SOME ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOOD COUNTY, OHIO, 1820 TO 1860

A Thesis Presented for the Degree of Master of Arts

by

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PREFACE.

The historians who have been concerned with the history of Northwestern Ohio and the Maumee Valley may be divided into two general classes: the one group, viewing the subject mainly from the standpoint of local interest, has performed a great service by recording in detail the many stories and legends concerning the pioneer settlement and the development of the various communities through the years; the other group, taking a broader viewpoint with the interest centering around the relationship of the region to national policy and international politics, has been concerned for the most part with the strategic importance of the region and the attendant rivalries between France and England and between England and America.

Northwestern Ohio was the last section of the state to receive any considerable number of settlers, but in 1946 the region is one of the finest agricultural areas in Ohio. Wood County today enjoys a high degree of wealth and prosperity that may be viewed in the fine cultivated fields, the well-kept farm buildings, the network of roads and highways, and the quiet but prosperous towns and villages. The foundations of these developments were laid in the years between the organization of the county in 1820 and the beginning of the Civil War.

The pattern of development in Wood County generally followed that of other regions of the Old Northwest. Hence this history must necessarily consider factors that might be representative of an extensive area and of the Westward movement of the people of the United States

in general. Three factors, however, may be considered of primary importance in the history of Wood County: (1) a rather peculiar physiographical condition—a swamp—was the cause of the late settlement and has shaped the history of the region from the earliest days to the present time; (2) the means and avenues of communication were vital in determining the pattern of settlement and progress; and (3) agriculture exercised a leading influence upon every phase of life and conditioned the course of events along economic, social, cultural, and political lines.

It is the purpose of this work to trace some of the aspects of the development of Wood County prior to the Civil War, the main attention being directed toward the early settlement of the county, toward the problems of transportation and communication by land and by water, and toward agriculture, business, and industry. But behind all of these aspects is the primary fact that the history of Wood County is largely the history of agriculture and of an agrarian population. Viewed from this viewpoint this study is not concerned with the interesting stories and legends of pioneer days except as they may add color and greater understanding to the problem at hand; nor is it especially concerned with developments of a national or international nature. This work may be justified, however, insofar as it may be a contribution to the history of Ohio and to the westward movement in general.

NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

The writer wishes to express his deep obligations to a number of persons who aided the progress of this work in its various stages. The late Charles Sumner Van Tassel offered many suggestions relating to source material; Mrs. Cora Vincent, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Schroyer, and Mr. J. F. Smith made their scrap-book collections available for study; Mr. Spencer Canary made possible the use of the files of the Wood County Sentinel. Thanks are due also to the librarians of the Way Public Library and the Toledo Public Library for their many courtesies. The writer is greatly indebted to Professor E. H. Roseboom for the friendly counsel, the patient guidance, and the scholarly example that are so necessary to any student and that were so indispensible in this study.

M. M.

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EARLY ROADS

CHAPTER I: 1820.

HERE, ROOM IS ABUNDANT, POPULATION SCANTY, AND PEACE THE NECESSARY MEANS FOR PRODUCING MEN, TO WHOM THE REDUNDANT SOIL IS OFFERING THE MEANS OF LIFE AND HAPPINESS.—Thomas Jefferson.

The men of the Revolution were nearing the end of their course; a new generation was already feeling its strength; in another decade the independent and democratic men of the land beyond the great mountain barrier would send one of their own out of the frontier into the Executive Mansion. Three new states had already been formed in the Northwest by the people who poured into the territory in the years following the War for Independence, but even yet the population was so thin that the people were all but lost in the vast expanse of rolling hills, grassy prairies, towering forests, and fertile river bottoms that extended to the north and west from the Beautiful River.

Jefferson had retired to his Virginia mountain where his days were occupied with his many visitors, with an extensive correspondence, and with the plans for a University to "be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind" and designed for the purpose of educating a great people in the ways of democracy. The Monticello retreat afforded a point of vantage from which to view the conditions on both

Letter to William Short, August 4, 1820, in The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ed. by Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York, 1944), 699-700.

²Letter from Jefferson to William Roscoe, December 27, 1820, in The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 702.

sides of the Atlantic: Europe might be crowded to such a degree that periodic wars were required to keep down the population, but in America there was an abundance of fertile land that might provide the yet scanty population with the means of life and happiness in peace. And Jefferson saw the future of America in the land--"those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God"--and in America there was "an immensity of land courting the industry of husbandmen."

But some of that "immensity of land" to the westward seemed to offer little for the generation that was pushing its way beyond the Ohio. How could the great swamp, with its towering trees, its dense underbrush, its stagnant waters, and its multitude of pestiferous insects, snakes, and wild animals, offer the means of life and happiness?

It was in this year 1820 that the legislature of the State of Ohio erected fourteen counties on the land that had lately been ceded to the United States by the Indians. Among these counties was one that took its name from "that gallant soldier, Captain Wood," who had been General Harrison's chief engineer at Fort Meigs, and who had aided in the defense of that post in the late war with the English.

Notes on Virginia, in The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 280.

⁴ May Evers-Ross, The Pioneer Scrap-Book of Wood County and the Maumee Valley (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1910), 15, 31, hereafter to be cited as Evers, Scrap-Book. Eleazer Derby Wood was born in New York City in 1783, was a graduate of West Point, and served in the West in the early part of the War of 1812. He conducted the defense of Fort Meigs, commanded the artillery at the Battle of the Thames, and was killed in Gen. Brown's sortie to raise the seige of Fort Erie on September 17, 1814. See Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), Early Western Travels, 1748-1846 (Cleveland, 1904-1907), VIII, 181, f.n. 36.

1820 -- and in Washington the Congress was reaching the compromise that retained the sectional balance of government and brought two new states into the union;

George Bancroft--"Brahmin Rebel," diplomat, historian--was yet a student, talking with the ageing Goethe, meeting Lord Byron and his Countess, writing criticisms of the German university system to friends at Harvard, receiving the degree Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Gottingen;

Audubon was deciding to complete the Birds of America and publish his work;

Joseph Rodman Drake--the twenty-five-year-old consumptive poet, Bowery doctor, friend of Halleck, and amateur flautist--died after creating his musical and fanciful poems of the Hudson moonlight, and after writing the lines to The American Flag;

An Irish crew was bringing the Erie Canal up the Mohawk Valley;

The citizens of Buffalo were moving the sandbar that closed the mouth of their creek;

The <u>Walk-in-the-Water</u> had steamed the lake for two seasons, but another year would find her battering a wintry Erie gale until she was aground on a sandbar twelve miles from Buffalo;

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was beginning a distinguished career as an explorer, geologist, and ethnologist, a career that would produce the Algic Researches and lead to a membership in the Royal Geographic Society;

Passengers and goods for Cleveland were being discharged from ships anchored offshore, the Cuyhoga being closed to vessels drawing more than three feet of water;

Settlers from Connecticut had invaded the Western Reserve and the Firelands a quarter of a century earlier, and now the land was cleared and their New England-like villages built at Ashtabula, Lorain, Huron, Milan, and Norwalk;

And Thomas W. Powell came to the Maumee in September and found that along the river "the intervals from hill to hill...were mostly covered with the finest fields of corn," that Front Street in Perrysburg had just been "cut open and cleared from the wood and brush," but that there was not a single house on any of the in-lots and only a scattered few on the out-lots of the new settlment.

Looking backward over the distance of a century and a quarter, it appears that in 1820 there was nothing, or next to nothing, and it would almost seem that that which we know as Wood County, Ohio, is the result of some superaddition upon that nothingness. Henri Bergson pointed out such a chain of thought when he wrote that he found it difficult to "get rid of the idea that the full is an embroidery on the canvas of the void, that being is superimposed on nothing...."

So it appears upon first view that the present population, the farms, the network of highways, and the villages of Northwestern Ohio may be a kind of superaddition to the nothingness of 1820.

Reconsider that apparent nothingness. Certainly there were few enough people in the region, and these few were clustered around the foot of the Maumee rapids, leaving a great void, as far as habitation was concerned, in the remainder of the region. But these few people

⁵H. S. Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley (Toledo, 1872), 292. ⁶Creative Evolution (New York, 1944), 300.

living on the south bank of the river below the old fort were not aware of any "canvas of void" upon which they had been superimposed. These people, indeed, were aware of at least three factors that were very real to them: one was the river they faced—the river that flowed out into the lake that had brought them into this wilderness and might again carry them back to old homes in the East; another was the swamp—the Black Swamp that seemed to constitute an almost impregnable barrier to communication with the better established settlements in the south—ern part of the state; and last, there was a history—events these early settlers associated with such names as "Mad Anthony," Perry, or Harrison. So it begins to become evident that the Wood County of 1820 was something more than nothing; at least there was a river, and a swamp, and something of a history.

They called it "Black." It was hard and cruel and real. It meant wilderness—an impenetrable mass: great trees and thick underbrush; dangerous animals and a multitude of insects; foul waters and bottomless mud. This was the Black Swamp that pressed hard against the river settlement. Certainly such a land was forbidding.

The very swamp itself would indicate that the region was not something that had been newly created out of a great void, but those early pioneers were not aware of the history of the swamp that later would be traced back thousands of years until it would finally be lost in a great ice field. Nor had they heard of Lakes Whittlesey and Lundy, and they would hardly be expected to recognize a terminal moraine or an ancient lake beach at the edge of the swamp.

Sometime in the remote past, when different climatic conditions permitted snow and ice to accumulate year after year in Canada and Labrador, until it reached a thickness of six miles in some places, a great ice field moved out of the northeast to cover all the Great Lakes area. On at least five occasions the glacier advanced, and each time that it stopped its forward movement and began to retreat it left its accumulated debris as a circle of moraines that may still be seen south of the lakes from New York and Pennsylvania to Wisconsin and Minnesota. The lakes began to form as the ice melted behind these moraines, and beaches were built up when the waters remained at nearly a constant level for long periods of time. In the later stages of this action, as the ice retreated more and more to the northward, as the lakes found different outlets, and as the water receded, a part of the lake bottom was exposed, but that did not mean that all of the water was drained from the newly uncovered area. 7 In regions where the land was very flat and level water remained standing on the surface over great areas, the slope not being sufficient to permit drainage. Such a region was that which was to become Wood County. When the first white men came into the county the region was a vast swamp and was destined to remain a swamp, for the most part, until a drainage system was well under way in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Harlan Hatcher, The Great Lakes (Indianapolis, 1945), Ch. IV.

The beach marking the shore of the lake at one stage may be observed today just north of the line between Wood and Hancock Counties. One of the earliest roads in the southeastern part of the county followed (and still follows) the high land at the upper edge of the lake. Nearly parallel with this beach, and just over the boundary in Hancock County, is a second and higher ridge, the beach and the ridge being separated by a narrow strip of level land of about two or two and a half miles in width. Northward from the beach, as far as the Maumee and Lake Erie, the surface is that of the flat and level bottom that had been exposed by the changing stages of the lake in its earlier and formative stages.

Men returning from the western campaigns of the War of 1812 told horrible stories about that area between the Sandusky River and the Maumee, and certainly a more desolate and more undesirable region could scarcely be imagined if one was conducting a military campaign or was in search of land for a new home. The many histories and journals of the war describe this region, and the "Journal of the Northwestern Campaign of 1812-13, under Major-General William H. Harrison," by Bvt. Lieut. Colonel Eleazer D. Wood, was no exception.

These two rivers, the Miami and Sandusky, are thirty-six miles apart, and the country, which lies between them, is almost an entire marsh, or sunken swamp; which, on account of its being miry and generally covered with an immense body of water, can scarcely be passed at any other time than in the summer or middle of winter, after its waters are sufficiently frozen to bear the traveller.

⁸In George W. Cullum, Campaigns of the War of 1812-15, Against Great Britain...(New York, 1879), 364. See Robert B. McAfee, History of the Late War in the Western Country (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1919), 186, 262, 264, and passim.

It was no wonder that the immigrants arriving on the Maumee paused only long enough to take on new strength before they pushed on to the better regions they hoped to find elsewhere.

Although the whole of Wood County is generally considered to be within the limits of the Maumee Valley, almost half of the area, the central and southeastern parts, is drained by the Portage River, while Toussaint Creek drains the northeastern section. The Maumee, with its tributary creeks, the Tontogany and the Beaver, carries off the water from the western and northwestern parts of the county.

Most of the county was in forest in 1820, but an important feature of the region was a prairie in the central section. Here the grass stood between three and eight feet high, and water covered the ground to a depth of from one to three feet. The region was infested with "all sorts of beasts, birds and reptiles," including wolves, snakes, turtles, frogs, cranes, pumpers, deer flies, and mosquitoes. These, with "the heavy fogs which curtained this gloomy wilderness[,] made the aspect so dismal and forbidding that the strongest man might well recoil from its treacherous borders." 10

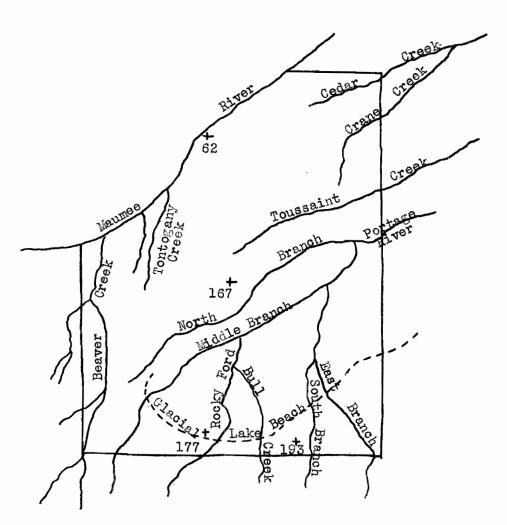
The Black Swamp attained such a bad reputation that few buyers of land came into the area. Those few who did possess the courage to settle in the county invariably located on or near the river and did not venture far into the interior. Prior to 1830 the entire southern part of Wood County, as far as is known, was without a

⁹As late as 1853 about 88 percent of the area was still in woodland. See [M. A. Leeson and C. W. Evers], Commemorative Historical and Biographical Record of Wood County, Ohio...(Chicago, 1897), 3, hereafter to be cited as Wood Co. Hist.

10Wood Co. Hist., 306-07.

WOOD COUNTY, OHIO

RIVERS AND CREEKS



+62: Altitude in feet above Lake Erie.

single white settler. "Its forests of oak, walnut, beech and poplar were primeval in beauty and teemed with bears, wolves, deer and other animals, while countless multitudes of wild geese and ducks quacked in the tangled undergrowth of the various branches of the Portage." Stories of a "Munchausen" nature told of black snakes that "attain[ed] constrictor proportions, while the dread rattler was supposed to hiss forked lightening from every stump and crevice." Although solitary hunters occasionally entered the region, and although some land was taken, those who contemplated actual settlement "were laughed at for their credulity if they asserted it would ever be a habitable region."

The Black Swamp was a curse upon a traveler who dared to cross it, and it was an almost impassable barrier to settlement, but as time went on conditions were so altered that what had once been considered a great curse came to be esteemed the greatest blessing. As the forest was cleared away and as the land was ditched and tiled, all evidence of the once dreaded swamp disappeared, leaving a deep, rich, black loam that yielded great crops of grain and other produce. The level nature of the land, which had previously retarded the drainage of the surface water, now made the soil strong for it tended to keep the fertile top-soil from being carried away rapidly during the natural processes of erosion.

If the swamp appeared as a black enemy to the settlers of 1820, the river offered a bright spot of hope for the future. The river

¹¹ Evers, Scrap-Book, 93-94.

was a highway, a roadway that already had served many peoples: the Indians, the French, the English, and now the Americans who were spreading out over the Old Northwest. It was not a great river, a great flowing water as the Ohio or the Mississippi; and its very name caused it to be confused with the other Miamis that had received the name of the same Indian people. Even the distinction of being called the Miami of the Lake was not sufficient: eventually the river became the Maumee.

Not one of the great rivers, perhaps, but a river of great significance in historical developments as far abroad as London or Paris. The foot of the Maumee rapids had been a famous gathering place for the Indians who had plied the river in their canoes or dug-outs; the place had been an important rendezvous for early traders and missionaries; and this was a strategic point in the military operations in the western country. The French from Canada, and later the English from their American colonies east of the mountains, pushed into the Maumee region to establish posts where trade goods might be exchanged for the furs brought in by the Indians. The foot of the rapids was important because it was on the direct line of travel from east to west, by the way of the lakes and the Maumee, across a short portage to the Wabash, and thence down the Ohio and Mississippi. At the same time the Indian trails of the Northwest converged at the rapids, for only at this point was the lower river shallow enough to be forded.

The river was a great highway leading inward from the lake. This was the route of easiest communication with the East. This was the path that would direct new people into the county and then carry the

fruits of the land to the markets in the East. But the few sturdy pioneers who had settled in the region before the War of 1812 fled from the district during the armed conflict for the control of the Maumee and the Northwest. After that time, although a great number of immigrants using the lake route came to the lower Maumee, many of these people passed on to land to the north and west. As late as 1830, when thousands of settlers were entering Michigan and Indiana, only a few scattered settlements were to be found in the lower Maumee Valley, and these for the most part were located on the very banks of the river.

The early settlers of Wood County were yet close enough to the recent war to name their county for a man who had served so well at the fort that stood just above the river, and their county seat for the Commodore whose works of victory on Lake Erie have long been a part of the venerable tradition of the United States Navy. And there were yet other men whose names were remembered as being connected with this region but like memorials could not be found for them all: General Harrison, who had fought the British on this very spot; General Hull, who marched an army through the swamp to a surrender at Detroit; Spencer, who had been carried down the river as an Indian captive; and the "Mad" General Wayne, who had defeated the Indians among the fallen timbers on the far side of the river. The remains of two forts--Miami, a British stronghold just across the river, and Meigs, guarding the entrance to the upper Maumee--reminded the people of the recent contest for this wilderness region.

All of this country--the river that came out of the south and west, and the swamp that pressed against the back of their lands--was

now a part of the state of Ohio. Only a few years before the British still remained in these parts although they had renounced all title to the area at Paris in 1783. But before the British there had been the French, when control had been exercised from Quebec, and when the river and swamp had been a part of the domain of a Bourbon king. And before the French there were the Indians who planted the fertile islands and river bottoms with maize. And on back to the Moundbuilders. And still more remote -- how many thousands of years? -- there was the great ice cap. But it was not until after the defeat of the Indians by Wayne in 1794 "that the adventurous frontiersman began to look with longing eyes toward the grand (and seemingly endless) forests, whose shade covered this deep and virgin soil, the slow accumulation of ages of time."12 More than two decades, however, were to pass before the British were finally driven from the region and the Indians were subdued sufficiently to permit the founding of the first really permanent settlements on the south bank of the Maumee.

The first land in Wood County to which the United States had a clear title was a block of land twelve miles square ceded by the Indians by the Treaty of Greenville on August 3, 1795. This United States Reserve, or Twelve-Mile Reserve as it was often called, was located on either side of the Maumee at the foot of the rapids, about two-fifths of the area of 92,160 acres being in Wood and the remainder in what is now Lucas County. 13 The third article of this treaty provided for the transfer of this land to the United States.

¹²Toledo Blade, April 2, 1892, in Clark Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," X, 65. 13Evers, Scrap-Book, 27.

