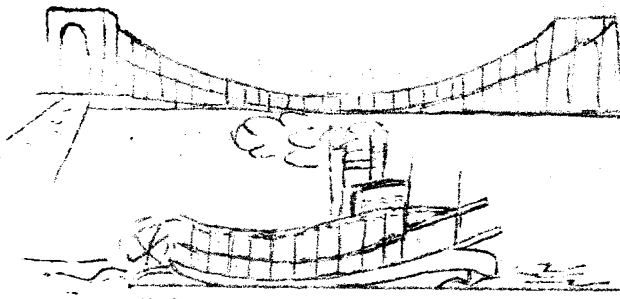

Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review

Volume 1 October 26, 1968 Number 1

OPINIONS ON SLAVERY IN THE WHEELING AREA

As Evidenced in the Pages of The Daily Intelligencer 1859-1860

By Jon Reed Donnelly

As the years 1859 and 1860 began their journey into history, the small Ohio Valley city of Wheeling, Virginia, slumbered along, unperturbed by the happenings in the world and nation.

During those years, Europe was raked by explosions and gunfire as armies fought for continental domination. The defeat of the French at the Battle of Solferino, Garibaldi's war for unity in Italy, and dispatches describing the mysterious inhabitants of the newly opened island of Japan won prime places in American newspapers.

In the United States, a presidential election was near and the population turned its attention to the articulate and often heated Lincoln-Douglas debates. In the South, plantation owners became rich and richer from the overseas sales of their cotton crops. In the North, cities were caught up in the whirlwind of the Industrial Revolution.

At the western terminus of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway lay Wheeling, already "an iron town of imposing proportions."[1] Most residents of the "sleepy Virginia town"[2] could arise each morning and peruse the pages of The Daily Intelligencer which, along with the Wheeling Union and the Wellsburg Herald, was one of the more widely read publications in the Northern Panhandle.

Edited by Archibald W. Campbell and John F. McDermot, The Intelligencer, founded in 1852, was staunchly Republican and favored the abolition of slavery.

News in those days was often scarce, but people's opinions were not;thus, The Intelligencer was a forum for editorial and public opinion. Editorials and articles from local and national publications were freely reprinted. The editors apparently kept their pens on the pulse of the area and printed what they believed would please and interest their readers. Replies from advocates and adversaries were generally printed and made the paper a digest of the local inhabitants' views. Carefully scanned, The Daily Intelligencer served as a main topic of conversation throughout the rest of the day. Its printed pages were the voice of the Wheeling community.

Aside from taking frequent political pokes at then President James Buchanan, who was serving his last year in office, the pages of The Daily Intelligencer, in the early portion of 1859, were taken up with local and national events which would have little bearing on future history. Shootings, street brawls and the like were of interest to the local inhabitants and these stories were main paper features.

In July, 1859, a short-lived but interesting controversy flared on the front pages of The Intelligencer. A religious sect called the Disciples had openly denounced "slavery and its abettors."[3] The privately written article on the topic said that the group"s founder, Alexander Campbell,[4] who founded Bethany College, had been a "stockholder in human flesh" before 1859, but that he was never an "advocate of American slavery or any other kind per se." The writer, apparently trying to justify the bishop"s previous slave holdings in the light of the Disciples" denunciation, said that Campbell had always "been in accordance with the emancipation views of Mr. (Henry) Clay."[5] The Steubenville Herald, a contemporary river port newspaper, picked up the touchy matter and attacked Campbell's new position on slavery as hypocritical.[6]

The Intelligencer, in an unusual move, made no comment on the Campbell issue, its editors apparently wanting no part in the freshly stirred, muddy waters. In like manner, no comment was made on the following article, buried on page three of The Daily Intelligencer under the headline "Colored Folks in Trouble":

> Saturday last Tom Snowden, an old negro man of Steubenville, and three other sable gentlemen went on a wagon to West Liberty to carry off a slave girl, her child, mother and brother, property of Josiah Chapline. Snowden was the family's father.[7]

Citizens observed their actions, the article continued, and demanded the carriage to halt under "penalty of cold lead." Snowden fought his white accosters, but was subdued as were the other Negroes. "All negroes engaged in the affair, slave and free, were arrested, committed to jail by a magistrate,[8] brought to this city (Wheeling), and safely confined for trial."

Both of these articles are significant in that no editorial comment either for or against the people or actions involved was made. This was most uncommon in The Daily Intelligencer or any other American newspaper of the times. Note should also be taken of the second news story; here were whites who, whatever their reasons, restrained free Negroes from freeing a family kept in bondage.

As 1859 struggled along, the Intelligencer took note of some of the more unusual--under the circumstances--events occurring in neighboring states. Campbell and McDermot began giving indication of their, and the rest of the community's, feelings on slavery. Commenting on a piece of news from Dorchester County, Maryland, a large slave-owning county, the editors noted that a mass condemnation of slavery and talk of disunity had taken place at a public meeting there.[9] The Daily Intelligencer called for a similar public meeting in Wheeling.

> Surely Wheeling, which owes all that she is to free States on each side of her, and the free counties above and below her, has no sympathies with the would-be reopening of the African slave trade or a cotton confederation of free-trade states.[10]

That the Wheeling area possessed a large number of abolitionists and others who opposed the spread of slavery for various reasons is evidenced in an Intelligencer editorial concerning the Richmond Whig. The editorial said, apparently with some satisfaction, that Western Virginia residents were no longer referred to by the pro-slavery Whig as "Black Republicans, abolitionists, fanatics or traitors."[11] The Richmond paper, apparently in an effort to win back a portion of the mountain people alienated by previous articles concerning them, now referred to them as "Northwestern Virginia Free Soilers."[12]

Commenting on the October 16, 1859, "Harpers Ferry Riot," Campbell and McDermot voiced the belief that the violence contained a lesson for both northern and southern portions of Virginia:

> Neither can we have in our midst four million serfs, whose color, whose intellect, whose habits, whose everything is different from the ruling element without the same dangers that have always attended society in every country where such a servile element existed.[13]

It is not difficult to see that one reason advanced by anti-slavery supporters and free soilers in the Panhandle region was, to some extent, utilitarian; it would be better to abolish slavery or at least halt its spread since its eventual demise would be best for the nation. This utilitarian view crops up in later articles and editorials.

