Native American Indians

Local Camp Sites, Forts and Mounds

Indian Trails

Native American Indians

Also see Maps Album - Maps of Native American Tribes, Trails, Camps

Indian Trails in the Bedford – Walton Hills area
Early Indian Trails and Villages in Pre-Pioneer Times
Indian Trails Passing through our area
Recorded Indian Sites in the Bedford – Walton Hills area

Also see Maps Album – Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Lower Tinkers Creek Region

Also see Maps Album – Tinkers Creek Valley

Tinkers Creek from its Source to its Mouth, in 3 sections/pages
The Many Fingers of Tinkers Creek in our area
Tinkers Creek and its Tributaries
1961 map of Proposed Lake Shawnee, map 1
1961 map of Proposed Lake Shawnee, map 2

Also see Maps Album – Tinkers Creek Valley 1923-1933

Scenic and Historic Tinkers Creek Valley
Map of Tinkers Creek Valley
Legend and Map of Tinkers Creek Valley
Legend and Map of Deerlick Creek Valley
1989 – Bedford Reservation and Cuyahoga Valley National Park areas within Walton Hills Boundaries

Also see Maps Album – Special Areas of the Tinkers Creek Valley, Bedford Reservation 1923-1933

Topography and Elevations
Streams
Woodlands
Trails and Lanes
Early Residents – homes, barns
Legend and Map - Places of Interest

Also see Native American items on exhibit at Walton Hills Historical Resource Center, Community Room, Walton Hills Village Hall, corner of Walton and Alexander Roads, Walton Hills, Ohio

CHAPTER 4

INDIAN SITES

For many years, from mid Spring through Autumn, bands of woodland Indians camped in the western half of Walton Hills. Their summer campsites were near major Indian trails for east-west and north-south travel. The Native Americans set up their camps on the broad hilltops, where steep ridges offered them the advantage of good viewing points and protection from their enemies. The Walton Hills area offered them good drinking water, salt and a likely spot to find game animals. They hunted, farmed on hilltops and bottom land as well, and distilled salt for their own use and for trade.

Then in the mid 1600s, the Iroquois declared ownership of this part of Ohio. Since they were a powerful Indian tribe, other Indians stopped camping in our area. For almost 100 years the only Indians seen around here were those passing through on trails. Then once again during the second half of the 1700s, a few bands of Indians camped along the ridges.

INDIAN POINT

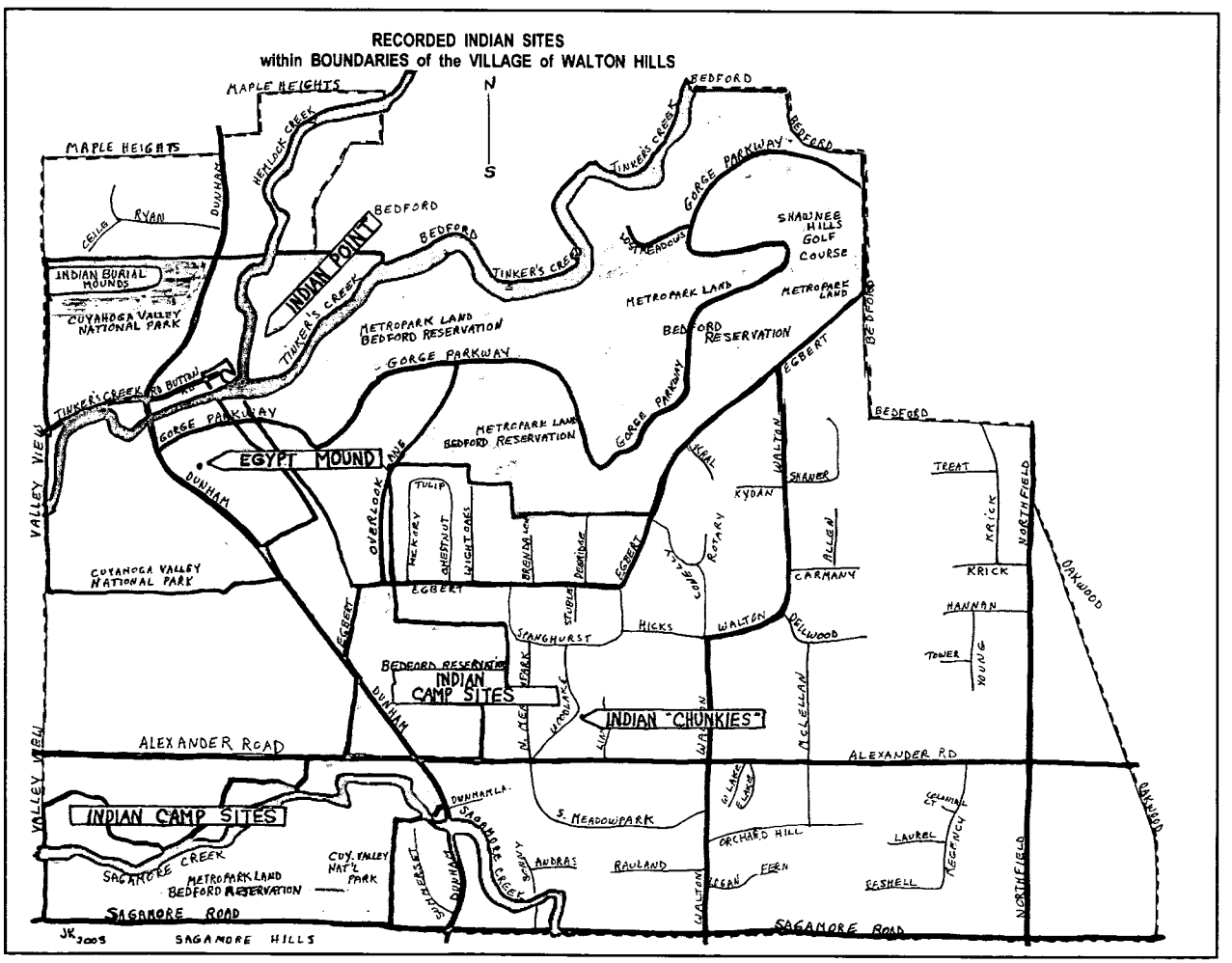
Indian Point is thought to have been an old Indian fort, located on the hilltop on the north side of Hemlock Creek Picnic Area in Bedford Reservation. Indian Point is a high, flat-topped ridge that rises sharply between Hemlock Creek and Tinkers Creek. From Indian Point the Indians had a good view of the Tinkers Creek Valley, could defend themselves and send smoke signals to other bands of Indians. This site is thought to be of Algonquin origin.

A band of Indians probably camped within the fort. On the hillsides by Indian Point the numerous fresh water springs provided good drinking water. The lowland by the creek had rich soil for growing corn. The area yielded many nuts and berries and wild vegetables and herbs. Fish were abundant in the creeks. Salt licks, especially those at the mouth of Deerlick Creek, attracted many wild animals and game birds, making hunting an easier chore.

Settlers who moved to the area in the early 1800s saw evidence of a fort at Indian Point. Moses Gleeson, who owned several acres of land in the area, including Indian Point, reported seeing a double row of earth trenches along with the rotted remains of log stockade posts. Within the post trenches

he saw piles of burnt stones from Indian fire pits and other kinds of camp midden such as charred bones and camp refuse. In the late 1880s a great-grandson of Moses Gleeson, Edmond "Cub" Carey, posted a sign on a nearby tree. The sign made notice of this site having been a fort.

When Cuyahoga Valley Historian Joe Jesensky scouted Indian Point in the early 1920s, he could detect no trace of the old fort posts. But, he did see evidence of a double row of ditches across the narrowest part of the hilltop land. In 1929 Jesensky discovered a flint drill of Indian origin in an old corn field nearby. Two years later Jesensky and Mr. Donkin, a Cleveland archaeologist from the State Archaeological Society submitted a documented paper after visiting the site and interviewing local people who shared information and artifacts with them. In more recent years, Dr. David Brose, who was the Archaeologist for the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, studied the site and compiled a report on this probable Indian fort.



Indian Point

Indian Point is an old Algonquin Indian fort and camp site located on the hilltop on the north side of Hemlock Creek Picnic Area in Bedford Reservation.
Indian Point is a high, flat-topped ridge that rises sharply between Hemlock Creek and Tinkers Creek.

