

Some of what I have written may seem strange to you, but I hope that you found all of it interesting. Once again I have rambled on for quite some length, and I must apologize. I've been at this so long that the sun has broken through the clouds. What a wonderful sight it is! The wind is starting to the rattle the windows, which makes Nutmeg very nervous. She follows me wherever I go and lies on my feet.

I hope the Post rider gets this to you in good time and that it finds all of you well. By the time you receive this, much of the winter will be over and we will be looking forward to spring. What a happy thought. I have many new bulbs planted and should have some bright red tulips sometime in May. As always, we send the children our love.

With respect and Warm Regards,
Your Friend,
Beth Gilgun

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