During a time when The Intelligencer noted that "There was another large house at the Athenaeum [14] to witness 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,'"[15] an article written by an unnamed author appeared on the front page of the morning paper. The writer held the superiority of the white race, but saw that Negroes were climbing the social ladder and would begin presenting problems, probably soon. Stating that he cared not for abolitionists, the writer went on to say:

> We must look to the future of both races. Jefferson hoped for a negro migration to Central America, a colonization of the race. Something of this sort has got to be done.[16]

He said he feared another Santo Domingo (Haiti)-type rebellion and took displeasure in the fact that already "mulattoes are inter-breeding and poisoning whites."[17]

This was another side of the slavery issue in the Panhandle and The Intelligencer was not afraid of bringing it to the fore on its front page. Historian Earl Chapin May also points out that there were pro-slavery elements in the region when he says:

> Although the three Northern Panhandle counties of Brooke, Ohio and Marshall numbered only 149 slaves in a population of 45,358...there were plenty of Panhandle friends of the Confederacy.

> Wheeling newsdealers dared not keep on their shelves a book by a North Carolinian discussing the economic disadvantages of slavery. A Baptist minister was forced to leave the city because he had taught colored children to read in his Sunday school. Republican meetings and processions were broken-up by stone-throwing mobs.[18]

Thus, as the year 1859 ended and the decade of the 60's began, the differences over slavery in and among the population of Wheeling and surrounding areas became more pronounced and would become more so as the presidential election in November, 1860, drew near. Tension and emotion would rise in the Panhandle and the deep gulf separating Northwest and Southeast Virginia would grow even broader.

A Wheeling area resident, whose article Campbell and McDermot also deemed worthy to place on the front page of The Daily Intelligencer, expressed his belief that time was the most effective remedy for the slave issue. The essay, entitled "A Curious View of the Destiny of the Negro Element in This Country," explored the possibilities for the future of both free and slave blacks. Was colonization the answer to the problem? The author admitted that this was inadequate and impossible as a final solution. Prompt emancipation? He feared an immediate upheaval between whites and Negroes throughout the nation. But time, he said, was, in his opinion, the answer. He saw the future amalgamation of the two races:[19]

> The amalgamation has begun in the lower strata of our social system.[20] Centuries perhaps may pass before it will ascend to the highest grades. In a word, we believe that at some distant date in the future, this amalgamation of the races will be thoroughly complete. The Anglo-Saxon race will be depressed but only temporarily.[21]

Some days later, the old feud between Panhandle and Piedmont broke out anew when a Wheeling district state senator was rapped by his fellow senators in Richmond as a "Black Republican," a term Campbell and McDermot cared for not at all.[22]

Differences between western and tidewater areas of Virginia were becoming more prevalent in the early portion of 1860, particularly in regard to slavery and the unity of the United States. The Intelligencer, espousing the principles of the Republican Party, voiced strong support for the Union and firmly opposed any actions which might lead to its dissolution.[23] This stand was opposed, as was The Intelligencer's anti-slavery views, by the Wheeling Union, the Republican paper's direct competitor.[24]

A third local newspaper, the Wellsburg Herald, contrasted the two city papers' slavery views by saying:

> As to the main question which is dividing the country into North and South, we are in a state of practical indifference, though some affect a kind of religious veneration for the institutionof slavery which to others, who cannot take such a sublimated view of a clearly abstract proposition, seems highly ridiculous.[25]

On July 2, 1860, The Daily Intelligencer came out in support of the Republican presidential ticket of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, and asked its readers to support these candidates also.[26] Regarding their policy during the campaign, the Intelligencer's editors stated:

> We have steadily endeavored...to make the columns of the Intelligencer a fair reflection of the political sentiments, speeches and general carryings on of the city and vicinity. ...we have not--neither do we intend to ask--a single vote for Lincoln that does not result from an important discussion of his just claims to it.[27]

Shortly after this statement of editorial policy, a writer commented on the Dred Scott Decision. His essay for The Intelligencer said southern men had made it quite clear that:

> ...if slavery is abolished, if statutory protection as they call it, for their property is not granted, trouble will come. If the southern men are making just and Constitutional demands upon us, grant their demands instantly; no delay, no hesitation, no evasion.[28]

But, the author contended, their demands were neither just nor Constitutional, and he went on to attack Justice Roger B. Taney's decision on Dred Scott: "As a patron of the slave trade, as a pro-slavery propagandist, he deserves to take rank with the most zealous Southern fire-eater in existence."[29]

Again showing the other side of the opinion toward slavery in the Panhandle, The Intelligencer published another essay, this one on the meaning of true democracy. The writer went to great lengths to explain that noble institution upon which the United States had been founded--but never made reference to Negro slavery.[30]

The presidential election was beginning to loom larger on the Western Virginia horizon in the autumn of 1860, and editors Campbell and McDermot wasted no time publishing their praises for the Republican contenders, while at the same time lashing out at their opponents. They singled out Stephen A. Douglas as a prime target for their blazing attacks:

> Mr. Douglas says he does not care whether slavery in the Territories is voted up or voted down. That is the difference between him and the people. They do care. A large portion of them want to see it voted up, and a still larger portion want to see it voted down.[31]

Before the residents of the Panhandle region were to cast their ballots on November 6, The Daily Intelligencer was hawked on the streets with perhaps its strongest editorial recommendations for Lincoln and condemnation of slavery:

> If the people decide next Thursday that slavery may be extended into our vast territorial domain, who can say when or where its growth and expansion can be checked.

> If they decide that this government shall be, as it has too long been, subservient to the wishes of that ultra pro-slavery power, which has ruled with such a strong hand and has filled the federal offices with corruption in maintaining its strength, then can we ever hope for a change?[32]

And on election day itself, Campbell and McDermot made a last and urgent appeal to the "Republicans of Wheeling":

> ...you that are free to vote in this free city of ours, remember the thousands of our brethren throughout other parts of the state and in the South who are not free to vote their principles today...help them to break down the despotism that surrounds those who do not enjoy your privileges...[33]

By late November, the nation and the Northern Panhandle knew that it had elected Abraham Lincoln to be its new President.