And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accomodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following [16] pieces of land, to wit:...8. One piece twelve miles square at the British fort, on the Miami of the Lake, at the foot of the rapids. 14

The importance placed upon the Maumee rapids and the surrounding country can be seen from the "tenacity with which Wayne insisted on having this block of land" as one of the conditions of the Greenville Treaty. 15

By the time Elias Glover, United States Deputy Surveyor, had marked the exterior, subdivision, and meander lines of the United States Reserve in December 1805, the Indians had made another cession of land that was to be of great importance in the history of Wood County. By the second article of the Treaty of Brownsville (Michigan) on November 25, 1805, the Indians ceded to the United States "a tract of land for a road, of one hundred and twenty feet in width, from the foot of the rapids of the river Miami of Lake Erie, to the western line of the Connecticut reserve, and all the land within one mile of said road, on each side thereof, for the purpose of establishing settlements along the same.... "16 This road, which was to become known as the Maumee and Western Reserve Road, aided in giving access to the United States Reserve at the foot of the Maumee rapids from

¹⁴ Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 58 Cong., 2 Sess., Sen. Doc. 319, II, 40; Knapp, Maumee Valley, 221-22; Frazer E. Wilson, "The Treaty of Greenville," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, XII [1903], 138-39.

15 Wood Co. Hist., 31.

¹⁶ Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, II, 100; Knapp, Maumee Valley, 229.

the land that was already in the possession of the United States to the east and south of the Indian tract and the Greenville treaty line. 17 This Maumee and Western Reserve Road became an important route of immigration and travel to the Maumee Valley.

A small group of settlers located in Wood County soon after the United States Reserve had been surveyed. Among the settlers who came to the county prior to 1810 were Amos Spafford, who had first visited the region in 1805 with the surveyors, Andrew Roce, Thomas Leaming, Halsey W. Leaming, James Carlin, William Carter, George Blalock, James Slawson, Samuel Ewing, Jesse Skinner, David Hull, Thomas Dick, William Peters, Ambrose Hickox, and Richard Gifford. All of these settlers "resided within a radius of five miles of the foot of the rapids." 18

During 1810 there was some immigration into the region, and by the spring of 1812 there were about seventy families on the lower Maumee. Only a part of these, however, lived on the Wood County side of the river. During the conflict between the British and the Americans in the War of 1812, the settlement was abandoned and the buildings and stores of food were destroyed. After the war they returned and on March 24, 1815, a meeting was held at the Amos Spafford home to consider the presentation of claims for losses and damages resulting from the war. James Carlin made a claim for "one dwelling, or cabin, burned--estimated value, \$110.00; one blacksmith shop, \$55.00."

¹⁷S. S. Knabenshue, "Indian Land Cessions in Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, XI (1903), 253.

¹⁸Evers, Scrap-Book, 59. 19Wood Co. Hist., 33.

people living in the region at the time the losses were incurred, and this list is very similar to that for the residents of the county prior to 1810. These men entered claims that exceeded \$4,000.00.20

The war left the region desolate, but with the return of peace the settlers once again began to move into the country. As one of the early settlers wrote many years later: "At the close of the War of 1812, the attention of the public was more directed towards the Maumee, on account of its promising future importance, in the estimate of all intelligent persons, than to any other new country." However, these were the words of a man who had braved the hardships of pioneer life and had survived to see the wilderness turned into fertile fields and prosperous towns.

When Fort Meigs was abandoned in 1815, Almon Gibbs, who had been postmaster at the fort, moved to the Maumee side of the river, established a store, and opened the post office in his new location.

About the same time Seneca Allen, the first Justice of the Peace at Maumee, moved to the south side of the river near Fort Meigs. 22

It has already been noted that Amos Spafford had entered the valley in 1805, and that he was on the scene shortly after the end of the war. In 1810 he had been appointed collector of the Port of Miami, Erie District, but during the war he had been forced to leave the region due to the pressure of the British and the Indians. In 1814, however, he was back on the scene, submitting his reports without the proper affidavits, since there was "no officer legally

²⁰ Knapp, Maumee Valley, 426. 21 Ibid., 292.

²² Charles Sumner Van Tassel, History of the Maumee Valley, Toledo, and the Sandusky Region (Chicago, 1929), II, 1769.

authorized to administer oaths nearer than sixty or seventy miles."23

It was to Major Spafford that Congress made the first grant of land in Wood County, by a patent signed by James Monroe and dated April 26, 1816.

> That Amos Spafford, Collector of the District and Port of Miami, shall have the right of preemption to 160 acres of land, to include his improvements situated within the limits of the reserve of twelve square miles, at the Rapids of Miami of Lake Erie, the boundaries of which shall be designated under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury; which tract of land shall be granted to him, at the same price, and on the same terms and conditions for which the other public lands are sold at private sale.

When Alexander Bourne was sent by the United States Government to locate and lay out a town at the foot of the rapids in 1816, it was Major Spafford who named the town Perrysburg after the hero of the Battle of Lake Erie, following a suggestion from Josiah Meigs, United States Land Commissioner. 25 At this same time, the Twelve-Mile Reserve was re-surveyed, the land along the river being subdivided into the "River Tracts," a departure from the customary method. 26

Land within the Twelve-Mile Reserve, except Section 16 for school purposes but including both the in-lots and out-lots of Perrysburg, was placed on auction sale in July 1817 at the Wooster land office. The sales at this time were made under the provisions

²³Charles Elihu Slocum, History of the Maumee River Basin from the Earliest Account to its Organization into Counties (Defiance, Ohio, 1905), 582-83; Evers, Scrap-Book, 29. 24Wood Co. Hist., 192.

²⁵ Ibid., 52. 26Ibid., 54.

of the Harrison Land Law (1800) and the Act of March 26, 1804. Thus tracts as small as 160 acres could be purchased at two dollars an acre, one twentieth part of the cost to be paid on purchase day, the remainder in four payments, the first at the end of forty days, and the others at the end of the first, second, and third years. 27 Since the United States was in competition with the individual states in the sale of land, for Connecticut was selling land in the Western Reserve at forty cents an acre, and since there were many defaults in payments for land bought on the installment plan, an act passed April 20, 1820, fixed the price at \$1.25, payable in cash at the time of the sale, and made 80 acres the smallest unit that could be purchased. 28

The first town in Wood County, Orleans, was located in the United States Reserve on River Tracts 65 and 66, immediately adjacent to and just below the Spafford Grant. 29 In 1816 David Hull had opened a tavern at Fort Meigs, and in 1817 Joseph Vance opened a store "under the fort." 30

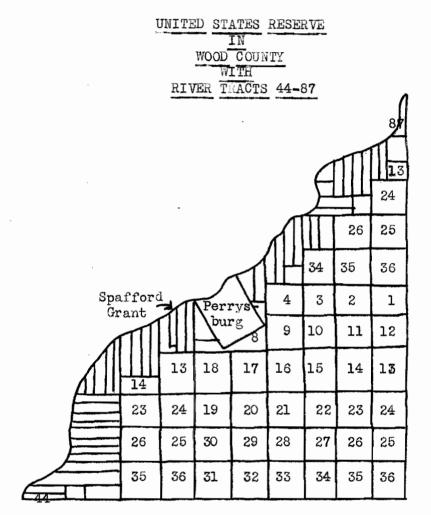
A tract of land for the town had been purchased by McIntyre and Stewart of Albany, New York. These men built a steamboat, the Walk-in-the-Water, in 1818, for the run between Buffalo and Orleans, the point then considered to be the head of navigation on the river. When the craft attempted to come up the river, however, she turned back at Swan Creek as it was "not practicable to ascend the river farther up." 31

²⁷William T. Utter, The Frontier State, 1803-1825, Vol. II of The History of the State of Ohio, edited by Carl Wittke (Columbus, 1942), 64; Knabenshue, "Indian Land Cessions in Ohio," loc. cit., 252.

28Dan Elbert Clark, The West in American History (New York, 1937),

^{254-55.} 29 See map on p. 17A. 30 Wood Co. Hist., 364.

³¹ Toledo Blade, May 10, 1837; C. E. Winter, A History of Northwest Ohio...(New York, 1917), I, 245-46; Merchants and Manufacturers Exchange, Toledo as a Commercial & Manufacturing City (Toledo, 1880), 3-4.



Adapted from C. E. Sherman, Original Ohio Land Subdivisions, 147.

Since the town was beyond the head of navigation it became little more than a "resting place for those who were seeking new homes either in Wood County or further west." Thus the life of Orleans was brief, lasting only from 1816 to 1822. During this time three or four families conducted the business of the place or engaged in trade with the Indians, but the chief occupation of the residents of Orleans was farming, and fishing was "a source of wealth to some and a help to all."

Several important factors operated to prevent the town from growing and becoming prosperous. One of these was the "sickly season" with its "agues and fevers." Another was the spring freshets that flooded the town built on the flats under Fort Meigs. Then there was the mistake of locating a town so far up the river as to make it inaccessible to the larger lake boats. At the same time, Perrysburg, built on higher ground and far enough down the river to be reached by water, was beginning to get its growth. One by one the people of Orleans "pulled up stakes" and went to Perrysburg or elsewhere, so that as Perrysburg became a town Orleans was abandoned. In November 1822 Thomas R. McKnight, Aurora and Samuel Spafford, Jacob and John Wilkinson, Mrs. Omans, and "one other person," were the only ones left at Orleans. 34 By the winter of 1825-26 only Jacob Wilkison and Aurora Spafford, and their families, were permanent residents.

³²Wood Co. Hist., 360.

³³Toledo Blade, April 2, 1892, in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," X, 65; Wood Co. Hist., 360.

54Evers, Scrap-Book, 240.

"although people continued to move to and fro, stopping at Orleans for the purpose of taking rest, a long breath and a new start."35

By 1820 the foundations for settlment had been laid but the region remained uninhabited except for a few scattered dwellings near the Maumee. Few men would venture far into the swamp, and even the old Indian trails and military roads did not carry any great travel. But the avenues of communication had already determined the location of settlements on the lower Maumee, where a few enterprising men might find the means of life and happiness, althought this particular region did not seem especially to court "the industry of husbandmen" at the moment.

An abundance of room--Yes! And thousands of immigrants came to the Maumee Valley in the next few years--but few remained. They passed on to Indiana or Michigan and "it seemed as though they purposely avoided this valley... [due to] the unhealthyness of the country." 36

³⁵Wood County Hist., 361. 36Knapp, Maumee Valley, 305.

CHAPTER II: SETTLEMENT.

WE WHO ARE SURROUNDED BY ALL OF THE ADVANTAGES AND IMPROVEMENTS OF THE PRESENT ADVANCED STATE OF SOCIETY, IN EVERY DEPARTMENT OF LIFE IN WHICH WE ARE CALLED TO MOVE, LITTLE KNOW HOW TO SYMPATHIZE WITH THE EARLY PIONEERS OF THE COUNTY, WHO WERE THE FORERUNNERS OF THE PRESENT ORDER OF THINGS.

THE VARIED SCENES THROUGH WHICH THEY PASSED, THE PRIVATIONS THEY WERE COMPELLED TO ENDURE, THE ALMOST INSURMOUNTABLE DIFFICULTIES THEY HAD TO MEET, THE ENERGY WITH WHICH THEY GRAPPLED WITH THE STUBBORN REALITIES OF THE DENSE FOREST, ARE STRANGERS TO THEIR JUNIOR FELLOW-CITIZENS....-W. S. Richard.

On November 1, 1822, John Webb and his family set out from Canton to go to Perrysburg to make their new home. At this time Perrysburg was in the Waynesfield township that had been organized that year from the counties of Wood and Hancock. But with Webb and the others who were coming into the region at this time, Perrysburg was getting its first growth so that by the following year the river settlement, including all of the Wood County land south of the river, could be set aside as a separate township.²

Webb, with his wife and son, and with his household goods, made the trip from Canton to Sandusky by wagon, hoping to get a boat at the latter place to carry them to the Maumee. As there were no vessels available at the moment, Webb left his household goods to be forwarded at the first opportunity and set out for Lower Sandusky with his family on a horse boat or mud scow. At Lower

^{1&}quot;Family Scrap-Book of Newspaper Clippings."
2Evers, Scrap-Book, 31.

Sandusky the party was met by Webb's younger brother, who had brought two horses and a side-saddle, and by Thomas R. McKnight, Webb's brother-in-law. The party was enlarged further by the addition of another man, Hawley, who had been waiting at the place for company before setting out across the swamp. As they set out from Lower Sandusky, Mrs. Webb and McKnight were mounted on the horses, while Webb, his brother and his son, and Hawley followed on foot.

Leaving the little settlement, the party went down the Sandusky River for two miles and then turned off on a well-beaten trail to the west. The first night they arrived at "the crossing" of the Portage, where the town of Elmore would be built later at the only place the river had a rocky bottom and could be forded. The second day after leaving Lower Sandusky they came to the Maumee at Rock Bar, about a mile and a half below Perrysburg, and the first cabin they saw after leaving the Portage was that of Victory Jennison, on the bend of the Maumee just below the town. As they came to Perrysburg they found that it was entirely uninhabited "except for beasts and birds of the forest," but there were a few cabins on the hillside and the bottom lands were under cultivation.

McKnight, who previously had cleared in-lot 144 and had stacked logs for a cabin, was aided by Webb in the construction of a home and was able to move into Perrysburg in the spring of 1823. Webb by that time, however, had already made his quarters in a small frame building at the bottom of the hill at the head of the bayou and had become the first inhabitant of Perrysburg proper.³

³Ibid., 239-40.

The Webb story is typical of many of the early settlers who came about this time to Perrysburg and the lower Maumee by the overland route. But many others secured passage from one of the lower lake ports and came into the county by way of the river itself. All of the settlers looking for new land did not move on to the better regions to the north and west, for some recognized the importance of the Maumee country and could visualize a great future for Perrysburg. In 1830, when the settlement that later would become Toledo had a population of only 30 persons, Perrysburg numbered 182.4 In 1820, when Wood County was organized, there were 733 persons listed as living in Wood, but probably somewhat less than one-third of these actually lived within the present limits of the county. By 1830, when Lucas was still a part of Wood, there were still only 1,102 persons listed in the county. In 1840, however, when it was within its present limits, the county had a population of 5,357, one-fifth being in Perrysburg township.

Between the years 1830 and 1840, the county and Perrysburg increased five-fold in population, enjoyed great prosperity, and then suffered paralysis in the crash of 1837 and the following years of depression. In the 1830's the entire valley thronged with fortune hunters as the public was attracted to the region in the belief that within a short time it would become a great commercial center. Many cities, ten or eleven altogether, were laid out, each to make its bid for the control of business and commerce on the river, and "there

⁴Clark Waggoner, "Local History," Toledo Blade, April 29, 1882.

5Slocum, Maumee Basin, 4; Wood Co. Hist., 211; Knapp, Maumee
Valley, 431.

was a great demand for lands and for water privileges." Proprietors of cities that existed only on beautifully engraved maps started their own banks. Money in the form of bank notes became abundant, prices rose, speculation was stimulated, and men and even women caught the "fever" of the times.

The old land entry books are reported as showing a rapid influx of settlers from 1833 to 1836 or 1837. This was a period of speculation when everyone had a mania for buying land—the period of President Jackson's second term, when Americans had a feeling of reckless overconfidence in the growth of the nation. Foreign trade boomed; the sale of public lands increased by leaps and bounds. But the treasury of the nation was soon overflowing with the unstable currencies of the state banks of the west, the money that had been used by the settlers and speculators for the purchase of public lands. Jackson's "Specie Circular" of July 11, 1836, requiring gold or silver, or bank notes based upon them, for payment for western lands, broke the

Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," I, 26a.

⁷A study of the "Abstract Index" and the "Tax Record" of Wood County lends support to this statement, although these sources do not provide a clearly defined picture of the situation. The following acreage in Perrysburg township was conveyed by government patent from 1831 to 1837: 160 in 1831, 640 in 1832, 1031 in 1833, 1239 in 1834, 3439 in 1835, 2511 in 1836, and 3398 acres in 1837. It seems evident that Wood County land was being purchased by speculators when we find that the number of horses and cattle, which should be associated with occupied lands, did not increase anywhere nearly as rapidly as the taxable acreage. The "Tax Record" for 1836 shows 58.7 acres of taxable land for each horse, and 15.3 acres for each head of cattle, while for 1839 there were 132.5 acres per horse and 39.3 acres per head of cattle. Mortgages on property in Perrysburg township increased from \$160 in 1833, to \$200 in 1834, \$1250 in 1835, \$40,849 in 1836, \$19,780 in 1837, to \$58,000 in 1838. See "Tax Record" for 1834-1838 in Wood County Auditor's Office, and "Abstract Index," XVII, XVIII. in Wood County Recorder's Office, Bowling Green, Ohio. Also see Appendix A.

bubble of speculation. The resultant bank failures, together with a blight on the wheat crop that sent the price of flour skyward, plunged the nation into a terrible panic and period of depression.

Some forty years after this era of speculation, Asher Cook, who had grown up with the town of Perrysburg, said that the "speculation in lands and town lots run high. Paper was cheap and a few dollars spent in surveying and plotting, soon put a town on record and by the sale of lots at enormous prices, a few put money in their pocket, but the panic of 1837, bursted this bubble, and the lands and lots which had been valued at thousands fell to hundreds by the year 1840."

This wave of panic that swept the nation temporarily reduced the number of people coming to the county although it did not succeed in stopping entirely the inflow of settlers. But the crash brought untold suffering to the people inhabiting the new land for "there was nothing that the people could sell, not even their homes; but there was most everything in the way of necessities even, to buy. There was in these gloomy years, little to inspire hope; much to thwart and discourage effort." After the year 1840, however, the development of the county became "steady and substantial."

While the whole of the present Wood County became divided again and again as time went on and as settlers took land in various parts of the county, the first township that was organized was that of Perrysburg in 1823. Just as a gathering of settlers had made it advisable to set off Perrysburg township, so, in 1830, the settlement

⁸Address at Tontogany, Ohio, July 4, 1876, in the Wood County Sentinel, July 6, 1876.

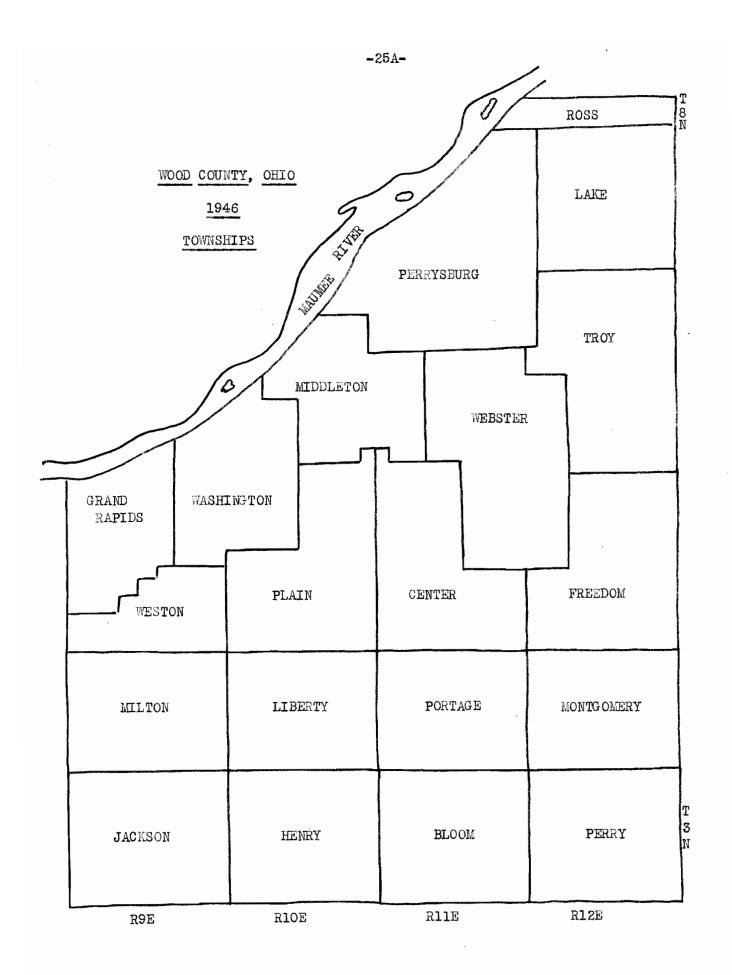
Sentinel, July 6, 1876.