From their location the band of Indians who camped here from Spring through Autumn had a good view of the Tinkers Creek Valley, could defend themselves and send smoke signals to other bands of Indians.

Fresh water springs on nearby hillsides provided good drinking water. The lowlands had rich soil for growing corn. The area yielded many nuts, berries, wild vegetables and herbs.
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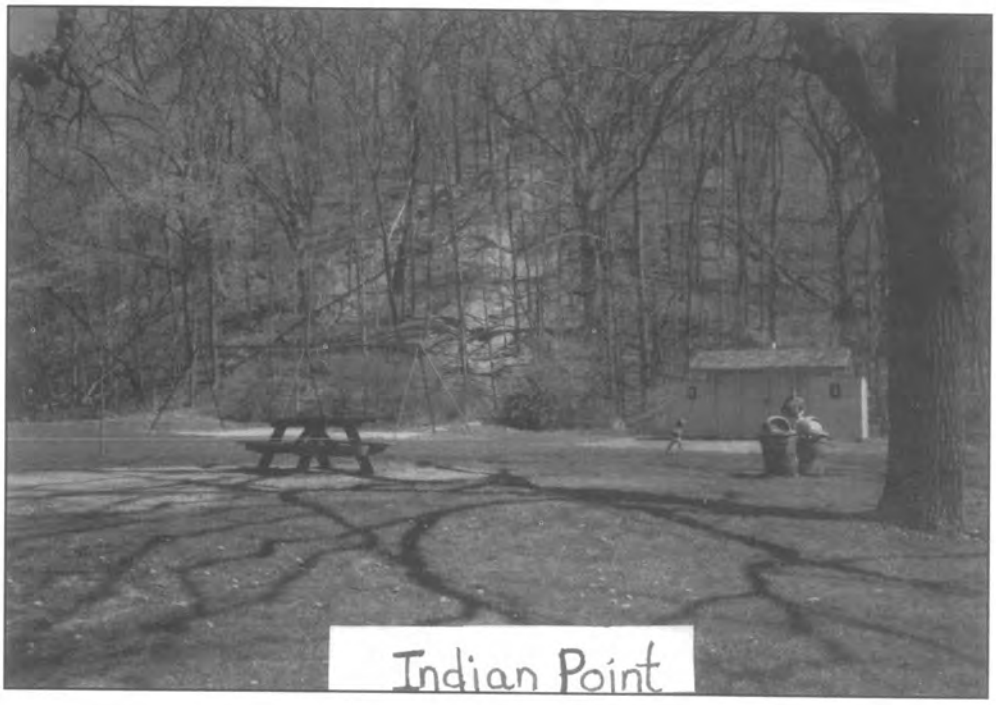
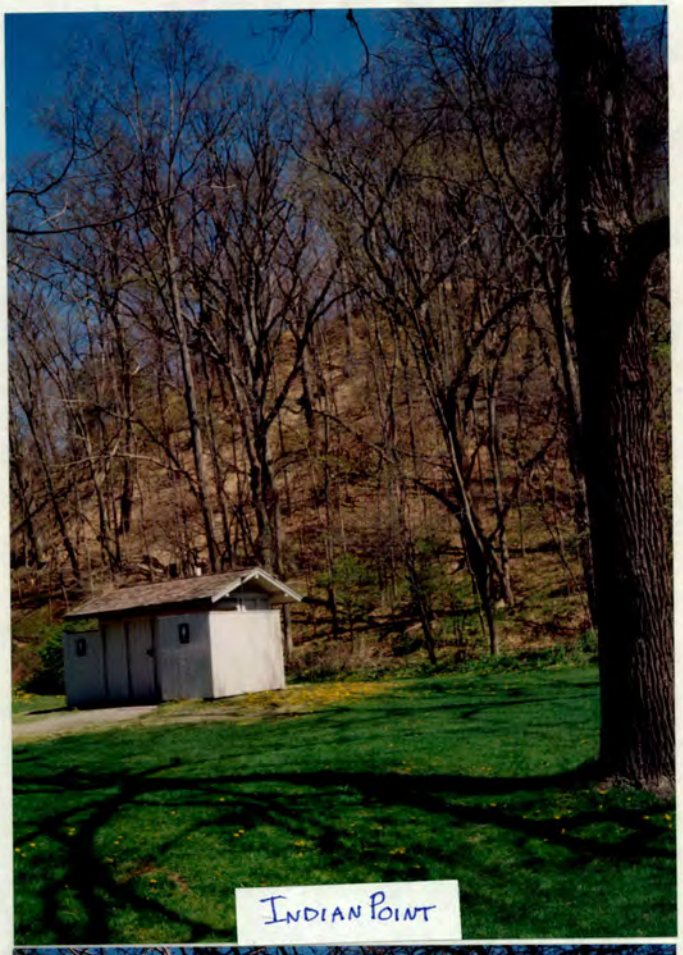
INDIAN POINT. A high hill rises up from the flats where Hemlock Creek flows into Tinkers Creek. Its summit is a sharp narrow ridge. On the ridge, evidence of an Indian fort was discovered years ago. (2003 photograph)




INDIAN POINT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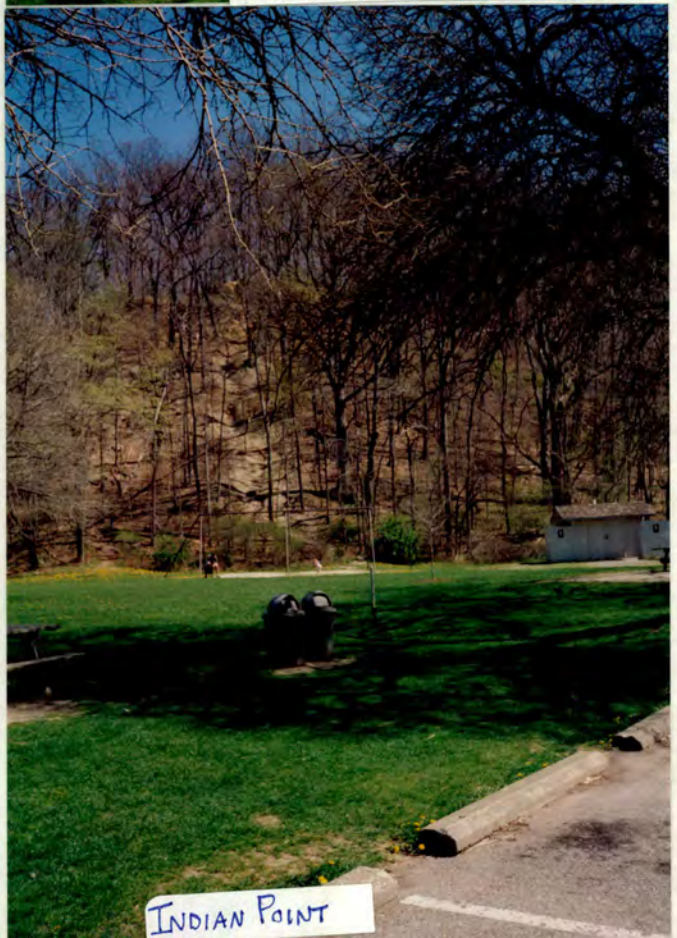
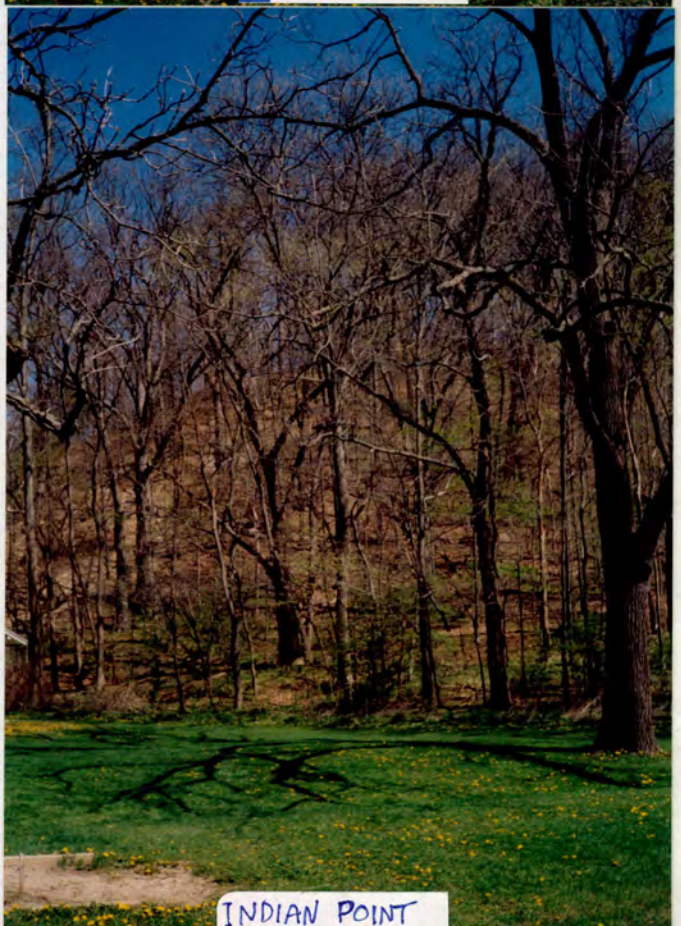
INDIAN POINT