Storm clouds that had shrouded the presidential election were apparently blown away after the election results were known, and The Intelligencer closed out the memorable year of 1860 with an optimistic prediction. "The revolutionary spirit in the South is evidently subsiding," the editors said, "and in a very short time we shall hear nothing more of it."[34]

Five months later, on April 13, 1861, the United States fortress at Charleston, South Carolina, Fort Sumter, was fired upon heralding the beginning of the Civil War.

Footnotes

1. Earl Chapin May, Principio to Wheeling 1715-1945 (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1945), p. 115.
2. Charles A. Wingerter (ed.), History of Greater Wheeling and Vicinity (New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1942), p. 199.
3. Daily Intelligencer (Wheeling), July 2, 1859.
4. A cousin of Intelligencer Editor Campbell.
5. Daily Intelligencer (Wheeling), July 8, 1859.
6. Ibid. July 7, 1859.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid. November 16, 1859.
10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., July 6, 1859.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., October 21, 1859.

14. A prominent Wheeling City playhouse.

15. Daily Intelligencer (Wheeling), July 4, 1859.

16. Ibid., November 21, 1859.

17. Ibid.

18. May, p. 127

19. Daily Intelligencer (Wheeling), January 7, 1860.

20. The author also believed that "Necessarily it must begin among the dregs of the people."

21. Daily Intelligencer (Wheeling), January 7, 1860.

22. Ibid., January 9, 1860.

23. Ibid., January 17, 1860.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., August 21, 1860.

26. Ibid., July 2, 1860.

27. Ibid., September 7, 1860.

28. Ibid., July 4, 1860.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., November 19, 1860.

31. Ibid., September 17, 1860.

32. Ibid., November 2, 1860.

33. Ibid., November 6, 1860.

34. Ibid., November 19, 1860.

BISHOP VAN DE VELDE'S JOURNEY DOWN THE OHIO, 1831

By Clifford M. Lewis, S.J.

During the early part of the 19th Century, many famous Jesuits assigned to western missions traveled the National Road to Wheeling and there boarded boats for St. Louis and even more distant scenes. One of these was Father Peter DeSmet, noted missionary who represented the cause of Sitting Bull to President Lincoln.

Very few of these missionaries recorded their impressions of Wheeling. One notable exception was Jesuit James Oliver van de Velde, later Bishop of Chicago and then Bishop of Natchez.

Bishop van de Velde was born in Flanders in 1771 and came to the Jesuit Novitiate at Georgetown in 1817. After his ordination he was sent to St. Louis College in 1831, passing through Wheeling on the journey.

Before being urged into the episcopacy, he was president of St. Louis University, vice-provincial of the Missouri Province, and founder of the Osage Indian Mission. He spoke and wrote French, Italian and Spanish and gave instructions in German and Polish. He died of yellow fever in 1855. The writer, in the Summer of 1967, identified his tombstone at the Jesuit Novitiate at Florissant, Mo., near St. Louis. Following are letters he wrote in 1831 during his trip down the Ohio. These letters were translated from the original French and appeared in the Woodstock Letters, Vol. 10 (1881), pp. 63-64. They are presented here through the courtesy of the Very Rev. Father Provincial of the Maryland Province, Society of Jesus.

Conditions in Wheeling

"Wheeling, October 9, 1831

"We arrived at this place this morning at 2 o'clock. We were so tired that we went to bed almost immediately after our arrival. There was a boat which was to leave for Cincinnati at 5 o'clock A.M. Being assured, however, that there would be other boats in the afternoon, we rested until seven o'clock.[1] We then took a walk in the city to find out whether there was any chance either to celebrate or hear Mass. We found the Catholic Church[2] there all in disorder: no altar, no vestments, the panes of glass in the sashes broken, etc. Mrs. Kennedy,[3] at whose house we went for information, told us that it was impossible to celebrate the Holy Mysteries, as they were going to repair the interior of the Church, and everything was in confusion. Catholics of the place had not had any opportunity to hear The Mass or approach the Sacraments since the second Sunday in May, when Mr. Miles,[4] of Zanesville, came here through charity. Father Roloff[5] resided there for some months, but as he is not a very eloquent preacher, they did not treat him well, and he was forced to leave them. This is one of the reasons for which the Archbishop refuses them a resident priest. Here we are, then, in Wheeling, after having traveled from Baltimore night and day without resting, in order to be here in time to say or hear Mass. Fine hopes indeed! Today is Sunday and to-morrow will be

the feast of St. Francis de Borgia,[6] and no Mass! We are through with our dinner, and now we are going to take a walk together.

Farewell.

Your most devoted."

Lodgings at Wheeling House

"Wheeling, October 10, 1831

"Yesterday, in the course of the afternoon, we went to see the town. It had rained a great deal, and the streets were almost impassable. Most of the streets are not paved, and are full of dirt and filth of all kinds. It is a real hole. However, everything seems to prosper. We have taken our lodging at the Wheeling House, kept by a certain Mr. William King, of Martinsburg, Virginia, who is an acquaintance of Father McSherry.[7] His hotel is in very good condition. It is not inferior to Barnum's, and the price is the same, one dollar and a half a day. The ex-Secretary, Eaton,[8] arrived here this morning, and we took dinner and supper with him, his wife and his sister-in-law. Yesterday we found no opportunity to start for Cincinnati. This morning we went to examine the manufactories.[9] They well deserve the inspection, particularly the glass works, etc. There are two coal mines in the mountain back of Wheeling. I went some distance into one of them, and would have gone deeper, but the place was very dark, and one of the workmen told me that it was very dangerous, because sometimes pieces of coal and stone get loose from the ceiling, and, owing to this, several accidents have taken place. There was no danger where I was then standing, for the ceiling was supported by planks. I found one of my acquaintances in Wheeling. I was much surprised when, knocking at the door of Mrs. Magruder,[10] a Catholic widow who has care of the Church, to see it opened by George King of Georgetown, who had studied philosophy with me at College. After his leaving the noviciate,[11] he took to the study of law. He is now married, and he teaches school. I baptized one of his children, George Alexander."