Sters, Scrap-Book, 85.

of the region around Grand Rapids made it possible to form Ottawa (later Weston) township, to include a large portion of Range 9. The third township formed, Middleton (1832), also bordered on the Maumee. The fact that the earliest townships to be organized were those bordering on the river served as an important indicator of the trend of the settlement of the county. This tendency is further evidenced by the fact that Jackson township, in the extreme southwestern corner of the county, the section most remote from the river and from the main roads leading to the foot of the rapids, was not organized until 1840. By this time most of the township lines had assumed their permanent forms although some minor alterations were made in the next few years. It is also of interest to note that most of the townships were organized between 1832 and 1840, the movement centering around the year 1838.

The pioneers of the southern part of Wood County, in the depths of the swamp, endured endless hardships as they cleared away the forest and made their homes on bits of high ground. It may be of interest to relate a few of the stories that have been handed down from these early days, stories that may be considered typical of the life of the early Wood County settlers.

In 1832, Jacob Leathers, with his brother and several other men, left Wayne County on foot to visit Wood County for the purpose of selecting land for a new home. The one horse they took with them served as a pack animal for carrying food for the men and feed for the animal. They traveled westward until they came to Rome and Risdon (which was later named Fostoria after the family of "Calico Charlie") where they employed a guide for the remainder of the



journey. Passing through Perry township they "continued prospecting for land" till they reached Sections 32 and 33, Bloom township, where the Leathers brothers decided to locate. The party then returned to Risdon and continued on to Bucyrus, the nearest land office where they could enter their land.

After storing wheat at the Sandusky mills to tide them over until a crop could be grown in the new country, Jacob Leathers and his wife, in company with his brother John and the latter's wife and child, arrived at their new homes on April 3, 1833, the first white inhabitants in the township. For a few days they lived in an Indian shanty until a hut could be built. 10

Other settlers came to the region so that by the spring of 1835 Bloom township had a population sufficient to warrant its organization and an election of officials for its administration. Seven years after the arrival of the first settlers, the township could report a population of 437 people.

The earliest settlers frequently encountered Indians who were passing through the region on their hunting tours. Soon after the arrival of the Leathers families, the settlers were alarmed by a number of Indians who called to Mr. Leathers to accompany them into the woods. The Indians, in traveling from Upper Sandusky to the Maumee, had lost the trail and asked Mr. Leathers to assist them in finding the way, "but keeping him entirely ignorant of their design.

¹⁰ Wood Co. Hist., 233; Bloomdale Derrick, May 5, 1933.

The affair created considerable suspicion and no small degree of uneasiness in the mind of Mrs. Leathers. Yet she said nothing against her husband accompanying the red faces." When the party finally succeeded in finding the path, "a loud 'whoop' from one of the number was given, which was answered by a general yell. They now began to collect together, until some fifty or more were gathered together. They bid adieu to Mr. Leathers—thanking him, and again proceeded on their journey." On their frequent visits to the settlers, the Wyandot Indians always showed a friendly disposition, stacking their guns some twenty or thirty rods from the settler's cabin so that the white men might know they approached as friends and not as enemies. 12

Although the Hay family lived but three-quarters of a mile from Jacob Leathers, the woods intervening "rendered it extremely difficult to proceed any great distance...without getting lost." The following story of how Mrs. Leathers tried to reach her uncle's (Hay's) house will help to draw a picture of the county at that time, fantastic though that picture may appear to those who can only known the region as one of scattered trees, thin woods, and well-cultivated fields.

Mrs. Leathers left her cabin one morning to go to Hay's house on an errand, expecting to return to her own home at once.

She walked long enough as she supposed, to be in sight of the cabin of her uncle, yet failed to see any traces of the course she intended to pursue. She now became considerably alarmed, and began to increase her speed, over logs, through brush, and around tree tops, until her strength became much exhausted. She knew her husband was not aware of

12Ibid.

¹¹Richard, "Scrap-Book."

her absence, which added still more to her uneasiness. Her only resort of safety was to find her cows, and follow them. She could hear the tinkling of a bell at a distance, for which she started at once. On approaching the bell she found it the one she desired; began to drive the cows with all the vigor she could command; and soon found herself at her own cabin, after spending a day wandering through the woods, without any renumeration except tired limbs and a craving appetite. 13

Travel through the wilderness region was attended by all sorts of difficulties and discomforts. It was the custom for a man caught in the woods at night to "tree" in order to be safe from the hungry wolves. On one occasion an early settler had pursued a wounded deer far into the woods when "night locked him in the thick forest." As he wandered around he heard first the howl of a wolf, then two, and finally a pack surrounded him. He decided to "tree" for the night, but the situation was so unpleasant that he changed his mind and decided to risk making his way home. He heard a peculiar noise and proceeded to follow it. His wife, alarmed at his absence, was pounding on a large trough. The sound was the means of leading him home, unharmed by the wolves that followed close to his cabin. 14

One of the greatest drawbacks to the early settlers was the lack of roads or the poor condition of such roads as did exist, usually just wagon tracks cut out of the woods from one house to another. The road northward to Perrysburg was one especially dreaded by the pioneers of the southern part of the county. One pioneer, with a number of his neighbors, visited Perrysburg with

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

seven yoke of oxen, consuming ten days in making the trip. "They spent two nights in one place. The first night was spent on dry ground, and with all the labor that they could command, did not succeed in obtaining a suitable place to encamp, they left their wagons and returned to the former encampment the second night."

Another man once spent two days going a distance of three miles with two yoke of cattle and a wagon loaded with grain for milling. In the early history of Bloom township, one of the settlers had occasion to cross the swamp with a yoke of cattle pulling a lumber wagon, and was only able to reach home very late at night. "The next morning to his surprise he found that he had lost the hind carriage of his wagon! He at once started in pursuit of his lost wheels, finding them engulphed in the mud and water south of Portageville. The coupling had been torn out by the oxen the previous night."

When Peter S. Painter bought 600 acres in Bloom township and brought his family from Columbiana County in 1839, "they traveled in an old-fashioned scoop-shaped wagon drawn by horses and oxen, and slept many nights in their rude vehicle or camped out near the road." Their first home was a hewed log house; their neighbors were wolves, deer, bears, and wild turkeys. Mrs. Painter was known through the region as the "Doctor," being called upon whenever there was any serious illness in the community. "She made long trips through the woods on these errands, protected from the wild animals by a large

^{15&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

brown dog, 'Beldy,' who had more than one desperate and bloody encounter with wolves after which his wounds would be dressed as if he were a human being. The...labors of this...woman were but poorly paid, and sometimes not paid at all."

One of the settlers, James M. Bronson, who came to the south-eastern section of the county in 1840, opened a school in "the only dwelling in the township that could boast two rooms." Bronson spent the winter months in the schoolroom, the spring, summer, and fall being devoted to chopping and clearing his homestead and cultivating his land. Mrs. Bronson must have been one of the most remarkable women of the neighborhood for she had six cows with which she set up a dairy, selling butter for six cents a pound. But her enterprise did not stop there.

She also established a little cheese factory, the product of which, for one season, was 300 pounds. The press used in this primitive factory was a rail, one end of which was fixed in the fence while the other was attached to a brass kettle filled with rock. In addition to the butter and cheese industries, was a hennery, where numerous eggs were found daily, which sold readily for three cents a dozen.

Even the Bronson children worked gathering ginseng root, washing and drying it, and selling it for eighteen cents a pound. But even with the entire family at work, "there were privations and disappointments with which American pioneers could alone cope." In 1843 the cows starved to death. The following year the husband and children were stricken with a typhus fever. The clothing the family had brought with them from New York State was worn out and Mrs. Bronson had to

¹⁶ Wood Co. Hist., 698.

dye blankets and make clothing for the children when there was no money to purchase new cloth at Fostoria or Perrysburg. When the supply of baking soda was exhausted "she reduced corn-cobs to ashes, placed the ashes in a bowl of water, waited until precipitation took place, and poured off the clear liquid to be used in place of soda in the manufacture of corn bread." It is no wonder that the local history makes mention of "her courage, patience and endurance with her happy expedients [that] made her a woman with few equals in the settlement; one to be honored by the pioneers and to be adored by her family." 17

The weather seemed bent upon halting the settlement of the region, or at least upon producing innumerable hardships that should have been almost unbearable even to the sturdy pioneer men and women of the day. Even in the best seasons the swampy region was bad enough but frequent rains literally turned great sections of the country into a lake. A cold winter might cause the swamp to freeze and make travel a little easier, but the winter of 1842-1843, when Mrs. Bronson's cows starved to death, was especially severe and brought tremendous difficulties to the people. Mr. C. W. Evers, who recorded many of the interesting stories of early Wood County, has left a description of this dreadful year.

The autumn of 1842 had been a mild and delightful one. The hazy Indian summer had hung over the landscape like a protecting curtain from the chill blasts of the boreas. On the 25th day of November in the after part of the day, came a change, sudden and severe. First dark, dense clouds overcast the sky;

¹⁷Ibid.

towards night rain fell. This soon changed to sleet, driven by a strong wind so cold that men caught out with teams on the road had to leave their wagons and walk to keep from freezing. This later turned to snow which covered the ground heavily in the morning.

That snow, increased in depth from time to time, lay until some time in April, 1843. The ice on the Maumee at Waterville, was frozen solid down to the rocks on the day of spring election in April that year....

The mild autumn had lulled the scattered settlers into neglect and their scanty supplies of vegetables, fruit and corn fodder had been frozen solid in the unheralded storm, no more to be released until the following May. By March the scanty supply of prairie hay began to fail. The poor cattle starved, shivered and froze. Their pitiful bellowing and moans were harrowing to hear. The owners would drive them into the forest where elm and basswood trees were felled and the starving brutes ate the buds and tender twigs. Other owners later, when the ground thawed, dug prairie dock (root of the rosin tree) and fed it to their horses and cattle. Despite all efforts hundreds of cattle perished and those that survived were mere skeletons. Hogs could get no acorns from under the icy crust and there was no corn to feed them. They crawled into bunches where they were found in the spring frozen solid as rocks. Poultry and small birds, wild and domestic, perished. Squirrels, coon and birds were found frozen in hollow trees and logs, even the muskrat in his icy home.

Although settlement progressed rapidly and the population steadily increased as new families came into the county to clear the land and make new homes, as late as 1851, when Jacob and Rebecca Richard arrived in the southeastern part of the county, "all was wilderness and discouragement." J. Fraise Richard described the conditions under which his parents started life in the county.

¹⁸ Evers, Scrap-Book, 73.

The little round-log cabin stood in the midst of a dense forest, Without, on every hand, were water, and frogs, and owls, and wild game--in short, all the elements of pioneer life in a new country. With brave heart and resolute will, assisted by a loyal wife and industrious boys, the father went to work to establish a home and hew out a fortune. Gradually, as if by magic, the heavily timbered forest was converted into fertile fields and blooming orchards, and the very elements of discouragement became sources of rich development and substantial comfort. 19

These stories of the early pioneers could be repeated almost endlessly, with only minor variations for the experiences of each family. But the hardships and difficulties these people faced did not prevent the steady progress in the settlement of the county after 1840, and the settlers moved in to take up the 60,000 acres of Wood County land that were still available at the land office at Bucyrus. 20 Perrysburg township retained its leadership and Perrysburg remained the most important settlement within the limits of the county. A breakdown of the population figures by townships will serve to indicate the distribution of the settlers in 1840, 1850 and 1860, as the population of the county increased from 5,357, to 9,157, and then to 17,886 in the year before the Civil War.

¹⁹Wood Co. Hist., 446. 20Ohio Whig, May 11, 1839.

Township (a)	184	1850	1860
Bloom	43	37 658	1,198
Center	Ş	9 7 3 57	982
Freedom	23	38 4 54	971
Henry	23	321	454
Jackson	2	R6 74	114
Lake	-	152	551
Liberty	23	L5 236	635
Middleton	19	331	652
Milton	53	39(b) 244	652
${ t Montgomery}$	60	992	1,575
Perry	55	59 888	1,292
Perrysburg	1,14	1,779	2,834
Plain	27	492	1,300
Portage	19	99 403	
Troy	3 8	559	898
Washington	24	14 504	899
Webster	-	237	. 674
Weston	•	546	1,359
Total	5,35	9,157	17,886

(a) Includes villages.

(b) Includes Weston township.

From these census figures 21 it may be seen that the main group of settlers centered in three of four distinct areas of the county. First, there was the settlement at the foot of the rapids at Perrysburg and the surrounding country, especially on the River Tracts facing the Maumee. This was natural as many of the immigrants came by the way of the Maumee and Western Reserve Road that terminated at the foot of the rapids, or from the lower lake ports by boats that made regular trips up the river as far as Perrysburg. Second, there was a numerous population in the region at the head of the rapids, centering around the town of Gilead (Grand Rapids). Since this was the point of transfer from overland carriage around the rapids to boats that plied the

²¹ Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Census of the U. S.; Wood Co. Hist., 211.

upper Maumee, it was quite natural that settlement should also center around this spot. Third, in the three townships at the extreme southeastern corner of the county (Montgomery, Perry, and Bloom) settlement was also rapid although there were no towns worthy of mention during the period under consideration. That this section should be settled was due to the fact that it was the first part of the county reached by settlers coming from the southeastern section of the state by the way of the McCutchenville Road. Fourth, there was also a small group of settlers on the prairie near the center of the county and a few in Freedom township along the Portage on the eastern side of the county.

Weston township, which then bordered on the Maumee and extended down the western side of the county, received about fifty families between the years 1831 and 1836. 22 In 1831, Gilead was established at the head of the rapids, the plat being recorded in 1835. In the latter year the town had a log store building, and within two years there was also a tavern and a hotel. 23 In the meanwhile, in 1832. Guy Nearing built a sawmill at Bear Rapids, just below Gilead, and with Joshua Chappel laid out the town of Otsego which "for a time bid fair to outstrip its competitor in growth and importance" but which soon died out. Another village, Benton, was laid out by David Hedges, one and a half miles below Otsego. 24 These villages, Benton and Otsego, were well located to utilize the water power from the rapids of the Maumee, but Gilead had an additional advantage of being located at the head of the rapids, the terminal point for boats operating on the upper river.

²²Evers, Scrap-Book, 81. 23Wood Co. Hist., 272. 24Evers, Scrap-Book, 65.

In the interior of the county settlement progressed but slowly. In 1824 Collister Haskins, the first settler in the interior, established a home and an Indian trading post on the south bank of the north branch of the Portage (near the present village of Portage), where Hull's trail crossed the stream. In 1828 Haskins was the only settler between Findlay and the Maumee, but in 1829 John B. McKnight, Benjamin Cox, J. M. Jaques, and perhaps others had located in the Portage section in the neighborhood of Haskins. 26

In Plain township, north and east of the Portage settlement, a few people squatted on tracts of land and made improvements, "trusting to the future to get some means to enter the land." Due to the sickness or the wet seasons "it required their utmost efforts to gain even a tolerable subsistence, let alone getting anything ahead, and many of them lost all the fruits of their labor by those ghouls of the western frontier, called 'land sharks.'" The story is told that Mahlon Meeker, who had settled in the township in 1833, becoming suspicious of a man who had been pretending to buy cattle, hurried to Perrysburg, borrowed money from John Hollister, rode as far as his horse would carry him, and, by traveling all night on foot, reached the land office at Bucyrus to enter his land only a few minutes before the "land shark" arrived. 27

Along the Portage River on the east side of the county (Freedom township) the early settlers were Welsh immigrants "who sought a

²⁵Wood Co. Hist., 303; Charles Summer Van Tassel, The First Hundred Years of Bowling Green, Ohio (Bowling Green, 1933), 20.

25Van Tassel, First Hundred Years, 20; Wood Co. Hist., 303.
27Evers, Scrap-Book, 62-65.

home far from the exactions of landlords and manufacturers of their own land. They found suitable locations here, which they reclaimed from the wilderness, and left a rich heritage to their children." 28

The earliest settlements along the lower section of the Portage River in Wood County were those at New Rochester and Pemberville, both located at forks of the stream. The inhabitants of these settlements engaged in agriculture and, it is recorded, the corn crop was very excellent. But maple sugar and furs were about the only things that could be sold for cash in the market at Perrysburg. Pemberville, "within a few years after the first settlers appeared there, became the center of trade, bearing almost the same relationship to the eastern townships that Perrysburg did to the western townships. The development was slow, but sure, until the close of the Civil War." Among the important groups of immigrants were a number of Scotch who settled at Scotch Ridge (1834) on the Mc-Cutchenville Road between New Rochester and Perrysburg.

As time went on and the county became settled, the forests were cleared, the land was ditched and drained, and the county became a rich and prosperous agricultural section broken here and there by growing towns and villages. Perhaps one of the best ways to indicate the growth of Wood County is through a comparison of the assessed value of property from 1830 to 1860.

²⁸ Wood Co. Hist., 260. 29 Ibid., 256-57, 261.

³⁰ Francis P. Weisenburger, The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850, Vol. III of The History of the State of Ohio, edited by Carl Wittke (Columbus, 1941), 50.

Year	Land and Buildings	Town lots and Bldgs.	Personal Property	Total
1830	\$38,15 8	\$27,2 22	\$15,884	\$81.264
1840	\$229,673	\$216,244	\$62,082	\$507 , 999
1850	\$8 9 0 ,736	\$107,603	\$19 6,844	\$1,195,183
1860	\$2,353,14 2	\$ 2 53 , 100	\$800 , 176	\$3,406,418

These figures 31 not only indicate a remarkable development but they also point out the fact that the wealth of the county lay in its farms. Wood County was primarily a region of farms but even in 1860 much of the taxable acreage was still not in production. About that time, when there were 383,359 acres of taxable land, only 48,025 acres were under cultivation, 13,342 were in meadows, and 316,992 acres were either uncultivated or still in woodland. 32

The year 1860 represents a great development over those early days when the first pioneer settlers came into the Black Swamp and "when the red man of the forest made the air ring with his accustomed 'whoop,' and the howl of the sneaking wolf died away in the distance, when the clumsy bear was ready, on all suitable occasions, to deprive the early settlers of their supply of 'porkers'...."33 The transformation had been great but was still far from being complete. Life was still difficult and full of hardships. Much of the land still required draining. Roads were in poor condition and the problems of transportation and communication were great. At a later time, when improved farm machinery would become available to increase agricultural production, when highways and railroads would link every town and village, and when the discovery of gas and oil would provide a great source of wealth for the region, then the great transformation of the Black Swamp could be completed.

^{31&}quot;Tax Record"; Knapp, Maumee Valley, 430-31.
32Toledo Blade, Annual Statement...1860 (Toledo, 1861), 25.
33Richard, "Scrap-Book."

CHAPTER III: THE EARLY ROADS OF WOOD COUNTY.