INDIAN POINT

Indian Point — Bedford Reservation

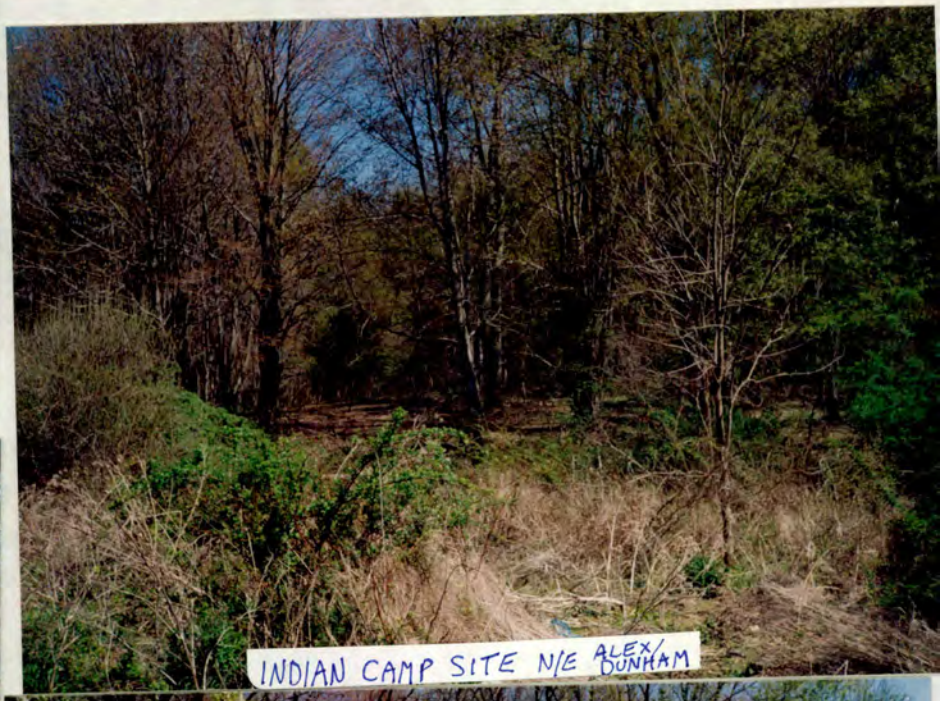


BEDFORD RESERVATION

Indian Sites

INDIAN CAMP SITE N/E ALEX./DUNHAM RDS.

INDIAN CAMP SITE N/E ALEX./DUNHAM RDS



INDIAN CAMP SITE N/E ALEX/DUNHAM

INDIAN CAMP SITE N/E ALEX./DUNHAM RDS.

INDIAN CAMP SITE N/E CORNER ALEX./DUNHAM RDS.

6·2003

INDIAN SITES

Indian Point

INDIAN POINT. A high hill rises up from the flats where Hemlock Creek flows into Tinkers Creek. Its summit is a sharp narrow ridge. On the ridge, evidence of an Indian fort was discovered years ago.

N.E. Alexander/Dunham Roads Camp Site

INDIAN ARTIFACTS were found on the wide stretch of high land north of Alexander Road and east of Dunham Road. The items indicate this was an Indian camp site. (2003 photographs)

CAMP SITES ALONG ALEXANDER ROAD

According to Dr. David Brose, from about 700 AD to 1620 or 1640, Ottawa Indians camped on the high flat land along the north side of the Sagamore River, from Dunham Road westward toward Hub Parkway. Indians returned to the Alexander Road area for a few decades beginning in about 1730.

The camp sites are on both Bedford Reservation land and private land owned by residents and the three churches on Alexander Road. Throughout the years, residents living in the area have uncovered Indian artifacts such as arrowheads, Indian tools, and heaps of uncut flint rock and flint shavings.

CAMP SITES NE of ALEXANDER / DUNHAM ROADS

An Indian camp site was on a wide expanse of high land that rises next to Bedford Reservation's parking lot at the northeast corner of Alexander and Dunham Roads. The Indian camp site continued east toward North Meadowpark Drive and north to Egbert Road. A good part of that camp site is in Bedford Reservation.

Young boys who grew up in that area in the early 1900s related stories of how they spent many hours on the old camp site, playing and scouting for Indian artifacts. During interviews in the 1980s, when they were up in years, they each told about walking every inch of that land and eagerly displayed the Indian artifacts they had collected from the site.

In 1971 a cache of more than 25 Indian game balls, which French fur trappers and traders called *chunkies*, were found along a nearby ridge. The chunkies were found about 1 _ feet below the surface. The sandstone and granite balls of three different sizes could have been used for a bowling or bacci type of game. Two of the chunkies were shaped like those used by a discus hurler. Perhaps when Indians packed up to leave their summer camps, they buried the chunkies and hoped to find them upon their return the next summer.

In 1978-79, just before the Metroparks purchased the land from George Timko, Archaeologist Dr. David Brose, along with Jack and Greg St. John explored the area. They canvassed the parking lot area, the creek at its north, the cliff at its east and the eastern third of the hilltop land. They did a careful excavation of two 10-foot squares. Among their findings were two shell beads, rock scrapers and a piece from an ax that were of Indian origin, a few arrow points, fragments of flint, and a pottery shard.

INDIAN MOUNDS on TINKERS CREEK RIDGE

Longtime residents, many of whom have since passed away, reported seeing a series of Indian burial mounds near Indian Point. Beginning at Dunham Road and going west, there is a long ridge that parallels the north side of Tinkers Creek Road. The site of the mounds is said to have been on that stretch of land on the hilltop. Through the passage of time, trees have grown to mature heights along the entire ridge, making identification questionable and disputable. However, Indians could very well have buried their dead on this hilltop, the hill just west of Indian Point. Part of this area, the land close to Dunham Road, is within Walton Hills boundaries and is now part of the Cuyahoga Valley National Park.

CAMP SITES NORTHEAST of ALEXANDER/DUNHAM ROADS

Stories obtained from interviews with several local residents tell about a large Indian camp site that was on a wide expanse of high land that rises next to Bedford Reservation's parking lot at the northeast corner of Alexander and Dunham Roads. The Indian camp site continued east, past North Meadowpark Drive to Woodlake Drive, and north to Egbert Road. A good part of that camp site is now part of Bedford Reservation.

Jack Willing, Yaro Hesoun and Bob Whittaker, all deceased, grew up in that area. In the early 1900s when they were young boys, they spent many hours on the old camp site, playing and scouting for Indian artifacts. During interviews in the 1980s, when they were up in years, they each told about walking every inch of that land and eagerly displayed the Indian artifacts they had collected from the site.

Willing lived at the northeast corner of Dunham and Alexander Roads on a 172-acre farm. His father owned the property until he lost it during the Depression. Then the Willings moved to another farm at Dunham and Button Roads. Hesoun lived nearby on Dunham Road as did Whittaker until, as an adult, he moved to Tinkers Creek Road.

Bob Timko, who now lives in Sagamore Hills, tells about this Indian camp site. In 1946, when he was 6 years old, his father purchased 80 acres of that farmland, from Alexander to Egbert Road and from Dunham to North Meadowpark Drive. Timko recalls the many Indian artifacts he found on the property.