Aboard the Steamer "Emigrant"

"Marietta, October 11, 1831

"We have now reached one of the towns of Ohio. I went on shore to be able to say that I have been in that State. This small town, situated on the river bank, is pretty enough and well peopled. We left Marietta at 7 o'clock A.M. We left Wheeling last evening at about 5 o'clock, on board the steamer "Emigrant,"[12] Captain Ireland, and already we are eighty miles from Wheeling. Nothing worth noticing has happened.

I am, etc."

A Look at Blennerhassett

"Guyandott, October 12, 1831

"Yesterday, after leaving Marietta, we passed the Island and the town of Parkersburg, situated at the mouth of the Little Kenhawa.[13] Shortly after, we coasted the Island of Blennerhassett, rendered famous by the conspiracy of the Vice-President, Aaron Burr, against the government of the United States.[14] It was about 9 o'clock in the forenoon. At about 1 o'clock in the afternoon we passed the Island of Buffington[15] and at 3 o'clock, the Island and the Falls of Letart.[16] The water was so high that we passed over the rocks of the Falls. In the evening we reached Gallipolis, the capital of Gallia County.[17] That small town was settled by a colony of French, and most of the inhabitants speak French. Towards 12 o'clock in the night we anchored, on account of a very thick fog, which had risen. We were then only five or six miles from Guyandotte,[18] which is at the mouth of the Big Kenhawa, where we arrived this morning at half past 6 o'clock. Here, several of our traveling companions left the boat. Here, too, is the terminus of the new route from Washington to Ohio, via Fredericksburg, in Virginia. We hope to arrive in Cincinnati to-morrow.

Believe me, etc. "

Footnotes

1. Wheeling, at the end of the National Road whose Wheeling terminus was completed in 1818, considered itself "at the head of year-round navigation on the Ohio River." From the time when Robert Fulton introduced his New Orleans to Ohio River traffic in 1811, Wheeling became a familiar steamboat port and boat-building center.

2. According to Father John M. Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap., in his History of St. Alphonsus Church, pp. 13-14, the first Catholic church, called St. Mary's, was a wooden structure 40x60 feet, erected in 1822 at the southeast corner of Perry and Fourth Streets (now Eleventh and Chapline), on ground donated by Noah Zane in 1818.

3. The oldest Wheeling directory, published in 1839, lists a David Kennedy, carpet and coverlet weaver, rear of 48 Main Street, South Wheeling, and a Robert Kennedy, tailor, on Alley No. 10, between Fifth and Sixth Streets.

4. This was Father Miles, O.P., who afterwards became Bishop of Nashville, Tennessee. Dominicans from St. Rose, Washington county, Kentucky, established a convent of their order at Somerset, Ohio, in 1819, and at a later date they also took charge of a church in Zanesville. Woodstock Letters, Vol. 10, p.63 note 1.

5. Father Francis Rolof (or Roloff) left his name on baptismal records in Wheeling and surrounding towns in Ohio and Pennsylvania in 1828 and 1829. A native of Bavaria, he was ordained by Archbishop Carroll in Baltimore on June 11, 1808, and labored among German-speaking congregations at Conewago, Pa., and Philadelphia before coming to Wheeling. When Father van de Velde came through Wheeling he was stationed at Martinsburg, W.Va. His last assignment was in Boston as pastor of the German Holy Trinity Church, See Lenhart, pp. 14-15.

6. Francis Borgia was the third Father-General of the Jesuit Order and responsible for the strengthening of the Order's missionary effort throughout the world. He entered religion following the death of his wife and a successful career as a statesman in Spain.

7. Father William McSherry was one of the most prominent of the Provincials of the Maryland Province of the Jesuit Order, at that time embracing Eastern United States.

8. John Henry Eaton (1790-1856), had just resigned as Secretary of War during a dissolution of Jackson's cabinet over the refusal of Washington society to accept Eaton's marriage to "Peggy O'Neale," daughter of a Washington tavernkeeper. Eaton, whose first marriage was to Jackson's ward, Myra Lewis, had been Senator from Tennessee. Subsequent to his resignation of the cabinet post, he held positions as Governor of Florida and Minister to Spain.

9. Father van de Velde probably visited the Wheeling Flint Glass-Works of Ritchie & Wheat, in the opinion of the late Carl Gustkey, of the Imperial Glass Company, Bellaire, Ohio, and an authority on Wheeling glass. By 1835 there were five glass houses and two cutting establishments in Wheeling.

10. A Mrs. Louisa Magruder is listed in the Wheeling directory of 1839 as a widow and school mistress, conducting classes at her own residential address, 125 Fourth Street.

11. The Jesuit novicesship consists of two years of prayer, work, and spiritual exercises. Neither of the Kings mentioned by Van de Velde appears in the 1839 city directory.

12. The ship Emigrant does not appear in the several lists consulted by the editor of these letters.

13. Proper spelling of the river flowing into the Ohio at Parkersburg is Little Kanawha, based on an Indian name.

14. Aaron Burr stopped at Blennerhassett Island and succeeded in involving Lord Blennerhassett to some extent in his western political ambitions. Some features of the Blennerhassett Mansion are still visible. Cf. review of Philbrick's book, this issue.

15. Buffington Island is opposite the town of Sherman, a few miles north of Ravenswood.

16. The Falls of Letart today scarcely merit the name of rapids, but were sometimes mentioned by early travelers. They are at the town of Letart, where the Ohio trends northward between Mt. Alto and Mason.

17. Gallipolis was settled by a colony of French in the year 1791. The title to their land proved defective, and most of the colonists, originally several thousand in number, returned to France. Father Badin, who was sent by Bishop Carroll to the Catholic settlers of Kentucky in 1793, spent several days at Gallipolis, when on his way down the Ohio. Woodstock Letters, article cited, p. 64, note 1.

18. Father van de Velde is wrong in his identification of river or town. Guyandotte, the terminus of the James River & Kanawha Turnpike, was established in 1810 at the mouth of the Guyandotte River on the outskirts of present-day Huntington. Point Pleasant is at the mouth of the Big Kanawha.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PATHS, ROADS OR TRAILS!