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DESCRIBE THIS WORST OF ALL ROADS, AND THE AGONY BORDERING ON DESPAIR TO WHICH THE IMMIGRANT WAS REDUCED IN HIS EFFORT TO PASS OVER TO THE LAND FLOWING WITH MILK AND HONEY BEYOND.--C. W. Evers.

While Estwick Evans was making his "Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand Miles," he crossed the region from Lower Sandusky to the Maumee in March 1818, at a time when "the celebrated Black Swamp... was in its worst state," and recorded in his journal a description of the country and the difficulties encountered by the traveler of that day. The ground was covered with a heavy fall of snow which the moderate weather was turning into water as he left the Sandusky for Fort Meigs, forty miles and four days distant. The ice continually broke under foot and let the traveler down into water that was from two to four feet deep, and the creeks that had to be crossed were flowing over their banks.

The first evening, Evans found a small bit of high ground where he could build a fire, prepare his supper, reflect upon the "advantages of solitude," and finally sleep with the ground as his bed and "the brilliant canopy of Heaven" as his covering. By morning the weather was colder and there was a high wind, accompanied by rain, as he renewed his journey. He was forced to wade through water some four or five feet deep and his clothes became covered with ice. After making

¹Evers, Scrap-Book, 124.

a crossing of a creek east of the Portage River on a decayed log, he found himself in water up to his neck and unable to find any dry ground.

I was here completely bewildered. Alone, nearly up to my neck in water, apparently in the midst of a shoreless ocean,...my situation was rather unpleasant; the novelty of it, however, together with my apparent inablilty to extricate my self produced a resourceless smile.

But Evans managed to work his way out and proceed toward the Maumee.

The following day was even colder as he waded through water all day long. Toward evening he came upon a camp of about twenty Wyandot Indians where he gave up his supper to an Indian who was very ill. He tried to sleep on strips of bark that had been prepared by the Indians but found it impossible since he had no covering and his clothes were wet. The following day he reached Fort Meigs and found the river at flood stage with huge blocks of ice piled up about the few log cabins on the bottom lands under the fort, and water flowing through the windows of the houses.²

The distance from Lower Sandusky to the foot of the rapids of the Maumee, the country crossed by Evans in 1818, had long been traversed by the Indians who traveled on the "Great Trail" between Pittsburg and Detroit, and in later years the same territory would be crossed by the Maumee and Western Reserve Road. But in these early days travel

²Estwick Evans, "A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand Miles...1818," in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, VIII, 200-206.

overland was extremely difficult and the poor condition of the few existing roads and trails greatly reduced the settlement of certain areas.

One of the most important factors in the opening and development of any new region is its accessibility. Many of the earliest settlers of Wood County arrived from the East by way of Lake Erie and the Maumee River, making their homes along the river, particularly near the foot of the rapids. From this place, that is from their principal settlement at Perrysburg, the people could maintain contact with the eastern states and could receive merchandise and ship their produce by boat. The other parts of the country, however, developed more slowly due to the lack of adequate roads.

The earliest routes of overland travel in Wood County were along the numerous Indian trails which extended in every direction from the foot of the rapids of the Maumee. The "Great Trail" from Pittsburg to Detroit, which crossed the river at Fort Meigs, has already been mentioned. Other trails included one from central Ohio, through the Indian towns around Upper Sandusky, to Perrysburg; one from the Ohio River, north through Bellefontaine and Fort Findlay, to the foot of the rapids; and one from Wapakoneta that, through Wood County, followed the south bank of the Maumee to Fort Meigs. These were the main trails, but lesser paths enabled the Indians to travel from Fort Findlay to the Sandusky Bay by a route that crossed the southeastern corner of the county, or east and west by a path that followed the north bank of the Portage River.

³See Louise Rau, "Lucy Woodbridge, Pioneer Mother," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XLIV (1935), 438.

The Indians often used an east and west water route by way of the Portage and Maumee rivers, rather than the shorter distance along the lake and the lower Maumee, because of the difficulties in bringing their cances over the eighteen miles of rapids in the Maumee. Goods or furs were paddled up or down the Portage and Beaver and were carried across from the headwaters of one stream to the other. These two streams (the Portage and the Beaver) provided an almost continuous waterway from the mouth of the Portage to the important Ottawa village on the north bank of the Maumee opposite the mouth of Beaver Creek. Another portage cut across from the head of the navigable waters of the Portage to the upper reaches of Tontogany Creek, giving access to the Indian village of Ton-tog-a-nee.

The earliest pioneer roads were those that followed the old

Indian trails and military roads. Thus we find that the Maumee and

Western Reserve Road from Lower Sandusky to Perrysburg roughly followed
the "Great Trail," the McCutchenville Road followed the trail from

Upper Sandusky to the rapids, the River Road followed the trail from

Wapakoneta, and the Findlay Road followed Hull's trace and the trail
from Bellefontaine to the Maumee. Other roads between cabins or

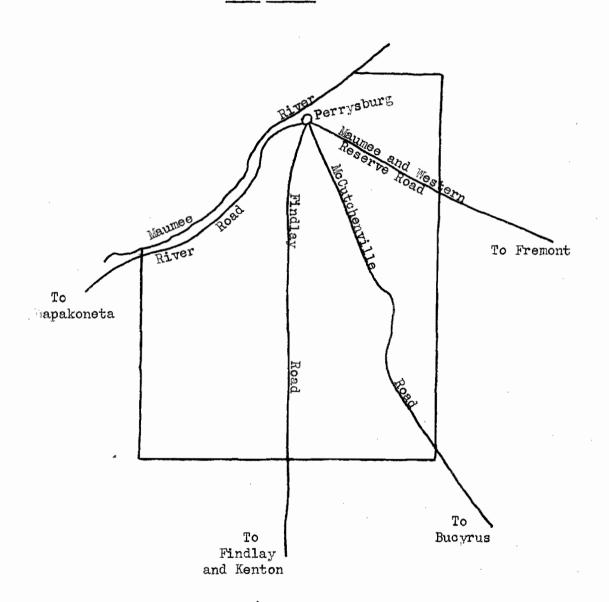
When Crogan was being taken down the Maumee to Detroit as a prisoner, he noted in his "Journal" that they "were obliged to get out of our canoes and drag them eighteen miles, on account of the rifts which interrupt the navigation." See "Croghans Journal, 1765," in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, I, 151.

⁵Wood Co. Hist., 303. 6Van Tassel, Maumee Valley, II, 1770-71.

EARLY ROADS

OF

WOOD COUNTY



settlements at first were mere footpaths indicated by blazed trees. These were gradually converted into wagon trails, barely passable, by the voluntary labor of interested persons. Many of these early roads and trails eventually became permanent highways since they were usually located on the most favorable ground that could be found for road purposes.

The first concern of the new settler was to blaze a trail to connect his new home with those of his neighbors; his second, perhaps even more important than the first, was to get a road by which he could travel to the nearest market. Since Perrysburg was in regular communication by water with the important lower lake ports, that town became the market place for the greater part of the county and most of the early roads were designed to make travel to that port possible. A considerable traffic, however, was also maintained with such towns as Lower Sandusky, Tiffin, Upper Sandusky, and even Bucyrus. 7

Road making in the earliest times was a very simple process. The surveyor, or more generally a person whose only qualification was that he knew the proposed route, blazed a course along the line. A track of sufficient width was cleared of trees, brush, and dead logs, and the low swampy places were bridged by placing logs of equal size on the ground to form a corduroy construction, a system much used until ditches were made to drain the land. At times the logway was covered with dirt so the vehicles might pass over it

⁷Wood Co. Hist., 249; Evers, Scrap-Book, 37; N. C. Schroyer, "Scrap-Book of Newspaper Clippings."

more smoothly. These first roads made many twists and turns in order that the road might be made along the most convenient and practicable route. This was especially important when it came to crossing marshy places or streams. In making the roads care was taken that the streams should be forded at the most convenient points. Small bridges, those not requiring extra lengths of timber, were easily constructed, but larger streams were provided with ferries, as were the smaller streams during stages of high water.

The River Road along the south bank of the Maumee carried the goods and provisions that were destined for Gilead, Fort Wayne, and the country to the interior. The haul was made from Perrysburg, "over the most impassable road with ox-teams," to Gilead, where the goods could be loaded on river boats and sent on up the stream. 9

By a legislative act on February 2, 1821, a state road was provided along this route from Fort Meigs to Wapakoneta, and on November 21 a plat and fields notes were submitted by the viewers and the work got under way. 10 In 1822 the road from Fort Meigs to the Indian village twelve miles above was passable, "but from that place to the Rapids [six miles] no wagon wheel had ever marred the even surface of the soil, and no ax [e] had cleared the way for one to follow." 11

⁸Wood Co. Hist., 183; Slocum, Maumee Basin, 584, 587; Harvey Scribner (ed.), Memoirs of Lucas County and the City of Toledo (Madison, 1910), I, 92; Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio (Cincinnati, 1908), I, 102-03. For appropriations for road and bridge work, see "Commissioners Journal," passim.

⁹Evers, Scrap-Book, 65.

10 Ibid., 80; Slocum, Maumee Basin, 584; Wood Co. Hist., 182.

11 Waggoner, "Toledo History," in Toledo Blade, April 2, 1892.

Travelers going from Detroit to Cleveland found no real roads across the Black Swamp and it was said that in that early day such a trip was sure to bring on "an attack of fever and ague if one but rode through its malarial air." The Maumee and Western Reserve Road, which crossed this swamp, however, was without a doubt the most important highway entering Wood County. It has even been suggested that the route was first proposed "by the French traders" in the early seventeenth century. 13 It is known that the road followed the general course of the old Indian trail over most of the distance from Lower Sandusky to Perrysburg. By the Treaty of Brownsville the Indians ceded a strip of land 120 feet wide for the road, together with the land for a mile on either side of the right of way. Late in 1811 Congress appropriated \$6,000 for exploring, surveying, and opening the road. Although the road was badly needed during the War of 1812. it was not surveyed or built until the whole region had been laid out into sections by the government surveyors. Caleb Atwater urged the government to make a road from Lower Sandusky to Detroit against the day when there might be another war in the western country, using the time of peace to take advantage of the experience of the former war when so many men "perished from the sickness which they caught wading through" the Black Swamp. 14 In 1823 Congress gave the lands to the state

14Caleb Atwater, A History of the State of Ohio (Cincinnati, 1838), 284.

¹²A. C. McLaughlin, "The Influence of Governor Cass on the Development of the Northwest," Proceedings of the American Historical Association, Vol. III, No. 2, (1889), 70.

¹³Charles E. Bliven, Maumee Valley and Pioneers, Paper read at the annual meeting of the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association, Perrysburg, September 10, 1880, p. 3.

and three years later the state surveyed the road and started work. 15 By the Act of 1823 the state was authorized by Congress "to lay out, open and construct" the road, using the proceeds from the sale of the road lands, at not less than \$1.25 per acre, for building the road and keeping it in repair. 16

The first real step in the improvement of the Maumee and Western Reserve Road was taken when Guy Nearing was awarded a contract to build five miles of mud pike in 1825. The turnpike "failed to give a solid and reliable road-bed" and "aside from clearing the roadway" was not very successful. 17 Opinion is divided as to the merit of the work, some maintaining that it "was some better than the flat, undrained soil, so liable to the 'melting mood,' in the presence of very little water, "18 while others held that "it was no better, if not worse than the original surface."19

The Road Lands. situated on either side of the Maumee and Western Reserve Road, were sold to the public to pay for the cost of the construction and maintenance of the road. The (Lower) Sandusky Gazette of May 18, 1830, carried a notice of the sale of the lands granted to the State of Ohio for the highway, all the unsold land west of the Portage River being placed on sale at Perrysburg on The terms were one-fourth cash, the balance in three equal June 14.

¹⁵C. E. Sherman, Original Ohio Land Subdivisions (1925), 157.

¹⁶Scribner, Memoirs, I, 90; Slocum, Maumee Basin, 584-85. 17 Evers, Scrap-Book, 122; Clark Waggoner, "Address to Sandusky County Pioneers, "September 16, 1879, in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," II, 94.

18 Waggoner, "Toledo History," Toledo Blade, January 21, 1882.

19 Soribner, Memoirs, I, 91.

payments at the end of one, two, and three years. Of the 40,000 acres available at that time, a large proportion was advertised as being "handsomely situated on the said turnpike, and in a section of the country which... [was] rapidly improving." The Gazette, however, failed to note that at this time the road was one of "almost bottomless mud." 21

Despite the action taken to improve the road in 1825-1827, the highway remained in an almost impassable state until some time after 1838. "It would be difficult to describe this worst of all roads, and the agony bordering on despair to which the immigrant was reduced in his efforts to pass over to the land flowing with milk and honey beyond."22 The road was supplied "with pries used for extricating vehicles from the mud holes, which were so numerous that they formed almost one continuous chain." Conveyances that were ruined or broken down and in the course of repair were common sights along this road. and at times "dozens of teams could be seen laboriously wallowing through one mud-hole after another, and by the use of pries, with which each doubtful place was plentifully supplied by cases of past necessity." One large mud hole, just east of Perrysburg, is especially mentioned as surpassing any of the others, and "those who attempted to pass through this without double teaming, were sure to stick before they accomplished their purpose, and often then, they would become hopelessly mired. "23

²⁰Reprint in Fremont Journal, April 1, 1898, in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," VIII, 23.

²¹Evers, Scrap-Book, 96.

²³ David Hackman, "Reminiscences," Maumee Valley Pioneer, I (1890), 2-3.

The terrible state of the road also contributed its share of stories that might be told concerning the hardships and trials of travel at the time. Thus the Cleveland Herald could report "the drowning of a span of horses in a swamp mudhole, the bottom of which had fallen out." 24

After travelers had waded in the mud and water all day, they found rest in the taverns with which the road was lined, one for every mile, and "one to spare," between Perrysburg and Lower Sandusky. At times the traveler was forced to spend two nights at the same tavern, despite "the most vigorous efforts to proceed."25 Most of the taverns were "quite primitive in style and limited in accomodations," but landlords along the road were provided with extra yokes of oxen which they used to help pull wagons from the mud holes -- for a fee. The settlers on the Road Lands recognized each others rights to the mud holes nearest each holding. There is even a story of how one man, in selling his land, sold the rights to his particular mud hole for five dollars, the transaction being recorded in the transfer. 26 Another story, or legend, told of old Auntie Shepley who kept a tavern and provided dinners for stagecoach patrons at Perrysburg. She used to go out early in the morning and if she saw a "coach floundering through the mire " in the distance, she went back into the house to "prepare in advance

²⁴ Reprint in Toledo Blade, February 7, 1838.

²⁵Evers, Scrap-Book, 124. 26Waggoner, "Address to Sandusky County Pioneers," September 16, 1879, in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," II, 94.

the vegetables and meat, then set herself to the family washing and have it all flapping on the line and dinner all ready before the guests arrived."27

In the winter months of 1837-1838, while the ground was frozen and travel was perhaps a little easier, 5,500 travelers passed over the road between Lower Sandusky and Perrysburg. There were 2,300 sleighs and sleds and 300 wagons, the average daily traffic at this time being 180 footmen and 86 sleighs and wagons. But by this time the old mud pike "was so completely worn out and so impassable for loaded teams that a movement was made for the construction of a macadamized road." In January 1838 a senate committee of the legislature recommended an appropriation of \$40,000 for the improvement of the road, the committee considering the "road among the most important in the State, being the only thoroughfare east and west through Northern Ohio." And this road was to remain the only important east-west route of travel in this section of the state until the opening of the Lake Shore Railroad in 1853.

The first contract for macadamizing the Maumee and Western Reserve Road, let June 30, 1838, covered the distance from Perrysburg to the Portage River, the remainder being let in May 1841. In 1839 it was reported, by the Sandusky Democrat, that the road "would shortly be

²⁷Carrie B. Zimmerman, "Ohio, The Gateway of the West," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XL (January, 1931), 150-51.
28Wood Co. Hist., 182-83.

²⁹ Evers, Scrap-Book, 43.

³⁰ Waggoner, "Toledo History," Toledo Blade, February 11, 1882; Scribner, Memoirs, I, 91.
31 Scribner, Memoirs, I, 91.

completely converted from an almost bottomless slough-hole to one of the finest roads in the State. $^{\rm u32}$

Late in 1838, Neil, Moore & Co. began to operate their post coaches between Detroit and Lower Sandusky as "a great convenience to travellers." In 1840 the company was operating coaches from Columbus to Detroit, via Marion, Upper Sandusky, Tiffin, Lower Sandusky, and Perrysburg, with a fare of three cents a mile. The advertisements of Neil, Moore & Co. pointed out the conveniences and comforts offered passengers between Detroit and Cleveland, via Perrysburg.

This line is now carrying passengers very cheap, they have new Troy coaches, thoroughly lined, and are warm and comfortable as any in the State. The roads are good and the line makes good time. The drivers on this route are sober and steady men.

The Columbus line of Stages connects with this line at Lower Sandusky....This is the best route for persons going to the East, South or West, as lines run in connection and saves any delay to the traveller....35

By 1840, fifteen miles of the Maumee and Western Reserve Road had been finished, but because of the financial condition of the state all public improvements were suspended for one year, until April 1, 1841, except for work on the Maumee and Western Reserve Road and the Wabash and Erie Canal, and no new contracts were to be let for these two projects. Until the road was finished,

³²Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, 107.

³³Toledo Blade, December 19, 1838.

³⁴ Manhattan Advertiser, March 4, 1840.

³⁵ Toledo Blade, February 18, 1842.
36 Charles N. Morris, "Internal Improvements in Ohio, 1825-1850,"
Proceedings of the American Historical Association, Vol. III, No. 2
(1889), 130-31.

however, the stage operators were the butt of many jokes, one being in the form of a poem that appears to ridicule the advertisement of the fine service the company offered.

The coach that from Sandusky came,
Over the frozen road;
Its panels like a yellow flame,
Its horses bits of blood;
Now drags along its weary way
Loaded with mud, and slow;
It comes by night and not by day
Coach of Neil, Moore & Co.

No more we hear the Jarvey say,

"Load in, gents, all is right;"

The horn that used to sound by day,

Alas! now sounds by night.

And soon, deep stalled in endless mid,

No more the coach can go-
A lumber wagon takes the road-
Alas! for Neil, Moore & Co.

O, for a Railroad, or a road
Of rails, if we but had 'em,
To pry the coaches from the mud
That is to be Macadam.
Railings there are from man to maid
That in the coaches go;
But, stranger, let no word be said
About Neil, Moore & Co. 37

The McCutchenville Turnpike, established in 1821, ran from Perrysburg, southeast through New Rochester to the southeastern corner of the county (Fostoria) and then on to Bucyrus. The road, thirty of the sixty-five miles being in Wood County, was surveyed by Q. C. Sweeney, with the aid of eight chainmen and two "packers" and their horses, the cost being apportioned among the counties through which the road passed. Although the report of the location

Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio (New York, 1888), 427.

38Wood Co. Hist., 257.

and survey was dated April 13, 1835, the editor of a Perrysburg newspaper was asking for a "good Plank or Macadamized road leading to New Rochester" as late as 1857, to enable the people of the southern part of the county to get their produce to the Perrysburg market. 39

The Findlay Road, which followed Hull's trace and an old Indian path, remained "nothing but an Indian trail" until 1820, 40 when, on June 30, viewers were appointed for a state road from Fort Meigs, through Fort Findlay, to Bellefontaine. The cost of laying out and surveying the road was \$18.87\frac{1}{2}\$, and by July 11, 1820, the commissioners could declare the road to be a public highway. 41 Thus it is not surprising to find that in 1833 a resident of Bowling Green, making a trip to Perrysburg, could report that there was no road, and that he "just went through the woods, around trees, over and around fallen timber, through the water, fighting the mosquitoes, with a sack of corn on... his back to have it ground for meal."