In 1978-79, just before the Metroparks purchased the land from George Timko, Archaeologist Dr. David Brose, of Case Western Reserve University at the time, along with Jack and Greg St.John explored the area. They canvassed the parking lot area, the creek at its north, the cliff at its east and the eastern third of the hilltop land. They did a careful excavation of two 10-foot squares. Among their findings were two shell beads, rock scrapers and a piece from an ax that were of Indian origin, a few arrow points, fragments of flint, and a pottery shard.

The camp sites are on both Bedford Reservation land and private land owned by residents and the three churches on Alexander Road. One resident, Joe Check, uncovered Indian artifacts near the site. He took them to the Museum of Natural History, but because the artifacts were removed from the site, they could not be authenticated.

In 1922 John and Elsie Rada purchased 66 acres of land along the south side of Alexander Road. Rada found Indian arrowheads, Indian tools and a cache of flint on his property. Today, Rada's son, Jack, and grandson, John, Jr., live on part of the family homestead. John, Jr. donated the Indian artifacts he inherited from his grandfather to the Walton Hills Historical Resource Center.

INDIAN CHUNKIES

In 1971, a cache of more than 25 Indian game balls, which French fur trappers and traders called *chunkies*, were found on private property on a ridge along Woodlake Drive. The residents discovered the chunkies when a wing was added to their house. They were about one and a half feet below the surface. The family took the Indian game balls to the Cleveland Museum of Natural History. Because the chunkies were removed from the site, they could not be authenticated, and the museum could not accept them.

The Chunkies are sandstone and granite balls of three different sizes, scraped to the desired size and shape. The balls could have been used for a bowling or bacci type game. Two of the balls were shaped like those used by a discus hurler. When the Indians packed up to leave their summer camps, they evidently buried their chunkies, and hoped to find them upon their return the next summer.

"Chunkies"
Native Indian Game Balls

Just like we have baseballs and basketballs, the Native Indians had game balls, too. They called them "Chunkies."

Long ago, these game balls belonged to Indians who camped out in "Walton Hills" during the good weather months.

What kinds of games could the Indian adults and children have played with these balls? We know one of their games was similar to our game of Bacci.

Because the game balls are heavy and cumbersome, when the Indian families traveled to their winter campground, they buried the balls in easy-to-find spots, and hoped to retrieve the game balls the next Spring, when they returned.

For some reason, this Indian family never retrieved these game balls.

In the 1970s, these Indian "Chunkies" were found buried about one foot deep near tree roots, at 7485 Woodlake Drive. Construction workers saw the cache of 23 Indian game balls when they were digging a new foundation for an addition to the Wise family home. These Indian "Chunkies" were donated by former residents, Jack and Margaret Wise.

INDIAN CHUNCKIES April, 2003

In 1971 we added an addition to our home at 7485 Woodlake Dr., Walton Hills, Ohio. An area was excavated for a new foundation. Our son Scott (age 10 at the time) found about 25 or so round rocks of different sizes. They ranged from about 2 inches to five or more inches in circumference. He asked his Dad what they were and he was told "Indian baseballs". Being a member of a local YMCA Indian Guide tribe he cleaned them up and stored them away in boxes.

Years later, we were hiking with a group in the area of Walton Hills near the canal and Alexander Road.
We were told this was a campsite of local Indians and were shown a round rock. We were told these were used by Indian children in their games and called Chunkies.

Jean Kainsinger was with the group. She took some of our rocks to the Natural History museum for verification of their authenticity.

We were pleased to realize we still had the round rocks and were happy to share them.

Margaret Wise
300 Tinkers Trail
Aurora, Ohio 44202

EGYPT MOUND

Another possible Indian burial site is Egypt Mound. Egypt Mound is on the east side of Dunham Road, on the flat hilltop across the street from the Astorhurst Golf Course driving range. Today, trees and underbrush conceal the mound's existence.

The mound is roughly triangular in shape, like the bottom of an iron. The two longer sides of the flat iron are about thirty meters long and the shorter end is about ten meters long. It is about eight meters higher than surrounding land. Rounded rocks are scattered around the base.

It is likely that Indians used the formation for a burial mound. Several facts give credence to that possibility. It was close to the Mahoning Trail and it was located in an area used by Indians. Also, Indian Point was located on the hilltop on the north side of Tinkers Creek while Egypt Mound was on the hilltop on the south side of Tinkers Creek.

Part of Egypt Mound was used as a cemetery by the Gleeson family. On the mound is the grave and gravestone of Moses Gleeson's son Edmond, who died in 1854. A fence that had surrounded the burial plot is now gone, and the slabs of sandstone which supported the fence are barely visible. No other grave is in the family plot.

The mound's flat iron shape is peculiar to the shape of other Indian mounds. Joseph Jesensky theorizes the mound became triangular shaped when New York Central Railroad crews were seeking landfill to elevate the track level behind the mound and used part of the mound. For some reason, maybe because they saw evidence of human bones, they stopped digging into the mound. The large rocks scattered around the base of the mound could be rocks that were too large to use for fill.

The mound has been studied a number of times to determine its origin by geologists, archaeologists and others authorized by the state or national government. The reports are inconclusive. The experts can not designate the site an authentic Indian mound. Because the summit of the mound is a family cemetery, their digs were limited with only a few superficial test holes explored.

Since 1982 the mound and its surrounding land are owned by the national government and are part of the Cuyahoga Valley National Park. Egypt Mound, the local landmark that has kept the curious guessing for many years, will keep its secret identity.

Historical Sites in Our Parks: Sights in Cuyahoga Valley National Park and Bedford Reservation within Boundaries of the Village of Walton Hills c. 2004

EGYPT MOUND

Another possible Indian burial site is Egypt Mound. Egypt Mound is on the east side of Dunham Road, on the hillside across the street from the Astorhurst Golf Course driving range. Today, trees and underbrush conceal the mound's existence from the passerby. The mound has been studied a number of times to determine its origin, by geologists, archaeologists and others authorized by the state or national government. The reports conflict with one another.

Egypt Mound sits at the top of the hill on level land. The mound is roughly triangular in shape, like the bottom of an iron. The two longer sides of the "flat iron" are about thirty meters long and the shorter end is about ten meters long. It is about eight meters higher than surrounding land. Rounded rocks are scattered around the base.

It is likely that Indians of long also used the formation for a burial mound. Several facts give credence to that possibility. It was close to the Mahoning Trail and it was located in an area used by Indians. Also, Indian Point was located on the hilltop on the north side of Tinker's Creek while Egypt Mound was on the hilltop on the south side of Tinker's Creek.

Part of Egypt Mound was used as a cemetery by the Gleeson family. On the mound is the grave and gravestone of Moses Gleeson's son Edmond, who died in 1854. A fence that had surrounded the burial plot is now gone, and the slabs of sandstone which supported the fence are barely visible. No other grave is in the family plot.

In 1931 a state archaeologist, Mr. Dunkin, visited the mound with Joseph Jesensky, a Cuyahoga Valley Researcher. Mr. Dunkin thought the mound was an authentic Indian mound, but he did not conduct a dig of the site because of the Gleeson cemetery. His limited exploration at the base of the mound was inconclusive. The mound was surveyed and mapped in the 1930s by Elmer B. Wight, who researched and documented local historic sites.

In 1980 The Cleveland Museum of Natural History was formally authorized by the Federal Government to perform an archaeological investigation of Egypt Mound. Dr. John Hall of the Geology Department at Case Western Reserve University conducted the investigation. Once again, because the summit of the mound was a family cemetery, only a few superficial test holes were explored. Hall concluded in his report that "neither prehistoric cultural materials nor any evidence of prehistoric cultural construction can be documented at the Egypt Mound."

The mound's "flat iron" shape is peculiar to the shape of other Indian mounds. Jesensky has a theory of how the mound became triangular shaped. He thinks that when the New York Central Railroad crews were seeking landfill to elevate the track level behind the mound, they used part of the mound. For some reason, maybe because they saw evidence of human bones, they stopped using that fill. The large rocks scattered around the base of the mound could be rocks that were too large to use for fill.

Jesensky also reasons that the mound could also be of glacial origin. As melting glaciers moved southward through our area they gathered and carried with them many igneous and metamorphic boulders, rocks and sediment from Canada. Geologists call these heaped deposits left here by glaciers *glacial kame*. Glacial kame can be found on several ridges throughout our village.

Today the mound and its surrounding land are owned by the national government who bought it in 1982 to include in the National Park. Egypt Mound, the local landmark that has kept the curious guessing for many years, will keep its secret identity.