By Delf Norona

Twenty-one years ago The Horn Papers, Early Westward movement on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio 1765-1795 was published in Waynesburg, Pa. The publication was based on what were asserted to be original documents, forgotten for generations. They dealt mainly with the earliest pioneers of Western Pennsylvania and Northwestern Virginia.

Soon after its appearance The Horn Papers publication was denounced by a recognized authority on the early history of Western Pennsylvania, the charge being that "the conclusion is inescapable that large parts of the documentary materials...diaries, maps, court records...are sheer fabrications."

Subsequently a committee to investigate The Horn Papers was organized under sponsorship of The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg. Dr. Solon J. Buck, then Archivist of the United States, was appointed chairman. The writer of these notes was selected to represent West Virginia. As time went on we had access to the purported originals, and soon many anachronisms and historical inconsistencies were noted.

Many words were included in the Papers which had not come into use before the 19th Century. There were references to "Indian trails," one as early as 1735, and on some maps the locations of trails were shown by name.

By reason of our interest in maps, much time has been spent in examining original records, particularly those dealing with Virginia and Pennsylvania, in quest of the earliest use of the word "trail" or its equivalent during the 18th Century. We can report that the word "trail" had not gotten into the English (American) language before the beginning of the 19th Century. The words "Indian path" or "Indian road" were the descriptive terms used before 1800.

The results of the investigation were published in an article, "The Mystery of the Horn Papers," The William and Mary Quarterly, October, 1947, pp. 409-445. Discussion of the word "trail" appears on p. 430, note 37.

True, in a recently published book in English, there is included the translated journal of a German missionary to Pennsylvania Indians in the mid-18th Century. In this, reference is made to an Indian "trail." However, in the book's introduction, it is pointed out that the manuscript journal was written in German and that what appears in the book is a translation.

It is quite probable that the German word "Weg" was used in the original, "Weg" meaning Way, Road, Route, and that it was inadvertently translated "trail." If "Pfad" had been used in the original, it probably would have been translated "path."

The following is a selected listing of the words "path" or "road" from 1607 to 1796. Additional citations could be included, but they would be merely cumulative.

References to specific Indian paths or roads in the West Virginia Northern Panhandle, most of which extend into Ohio and Pennsylvania, are omitted. These will be discussed in a later issue of this publication, it is hoped, together with the reproduction of a contemporary map, as well as a map showing the general routes of Indian paths in our Wheeling area.

1607:

"Observations gathered out of a discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606: Written by...George Percy," Edward Arber (ed.) Travels and Works of Captain John Smith (Edinburgh, 1910), v. 1, pp. lxv, lxvii.

This discourse was taken by Arber from Purchas, Pilgrimes, v. 4.

In mentioning a visit on May 5, 1607, to the Rapahannos Towne, Percy states:

> Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, hauing most pleasant Springs...
>
> The nineteenth day (May, 1607) my selfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods, by chance wee espied a pathway like to an Irish pace...Wee traced along some foure miles...
>
> [Pace: A pass or passage.]

1703:

MSS document in Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va. Printed in Calendar of Virginia State Papers. (Richmond, 1875), v. 1, p. 82.

In a grant of land by the Governor of Virginia, October 23, 1703, it is recited:

> Beginning at two Red Oakes & a pine by the East Side of Potobago path, thence east.

1744:

"At a council held Augst 6th 1744," Wilmer L. Hall (ed.) Executive Journals, Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, Va., 1945), v. 5, pp. 156-57:

> This Day was read the Treaty concluded at Lancaster..with the six united Nations of Indians & their Release of all their Rights to all the Lands within this Colony And it was Order'd that part of it relating to the Roads agreed to be printed in the Publick Gazette ...

1749:

A map of Pensilvania, New-Jersey...By Lewis Evans. MDCCXLIX.

Leading from the Susquehanna river are shown: "Path to Wioming, "A Path to Shamokin scarce passable for 3 steep mountains," "The new Path," "Allegeny Path."

1750-51:

Christopher Gist's Journal September 11, 1750 Lois Mulkearn (ed.), George Mercer Papers (Pittsburgh, 1954), pp. 8, 19-20, 22-23, 31:

> [Oct 31] Set out from ... old Town on Potomack River in Maryland, and went along an old Indian path ...
>
> [Feb 17] Mr. Montour then proceeded to deliver them a message ... 'You made a Road for our Brothers the English to come and trade among you ...'
>
> [Feb 26] The Twigtwees delivered the following answer ... 'We have made a Road as far as the Sea to the Sun-rising ...'
>
> [Mar 1] The following speech from the Twigtees...'Brothers We present you with this bundle of skins, as we are but poor to be for shoes for you on the Road ...'
>
> [May 19] Set out for Roanoke, and as we had now a Path, We got there the same night.'

1751:

A map of the inhabited part of Virginia ... drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1751. [London]

This map, of which there were many subsequent editions, shows an "Indian Road" running southwestwardly between the Potomac and South Branch. Further to the east there is delineated "Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster."

West of the New River there is an "Indian Road," and, leading south from the Roanoke River into North Carolina there is, "The Trading Path leading to the Catawbau [sic] &c Cherokee Indian Nations."

The map also shows "Waggon Road" in two places south of the Potomac river. These presumably were built by white men.

1754:

The Journal of Major George Washington, sent by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie... to the Commandant of the French forces on Ohio...(Williamsburg, 1754), p. 21:

> The Day following [Dec. 27, 1753] just after we had passed a Place called the Murdering-Town [on the southeastern fork of Beaver Creek], where we intended to quit the Path, and steer across the Country for Shannapins Town, we fell in with a party of French Indians...

1762:

Speech to Indians at Lancaster, Pa., Aug. 27, 1762. Penna. Archives, 4th Series. v. 3, pp. 171-72:

> the Fort at Shamokin stood upon your Warrior's path.
>
> John Harris's House, standing on your Warriors' Path, would be a good place for a Trading House ...
>
> ... the ill treatment your Warriors met with in Virginia, in those places where your War path passes through the settled part of that Colony; and you have now desired me to write to the Governor of Virginia that as there are settlers on your War path, whereby it is stopped, he would cause it to be opened.
>
> ... all the way from Harris' Ferry to Potowmack, the White people are settled very thick, so that should your Warriors now use that Path, frequent differences ... might arise.
>
> ... the Warriors in case they are determined to go to War, that they would pursue the old War path from Shamokin ...