If he went over "the road with an ox-team and cart, it took from four to five days to go [12 miles] and get back."

In 1839 a resident of Perrysburg wrote an account describing
"Our Tour to Findlay," for the Ohio Whig. The first twelve miles,
"with the exception of a small prairie, lay through an untouched

³⁹ Perrysburg Journal, August 27, 1857.

⁴⁰ Knapp, Maumee Valley, 314.

⁴¹ Wood Co. Hist., 181-82; Slocum, Maumee Basin, 584.

⁴²Toledo Blade, in Toledo Public Library, Department of Local History, "Scrap-Book of Newspaper Clippings on Ohio History," Vol. N-Pe.

wilderness, over an imperfectly marked road, rendered impassable by teams, in consequence of the numerous trees thrown across it by the hurricane" of several months before. He saw several large fields of corn and two or three dwellings on the prairie, and attributed the small number of settlers to the lack of transportation facilities through the region. At Bowling Green, which was also situated on a prairie, the traveler noted a half dozen log cottages, a small frame tavern, and well cultivated fields and orchards. Two miles south of this place he passed through the "town" of Mount Ararat, and at the crossing of the Portage he found five sawmills, "all idle for the want of water."

Turnpikes, such as the Findlay-Perrysburg Mad Pike built in 1845, "were made by turning and throwing the mud from the sides into the middle of the road. The ditches thus formed on each side were generally too shallow to drain the road and it continued impassable much of the time in wet seasons. On March 10, 1845, the Wood County Commissioners purchased the Wood County section of the road from the recently organized Perrysburg, Findlay and Kenton Turnpike Company. The purchase price was \$252, the amount expended for engineering and other payments, and "their acceptance of the contracts made" by the company. But this turnpike was a mud road of poor description and was not a great improvement in the transportation situation in that part of the county.

⁴³ September 3, September 10, 1839. 44 Slocum, Maumee Basin, 587.

About the time the Findlay Road was being turnpiked, there was agitation for a plank road along this route. ⁴⁵ In the mid-1840's a number of such roads were built in Northwestern Ohio, but on many of them "traffic was not sufficient to maintain the roads, and make returns for capital invested. ⁴⁶ At the same time demand for tolls to maintain the roads "became very unpopular, particularly after the first wet season when the plank became displaced and were not well looked after. ⁴⁷

The Perrysburg and Findlay Plank Road Co., chartered by the legislature in February 1849, was aided by subscriptions of \$5,000 from Perrysburg township and \$2,000 from Plain township, to be used to build the plank road from Perrysburg to Bowling Green. Two steam sawmills were built, one four miles south of Perrysburg and one the same distance north of Bowling Green, to saw the native wood into planks. This section of the road was completed and toll gates established in 1853. 48 It is interesting to note that while Perrysburg had been foremost in the agitation for the plank road, "intending to make the town accessible to the farmers of the interior," Bowling Green was the chief beneficiary. 49

During the entire period under consideration, travel was on foot, on horseback, or by carts drawn by oxen, for "carriages were

⁴⁵Fort Meigs Reveille, September 2, 1848.

⁴⁶Waggoner, "Address to Sandusky County Pioneers," September 16, 1879, in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," II, 95.
47Slocum, Maumee Basin, 588.

⁴⁸Ibid., 587; Wood Co. Hist., 183.

⁴⁹Wood Co. Hist., 183.

a rare thing in those early days." Even women rode horses and "it was no unusual thing to see young girls riding horse back and [they] were able to control almost any horse that was available." Although returns for the entire period did not list the number of "pleasure carriages" for taxation, such incomplete data as could be found will serve to indicate how few such vehicles existed. 51

Year	No. of Pleasure Carriages	Value of Pleasure Carriages
1834	-	\$310 (a)
1835	-	\$355 (a)
1839	5	\$545
1841	2	\$100
1842	5	\$265
1843	5	₽38 0
1844	2	\$90
1845	5	\$300
	(a) All for Perrysburg township.	

The development of the major highways in the early history of Wood County has been traced from their beginning as Indian trails to the period of turnpikes and plank roads. Improvement in transportation facilities came but slowly during these years and was to continue so for many years thereafter. In 1860 the only stone pike in the county was the Maumee and Western Reserve Road, and it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that any great progress was made in building roads of stone. Since overland

⁵⁰W. S. Richard, "Wood County 60 Years Ago," Bloomdale Derrick, April 13, 1911.
51"Tax Record," passim.

⁵²W. S. Richard, "Wood County 60 Years Ago," Bloomdale Derrick, April 6, April 13, 1911; Wood County Sentinel, April 6, 1876, January 19, 1882, March 4, 1882, April 29, 1897, and passim.

transportation was undertaken under the most difficult conditions in the early days, it is quite natural that much of the immigration, as well as most of the shipments of goods received and produce sent out from the county, should have taken the water route, making Lake Erie and the Maumee River the major highway of the county.

CHAPTER IV: THE MAUMEE AS A HIGHWAY. 1

ARTIFICIAL AND NATURAL WATERWAYS HAVE EXERTED A DEFINITE INFLUENCE IN THE HISTORY OF THE OLD NORTHWEST. THEY HAVE PROMOTED AND DIRECTED THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF POPULATION AND MADE POSSIBLE THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS RESOURCES. THE ADVANTAGES WHICH THE WATERWAYS OFFERED TO COMMERCE STIMULATED SETTLEMENT ALONG THEIR SHORES.--Elbert Jay Benton.²

The Indians and French had found the Maumee River a natural route of transportation and communication into the interior of Northwestern Ohio; the early settlers likewise turned to the lake and the river for their main line of contact with the outside world, as was only natural in a region where roads were almost impassable through the greater part of the year. Early adventurers into the Maumee Valley set up posts for trading with the Indians, exchanging cheap trade goods for the valuable furs the Indians brought in. By

Northwestern Ohio Quarterly Bulletin, XV (July, 1943), 159-173.

The Wabash Route in the Development of the Old Northwest, Series XXI, Nos. 1-2, of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science (Baltimore, 1903), 7.

Parts of this chapter were published under the title "Navigation at the Foot of the Maumee Rapids, 1815-1845," Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio Quarterly Bulletin, XV (July, 1943), 159-173.

The credit for the discovery of the Maumee by European explorers and for the recognition of its value as a highway has been the subject of an endless controversy that need not be considered at this time. A fine summary of the various possibilities, however, may be found in Benton, Wabash Route, 7-31.

⁴Milo M. Quaife, who spent many years studying the activities of the early whites in the Old Northwest, has provided much valuable material on this subject in the various works he has written and edited. See especially his editions of The Indian Captivity of O. M. Spencer (Chicago, 1917), and The John Askin Papers (Detroit, 1928-1931) for numerous references to early activities on the Maumee.

1810 this trade had grown to such proportions that Major Amos Spafford was appointed collector of the Port of Miami, Erie District. The Major's report for the first three months, ending June 30, 1810, indicated that the exports from the district for this period were valued at \$5,640.85: \$5,610.85 in furs and skins, and \$30 for twenty gallons of bear's oil. During the War of 1812 the collector had to leave the region due to the pressure of the British and the Indians, but in 1814 he submitted another report indicating the following expenditures: salary, \$2.50; office rent, \$10; fuel and stationery, \$15.75. The report was sent in, however, without an affidavit, since the nearest person authorized to administer oaths was some sixty or seventy miles distant.

Shortly after the establishment of the custom house on the Maumee, regular communication was being maintained with the Lake Erie ports, and, after the War of 1812, there was some immigration to the new country, many of the settlers coming by the way of the lake and the river from Cleveland and the ports below. Two towns, Maumee and Perrysburg, grew up at the foot of the rapids, while others were located down the river, each ambitious and hopeful of becoming the future great city of the Northwest. There was a great rivalry among the river towns but Maumee and Perrysburg, at the head of navigation, retained their dominant position until the early 1840's, when two factors led to the rise of the great port of Toledo. By 1840 the lake vessels had become so large they could no longer cross the "rock bar" that obstructed the river below Perrysburg, and consequently the boats were

⁵Slocum, Maumee Basin, 582-83.

putting in at Toledo; the construction of the Wabash and Erie and the Miami and Erie canals, with the terminal point at Swan Creek, made Toledo the point of transfer from canal boat to lake shipping, and greatly reduced the number of boats proceeding up the river to Maumee and Perrysburg.

In the fall of 1815, Captain Jacob Wilkison⁶ sailed the Blacksnake up the Maumee to Fort Meigs, bringing several families to settle in the district. The Captain was no stranger to the region for in 1811 he had brought his family to the foot of the rapids, but, after seeing Hull's army cross the river on the way to Detroit, and hearing of the surrender of the American forces to the British, Wilkison followed the other settlers of the region in the flight before the expected attack of the British and their Indian allies.

The schooner <u>Blacksnake</u>, burden twenty tons, was a small craft to sail on the lake, but a number of passengers sailed with Wilkison from Cleveland in 1815, part being landed on the River Raisin, the remainder at Fort Meigs. On the return trip the <u>Blacksnake</u> carried about forty soldiers, as well as ordnance and military stores from Fort Meigs to Detroit, for it was at this time that the Maumee fort was abandoned and the garrison moved to Detroit. Peace having been restored on the Maumee, Jacob Wilkison again brought his family to the rapids, made a permanent home, and engaged in the business of building bridges and wharves until his death in 1834.

⁶This name is frequently found as Wilkinson.

⁷Wood Co. Hist., 358, 454-55, 1230-31.

The first steamboat communication with the Maumee country was made in the year 1818 by the Walk-in-the-Water, built by McIntyre and Stewart of Albany, New York, primarily for the run between Buffalo and the foot of the Maumee rapids. This ship, the first of its kind to operate on Lake Erie, and which had been launched at Black Rock (Buffalo) on May 28, 1818, with a name taken from a Wyandot chieftain, operated on the lake for four years until it was lost in a storm off Buffalo. The Walk-in-the-Water was described by James Flint, in his "Letters from America," as "a fine vessel of 330 tons burden, with two masts, and rigged, for taking advantage of the winds in the manner of sea-craft." This passenger was impressed by the elegance of the interior and the luxuriousness of the entertainment, the "genteel appearance and polite manners" of the twelve cabin passengers, and he was surprised by "a degree of intercourse and refinement" which he had not expected to find on Lake Erie.

The builders of the Walk-in-the-Water had purchased a tract of land at Fort Meigs for the town of Orleans, at the point then considered to be the head of navigation on the river. Captain Job Fish brought his craft up the Maumee and cast anchor at the mouth of Swan Creek. The agent at Orleans made soundings of the river but found that it was "not practicable to ascend the river farther up" than the point where the craft lay at anchor. Since the ship could not reach Orleans, and since "there were no settlements of consequence below the Rapids, she never entered the river again."

⁸Thwaites, Early Western Travels, IX, 314.

⁹C. E. Winter, A History of Northwest Ohio...(New York, 1917),

I, 245-46.

10 Ibid.: Toledo Blade, May 16, 1837; Merchants and Manufacturers Exchange, Toledo as a Commercial and Manufacturing City (Toledo, 1880), 3-4.

When Thomas W. Powell came to Perrysburg in 1820 he found that "the business of the place [was] far larger than that which would be indicated by the population of the place, and the amount of lake shipping that came up there to meet this commercial demand was quite considerable." At this time the produce of Northwestern Ohio and Northeastern Indiana was brought down the river on flat-boats and transferred to lake shipping at the foot of the rapids. The Indian trade was large, supplying furs, peltries, and maple sugar. The fisheries of the river constituted "a large item in the business of the place," while corn was exported to Detroit and other parts of the upper lakes. 11

This trade continued through the 1820's, but the export of agricultural products did not become important until the latter 1830's and early 1840's. It is reported that a shipment of three hundred bushels of wheat was made from the valley to Buffalo in 1827, but it was not until 1838 that there was any noteworthy surplus of this crop for export. The heavy timber, the swampy ground, and the ever present "ague" constituted the chief obstacles in the agricultural development of the region. But trapping and hunting were lucrative pursuits, the hides and peltries often being used as a medium of exchange in the absence of ready cash. 13

13Toledo Blade, November 3, 1927; Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, 67-68.

¹¹Knapp, Naumee Valley, 294-95.

¹²Clark Waggoner told the Sandusky County Pioneers, at their meeting at Fremont on September 16, 1879, that the first cargo of wheat shipped from the Maumee River was from Maumee City in 1841. He gave as his authority Dennison B. Smith, a member of Hazard and Smith, the firm making the shipment. Waggoner also stated that up to 1841 the demand for wheat had been equal only to the home consumption. See Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," II, 96.

Enterprise in the year 1823, bringing in settlers for Toledo, the Maumee Valley, Whiteford, Palmyra, Adrian, Tecumseh, and Clinton.

In 1831 the steamboat Gen. Gratiot entered the river and made one or two trips during the season. In the fall of 1832 the Gen. Brady was completed and made a few trips; the following spring the Andrew Jackson made appearance. The Gratiot, Brady, and Jackson made alternate trips between Toledo and Fort Gratiot, via Monroe and Detroit. The first regular line of communication between the Maumee and Buffalo was that provided by the Pioneer, chartered at Buffalo in the spring of 1833 by Seneca Allen and others, "to form a junction with the Buffalo boats at Sandusky city, and to keep up communication between that place and Toledo, then Vistula."

The era of prosperity, with its attendant real estate speculation, that struck the west during the 1830's, brought a considerable number of settlers to the Maumee region. Hundreds of people settled at Perrysburg, Maumee, Manhattan, or Toledo under the impression that a great city was destined to grow up in the Maumee Valley. It was during these years, the period from about 1833 or 1834 to 1837, that the commercial navigation of the Maumee River became well established, with regularly scheduled lines serving the river and connecting the region with the other ports of the lake. By 1837, eight steamboats were entering the river on regular trips, while numerous independent boats arrived almost daily. The commission and forwarding houses handled increasing quantities of merchandise and sent the products

¹⁴ Toledo Blade, May 16, 1837.

of the valley on their way to the eastern markets. Two forwarding and commission houses, Hollister & Smith and Bingham & Co., handled nearly all of the goods consigned to Northern Indiana and a large portion of that destined for Northwestern Ohio and Southern Michigan. From Perrysburg, which at that time was as large as any port on Lake Erie with the exceptions of Buffalo and Cleveland, the merchandise was hauled by teams to the head of the rapids; keel boats, pirogues, and flat-boats carried the goods to Fort Wayne, the distributing point. The boats coming down the river brought furs, skins, and dried meats. By 1835 this commerce, together with the immigration to the region, "afforded a very lucrative business for nearly all the schooners and steamboats in the service."

In the latter 1830's and early 1840's regular steamboat communication became established between the Maumee and the various ports of Lake Erie, including Buffalo, Cleveland, Sandusky, and Monroe, and had even extended beyond Detroit to ports on the upper lakes to include Chicago and Milwaukee.

The first announcement of a steamboat plying exclusively between the towns on the Maumee is reported to have appeared in the spring of 1838, when it was announced that the <u>Sun</u>, C. K. Bennett, Master, would make regular trips daily between Perrysburg, Maumee, Toledo, and Manhattan. The following year the <u>Gen</u>. Vance began her trips between the various ports of the Maumee. Captain Spink took his craft from Perrysburg at 7:30 every morning, touched at Maumee and Oregon, arrived at Toledo before the train left on the Kalamazoo line for Adrian, and put in at Manhattan at 9:00. By noon the <u>Gen</u>. Vance was back in

¹⁵Evers, Scrap-Book, 124. 16Winter, Hist. of Northwest Ohio, I, 247.

Perrysburg, leaving that place at 1:30,, and from Toledo at 4 o'clock, "or after the arrival of the cars from Adrian." Besides the two regular trips made each day, the craft was offered for sailing parties "by giving a few hours notice to the Capt., or to the... agents," J. Hollister & Co., of Perrysburg. The Captain was also attending "promptly to all calls from Capts. of vessels who... [desired] to be towed either up or down the river."

Captain Wm. H. Gallagher, with the steamboat Andrew Jackson, supplied service between Toledo and Monroe, leaving Toledo every morning at 8:00, and Monroe at 1:00 in the afternoon. On alternate days, the steamboat Commerce, Captain V. P. Stevens, left Lower Sandusky at 7:00 in the morning for the Maumee ports, returning to the Sandusky the following day. 19

The steamboat Erie connected the Maumee towns with Detroit, leaving Perrysburg on alternate days. In 1839 the O. Newberry was added to this line to supply a daily service, both ships touching at Toledo, Manhattan, Monroe, Brest, Malden, and Gibraltar. On The following year the Erie was running between Detroit and Cleveland, touching at Toledo on the way up and down, and, with the Macomb, was able to maintain a daily service between the Maumee and Detroit. The Erie was reported to be one of the fastest boats coming into the river, and Captain Edwards, her master, was held as being "gentlemanly and accomodating to his passengers."

¹⁷⁰hio Whig, May 4, 1839.

¹⁸ Toledo Blade, June 13, 1839.

¹⁹Ibid., January 10, 1838. ²⁰Ohio Whig, March 23, 1839.

²¹ Toledo Blade, March 25, August 7, 1840. 22 Ibid. October 31, 1831.

The Western Transportation Company, which was to control much of the shipping on the lake, came into being when the proprietors of the Commercial, the Transportation, and the Telegraph lines of canal boats on the Erie Canal united their interests "for the purpose of conducting a general FORWARDING AND COMMISSION BUSINESS on the Erie and Ohio canals, and on the Western Lakes." Six canal boats were started daily from Albany and Buffalo carrying freight and passengers; a daily line of steamboats maintained a schedule from Buffalo to Detroit, touching at Toledo and Perrysburg as well as other intermediate ports; a semi-weekly line of steamboats left for the upper lakes. The steamboats of the Western Transportation Company were the Wisconsin, Constitution, Anthony Wayne, Commodore O. H. Perry, Columbus, Vermillion, Rhode Island, and others. The Rhode Island, a ship of two hundred tons and the smallest of the fleet, put in at Lower Sandusky and Monroe to deliver and receive passengers and freight. 23

Two of these boats operated by the Western Transportation Company are deserving of special interest in the study of the Maumee region, for they were built at Perrysburg and were commanded by men who played vital roles in the history of transportation on the Maumee River. The Commodore Perry, a steamboat of 330 tons burden, had been constructed in the Perrysburg yards in 1835, and was under the command of Captain David Wilkison. When the Blacksnake sailed up the Maumee in 1815, David Wilkison, a fifteen year old nephew of Jacob Wilkison, was a hand aboard the schooner. Two years later the Blacksnake was under the command of the younger Wilkison, making several trips to the

²³⁰hio Whig, November 10, 1838.

Maumee, bringing in settlers, goods, and merchandise, and carrying fish on the return run down the lake. In 1819 he was given command of the Pilot on the run between Buffalo and the Maumee, bringing in passengers, merchandise, salt, and lumber. By this time the valley had started to produce a small surplus of corn so that the vessel was loaded with corn, furs, and fish for its return trip. By 1828, when Captain David Wilkison moved his family to Perrysburg, he had successively commanded the Blacksnake, Pilot, Mary Jane, President, Superior, Guerriere, and Eagle.