Interview with David Brose, Cleveland Museum of Natural History

Indian Point was the site of an ancient Indian fort. It is the flat topped ridge north of the picnic grounds that comes to a point between Hemlock Creek and Tinker's Creek.

Early settlers, including Moses Gleeson, saw evidence of Indian Point being a fort, and in the late 1880's one resident posted a sign that marked the fort site on a nearby tree. (his words repeat the words above)

There are other ridge top areas close by, like Indian Point, that were good fort and village sites. The Indians chose to live on high bluffs or ridges, in spots where they had good views of the Tinker's Creek Valley, where they could send smoke signals to other bands of Indians, and where they could easily defend themselves.

The Indians needed to live near an ample water supply, and Tinker's Creek and its butting hillsides had numerous fresh water springs. Indians wanted to live near plentiful food supply. Both the valley flatlands and the higher grounds in the area had rich soil for growing corn and yielded many nuts and berries and wild vegetables and herbs. The salt licks especially at the mouth of Deerlick Creek attracted many wild animals and made hunting an easier chore. The creeks provided plentiful fish and wild turkeys and other game birds flocked in the area.

Many bands of Indians had more than one campsite. Probably they summered here and wintered somewhere else where the weather was less severe.

Artifacts from the site indicate Indian Point was a fort site more than a village; or a village within a fort.

There are negligible archaeological remains in our village today. Settlers farmed; their main preoccupation was providing shelter for the families and eking out an existence from the land.

But, as busy as they were, several sites were reported and recorded by amateur archaeologists. Unfortunately, our area suffered from neglect by the professional archaeologists. No genuine survey or dig was conducted in our area by persons who could have documented ancient Indian sites.

A Cleveland lawyer who was keenly interested in local geology and archaeology was Charles Whittlesey. From 1837 until at least 1871 Colonel Whittlesey trekked the Cuyahoga Valley area, carefully surveying and mapping Indian hilltop forts and earthworks. For years he gathered data about possible Indian sites, then repeatedly checked them out himself. He was the 1st President of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

In 1871 he published the comprehensive study of his work (he published it himself) entitling it: "Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio."

Unfortunately for us, Whittlesey's concentrated study did not include the Tinker's Creek Valley.

The Importance of Salt in Tinkers Creek and its Tributaries

Did you ever wonder why the Tinkers Creek Valley became a historic area?
Perhaps it could be evaporated into one word – **Salt**.
Salt (silica) is one of the minerals in the porous, sometimes brittle Sedimentary Rock.

Salt

Cliffs of exposed sandstone and shale frame the sides of Tinkers Creek and its tributaries in the Bedford Reservation area. After a heavy rain or period of melting snow, water seeps through the rock, and trickles down into the Creek.

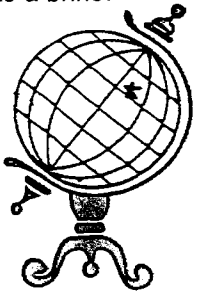
The rain water carries the salt with it. Some of the salt collects on the exposed rocks in the creek bottom, dries out, and adheres to the bed rocks.

Animals, big and small, need salt. Through the years, being the smart creatures that they are, animals living in and around this area frequented Tinkers Creek. Salt deposits are under the rocks, and when rushing water filters through the rocks, dissolved salt mixes with the fresh water, providing animals their mineral salt requirements. Animals paw at the exposed rocks and lick the salt off them.

Bands of **Native Americans** chose to camp on the hillsides of the Tinkers Creek Valley. They knew this was a good hunting area, where they could easily obtain meat and animal skins.

Here, the squaws collected salt. The women found, or made, a hollow near the edge of the creek, filled it with water, let the water evaporate, and scraped out the salt.

Salt enabled the squaws to make **jerky**. We have beef jerky, theirs was probably venison jerky. Each Summer the women made enough jerky for their families to chew each traveling day, as they trekked to their Winter camp. The jerky provided the travelers with salt and protein. They made a brine solution by continuing to add small amounts of water into the hollow, letting it evaporate, and repeating the process until it was a brine. Then they soaked long narrow strips of meat in the brine. When ready, the women strung the strips of venison on tree limbs to dry.



Fur Trappers knew this was an area to get a plentiful supply of pelts. There were two Trading Posts along Tinkers Creek. One was by the Cuyahoga River and the other was by Indian Point / Hemlock Creek Pavilion in Bedford Reservation. This area attracted the **Early Settlers** for the same reasons.

Tinkers Creek

Tinkers Creek, the largest tributary of the Cuyahoga River, begins in Streetsboro, in the Twin Lakes area by Kent Ohio, and winds its way westward. It curves through Bedford Reservation and flows into the Cuyahoga River. Several streams empty into Tinkers Creek, but two of its major tributaries, Deerlick Creek and Hemlock Creek empty into Tinkers Creek in Walton Hills. Tinkers Creek and its tributaries supply one third of the water that flows into the Cuyahoga River.

Except for when it flows through Bedford Reservation, Tinkers Creek is a calm, slow-moving stream. In the park area the elevation of the land drops considerably, and the river plunges abruptly in a series of cascades and waterfalls, and carries with it **salt**.

Scenic cliffs of exposed sandstone and shale frame the sides of Tinkers Creek in the Bedford Reservation area. For over 12,000 years Tinkers Creek has been carving out a valley through this area. Its steep-walled gorge is one-half mile in length and one hundred ninety feet deep at the Gorge observation platform. The creek bottom is littered with worn-down rocks of many sizes, a result of the cascades and waterfalls.

Sedimentary Rock in our Area

Exposed Mississippian Era shale and sandstone that is 300 million years old engulf the sides of Tinkers Creek. The unique rock is named **The Bedford Formation**. **This brittle, soft rock is made of thin layers of shale alternating with thin layers of sandstone.** The rock is visible in the cascades, waterfalls, and rapids throughout the park, and along the walls of the gorge. The Bedford Formation was first described and named here, designating Bedford Reservation a "type locality." This rock is also seen nearby in other gorges throughout northeast Ohio. One can also see exposed layers of sandstone, especially **Berea Sandstone**, and **Cleveland Shale** usually found at a lower level, and **Chagrin Shale** at a still lower level.

by Jean and Bob Kainsinger

Notes from Joe Jesensky: "INDIAN POINT"

All quotes:
"At the junction of Wood Creek (Hemlock Creek) and Tinker's Creek a high hill rises up from the flats. Its sides are very steep and its summit is a sharp narrow ridge.

Near the tip of this ridge evidences of an ancient Indian fort was discovered years ago. In the late 1880's an early settler (Cub Carey told Joe Jesensky that a family member did this) posted a sign on a tree pointing out the site of the fort. At that time a double row of earth trenches were plain to see along with the rotted remains of log stockade posts.

Within this area were numerous fire pits with charred stones, bones and camp refuse.

In the late 1920's not a trace of those could be seen.

In 1929 while tramping across an old corn field nearby, I discovered a flint implement; a flint drill, which could have come from the fort site.

The site was a well-chosen one for the ridge commanded an excellent view of the entire valley upstream and down, and the smoke from the signal fires at the mouth of Tinker's Creek could easily be seen from here."

Joe Jesensky and Mr. Donkin, a local Cleveland archaeologist from the State Archaeological Society described their trip to see Indian Point on 10-2-1931:

All quotes by Joe Jesensky:
"A long narrow high peninsula at the junction of Hemlock Creek and Tinker's Creek:
45 years before 1931 a double row of ditches across the narrowest part of the peninsula was seen.

Also seen in 1851 by Moses Gleeson, were evidences of an Indian village site as reported by Moses Gleeson, one of the early land owners. This site, said to be Algonquin origin, was evidences by piles of burnt stones of Indian fireplaces and other kinds of camp midden (refuse). A stockade of logs must have helped secure the site as some evidence of long-rotted tree stumps or posts were seen at that time.

Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Lower Tinkers Creek Region – David Brose, Cleveland Museum of Natural History, 1975

Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Lower Tinkers Creek Region – David Brose, Cleveland Museum of Natural History, 1975

1. Brose's Legend of Native American Sites in this area
2. Brose's List of Historic Native American Sites in this area
3. Brose's Map

Brose's Legend of Native American Sites in this Area
Compiled by David Brose; "Preliminary Archeological Reconnaissance of the Lower Tinkers Creek and Cuyahoga Valley"- December 1975

Paleo Sites:

Only 3: Campbell Site #12 | Hillside Road Site #23 | Doubler Site #51

Early Archaic Sites: 10,000 BC to approximately 5,000 BC

Hogue's Spring #5 | Merkle Site-2 #18 | Parks Area-6 #56
Porbe Field Site #50 | Regis Site #48 | Bernstein Site #33

Middle Archaic Sites: 5,000 BC to 2,000 BC

Poroznski Site #20 | Dziczkowski Site #35 | Townhall Site #11 | Tulip Tree Site #16
Chamberlain Site #34 | Kolis Site #39 | Rizer Site #43 | Pilgurrah Site #7
Terra Vista No. 1 #24 | Doubler Hill #52 | Johnson Site #53

Late Archaic Sites: BC 2,000 to 800 AD

Terra Vista No. 2 #25 | Campbell Cemetery #26 | Grader Site #7
G's Folley Site #22 | Wild Bull Site #36 | Johnson Site #53

Early Woodland Sites: BC 800 to 100 AD (only a few in Northern Ohio)

Soldat Site #47 | Townhall Site #11 | G's Folly Site #22 | Johnson Site #53

Middle Woodland Sites: BC 100 to 500 AD

Gleeson Mound #9 and Gleeson Village #10 (typically Hopewellian-conical)
Johnson Site #54 (Hopewellian)
Backhoe Site #8 | Baumann South Field #55 (Hopewellian)
Winters-Brown Site #21 | Koth Site #44 (Hopewellian) | Rizer Site #43
Porbe Field #50 | Campbell Site #12 | Porozynski Site #20
Parks Area-6 #56 | South Park Site #13

Early to Late Woodland Sites: 500 AD to 1,000 AD

Wittaker Site #27 | La-Lo Site #28 | Drivers Site #29 | Golf Lot Site #31
Baumann North Field #49 | Johnson Site #53

Terminal to Late Woodland Sites: 1,000 AD to 1600 AD

South Park Site #13 | Cerney Hall #6 | Campbell Site #12 | Crissey Site #14
Hogback Site #19 | Hillside Road Site #23 | Terra Vista No. 2 #25 | Carey Field Site #32
Whittlesey Fort #38 | Doubler Field #51 | Doubler Hill #52 | Bluff Road Site #37

Brose's List of Historic Native American Sites in this Area

Site	Type	Time Period
1. Fosdick Road	Historic Cemetery	1820-1840
2. Harper Family	Historic Cemetery	1835-1860
3. Thornberg District	Historic Lock	1820-1860
4. Byerly Stage Coach	Historic Stage Coach Stop	1840-1850
5. Hogue's Spring	Archaic Campsite	7000 BC to 5000 BC
6. Cerney Hall	Prehistoric Burials	1300-1600
7. Pilgurrah	Moravian Mission	1789-1790
8. Backhoe	Canal Campsite	1830s-1850s
9. Gleeson Mound	Ceremonial Burial Mound	1 AD to 500 AD
10. Gleeson Village	Prehistoric Village	1 AD to 500 AD
11. Townhall Site	Archaic Campsite	4000 BC to 500 AD
12. Campbell Site	Prehistoric Campsite	1000 AD to 1600 AD
13. Southpark Site.	Prehistoric Village	1000 AD to 1600 AD
14. Crissey Site	Prehistoric Village	1000 AD to 1500 AD
15. Schreiber Road Site	Historic Refuse Dump	1860-1880
16. Tulip Tree Site	Archaic Campsite	2500 BC to 500 AD
17. Grader Site	Archaic Campsite	1000 BC to 500 AD
18. Merkle #2 Site	Archaic Campsite	7000 BC to 6000 BC
19. Hogback Site	Flint Working Site	-
20. Porozynski Site	Archaic Village	3500 BC to 1000 BC
21. Winters-Brown Site	Flint Working Site	1 AD to 500 AD
22. G's Folly Site	Prehistoric Campsite	1000 BC to 1000 AD
23. Hillside Road Site	Prehistoric Village	1300 AD to 1500 AD
24. Terra Vista #1 Site	Archaic Village	2000 BC to 1000 BC
25. Terra Vista #2 Site	Prehistoric Village	1000 AD to 1600
26. Campbell Cemetery	Historic Cemetery	1815-1860
27. Whittaker Site	Prehistoric Campsite	500 AD to 1000 AD
28. La-Lo Site	Prehistoric Campsite	500 AD to 1000 AD
* 29. Drivers Site	Prehistoric Campsite	600 AD to 900 AD
* 30. Roadside Site	Stagecoach Inn	1850-1860
* 31. Golf Lot Site	Prehistoric Campsite	-
32. Carey Field Site	Prehistoric Village	1200 AD to 1400 AD
33. Bernstein Site	Archaic Campsite	5000 BC to 3000 BC
34. Chamberlain Site	Archaic Campsite	3500 BC to 1000 BC
* 35. Dziczkowski Site	Archaic Village	3500 BC to 1000 BC
* 36. Wild Bull Site	-	Late Archaic Site

Brose's List of Historic Native American Sites in this Area

(continued)

Site	Type	Time Period
37. Bluff Road Site	Prehistoric Hunting Camp	1300 AD to 1600 AD
38. Whittlesey Fort #4	Prehistoric Campsite	1300 AD to 1600 AD
39. Kolis Site	Archaic Campsite	3000 BC to 500 BC
* 40. Dunham Road Site	Historic House	1820-1830
41. Council Tree	Sycamore Tree marks Indian Muskingum Trail	19th Century
42. Mahoning Trail Tree	Plaque on Oak Tree marks Sagamore-Mahoning Trail	19th Century
* 43. Rizer Site	Prehistoric Campsite	-
* 44. Koth's Site	Ceremonial Cache	200 BC to 300 AD
* 45. Porbe Site	Historic House	1870s
46. Flood Fort Site	Historic Ottawa Village	1750s
47. Soldat Site	Prehistoric Mound and Village	500 BC to 1 AD
48. Regis Site	Archaic Campsite	5000 BC to 4000 BC
* 49. Baumann North Field	Prehistoric Campsite	600 BC to 300 AD
* 50. Porbe Field Site	Archaic Campsite	-
51. Doubler Field Site	Prehistoric Campsite	1000 AD to 1500 AD
52. Doubler Hill Site	Prehistoric Campsite	1100 AD to 1400 AD
53. Johnson Site	Prehistoric Village and Campsite	3000 BC to 1000 AD
54. Johnson Mound Site	Ceremonial Mound	1 AD to 350 AD
* 55. Baumann South Field	Prehistoric Village	1 AD to 350 AD
56. Park's Area 6	Archaic Campsite	6000 BC to 4000 BC