In compliance with the above request the Governor of Pennsylvania wrote Governor Fauquier of Virginia Oct. 2, 1762, mentioning the Indian War path (p. 132).

1766, 1772.

Franklin B. Dexter (ed.), Diary of David McClure. (New York, 1899) pp. 12, 16, 38, 43, 49, 59.

> July 1766...We groped in the darkness, among the trees to find the path.
>
> Aug...Rode...to Fort Stanwix...There was no path. A new path had been marked by the Indians, by cutting the bark of the trees.

In 1772 McClure started on his mission to the Indians in Ohio.

> Aug 12 (1772) ... On the western side of the Appalachians the descent into Path Valley was steep.
>
> Aug 18 ... our horses frequently wandered from the path.

After leaving Pittsburgh for Muskingum:

> Sept. 5...Mr. Gibson... [sent] his servant a few miles further to show us the path. The roads through this Indian country are no more than a single horse path, among the trees.
>
> [Sept.] 19. Our path had led us along the North bank of the pleasant river Ohio.

ca. 1774:

Instructions by Capt. Wm. Russell to scouts. William Preston papers, Draper MSS 3QQ18. Documentary History of Dunmore's War. (Madison, Wis., 1905), pp.4-5.

> ...you are to proceed to the head of Powels Vally, where you are particularly, on, and near the Warriours path to look for Indian signs...You must follow the water courses...as low as the Hunters road...

On p. 47 of Dunmore's War there is printed a letter, Arthur Campbell to Col. Wm. Preston, June 23, 1774:

> I have recommended it to the Spy, that goes from Holston ... to observe the path.

1776:

H. R. McElwaine (ed.), Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia. (Richmond, 1931), v. 1, pp. 172-73.

> Journal entry for Sept. 24, 1776: "...reinforcing some men, who were collected at Tigers Valley for the defence of that Country, the path thro' which the Northern Indians must be expected to invade our Country..."

1778:

A topographical description of Virginia, Pennsylvania... By Thomas Hutchins, (London, 1778), p. 23.

> ...Great Salt Lick Creek, is remarkable...Small boats may go to the crossing of the war Path without any impediment.

The Topographical description was explanatory of an accompanying map by Hutchins, A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania ... by Thos. Hutchins. (London,1778).

The map shows no "trails," but many "roads" are delineated as well as "Indian paths." An "Indian Path" is shown leading from Mingo Town on the Ohio river north of Wheeling, to the Muskingum River. Just opposite the Scioto River in Ohio there is shown, "The path to the Cuttawa Country."

1789:

"Manner in which the American Indians carry on war," American Museum. (Philadelphia, Feb.,1789), v. 5, pp. 148-49.

Common Paths

They have their accustomed paths, that they have established by long usage and mutual convenience, through which they travel... An implicit law of nations has made these paths inviolable...

1794:

History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America. George Henry Loskiel. (London, 1794), p. 102.

They travel through the woods for days together, without any trace of a path, and yet never go astray...

1796:

Charles Elliott (ed.), Life of the Rev. Robert R. Roberts. (New York, 1844), pp. 37-38.

Travel notes of Bishop Roberts made in 1796:

An old Indian path called the Kuskuskia Path, and leading from Cassewago to Kuskuskia, a place on the Beaver River.

Two Indian dictionaries, probably prepared before 1800 though published in later years, shed light on the word Path or Road:

David Zeisberger, who died in 1808, prepared a manuscript Indian dictionary. This was not printed until 1887, bearing the title Zeisberger's Indian Dictionary. (Cambridge, Mass., 1887). The words Path and Road are given with their Delaware equivalent, Aney. No mention is made of the word Trail in the Zeisberger dictionary.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania published in 1888, A Lenape-English Dictionary, from an anonymous MS in the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pa., on page 21 of which there is given the Delaware word Aney, with its English definition: road, walking road, path. No reference is made to Trail.

The introduction of the word "trail" into our language will be taken up in a subsequent issue, together with a discussion of specific Indian paths in our West Virginia Panhandle. A review of a book on Pennsylvania paths is contained in this issue.

The First Frontier: Life in Colonial America
By John C. Miller
Dell, 1966
Dell Laurel edition, No. 2546

In recent years the American reading public has often turned its attention toward works of what has been called "social history"--the study of men as social individuals and of men's social interactions. To the historian, this is a relatively untrod path to the past, for most historians of the last hundred years have concerned themselves with men's political and economic lives. To the reader of history, social history presents a new window into the past, and a most illuminating window at that, for it reveals that those who peopled the world in past centuries, while capable of astonishing differences from our contemporary lives, were, after all, quite the same as ourselves.

John C. Miller, a distinguished American historian who has done notable work in the Federalist Period, especially his Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts, has written here a study of American colonial society which employs a warm and witty literary style, spiced with well-edited selections from the writings of the colonials themselves. This is social history at its best, a window on the American past for all to look through, an open window through which the voices of the past come clearly--Benjamin Franklin's witty impertinence, Cotton Mather's tone of deep pessimism, Crevecoeur's try of impassioned romanticism. It does not purport to be a work of deep or original scholarship; it is based on previously published historical sources and has none of the earmarks--numerous footnotes or extensive bibliography--of the research paper. The book is clearly intended for popular consumption and is designed to introduce us to the colonial Americans, to show us ourselves in embryo. What comes through to us again and again is the essential humanity of these early Americans; stripped of the distance of time and brought up close to the eye of the reader, they are revealed as neither saints nor sinners, but as fellow men in all that phrase implies.