The Eagle had been built at Port Lawrence (Toledo) in 1827 at a cost of \$3,000, and the captain did a profitable business with the boat, "as was the case with all lake vessels at that period." He left the Eagle in 1835 to take command of the Commodore Perry, making the run from Buffalo to Perrysburg. Ten years later be became captain of the Superior, remaining on the same run until the close of navigation in the year 1852.

David Wilkison, Master of the Western Transportation Company's Commodore Perry, spent thirty-seven years on the lake, during which time he never lost a vessel or steamer, nor did he meet with any serious accident. His success as a captain "was owing to his superior judgment, his coolness under the most trying circumstances, and his perfect knowledge of the lake." But even in 1838, when the company announced that the Perry would be under Captain Wilkison, his reputation was such that "as a Commander... [he needed] no eulogy."24

²⁴wood Co. Hist., 454-55; Evers, Scrap-Book, 135; Winter, Hist. of Northwest Ohio, I, 244; William Hodge, Papers Concerning Early Navigation on the Great Lakes (Buffalo, 1883), passim.

Second only to Wilkison in the reputation he enjoyed as a captain on the Maumee and Lake Erie, was Amos Pratt, Master of the Anthony Wayne. The Wayne, 350 tons burden, had, like the Perry, been built in the Perrysburg yards, and had entered into the service between Buffalo and the Maumee. The Western Transportation Company advertised the ship as "new and well built, with twenty state rooms, and a gentlemen's cabin with fifty-two berths; also a ladies' steerage cabin with twenty-four berths... [making] her accommodations equal to any boat on the lake." The Commodore Perry and the Anthony Wayne ran alternately, always leaving Perrysburg and Toledo "on the arrival of the cars from Adrian." These two craft, together with the four other steamboats in the service, formed a six day line between the Maumee and Buffalo.25

The boat connection with Buffalo made rapid travel possible between the Maumee and the East. In 1839 passengers went from Toledo to New York in three days and fifteen hours, as follows: 26

Toledo to Buffalo (steamboat)	3 9	hours
Buffalo to Rochester (stage and railroad)	9	11
Rochester to Auburn (stage)	8	tt
Auburn to Albany (railroad)	12	Ħ
Albany to New York (steamboat)	10	11
Delays between Buffalo and New York	9	Ħ
Total	87	Ħ

Besides the line of steamboats, a number of sailing craft supplied connections with eastern ports. One in particular, the schooner Caroline, built at Perrysburg in 1835, occupied a prominent place in the history of the transportation on the Maumee. In 1838 this craft

²⁵⁰hio Whig, November 10, 1838. 26Toledo Blade, July 17, 1839.

was making regular trips between Perrysburg and Cleveland, stopping enroute at Maumee, Toledo, and Manhattan. At various times runs were advertised for boats to the ports of the upper lakes. In 1837 the steamboats Detroit, Constellation, Bunker Hill, and others were making connections with the ports on Lake Michigan. 27

Most of the boats running between Detroit and Cleveland or Buffalo put in the Maumee for the ports of Toledo or Perrysburg; some of the lines to Detroit or the lower lake ports, had Perrysburg as a terminal point. The light craft of the early years could readily pass the fifteen miles up the Maumee to the foot of the rapids. In later years, however, the heavier vessels and steamers could not go beyond the "rock bar" that obstructed the channel about two miles below the Perrysburg landing. This "rock bar" was a blue limestone ridge across the channel, over which the water at common stage was about six and one-half feet deep. Since vessels drawing more than six feet of water could not safely proceed to Perrysburg and Maumee, much of the river trade from the lake was diverted to points farther down. ²⁸

While the heavier steamboats encountered difficulties at the "rock bar," even light sailing craft found navigation of the river above Toledo "extremely difficult and uncertain because of the narrow crocked channel." Even with a favorable wind the many windings and "want of room to 'beat'...[made] it difficult to pass some of the bends without considerable delay." Navigation by sailing craft to

²⁷ Ibid., June 27, July 11, August 15, 1837.

²⁸ Wood Co. Hist., 52; Howe, Hist. Collections, II, 140.

the foot of the rapids often required the aid of steam-towing above Toledo. 29 Several small towns sprang up along the lower valley, but Toledo eventually became the leader and succeeded in capturing the trade that had once gone to the foot of the rapids. Had navigation of the river been improved to the lower rapids. Toledo might never have been founded, or, having been founded, might never have been able to surpass Maumee and Perrysburg. 30

The heavy lake steamers, with few exceptions, were stopping at Toledo. In 1836, exclusive of the small steamboats plying daily between Toledo and Detroit, 610 craft entered the port at Toledo: 330 steamboats: 271 schooners. 31 During one thirty-two hour period in the middle of May, 1837, "NINE STEAMBOATS, mostly of a very large class, one small one, three schooners and one sloop" entered the port. 32 On June 13, eight schooners and four steamboats arrived at the same place in twelve hours: 33 one week in the middle of August, twenty steamboats and three schooners arrived. 34 while the following week showed the arrival of twenty-five steamboats and two schooners. 35 The arrivals at Toledo from October 3 to October 10, 1837, totaled seventy-eight steamboats and schooners. 36 The total number of craft

²⁹ Clark Waggoner, "Toledo History," Toledo Blade, February 25, 1882, citing the report of Samuel Forrer to the Legislative Committee on

the Maimi and Erie Canal.

30 Howe, Hist. Collections, II, 140.

31 Waggener, "Toledo History," Toledo Blade, February 11, 1882.

³² Toledo Blade, May 23, 1837.

³³ Ibid., June 20, 1837.

³⁴ Ibid., August 22, 1837.

³⁵ Ibid., August 29, 1837.

³⁶ Ibid., October 10, 1837.

entering the port of Toledo in 1837 was 959: 756 steamboats and 203 schooners. Of the 756 steamboats, 207 were direct from Buffalo. 401 from Buffalo via Detroit, and 85 direct from Cleveland. 37 During the summer of 1838, the port averaged ten to twelve arrivals and departures daily. 38

Newspaper advertising of the boat lines occupied considerable space, but other business cards also indicated the importance of the business in the Maumee region. Palmer, Bush and Co., forwarding and commission merchants, advertised for "1,000 cords good dry steam boat wood," in September, 1837, raising the amount to 5,000 cords in their card the following January. 39 The same establishment also offered a "fine lot of deck lumber for ship building."40 and announced the arrival of three hundred bushels dried apples, etc., etc., "on consignment, and this day landed from the schooner Antelope, J. L. Edmonds, Master."41

Ship building was an important and flourishing business in the Maumee Valley as far up as the foot of the rapids. Up to 1846 almost 7,000 tons of shipping had been constructed at Maumee, Perrysburg, Toledo, and other points on the lower river. These ships ranged in size from the twenty-five ton schooner, the Miami, built at Perrysburg in 1810, to the steamboats St. Louis and Superior built in 1844 and 1845.42

³⁷ Waggoner, "Toledo History," Toledo Blade, February 11, 1882. 38 Toledo Blade, September 5, 1838.

³⁹Ibid., September 19, 1837, January 3, 1838. 40 Ibid., November 29, 1837.

⁴¹ Ibid., January 17, 1838.

⁴² List compiled by editor of Miami of Lake Erie, April 18, 1846. Compare this with a list prepared by David Wilkison in Waggoner, History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, 438-39.

The Superior, a "floating palace" making her maiden voyage to
Buffalo in September 1845, went "forth as a specimen of the Art,
Mechanism and handicraft of Perrysburg." Her dimensions were as
follows: length of keel, 184 feet; length of deck, 196 feet; breadth
of beam, 27 feet and 8 inches; extreme breadth, 48 feet; depth of
hold, 12 feet and 4 inches; burden 646 tons. The editor of the
Blade described her in the columns of his paper:

Upper Cabins

She has two gentlemen's cabins, one 60 and the other 70 feet in length--the two containing 30 large State-Rooms.

Two Ladies' cabins 33 feet each in length--the upper containing 6 State Rooms; the lower 10 State Rooms, together with 16 berths.

Steerage Cabins

She has four Steerage cabins; two of them expressly fitted for females, being well finished and furnished with matrasses. &c.

Accomodations

The Superior can accomodate in the most comfortable and superior style 200 cabin and 500 steerage passengers....

Her upper cabins are finished in the finest style-no pains had been spared in her finishing, either in
the wood-work or in the painting; and to add still more
to the magnificence of the cabins they are enlivened
on either side with large Portraits of eminent men,
Landscapes, and Historical pieces, in oil--24 in
number....

With Captain Wilkinson as her commander and his noble crew to manage her, there is no danger but that she will meet with abundant success on the route she is going to take--between Buffalo and Chicago. 43

Although lake boats could not pass up the Maumee beyond the foot of the rapids, navigation of the upper river was vitally connected with that of the lower river and lake. It has already been noted

⁴³Toledo Blade, September 6, 1845.

that merchandise was unloaded from the lake craft at the foot of the rapids, hauled to the head, and reloaded on river craft for Defiance and Fort Wayne for distribution. The products of the upper region were sent on their way to the eastern markets by a reversal of this procedure. Thus, in the early period, as during the canal and railroad era, many of the shipments from the lower river originated far to the interior.

Travelers on the upper river were put to a great deal of inconvenience and hardship by the passage through the rapids. The river section from Defiance down to Grand Rapids was suitable for the navigation of larger boats, but the river down from Grand Rapids was broken by the Grand, Fowler, Bear, Wolf, Otsego, Roche de Boeuf, Presque Isle, and Maumee (Lower) Rapids. Travelers "were often obliged to wade in the river and aid in lifting and pushing the boat over the shallow places," while at other points, where the current was more sluggish, they had to "help pole the craft" up the river. At times they would become so discouraged as to abandon the boat, wade ashore, and proceed on foot. 44

Before the construction of the canal parallel with the river from Defiance to Toledo, "scows, pirogues and canoes, ladened with valuable stores, brased its [the Maumee's] currents from Fort Wayne to Perrysburg." The larger pirogues, often called dug-outs, were made from two logs hollowed, matched, and pinned together, some being sixty or seventy feet in length. Because of their heavy

⁴⁴ Van Tassel, Maumee Valley, I, 781, 790. 45 Evers, Scrap-Book, 202.

construction they could withstand the rocks and rapids better than the bark canoes. The larger pirogues, manned by three or four men. could carry forty packs of furs, each of one hundred pounds, or (later) 175 bushels of wheat or corn. 46 At low stages of water and during the winter, "the carrying of stores, passengers and merchandise gave employment to a vast army of teamsters, horses and wagons." A team and loaded wagon required eight to nine days to make the round trip from Fort Wayne to Perrysburg, a situation that caused shippers to seek other methods of shipping, methods that would be more rapid and less expensive. 47

In 1836 the steamboat Anthony Wayne was launched in the deep water above the rapids to make regular trips to the mouth of the Auglaise, and, at times of high water, even as far as Fort Wayne. 48 In June of the following year an announcement was made that the steamboat "would leave the head of the Rapids every day at one p. m. for the Flat Rock just below the mouth of the Auglaise where there would be coaches and teams to convey passengers and freight to Defiance."49 At this time a barge, fitted for passengers and freight. left Defiance every Friday for Fort Wayne, running through in three days.50

⁴⁶ Slocum, Maumee Basin, 446.

⁴⁷ Evers, Scrap-Book, 202. 48Wood Co. Hist., 274.

⁴⁹ Winter, History of Northwest Ohio, I, 247. 50 Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," I, 91.

In the summer of 1837 a little steamboat, the Phenomenon, that had originally been built at Rochester, New York, as a canal boat, was brought to the foot of the rapids, where the captain astonished the natives "by the bold declaration that he was going up the Maumee." The boat passed Fort Meigs, Buttonwood Island, and Presque Isle Rapids, and announced her presence at the lock in Nearing's dam with shrill blasts from her whistle. After a great deal of trouble and with the "assistance of ropes and tackle blocks and much pulling and puffing," the craft was maneuvered into the mill pond above the dam, where she was employed on the 4th of July giving free rides to the people who had assembled to behold the wonder.

When the captain started the boat up the river, "she met trouble again at Ruch-te-boo [Roche de Beouf] Rapids." Part of her cargo was carried ashore and hauled around to Otsego. The craft was hauled by men and horses with block and tackle so that she successfully ascended the remaining rapids and safely emerged in the deep water of the upper river. For a while the Phenomenon plied between the head of the rapids and Flat Rock, but after a time she was taken down the river to run between Perrysburg and the other ports of the Maumee under the name Sun. Another attempt was made later to get a boat, the Crockett, above the rapids, but the venture was abandoned at Nearing's dam. 51

⁵¹ Evers, Scrap-Book, 202-05. Slocum, Maumee Basin, 481 says the Anthony Wayne was taken from the upper river in 1837 to be used on the lower river under the name Dave Crockett.

The foot of the Maumee rapids was a focal point for east and west and for north and south traffic, a natural trading point in the days when transportation was dependent largely upon river and lake shipping. The Wabash and Erie Canal, opened in 1843, and the Miami and Erie Canal, opened in 1845, became the main arteries of transportation from the lower Maumee to the south and southwest. On the upper river the number of boats using man power declined as the canal came into use. For many years, however, grain and timber continued to go down the river at stages of high water. 52

The effect of the junction of the canals with the lake was to make Toledo the commercial center of Northwestern Ohio. The Kalamazoo Railroad was constructed to Adrian in 1838, and by midcentury railroads radiated in every direction from Toledo. With these developments the older towns at the foot of the rapids lost much of their prestige and importance and gradually sank into the background, a trend shown in the removal of the custom house from Maumee City in 1846. By the mid-1840's navigation below the foot of the Maumee rapids had entered a new era, an era in which the history of mavigation on the river is largely the story of the development of Toledo into a great commercial and industrial city. But all of this did not come about until after the Maumee had played its great and most vital role in the development of Wood County. The river had not only brought settlers to the country but it allowed them to remain and prosper in agricultural, commercial, and industrial enterprise.

⁵² Slocum, Maumee Basin, 446, 478.

CHAPTER V: AGRICULTURE.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS IS THE CENTRAL THEME IN THE STORY OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MIDDLE WESTERN FRONTIER INTO A LAND OF GREAT PRODUCTIVITY IN THE PERIOD BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.

... CHEAP AND FERTILE LAND HELD OUT THE PROMISE OF A COMPETENCY TO MEN AND WOMEN OF MEAGER MEANS WHO WERE WILLING TO UNDERTAKE THE TOIL, AND HARD-SHIP OF PIONEERING . -- Dan Elbert Clark .

Wood County, during the years 1820-1860 as even today, was primarily an agricultural region. Villages were small and such industry, trade, and commerce as did exist were based largely upon. and connected closely with agricultural enterprise. The earliest settlers, as far back as 1810, tested "the productiveness of the soil by planting islands [of the Maumee], and rich bottoms, in grain and vegetables, and found the yield to be enormous."2 Even the slow growth of Toledo has been attributed "to the fact that Northwestern Ohio was a densely timbered country, and could not be brought so rapidly into productive condition" as some of the other sections of the West.

Besides the dense forest growth, the swampy condition of the soil greatly retarded agricultural development, and it was not until near the end of the period under consideration that the first major steps were taken to provide ditches to drain the swamps. A law

¹ The West in American History, 313, 321. 2 Wood Co. Hist., 33.

Blade, Annual Statement...1860, 24.

passed May 1, 1854, "provided for a grand and extensive system of drainage, the burthens of which were to be borne by those benefitted." This act was published too late in 1854 for much action to be taken that year, while "incessant rains" prevented much from being accomplished the following year. In 1856, however, about 800 miles of public and private ditches were constructed in the county, the ditch tax being regarded as a "portion of the purchase money." One of the most important ditches constructed in the late 1850's was the great drain from the southwestern corner of the county, along the course of the Portage, to the confluence of the branches of the Portage at Pemberville. This great ditch, the first large one to be excavated in the county, was thirty-five miles long and cost \$50,000. It was not until sometime later that under-drainage was introduced into this section of the state.

The first problem faced by the pioneer in the new country was that of building his cabin and clearing enough land to get in a small crop with the first season. The trees in the area to be cleared were cut, suitable logs were selected for the house, and the remainder pulled up on a pile and burned. In the following years, generally during the winter months, more land was cleared, some trees were saved for sawing into lumber, some logs were split for rails to fence the new fields, some wood was split and stacked for firewood, and the remainder was burned.

⁴Perrysburg Journal, January 14, 1858. ⁵Wood Co. Hist., 306.

Oxen were generally used as work animals in clearing the land, and they were also used in the fields and in pulling wagons. Oxen were used so extensively because they offered several advantages over the use of horses. The original cost of an ox was comparatively small and the animal could be kept easily and without the great attention required by a horse. The equipment used in working oxen was of the most simple construction and less expensive than the harness required by horses. Any farmer could make the simple yoke and any country blacksmith could mend the log-chains employed in working timber. Oxen were easily broken and trained for work, and if an ox became unfit for work, through some accident, it was usually possible to fatten the animal for beef. With the introduction of the reaper, mower, cultivator, and the other farm machinery of a later day, the ox-team was replaced by horses, but even in 1860, when there were 5,119 horses and 67 asses and mules in the county, there were still 1,229 working oxen.6

The agricultural implements used in the early period were of the crudest construction and were, for the most part, home-made. Many incidents are recorded in which the pioneer made his own hoes, rakes, shovels, plows, and harrows. The early plow was made "with rude crooks for handles, perhaps with ox horns to grasp hold of. The share was of wood with a flat iron bar spiked (not bolted) to it for a point." A little later the plow was made with a wooden mouldboard but with the landside, share, and point of iron or steel. The

⁶Eighth Census, Vol. "Agriculture," 116-17.
7See "Biographical Sketches," in Wood Co. Hist., passim.

harrow, or "drag," as it was called more commonly, was made from a tree crotch with hard-wood teeth, four on each side and one in front, "a very convenient implement for covering grain among stumps and roots."

The wagon of the pioneer "had an immense hind wheel with a small fore wheel, both deeply dished, and having wooden axels, strapped on the skeins with iron, ending with a formidable linch pin. The hubs of the wheels were...long, [and], as in all his implements, as little iron and as much wood as could be used, was the rule."

In the earliest days corn was the principal crop of Wood County. Even before the county was settled by white men, the Indians planted the islands and rich bottom lands of the Maumee to large fields of this grain. The pioneers, after the land had been cleared and fenced with rails, planted their corn in the spring. In the first years after clearing had taken place, a sharp hoe was used to "raise the rooty or leafy soil, and allow the corn to be thrown under" from a bag carried around the planter's waist. Or, perhaps an axe would be used to make a hole to receive the seed-corn. Sometimes, if the field had been sufficiently cleared, the rows were marked by dragging a heavy chain from one end of the field to the other. When the corn was a few inches high, the farmer went into the field, cut out the weeds with his hoe, and loosened the ground around each hill. After the field had been cleared for several years and the roots had decayed, a small plow drawn by oxen was used to cultivate the rows. In the

⁸George E. Steele, in an address at the Michigan Farmers Institute, in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," X, 56; Howe, Hist. Collections, I, 104-05.

Steele, "Address," in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," X, 55.

fall, when the crop was ripe, the corn was husked standing, or was cut and shocked to be husked at a later day. 10

One of the earliest historians of southeastern Wood County,
W. S. Richard, has described the hardships endured by the pioneer
settlers in that area, and he has told of the difficulties those
early farmers experienced with the corn crop. The farmers worked
on their land through the fall and winter, preparing small fields
for corn, potatoes, and vegetables, hoping that their labors would
be rewarded the following summer with a crop that would provide the
means for sustaining the family. The roots and stumps that remained
on the land hindered a thorough cultivation but the corn fields did
very well until the ears began to form, "when a species of animals
made a savage attack upon it" and almost destroyed the crop.