Native Americans

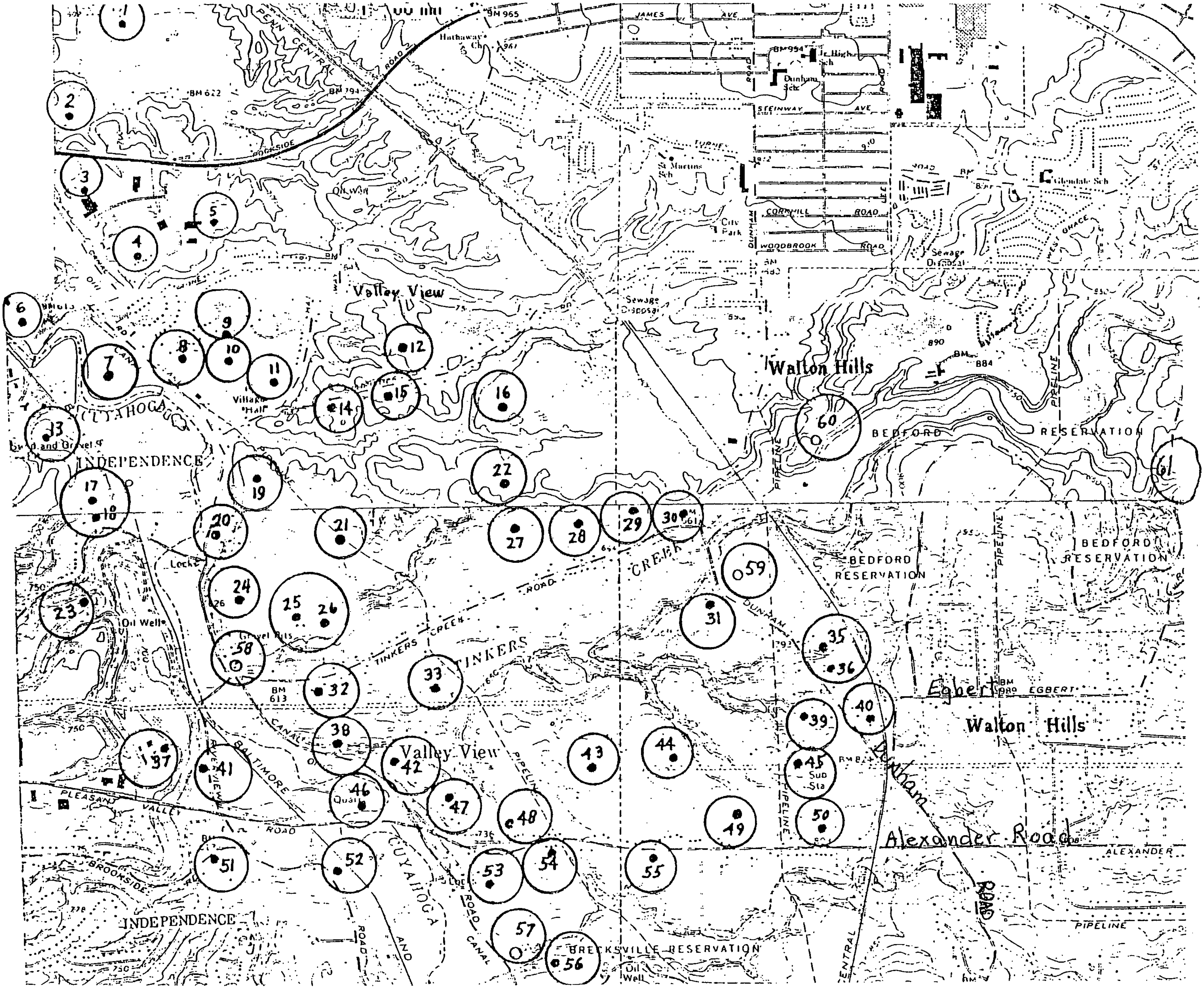
On this Web Site also see Links about Historic Sites in Bedford Reservation and Cuyahoga Valley National Park:

Book: *The Village of Walton Hills – Tracing Our Heritage*, by Jean and Robert Kainsinger, c. 1986
p. 10-13 p.63-65 p. 71-72

Book: *Historical Sites in Our Parks: Historic Sites in Cuyahoga Valley National Park and Bedford Reservation within the Boundaries of the Village of Walton Hills*, by Jean and Bob Kainsinger, c. 2004, 2006
entire book

Maps Album: Many of the maps are of historic sites in Bedford Reservation and Cuyahoga Valley National Park

Also: Additional written material, photos and items are on exhibit at the Walton Hills Historical Resource Center, Community Room, Walton Hills Village Hall, corner of Walton and Alexander Roads, Walton Hills Ohio


Walton Hills
Valley View
Independence
Bedford Reservation
Brecksville Reservation
Cuyahoga
Tinkers Creek Road
Dunham Road
Alexander Road
Egbert
Pipeline
Penn Central
Baltimore
Canal Road
Pleasant Valley Road
Brookside
James Ave
Steinway Ave
Cornhill Road
Woodbrook Road
Jr High Sch
Dunham Sch
St Martins Sch
Glendale Sch
City Park
Sewage Disposal
Village Hall
Oil Well
Locks
Quarry
Sub Sta

CHAPTER 3

INDIAN TRAILS

From as early as 3500 BC and as recently as the late 1700s, bands of Indians traveled through Walton Hills areas of Bedford Reservation and Cuyahoga Valley National Park. The entire stretch of Dunham Road and the west section of Alexander Road were once part of major Indian trails. Depending on their purpose, their needs and their haste, the Indians used alternative paths to get to their destinations. Some paths led to hunting grounds, some were primarily for traveling, others for scouting, and still others were war paths.

Some Indian trails went north and west to Lake Erie, Lake Huron, Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. Some went northeast towards Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. Others led south to the Gulf of Mexico.

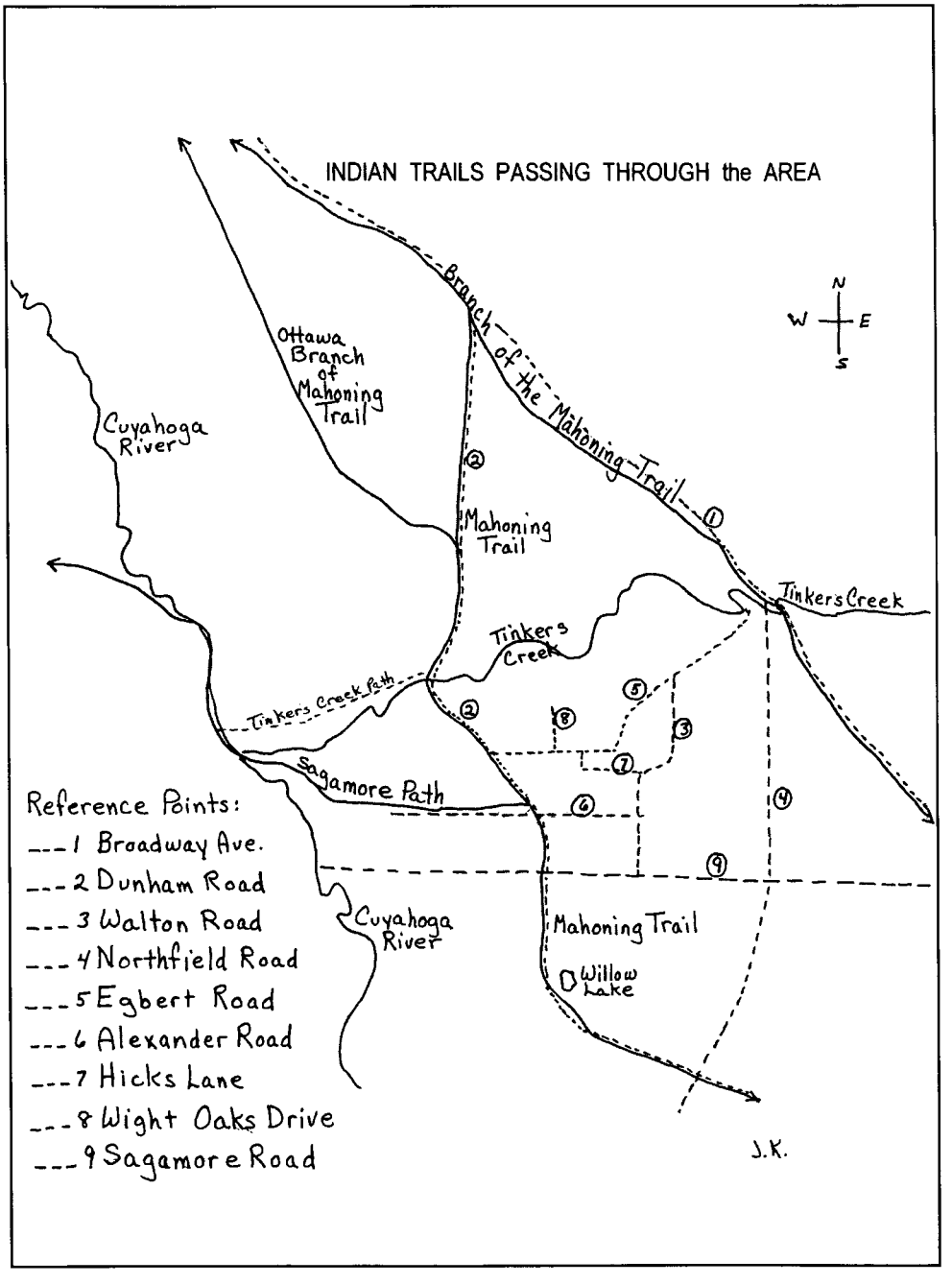
In 1914, local men who were interested in preserving Ohio history formed the Indian Pathfinders Association No. 1. Using information researched from a variety of sources, they made detailed maps in the early 1930s of Indian trails that passed through Walton Hills and the State of Ohio. The founder and president of the Pathfinders was Elmer B. Wight, past owner of the Cleveland Hills Farm on Wight Oaks Lane in Walton Hills. The secretary of the group was Virgil D. Allen, Sr., father of the first mayor of the Village of Walton Hills.