In the center of his stage, Professor Miller displays the colonial as a man who happily adapted himself to a free society, to a new social milieu which was free from the restraints of European customs and institutions. This early American used his new social freedom in conjunction with the unparalleled economic opportunities of the land to engage in the unrestrained pursuit of happiness both for himself and for his society--in Miller's words, "in [the colonists'] eyes, America was the land of opportunity--and that was all they asked of it." This conclusion may appear to be all too obvious, but it is refreshing to find an historian, after all of these years of motive-seeking in Freud and Marx and Darwin, who sees the foundation of the American character as having been simply the eager response of free men to a unique opportunity to better themselves religiously, politically, socially, and, most particularly, economically. (In this respect, the reader may well wish to follow Miller's book with Daniel Boorstin's The Americans: The Colonial Experience, a work which, not wholly in agreement with Miller, complements his work and provides a theoretical framework in which to view the American colonial society.)

Some might criticize the organization of the book, for it treats the colonial period as a whole, comparing and contrasting the characteristics of colonial society throughout the Thirteen Colonies and over the one hundred and seventy or more years of their existence. Yet, once again, the book is not intended as a

definitive piece of scholarship but as a book to be read and absorbed and enjoyed. It is factually accurate even if its perspective is a bit broad. What it loses in total definition by not treating its subject sectionally and chronologically, it gains in clarity and readability.

Nearly the first third of the book is spent in delineating the first areas of colonial society of Virginia, New England, and Pennsylvania. From here Professor Miller turns to a chapter-by-chapter dissection of the social customs and institutions of the period: "Sports and Recreations," "Life on a Southern Plantation," "Social Rank and Dress," and so forth. These essays present a many-sided view of the colonial man, his family, and his social life. Each chapter ends with a brief bibliography of four or five books which deal with the material contained in the essay, offering the reader a chance to increase his knowledge of any facet which intrigues him.

This is a delightful book, a clear view of our past--not the past of great men and fiery deeds, but that of little men and quiet moments, those almost hidden events which laid down the foundations for our own society. It is a book for all who are interested in history--and especially it is a book for those who have been uninterested in history, who have viewed the past as a time both lifeless and meaningless. -- John Wack

A Banner in the Hills: West Virginia's Statehood
By George Ellis Moore
Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963

In this volume, Mr. Moore sets himself the task of reviewing the history of West Virginia from the secession of the State of Virginia in 1861 to the acceptance of the new State into the Union in 1863. Beginning with a description of the differences that divided Western Virginians from their fellow citizens in Coastal Virginia, Mr. Moore goes on to explain why they now found it necessary to create a new state against not only the objections of Confederate Virginia but those of many Unionists as well. He gives a brief description of the various meetings and conventions which resulted in the Constitutional Convention in Wheeling which finally determined the name and form of the new State. From there the author shifts his attention to Washington, where opposition and delays were finally overcome so that loyal counties of Appalachian Virginia might become the thirty-fifth state of the Union.

But Mr. Moore shows clearly that it was not simply in convention halls and congresses that West Virginia was made. He devotes more than half of his book to the campaigns in the field from the Battle of Philippi to the Imboden-Jones raid. The aggressive Southern forays into the mountains spread fear and confusion as far north as Wheeling, but their greatest effect was to alienate the mountaineers still further from the cause of Virginia and to fix their determination to be forever free from Tidewater domination.

Although the book lacks a bibliography, there is copious documentation in the footnotes, while a series of appendices give the essential documents in the story of the statehood movement. Throughout, the book is written with considerable precision and accuracy. Events and persons are pinpointed in such a way that the volume should be a useful reference work for years to come.

On the other hand, the style leaves a good deal to be desired. Surely such dramatic events as the Civil War and the

founding of a new state call for something more than a dry recitation of facts. A little more energy and color would have turned a useful history into a monumental one.

In his detailing of military campaigns, Mr. Moore is certainly quite thorough, and one wonders at times whether it is worth going into the minutiae of brief engagements and fruitless marches, especially when the reader is left to follow these military movements wothout a single detailed campaign map. Too often, the story of some minor military evolution is told in full with no hint of its significance to the over-all story of West Virginia's statehood being given. Perhaps these details could have been omitted and larger space devoted to the political struggle over statehood.

Despite the extensive coverage given to these events, the background of much of the political in-fighting remains unclear. The remarkable about-face of John S. Carlile, the father of West Virginia statehood, who then opposed it in Washington, is duly noted, but the speculation over his reasons for rejecting statehood is most inept.

Mr. Moore, like so many American historians, seems loath to venture beyond the tangible. One would like to have known more, too, about the influence of slavery and the abolitionist movement in determining the course of events in West Virginia.

All in all, from the point of view of the historian, Mr. Moore has done an admirable job and created what is likely to be regarded as a leading work on the history of the State. -- Thomas Anderson

History of Hancock County: Virginia and West Virginia
By Jack Welch
Wheeling News, 1963

Hancock County is the topmost county in the northern panhandle of West Virginia. Originally it was part of Brooke County, but broke from it in 1848. Throughout most of the 19th Century the region was little developed and it was not until Ernest Weir established the Weirton Steel Works -- and, incidently, the town of Weirton -- that Hancock County began to play an important part in the history of West Virginia. The history of Hancock County is, therefore, largely in the future.

Nevertheless, Mr. Welch starts his account with the primitive aborigines of the region, whose monuments to domestic untidiness -- the mounds -- can be seen at several points along the river. Having speculated on these early inhabitants, he moves on to the early colonial history.

Hancock County formed a part of the ultimate border country at the time of the American revolution. It was savagely fought over by whites and Indians. From this account, it is rather hard to decide who was the more savage. Logan, the famous Mingo chief, was active in this area, and it was here, on the Ohio River, that his entire family was murdered by the settlers, a crime for which he fully revenged himself on the pioneers.

When the last of the savages had moved off further west, the area settled down to a somewhat more prosaic existence. Homes, factories, and, especially, churches were built. One of the most interesting passages in Welch's book gives us a vivid description of the Rev. Elisha Macurdy, a celebrated revival preacher whose specialty was to cause his hearers to be "seized with strange bodily affections."