The common gray and black squirrels were one party of marauders, and the racoon tribe the other. So destructive were the former to the corn crop that the settlers were obliged to keep persons out around their fields with dogs in order to secure any corn whatever. The little pedestrians actually took possession of the crop by storm. While these pests made their raids by day, the then numerous racoons were at hand at night—supplying their voracious appetites with young corn....In order to prevent the racoons destroying the crop entirely, they cut the corn as early as it would possibly bear it, and set it up near their cabins, and these animals still continued to destroy much of it.11

The corn that was produced under such difficulties provided an important source of food for the family, but only after the farmer had expended a great deal of time and energy in hauling the grain to some distant mill for grinding.

¹⁰ Ibid., Howe, Hist. Collections, I, 104. 11 Richard, "Scrap-Book."

If the season was poor, or if for some other reason the supply of corn was insufficient, the pioneers had to make long trips to secure additional supplies. Such an expedition became a community enterprise, as in the case of the one organized in Bloom township in 1835 to go to Marion County to secure grain after heavy rains had ruined the wheat and damaged the corn. The men of the neighborhood made the journey with several teams to bring back provisions, being obliged to spend many days on the road and to pay from seventy-five cents to a dollar a bushel for their supply. 12

the days of the earliest settlement, its forward place being due to the fact that it was one of the principal items of food, it was used as feed for the animals, and it was a convenient item to market to meet the farmer's requirements for cash. From the few bushels of corn grown on the rich bottom lands of the Maumee in 1820, the crop expanded until the county was producing more than 600,000 bushels in 1860. 13

In 1840 the county produced 112,508 bushels of corn; in 1850 production was up to only 171,285 bushels. In the next few years the acreage devoted to corn increased steadily, and, with an improved production per acre, the yield expanded until in 1854 there were 12,900 acres producing 481,297 bushels, with an average of 37.3 bushels per acre.

In 1855 the corn acreage was increased to 15,299, but the crop totaled only 228,721 bushels, or 15.6 bushels per acre. This was a

^{12&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

¹³See Appendix B, Table I, for statistics on the corn crops.

difficult year for the farmers of Wood County since an extremely wet season caused a general failure of all cereal crops. This was at a time when provisions had already been made for an extensive drainage system but the plan had not yet been put into execution and the project was delayed further by the rains of 1855. In ordinary times farming in Wood County had been difficult enough, but with an excessive rainfall much of the farm land was inundated and the cultivated fields were ruined. Because of the poor season, and because supplies of grain were so low that little remained for the winter months, many of the farmers were forced to dispose of some of their livestock. At this time the number of cattle was reduced by one-half and the number of hogs by a third. 14

In 1856, possibly in an attempt to recover from the previous crop failure, to assure themselves of an adequate supply for the future, and to take advantage of the comparatively high prices, the farmers planted still more land to corn--more than 24,000 acres this year--and, with a crop of 21 bushels to the acre, produced 505,364 bushels. One Wood County farmer, a Mr. Williams, raised enough corn this season to sell 10,000 bushels the following summer. In 1857 Williams had 500 acres under cultivation and hoped to be able to sell 25,000 bushels the following spring, 15 but if he was able to reach his goal his crop must have been twice as good as the average of 26.8 bushels per acre that year. In 1857 there was a sharp curtailment of of acreage and production. The reduction at this time may be explained

¹⁴Perrysburg Journal, May 31, June 7, 1856. 15Ibid., August 6, 1857.

in part by the fact that the crop of the preceding year had been unusually large and there probably had been a considerable carry-over to 1857. At the same time the price of corn and of hogs was especially low, the farmers feeding their corn for pork. 16

The sharp reductions of acreage and production in 1858 probably were due in a large degree to the domestic economic situation and to political events in Europe. At home the Panic of 1857 came too late to effect the production of that year, but in 1858 the country was still shaken by its effects. Abroad the Crimean War had been brought to an end, and the farmers of Wood County felt the repercussions as shipments of grain to Europe were curtailed -- no doubt being more interested in the loss of a market than in the honor due the "Six Hundred" as a result of the stupid but famous charge. This combination of events created a poor market and resulted in a reduced production. It is also quite possible that in 1857 and 1858 a part of the land that previously had been given over to corn was being diverted to wheat, for wheat acreage and production were expanded during this time. This would be expected since the market prices made it possible for the farmer to obtain a grop of greater cash value by planting wheat than by planting corn. The recovery from the panic was fairly rapid, and, with good seasons and a better drainage, the next two years brought in their record crops of 643,127 and 630,590 bushels from 22,079 and 18,812 acres respectively.

Mr. Williams, with his sale of 10,000 bushels and a hope for 25.000, was engaged in activities much larger than those of the

¹⁶Ibid., December 24, 1857.

average farmer of Wood County. Most of the farms were small. the greatest number, by the census classification, falling between 20 and 50 acres in size, while a considerable number ranged between 50 and 100 acres. Large farms were rare, and in 1860 only three in the county were more than 500 acres. 17 The census classification grouping does not contribute greatly to an understanding of the situation regarding the size of farms in Wood County. Because of the system of surveying and because of the methods that had been used in selling the public lands, most of the farms contained 40. 80, or 160 acres. The census of 1860 indicated 894 farms of between 20 and 50 acres, but it seems likely that the greatest number of the 894 were farms of 40 acres. Likewise, most of the 500 farms of from 50 to 100 acres were doubtless farms of 80 acres, while most of the 144 listed as being between 100 and 500 acres were probably farms of 160 acres. It should also be noted that these farms included meadows, woodlands, and uncultivated lands, as well as the fields under cultivation.

Although the fur business might have been twenty times as valuable as the wheat crop of 1855, wheat was, nevertheless, an important product of Wood County. 18 Wheat in the earliest days was sown broadcast from the hand and was scratched under the surface with a drag. In the mid-1850's, about the time the corn planter and cultivator were being introduced, the wheat drill also found its way into the county. 19 At first the wheat was cut with a hand sickle,

¹⁷ See Appendix B, Table VI.
18 Perrysburg Journal, June 14, 1856.
19 Twelfth Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture, 225.

later with a grain cradle. After the grain had been allowed to dry for several days in the shock, it was hauled in and threshed by horse or with a flail. After threshing, before the threshing maching came into use in the 1850's, the chaff was removed either by throwing the grain before the wind or by the use of a fanning mill.

Between 1840 and 1860 the production of wheat increased much the same as corn. While only 29,004 bushels were grown in 1840, and 36,933 bushels in 1850, the figure increased about six times to bring production to 208,975 bushels in 1860.²⁰

The generally increased agricultural production during these years was due to a combination of contributing factors. (1) The population, largely engaged in working the land, steadily increased. (2) The land was being drained and made available for planting. (3) The acreage under cultivation was expanded. (4) More machinery was being used, enabling each farmer to work more land, and improved methods of agriculture brought in better crops. (5) The increased number of work animals and livestock in general required more feed and provided greater working power. (6) Better transportation facilities provided higher prices for produce sold for export.

The report of the Wood County Agricultural Society for 1853 gave a picture of farming activities in the county at that time. The wheat crop for that year was only about 10 bushels to the acre, considerably below a reported average of 16 bushels per acre because of the destructive work of the Hessian fly, rust, and the weevil.

²⁰ See Appendix B, Table II.

²¹ See Appendix B, Table V.

²² See Appendix B. Table V.

²³ See Appendix B, Table IV.

Oats, which increased from 39,469 bushels in 1840, to 55,122 in 1850, and to 92,638 in 1860, averaged 30 bushels to the acre in 1853 and sold for 35 cents a bushel. Rye and barley, selling at 45 cents, received little attention, but buckwheat was of considerable importance, especially in the years when the wheat crop failed, and it was also useful in "subduing the new sod and wild grass." Potatoes produced a good crop, increasing from 37,720 bushels in 1850 to 71,198 bushels in 1860, and selling for 40 cents in 1853. Not enough beans and peas were raised to meet the demands of local consumption and these were imported, the price in 1853 being \$1.50 a bushel. Hay was important and gained in prominence as the number of livestock increased, the yield being a ton and a half to the acre, selling at seven or eight dollars a ton.

Dairy products received little attention in Wood County, and although there was a small amount of butter for export, not enough cheese was made to meet the home demand. The number of cattle in 1840 was 6,497, increasing only slightly to 7,003 in the next ten years, but by 1860 the number had grown to 17,276. In the mid-1850's about 3,000 head of cattle were being exported annually, but most of the pork was being consumed within the county. As the number of sheep increased from 2,790 in 1840, to 6,514 in 1850, and to 16,661 in 1860, the amount of wool increased from 3,948 pounds, to 18,544 pounds, to 55,145 pounds.

Orchards were planted by the earliest settlers and the crops of apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, quinces, apricots, and grapes were generally good.

The secretary of the Agricultural Society noted that the farmers of 1853 had corn planters, cultivators, and threshing machines in general use, while the sub-soil plow, rollers, and horse rakes had been introduced. In a county so dependent upon agriculture it was natural for the secretary to report that the county had 5 flour mills, 16 saw mills with 4 more being erected, one furnace, 2 or 3 turning lathes, and several shingle machines. 24

Despite the varied crops produced in the county, the agricultural system revolved around the production of corn, supplemented by wheat, oats, and hay. Corn and wheat were exported from the county in considerable quantities in good seasons, but most of the other produce was consumed at home. Much of the grain and nearly all of the hay found domestic use as feed for livestock. Cattle were raised in large numbers, especially on the prairies in the middle of the county, and many were exported by the way of the river and the lake. When corn prices were low, in a time when transportation charges were very high, the farmers often fed hogs for the market, a business that became increasingly important as time went on.

Thomas Jefferson, with his concept of an ideal American society based upon the land and the farmers who worked the soil, probably would have expressed a considerable degree of satisfaction with the economic pattern of Wood County had he had an opportunity to view that area in the 1830's, 1840's, or 1850's. The statistics that have

²⁴The "Secretary's Report of the Wood County Agricultural Society" was published in the Perrysburg Journal, January 9, 1854. See also Appendix B, Tables III and IV.

appeared in the previous discussion may indicate the degree of agricultural growth prior to 1860, but they can hardly give a complete picture of the common small farmer that constituted the mass of the population.

The average farmer of Wood County had a small holding that required long hours of hard work but yielded the means by which the farmer was nearly self-sufficient. Grain provided food for the family and feed for the animals. A garden plot supplied vegetables in the summer and permitted the farmer to store a supply for the winter months. Hogs were fattened on the corn for pork; cattle were grazed on the meadows for beef: wild game was hunted in the fields and woods; fish were caught in the rivers and streams. A small orchard supplied many kinds of fruits, and the forest yielded its wild grapes, fruits, and berries. He built his own home and made much of the furniture and farm equipment. The farmer required little beyond what he could provide for himself -- a little coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, and spice; powder and shot for hunting; some cloth to be made into clothing -- and these few items could be purchased with money obtained from selling a little grain, or in exchange for other farm produce. Little could be obtained in the way of luxuries, but the farmer did have the necessities of life, the land abundantly supplying the requirements for simple living.

CHAPTER VI: BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY.

TO CONVERT INTO MANUFACTURERS THE HANDS ENGAGED IN CLEARING AND IMPROVING A NEW COUNTRY, WOULD BE A MISTAKEN POLICY....BUT WHERE A NEW COUNTRY MUST TRANS-PORT ITS SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS TO A GREAT DISTANCE AND IMPORT THE NECESSARY MANUFACTURES FROM SHOPS EQUALLY REMOTE, IT MAY BE ADVISABLE TO COMMENCE MANUFACTURING IT MUST NOT, HOWEVER, ATTEMPT TO CONVERT FARMERS INTO TRADESMEN. THEY SHOULD BE IM-PORTED INSTEAD OF THEIR MANUFACTURES. THE RANKS OF AGRICULTURE WOULD THEN REMAIN ENTIRE, THE SIMPLE PROCESS OF BARTER AT HOME SUBSTITUTED FOR EXPENSIVE AND HAZARDOUS COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS, AND THE IM-MERGENT MANUFACTURES WITH THEIR INCREASE BECOME AN ADDITION TO THE POPULATION .-- George W. Ogden.

The people of Wood County were dependent primarily upon agriculture for a livelihood, but a small group did engage in business, industry, and commerce, although much of their enterprise had a close relationship with agriculture. The store-keepers were dependent upon the agricultural population for their sales, and the stocks of the general stores were such as would meet the needs of an agrarian population. The laborers of industry, such as it was, made tools, implements, and other goods designed primarily for the farmers, and most often used the raw materials available within the county. The men engaged in commercial enterprise, in buying and shipping the produce and importing the merchandise from the East, were dependent almost entirely upon the farmers in both transactions. Even the fish that were shipped from the Maumee were supplied very often by farmers who supplemented their farm incomes by engaging in the fishing business along the river.

^{1&}quot;Letters from the West," in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XIX. 81-82.

When the farmers prospered, the merchants likewise saw prosperity; when crops were bad or prices were low the merchant population soon felt the pinch. In good times the farmers brought prosperity to the towns and villages but in bad times the merchants were hard pressed since they were forced to extend credit to nearly all who would trade with them. Even in the best years the farmer raised most of the things required for his own use or he could make them for himself. It must be recognized in any consideration of industry and business in these years that such business and industry was only a part of the agricultural activity of the time.

The earliest mercantile establishments were those set up to trade with the Indians. As immigrants began to settle in little communities, stores and taverns were opened and professional men began their practices. The first industrial projects were those concerned with the grinding of grain and the sawing of timber. In the earliest days each settler made many of the tools and implements he required and even provided much of his own clothing. As time went on and communities became larger, small establishments were set up to make boots and shoes, furniture, wagons, saddles and harness, and to work metal into the tools required by pioneer farmers.

Traders, merchants, peddlers, and tavern-keepers were required to have licenses issued by the Court of Common Pleas. Down to 1835 sixteen merchants had obtained licenses, and from 1820 to 1847 there were seventy-four tavern-keepers licensed. Few peddlers could pay the almost prohibitive annual fee of \$50 so their number was kept

quite small. The mercantile interests made little progress but tavern-keepers and the "liquor interests made rapid advances."²

In the first decade of the nineteenth century the Maumee country was occupied, especially in winter, by Indians. Traders shipped their goods to the foot of the rapids, hauled or packed them to the head, and then carried them by boat to Fort Wayne, the distributing point for a large territory to the interior. The goods used in this trade, and in the trade with the Indians of Wood County, consisted of red cloth, blankets, guns, hatchets, tobacco, whiskey, paint, hawk's bells, rings, broaches, kettles, leather, and blades. Light sailing craft carried on an extensive trade with the eight thousand Ottawa Indians along the river and bay, distributing goods in exchange for furs and other forest products.

In 1815 David Hull and Thomas McIlrath opened posts for trading with the Indians and were keeping taverns in log houses "on the hill side between Fort Meigs and the river." Two years later William and John Hollister came from Buffalo to open a store at Orleans, and shortly before that Seneca Allen had opened a trading post on the Maumee at Roche du Pont. Collister Haskins set up his store on the south bank of the Portage and stocked it with goods "best adapted to his customers, a majority of whom were Indians and with whom he built up a large fur trade."

²Wood Co. Hist., 176-77.

³¹bid., 31.

⁴ Evers, Scrap-Book, 29; Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," III, 12g.

⁵Knapp, Maumee Valley, 435. ⁶Milan Advertiser, December 28, 1889, in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book,"

II, 40c.
7Evers, Scrap-Book, 107.

The Hollisters, who had established a post and traded with the Indians at Orleans, moved into Perrysburg and set up a fine mercantile establishment, but they continued their Indian trade, however, for many years. As late as 1840, Shibnah Spink engaged in the fur trade with the Hollisters, "traveling through the West on horseback, sometimes taking a tour among the trappers and Indians which required his absence from home six months or more." Even in 1855 the fur business was still important in Perrysburg, amounting to \$40,000 in that year.

One of the most interesting of the pioneer merchants was "a smart young Indian who was nick-named 'Merchant.'" He used to "keep store" in a wigwam on the river bank at Pemberville, gathering furs and skins, and carrying them to Perrysburg to trade to the Hollisters for light groceries. His trade goods were sold to his customers at what was termed "'one percent profit,' i.e., buying for one dollar and selling for two."

In the 1830's towns, such as Gilead, Otsego, and Benton, with one or more stores, were founded along the south bank of the Maumee. New Rochester had a log cabin grocery business in 1835, and a tavern with a small stock of groceries and hardware was set up in 1842. It was not until the mid-1830's that Bowling Green had any business; Weston did not exist until 1854; while most of the other towns of the county came into existence only with the railroads or with the discovery of oil and gas. Although there were a number of small trading

⁸Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," IV, 2.

Perrysburg Journal, June 14, 1856. 10 Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," IV, 2.

establishments scattered through the county, Perrysburg remained the center of business throughout the period before the Civil War.

In the fall of 1822 Samuel Spafford started preparations for building the Exchange Hotel at Perrysburg, and the building was ready for use a year later. William and John Hollister moved from Orleans in 1826 and built a frame store building and a dock and warehouse at the foot of Louisiana Avenue. Their store was the only one in Perrysburg until William Fowler established one there in 1833. After that time development was fairly rapid as the town began to expand. In 1833 Joseph Creps built a brick tavern; in 1834 Shibnah Spink, Kellogg and Wheeler, and Gilbert Beech and C. C. Bennett opened stores; in 1836 George Powers entered the store business; and in 1837 James M. Hall and Tobias Rudisill opened their store building. 11 By 1839 there were a number of retail establishments carrying a great variety of goods, as can be seen from the advertising columns of the Perrysburg newspapers.

A farmer who lived in the vicinity of Perrysburg might have hitched his oxen to a wagon and hauled a load of corn to town to sell, or he might have carried a basket of eggs or a sack of potatoes to exchange for some articles required by his family. The general stores of the town carried almost every conceivable kind of merchandise that the pioneer farmer might require—dry goods, groceries, and hardware. Everything was under one roof and was thrown together, often in such a state of disorder that the proprietor had great

¹¹ Knapp, Maumee Valley, 436.

difficulty in locating the desired item, knowing it was to be found somewhere in his stock.

If the farmer entered the Wm Russel & Co., "Wholesale and Retail Grocery & Provision Store...one door below the Court House on Front Street," he could purchase Rio and Java coffee, tea, Porto Rico and New Orleans sugar, spices of all kinds, sperm and tallow candles, soap, tobacco and cigars, powder, lead, shot, tubs, churns, glass, liquor, cider, beer, apples, mittens, "Lucifer" matches, fish, and baked goods.

He might exchange his eggs or potatoes at E. N. Knight's "Cheap Cash Store" for some dry goods required by his wife, for in this place of business he would find all kinds of cloth, gloves, shoes, umbrellas, hose, ribbons, laces, and handkerchiefs. Or he might buy a supply of groceries from the stocks of sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, molasses, oil, tobacco, soap, pepper, and spices.

If the farmer had read Peck and Griswold's ad in the Ohio Whigh he might have found some items he required that were "for sale at very low prices." This place of business carried the usual supply of groceries, and in addition drugs, medicine, paints, oils, dyes, a variety of wines (including "Champane wines"), "Doct. Brandreth's pills--also Miles' compound extract of tomato pills, a substitute for calomel."