Perhaps the nicest thing about county history is that it gives the author a chance to stop and chat with the reader about people like Macurdy, who would be brushed aside with a footnote in a larger scale history. But even with Indians, revivalists and the Civil War (in which a Hancock County man took a leading role in The Great Locomotive Chase) we are up to the post-Civil War period by page seventy-three. From there on, the book is much duller. The straight line of narration is broken while we are treated to the individual histories of the founders of each of the

principal towns and dynasties in the county. Even this is not entirely without drama. Take the case of Mike Starvaggi, a young Italian immigrant in 1912, who arrived in the newly-named city of Weirton with $5 in his pocket. First he peddled fruit, then coal and ice. Then, in 1926, he bought one bus. It became a busline. He eventually would own Weirton Construction Company, Steubenville Bus Company, Cove Hill Coal Company, Glenn Brook Coal Company and the Half-Moon Coal Company.

It's a familiar story, but one that will never wear out in telling as long as the American Dream persists.

The last third of the book is devoted to genealogy, or "biography" as the author calls it. I suspect that this was the real reason the book was written. I noticed not only biographies of some of the leading citizens of the area, but also some full-page pictures of prominent business figures, looking curiously out of place after the illustrations of frontier life.

This is not a book for the general reader, though the first chapters are interesting enough. Nor would it generally satisfy the professional historian, although it might help him on occasion. It was written for the people it was written about, and I am sure that to them it is endlessly fascinating. For those with a fervid interest in local history, it should be a feast. In its somewhat disjointed pages they can hear America singing -- a little off key -- but strongly.
-- Thomas Anderson

The Rise of the West 1754-1830 (The New American Series)
By Francis S. Philbrick
New York: Harper and Row, 1965

This volume is the first in a new group of the New American Nation Series (edited by Commager and Morris) designed to tell the history of the American West. It will be followed by Ray Billington*s The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860, and two more works.

Like all New American Nation Books, Mr. Philbrick's volume is a monument of scholarly research and painstaking accuracy. The "West" with which it is chiefly concerned is the trans-Appalachian region east of the Mississippi. It is therefore indispensible to students of the Ohio Valley region. As in the case of most books which aim at giving a "standard" approach to history rather than embarking upon new theses, Mr. Philbrick's work is in general content to recap the history of the period. However, he does bring several new approaches to problems in the history of the West.

The most successful of these new approaches is in his treatment of the often misunderstood proclamation line, established by the British after the French and Indian War. This line was as Mr. Philbrick shows, very nebulous at best, and was never intended to do more than achieve the orderly settlement of the frontier. It was, in fact, never a real barrier to settlement, nor could it have been given the shifts of British policy between the French and Indian War and the American Revolution and the limitations of British resources to police the frontier. The idea of a consistent British policy to prohibit settlement in the trans-Appalachian region is dismissed by the author.

Equally good is his approach to the question of land speculation and Indian removal. He presents the various land schemes and attempts to establish frontier states in an orderly fashion, and shows the various methods by which the land question was finally resolved. Far from charging the United States with unlimited exploitation of the Indian, he presents the case for the inevitability of Indian removal and the basic sincerity of American attempts to establish an Indian reserve west of the Mississippi.

The most interesting, if also the most questionable aspect of the book, is

the author's attempt to rehabilitate the characters of those two-fold villians of American history, James Wilkinson and Aaron Burr. Wilkinson, who appears to be much admired by the author, is described as a far-sighted and astute man of great ability and greater ambition. His attempts to intrigue with Spain against the United States, which allegedly took place even while Wilkinson was commander of the U. S. Army, are dismissed by Philbrick as being only instances of excessive zeal. Even his swearing of allegiance to Spain is dismissed as having no legal standing, which is true, but seems, somehow, to miss the point. The author concludes that nothing Wilkinson did can be construed as treason. At worst he only succeeded in obtaining money from Spanish officials under false pretenses.

As for the Burr-Wilkinson conspiracy, in which Blennerhassett Island on the Ohio plays such a prominent part, Philbrick denies the whole thing. He doubts that there ever was a real conspiracy between the two men. He insists that they never intended to establish a separate empire of their own in the West. Instead, he believes that, feeling as many did that war between the United States and Spain was likely in the early years of the 19th Century, both men were anxious to take military control of the region and lead triumphal American armies to the halls of Montezuma. It is true that the charges of treason against Burr were not proven, but the existence of such a plot was widely believed by contemporaries of Wilkinson and Burr, and Burr did assemble an armed force at Blennerhassett Island. Mr. Philbrick takes the stance that what is not legally provable is not historically factual. If all historians agreed, we would still be trying to prove that Brutus murdered Caesar.

As any such volume must, this book is forced to tackle the Frontier Theory of Frederick Jackson Turner, who emphasized the contribution of the frontier to the American character. Mr. Philbrick, who was teaching college in 1899 and must, therefore, be practically a contemporary of Mr. Turner, would say, rather, that the frontier had certain material effects upon the United States. The free land affected the economy of the country, and the West made its influence felt in American politics. But as for character, there was little to chose between westerner and easterner. This "revision" of Turner is perhaps just and hardly novel. It certainly goes with the "unromantic" tone of the book for which the author apologizes in his preface.

This book is not the last word on the history of the early frontier. It is, in fact, the opening salvo for a re-examination of the Burr case. But it is also a useful tool for understanding the history of the region. -- Thomas Anderson

Indian Paths of Pennsylvania
By Paul A. W. Wallace
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1965

Dr. Wallace has produced an invaluable book dealing primarily with an important phase of the aboriginal and pioneer history of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The greater portion of the book consists of a scholarly, documented study of some 131 paths located within Pennsylvania. A number of these Indian paths extended into other states, including some located in the Wheeling area which continue through the Northern Panhandle and into the present State of Ohio.

Paths are identified by names, accompanied in most cases by maps identifying them. Early as well as modern names of towns and physical features are included on his maps to assist the reader in identifying their courses.

In addition to his geographical and historical accounts, with documentation for the scholar, there is included a novel feature, "For the Motorist," consisting of notes for the tourist who may wish to follow the courses of these aboriginal paths of about two centuries ago. In a comprehensive "Index of Names," many West Virginia towns and locations are included, giving rise to the hope that a similar work may be published for West Virginia. -- Delf Norona

THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW
Volume I October, 1963 Number 1

Published irregularly, by the Wheeling Area Historical Society, 316 Washington Ave., Wheeling, W. Va. Editorial Director, Clifford M. Lewis, S.J.; copy editor, Sharon Allen. Free to members of the historical society. To others, 50 cents per copy.