Brandreth's or Mills' pills may have served the farmer's purpose, but if his physical ailment was of a more serious nature he might have been led by an ad in the Ohio Whig to seek the residence of one of the professional men of the community.

Medical Notice

N. Dustin respectfully informs the Citizens of Perrysburg, that he will be ready at all times in the future, to receive calls for medical advice and attendance at his residence....

The farmer, if he required the services of a lawyer, might have engaged Henry Darling, "Attorney and Councellor at Law," who offered "his professional services to the Public" with the hope that he might receive "a 'fair trial' and obtain from a generous community, a 'verdict' for a moderate share of patronage." If a lawyer with more experience was sought, the farmer might have turned to "Count" Coffinberry, who used the newspaper to offer "his professional services to all who may flatter him with their confidence."

Land that was being cleared for cultivation would require removing of stumps from the field by the means of blasting powder that the farmer could obtain at Hollister's store, and if the farmer's wife needed a cooking stove one might be bought from C. T. Woodruff "very cheap for cash." The farmer who supplemented his farm income by making staves might sell his product to George S. Hazard at Maumee for cash if the staves could be "delivered at any convenient place for shipping." But the ordinary farmer would not have been interested in paying cash or exchanging hides for the "1000 lbs. of Eastern Sole Leather, of first quality," offered by David Creps, although one of the shoemakers at Perrysburg might have been able to use some of the leather. 12

¹² Ohio Whig, January 12, 1839; See Appendix C.

The newspaper advertisements proclaimed the arrival of new goods bearing fancy and high-sounding names, all being the latest articles from the eastern markets. The principles of modern newspaper advertising had not yet been developed, but a glance at the newspapers of the day will give an idea of the methods used: repetition, appeal. and ease of purchase. Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the advertising was the almost endless repetition of the same ad through one issue after another of the weekly paper. By using the same ad for several weeks the advertiser could save a great deal of the cost of advertising. At a time when the entire paper had to be set by hand, a great saving of time and effort was effected by leaving some parts of the paper set in the forms from one week to the next. At the same time the publisher could afford to cut the advertising rate knowing that he would have the business over a long period of time. Thus some ads, for the general stores, for the river and lake boats, or for professional services, remained without change for an entire season or longer. It was not unusual to find a February issue announcing the arrival of new fall stocks, or the arrival of goods by boat long after the lake had frozen and water transportation had come to an end.

In these days before the methods of modern advertising had made their appearance, the merchandise was identified with the mysterious names of places far removed (Porto Rico Coffee), or with trade-names ("Doct. Brandreth's Pills") that were meant to stand for quality. A great deal of advertising aimed at pointing out the fact that the

store could supply the necessities of an agrarian population in merchandise of the finest quality and latest design. And, even as today, the way was cleared for those who were unable to find ready cash to make their purchases. Merchants frequently offered to sell on credit or for farm produce, with special emphasis upon the low prices of goods.

Much of the early business was carried on by barter. The Indians were given merchandise on credit and they paid their debts in skins and furs. One chief, in 1832-1833, received four pounds of tobacco (\$1.00), four pounds of lead (\$1.00), four pounds of powder (\$1.00), one snuff box (\$0.25), forty-six small bells (\$3.00), and other goods, and in return received credit for six coon and one bear skin (\$8.00), fifty-four coon, two deer, one otter skin (\$34.00), and other items. 13 In 1835, along the Maumee River, coonskins were used as payment in commercial transactions, one prime skin being valued at one dollar, inferior skins bringing half that amount. 14

The proprietors of general stores in the 1840's were quite willing to accept "country produce" in exchange for merchandise.

Many advertisements noted that goods would be sold for produce or on credit, but emphasis was frequently placed on payment in "ready cash."

At this time Perrysburg had a population of about 1,000 people and was the only town worthy of mention in all of Wood County.

^{13&}quot;Relations and Experiences of Whites and Indians," address to the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association, August 17, 1893, in Waggoner, "Scrap-Book," III, 12g.

14 Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, 67-68.

Despite its small size, Perrysburg did a large business, economic activity around the town being, in fact, greatly beyond what might be expected from the size of the place. This situation was due to Perrysburg's location which made it an important shipping point and a natural market for much of the country to the west, as well as for nearly the whole of Wood County. In 1840 there were, in the country, twelve "retail dry goods, grocery, and other stores" with a total invested capital of \$25,920.

A picture of the activity at Perrysburg in 1852 can be drawn from the report written for the Wood County Agricultural Society by David Ladd and E. Huntington. At that time there were nine mercantile establishments, six grocery and three drug stores, doing an annual business that amounted to between \$130,000 and \$150,000. The list of tradesmen and manufacturers included one stove, sheet iron and tin manufacturing establishment, one ashery, five blacksmiths, three saddle and harness makers, several coopers, shoemakers, house-joiners, ship carpenters, brickmakers, and tailors. 15

In 1840, out of the 5,357 people in Wood County, there were 1,174 employed in agriculture, 26 in commerce, 168 in manufactures and trades, 6 in mavigation of the lake and rivers, and 32 in learned professions and trades. Manufacturing employed only 168 men in 1840, but in 1860 the eighty manufacturing establishments, representing a capital investment of \$115,115, still employed only 203 men and 13 women and produced goods only to the value of \$224,910. The cost of

¹⁵Seventh Annual Report, Ohio State Board of Agriculture, 382. 16Compiled from tables in the Sixth Census.

the raw materials used in manufacturing was \$122,560, and the laborers received \$51,132 for the year. 17 At this time the total value of farm lands and farm machinery was \$4,352,475.

One of the greatest problems of the early settler was that of getting his grain to a mill to have it ground. Many were forced to travel for several days by ox-cart to the Raisin River mill (at Monroe, Michigan), to Cold Creek (near Castalia, Ohio), or to Upper Sandusky or Tiffin. The trip, which often took ten days or two weeks, was a community or neighborhood project, several wagons usually making the trip at the same time.

Small hand mills, such as the one owned by Billy Hill in Milton township, were kept going night and day, with dozens of men and women there at one time to await their turn. The process of grinding grain in these mills was slow but was often the best available. 18

In the early days dams were built to furnish power for grist or saw mills. On the Maumee there were complete dams at Waterville and Otsego, with wing dams at Grand and Fowler Rapids, at Roche de Boeuf, and below Otsego. 19 There were also mills on the Portage at Pember-ville, Scotch Ridge, New Rochester, Portage, and elsewhere in the county. A grist mill at New Rochester, put into operation by Joseph Fuller in 1835, had a capacity of one barrel of crushed wheat and corn per day. The one run of stone "was run by 'muscle power' that operated

¹⁷See Appendix D, for statistics on manufacturing in 1860.

18For a description of Hill's mill, see Wood County Sentinel,

April 21, 1881.

19Van Tassel, Maumee Valley, I, 781.

two wooden cranks, which turned two belts that were so geared by wood work that they ran the stone." This mill was used by settlers for miles around, each one grinding his own and paying "toll in the bargain." Later this mill was converted so it could be operated by water power. A mill built on the McCutchenville road in Montgomery township in 1835 was operated by horse power until the river was dammed in 1838. This mill had "one pair of French buhrs for grinding wheat and rye, and one pair of stones for grinding corn and buck-wheat." 21

A hydraulic canal was constructed at Perrysburg to furnish power for industry at that place. The canal was five and a quarter miles long, twenty-five or thirty feet wide, and from four to six feet deep, and provided a twenty foot head of water at Perrysburg. This canal, "one of the first examples of municipal ownership of a power facility in this region," was built with funds obtained from direct taxation of the people of Perrysburg. By 1852 the following establishments had already been built to use the power provided by the hydraulic canal: one flour mill ("doing a heavy business"), two sawmills, one foundry, a tannery, and one or two turning mills. Two years later there were eight enterprises using the canal for power. 22 The project, however, could not compete with the power from the canal locks at Maumee so the hydraulic canal was abandoned after a trial of several years. 23

²⁰ Wood Co. Hist., 257-58.

²¹ Ibid., 334.
22 Wilfred Hibbert, "Perrysburg Industry...," Historical Society of
Northwestern Ohio Quarterly Bulletin, X (April, 1938), 2; Northwestern
Democrat, February 26, 1853; Seventh Annual Report of the Ohio State
Board of Agriculture, 382.
23 Van Tassel, Maumee Valley, I, 781.

Outside of the mills, one of the most important industries, especially in the early days, was that of making maple sugar. In 1840 there were 42,176 pounds made, the amount declining to 31,380 pounds in 1850. Much of the maple sugar was made by the Indians and "it was a most filthy article, in as much as they would boil their game in it, and that, too,...in an undressed condition." The Indians used small brass kettles for boiling the sap, and they brought their finished product to market in bark vessels (mococks) shaped to be carried as a knapsack, each holding from thirty to fifty pounds. The Indians also brought in much of the honey used, after straining it "through their blankets, which were never washed after straining the honey." In later times, however, the making of sugar and the gathering of honey was taken over by the farmers.

The development of Wood County prior to the Civil War was slow but steady, great obstacles preventing any rapid and extensive developments in the early years. The dense forests, the Black Swamp, and the want of adequate transportation facilities prevented rapid settlement of the land. The great distance to important markets and the difficulties in transporting produce to these markets held prices down to the lowest level and did not encourage a more rapid expansion of agriculture or business. Since the county was rather isolated there was a tendency toward a self-sufficiency that brought agriculture to the front and kept manufacturing largely in the domestic system.

²⁴ Wood Co. Hist., 177-78.

That Wood County developed as rapidly as it did was due largely to the highway provided by Lake Erie and the Maumee River. For many years this was the only route by which merchandise could be obtained, and by which produce could be sent to the eastern markets. It was also practically the only route by which immigrants could enter the county.

Despite the handicaps, agriculture flourished as the rich land was cleared and drained, and was gaining momentum in the latter part of the 1850's. But industry played an important part in the history of the county. Nearly everything manufactured was for domestic use and from domestic raw materials. The mercantile business was better than could be expected due to the location of the region at the gateway to the interior, and some business was done in shipping produce, furs, fish, grain, and cattle to eastern markets. Wood County, however, was not to reach its maturity until railroads and highways provided good facilities for transportation following the Civil War, and until gas and oil deposits came to be exploited in the latter part of the century.

APPENDIX A.

Property Evaluation in Wood County, 1834-1860.

(Compiled from "Tax Record.")

		(00	omp	110	eα	iro	m	T	ax	K	ec	or	a •	")												
Deline Taxes		326	514	1,278	1,299	1,274	3,123	5,034.	7,187	6,828	5,705	6,500	9,043	4,637	6,883	7,156	~	10,023	•	11.956	11,993	13,115	11,522	10,384	10,624	
Total Value Proper	Assessed of Taxable rty (\$)	204,343	313,543	411,414	431,088	493,076	641,227	769,579	787,491	804,752	836,515	835,727	1,125,648	1,163,834	1,180,214	1,195,183	1,225,349	1,254,918	1,635,693	3.113.574	2,927,172	2,964,971	2,870,734	2,907,255		
	of Per- Property											96,648	177,501	201,344	201,804	196,844	208,345	200,571	548,915	882,704	683,663	711,403	600,761	621,225	176	hips) (b
Cattle	Value (\$)	13,744	12,928	15,160	15,967	16,952	20,744	26,680	30,072	32,736	34,368															and Waterville townships
Cat	Number	1,712	1,616	1,895	1,996	2,119	2,593	3,335	3,759	4,092	4,296															atervil
ses	Value	21,760	18,720	21,040	\circ	25,760	29,280	33,004	37,960	40,320	•															
Horses	Number	544	439	526	527	629	732	826	949	•	1,089														;	Waynesfield
Value Lots (\$)		54,773	195,920	199,331	205,749	217,000	105,410	103,823	102,517	102,157	97,773	96,477	104,785	101,972	104,839	107,603	109,343	105,038	110,904	204.558				248,283	253,1	ty and
	of Land uildings	88,506	, w	(T)	α	w	474,913	594,486	606,987	620,794	638,986	642,602	843,302	860,516	873,571	890,736	807,661	949,309	975,874	2,026,312	2,001,892	2,011,500	2,052,617	2,037,747	2,353,142	Maumee Ci
Acres Land	of	30,076	24,809	29,561	39,696	83,278	208,858	273,747	279,719	284,930	294,045	291,729	310,585	307,100	311,262	315,625	290,098	•	347,738	385,561	ഴ	•		388,941		Includes
Year		1834(a)		1837	1838	1839 1840(b)									1849	1850	1821	1852	1853 1854(h)		1856	1857	1858	1859	•	(a)

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APPENDIX B, TABLE I.

Corn Production, 1851-1860.

(Compiled from Seventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth Annual Reports of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture.)

Year	Acres	Bushels	Bushels per acre
1851	5,333	163,771	30.7
1852	7,552	250,924	3 3.2
1853	8,713	299,166	34.3
1854	12,900	481,297	37. 3
1855	15,299	228,721	15.6
1856	24,059	505 , 364	21.0
185 7	14,462	388,487	26. 8
1858	10,294	210,076	20.4
1859	22,079	643,127	29.0
1860	18,812	630,590	33.5

APPENDIX B, TABLE II.

Wheat Production, 1851-1860.

(Compiled from Seventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth Annual Reports of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture.)

Year	Acres	Bushels	Bushels per acre
1851	5,580	88,274	15.8
1852	5,014	52,111	10.3
1853	3,945	41,669	10.5
1854	3,314	3,164	•9
1 8 55	3,417	19,626	13.85
1856	2,393	29,093	12.1
18 57	5,141	8 1, 8 4 9	15.9
1858	6,757	92,506	13.6
1859	10,838	140,009	12.9
1860	13,601	208,975	15.3

-105-APPENDIX B, TABLE III.

General Farm Production.

(Compiled from Sixth, Seventh, Eighth Census.)

Crop	Unit	1840	1850	1860
Rye	Bushels	1,522	1,849	6,627
Oats	Bushels	39,469	55,122	92,638
Buckwheat	Bushels	4,150	13,677	
Barley	Bushels	28	67	
Potatoes	Bushels		37,720	71,199
Wool	Pounds	3,948	18,544	55,145

APPENDIX B, TABLE IV.

Livestock.

(Compiled from Sixth, Seventh, Eighth Census.)

Item	1840	1850	1860
Horses (Number)	992	1,989	5,119
Cattle (Number)	6.497	7,003	17,276
Sheep (Number)	2,790	6,514	16,661
Swine (Number)	10,624	7,214	20,342
Total value (Dollars)		168,102	625,178

APPENDIX B, TABLE V.

Farm Acreage and Land Value.

(Compiled from Seventh and Eighth Census.)

	1850	1860
Improved farms (acres)	36 ,7 96	84,887
Unimproved farms(acres)	58,428	114,212
Cash value of farms	\$976 ,895	\$4,187,710
Value of farm implements	\$55 .5 82	\$167.765

APPENDIX B, TABLE VI.

Farm Acreage in 1860.

(Eighth Census, Vol. "Agriculture," 211.)

Number of Acres	Number of Fa	arms
3 and under 10	168	
10 and under 20	282	
20 and under 50	894	
50 and under 100	50 0	
100 and under 500	144	
500 and under 1000	3	

APPENDIX C.

Advertisements from the Ohio Whig, January 12, 1839.

Cheap Cash Store

The Subscriber has opened a new store on the corner of Front Street and Louisiana Avenue, where he offers for sale a splendid assortment of

Dry-Goods,

consisting of a general supply of broad cloths, cassimeres, satinetts, jeans, English moleskins, beaver sloths and fustions; cotton and wollen flannels; blankets, bleached and unbleached sheeting and shirting; cotton batting and wicking; buckskin, woolen, cloth, cotton, silk, hoskin and kid gloves; ladies prunelle and seal skin shoes, boots and slippers; checks, selicias, Irish linen, umbrellas, suspenders, Italian and Victoria cravats; silk and bombazine stocks; white figured table covers; English and French merinos; bombazines and circassians; English and American prints; Italian gros de Naple and florence silks, plain and figured silk velvets, white and colored cambricks; Swiss and book muslin; silk, meridno and cotton hose, plain, stripped and figured ribbons; laces, edgings and insertions; linen, cambric handkerchiefs, and Also,

Groceries, including sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, molasses, oil, tobacco, soap, saltpetre, saleratus, pepper, spice. cinnamon, cloves, and c Likewise.

Crockery & Glass Ware which we will sell as low as can be purchased in the west, for cash, or country produce.

E. N. Knight.

Groceries.

Peck & Griswold have just received a fine lot of
Groceries which they now offer for sale at very low prices:
3 hhds. St. Croix, Porto Rico
and New Orleans Sugar;
1 box brown Havana "
2 bbls Loaf "
1 hhd. Sugar House Molasses;
2 chests Young Hyson Teas;
2 hlf. " "
5 Cattys " "
20 bags Laguara, Rio & Java Coffee;
Rice, Raisins, Salaeratus, Starch,
Pepper, Spice, Copia, Cloves, Nutmegs,

Wm. Russel & Co. Wholesale and Retail Grocery & Provision Store.

Tobacco, &c. &c.

Rio and Java Coffee: Gun powder: Old and Young Hyson Teas Loaf, Porto Rico & N. O. Sugars; Confectionary, assorted spices of all kinds: Haney, Sperm and Tallow Candles; Hall & Son s variegated Soap; Common Bar Soap; Nail Rod, Lady Twist, Cavendish & Paper Tobacco; Cigars of all kinds: Cordage of different sizes: Cannister and Keg Powder; Lead; Shot; Pails; Tubs and Churns; 8-10 and 7 by 9 Glass; Brooms and Corn Baskets; Liguors of all kinds; Cider, Beer, and Winter Apples; Leather mittens, by the pair or dozen; Lucifer matches, by the gross or dozen; Mackerel, Cod Fish and Trout, Flour, by the barrel, or retail: Potatoes, Oats and Corn. We also have our Bakery in full operation.

APPENDIX D.

Manufacturing, 1860.

(Eighth Census, Vol. "Manufacturing," 481-82.)

	Number of Establishments	Capital Invested (\$)	Cost of Raw Material (\$)	of.	Number of Women employed	Cost of Labor (\$)	Annual value of Products (\$)
Ashes, pot and pearl	3	900	3,400	4		1,156	7,800
Blacksmithing	8	3,525	1,730	12		3,120	8,050
Boots and Shoes	12	2,730	3 ,3 85	26		5,472	11,860
Brooms	1	5,000	3,000	6	2	1,440	5,000
Cooperage	2	1,400	82 5	7		2,016	3,500
Fisheries	4	4,600	2,200	15		3,600	6,600
Flour and meal	5	25,500	50,000	9		2,640	59 ,4 00
Furniture, cabinet	5	2,800	820	12		4,260	6 ,7 00
Iron castings	1	1,000	2,500	8		2,800	8,000
Leather	2	4,500	2,000	5		1, 140	4 ,7 50
Lumber sawed	23	55 , 200	47, 800	69	11	15,564	85,400
Saddlery and harness	2	400	450	3		1,080	3,600
Sash, doors, and							
blinds	1	3,000	1,000	3		996	2,000
Shingles	1	400	500	3		57 6	1,200
Tin, copper, and							
sheet iron ware	3	1,600	1,200	6		1,560	4,000
Wagons, carts	7	2,550	1,750	15		3,732	7,650
Total	80	115,115	122,560	203	13	51,132	224,910

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