The MAHONING TRAIL

Dunham Road, from its south end to its north end was part of a major Indian route. Called the Mahoning Trail, it started where the three rivers meet in Pittsburgh, worked its way through Ohio, and ended in Detroit.

The Mahoning Trail was not only used by several Indian tribes. French explorers, fur trappers and traders traveled along the trail as did French, English and American soldiers. Pioneers and settlers moving to western home sites also used the Mahoning Trail.

During frontier years this great trail connected Fort Pitt and Fort Detroit, the two most important outposts in the Northwest Territory. Commercial pack trains transported goods between the two forts, stopping at trading posts along the way. Our parklands were camping spots for these travelers.


INDIAN TRAILS PASSING THROUGH the AREA
Branch of the Mahoning Trail
Ottawa Branch of Mahoning Trail
Cuyahoga River
Mahoning Trail
Tinkers Creek
Tinkers Creek
Tinkers Creek Path
Sagamore Path
Cuyahoga River
Mahoning Trail
Willow Lake
N
W
E
S
Reference Points:
1 Broadway Ave.
2 Dunham Road
3 Walton Road
4 Northfield Road
5 Egbert Road
6 Alexander Road
7 Hicks Lane
8 Wight Oaks Drive
9 Sagamore Road
J.K.

The OTTAWA PATH

Where the Mahoning Trail forded Tinkers Creek and headed north, the trail was referred to as the Ottawa Branch of the Mahoning Trail. Starting in Walton Hills, the Ottawa Branch climbed Dunham Road hill and continued to Turney Road, Broadway Avenue, and onward to Lake Erie.

The SAGAMORE PATH

A well used branch of the Mahoning Trail was called the Sagamore Path. At Dunham and Alexander Roads, the Sagamore Path went west, following the northern ridge of Sagamore Creek. It crossed Alexander Road near Hub Industrial Park. Then it veered north, followed the ridge, and continued north toward Tinkers Creek.

Sagamore Path became a supply route to western outposts. Provisions and furs were traded along the way. Moravian Missionaries who in 1786 set up a temporary village of Pilgerruh near Hathaway and Canal Roads, recorded seeing lengthy commercial pack horse trains moving slowly along the Sagamore Path. Missionaries sometimes saw pack trains consisting of ten men leading 90 horses laden with flour, bacon and other supplies. Pack trains headed for Lake Erie where the goods were shipped by boat to Sandusky and then to Detroit.

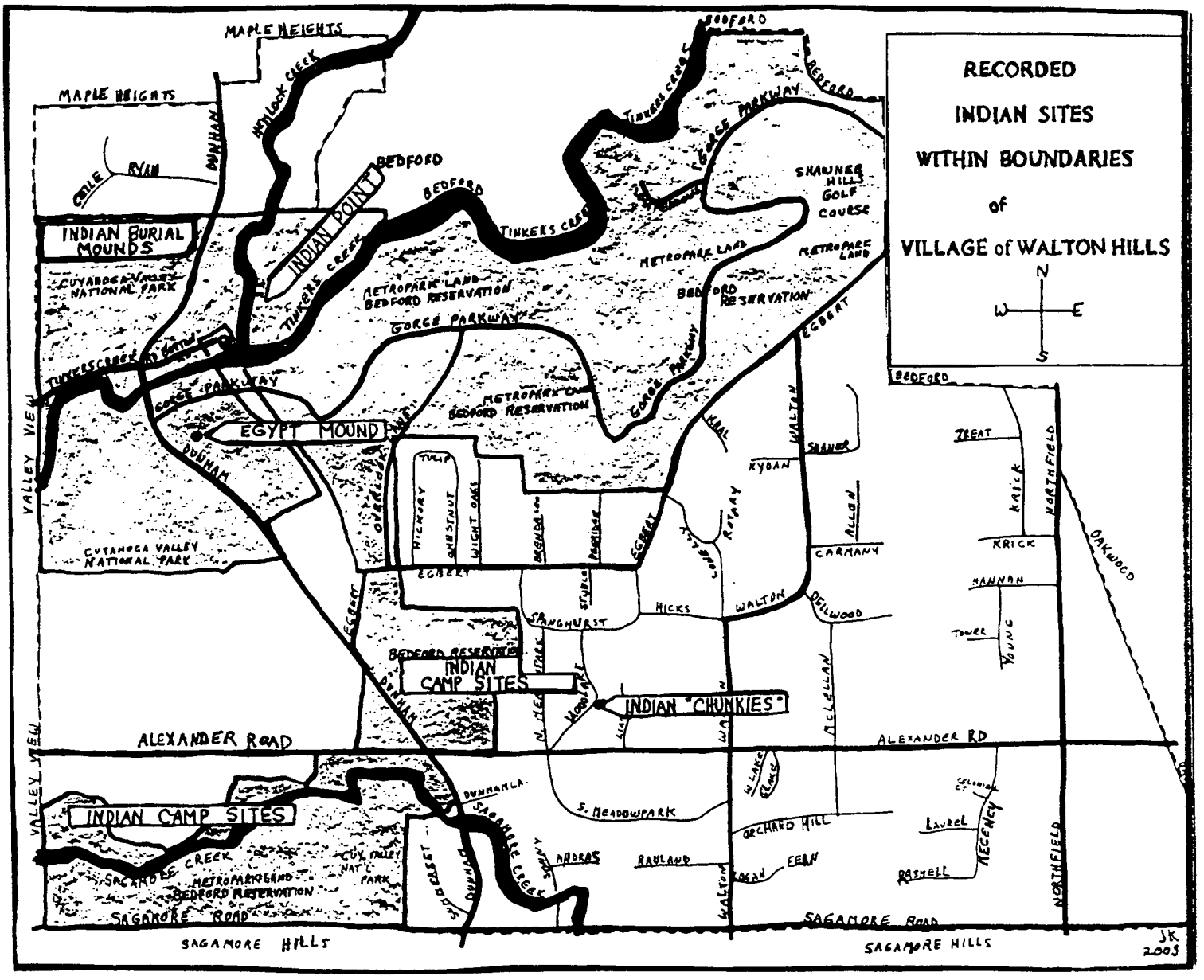
An ALTERNATE ROUTE

Another Indian path along the Mahoning Trail started where Dunham Road meets Tinkers Creek. It followed the north ridge paralleling Tinkers Creek Road and went west to the Cuyahoga River.

A MODERN DAY TRAIL - The BUCKEYE TRAIL

The Buckeye Trail is included here to differentiate between the historic trails and this modern trail. The Buckeye Trail Association was established in 1959, and is an Ohio nonprofit association. Volunteers planned, marked and mapped over 1100 miles of trails encircling the state of Ohio. They work closely with the National Park Service and local parks to plan routes and coordinate efforts. In Walton Hills, the trail passes through Bedford Reservation and CVNP.

RECORDED INDIAN SITES
Within BOUNDARIES of VILLAGE of WALTON HILLS



LETTER FOLLOWED THE INTERVIEW I HAD W/ LYNN + ANDREW JONES 8-19-1985 J.K.

BUCKEYE TRAIL ASS'N. INC.
P. O. BOX 254
WORTHINGTON, OHIO 43085

Oct. 9, 1985

To Jean Kainsinger:

(1) Here's a map of the Trail showing its route through the counties of Ohio.

(2) We don't have a brochure that gives the history of the Trail, but here's some information.

Sometime in 1959, Meryl Gilfillan wrote an article for the Columbus Dispatch, advocating a state Trail. A meeting followed, attended by a small number of interested people. The original concept called for a Trail from Lake Erie near Cleveland to the Ohio River. This was completed in 1969. Then it was decided to extend the Trail around the state. It is now about 1,200 miles long.

(3) Local contact people

The best person to contact is our president: Emily S. Gregor (mrs. stanley)
6502 Olde York Rd.
Parma Hts, OH 44130
phone (216) 884-0281 Home

THE BUCKEYE TRAIL

"Follow the blue blazes" along
The Buckeye Trail, the path that links the four corners of Ohio.

BUCKEYE TRAIL ASSOCIATION, INC.
P.O. Box 254
Worthington, Ohio 43085

Indians

Notes: Ottawa Trail was traced by Mr. Donkin, State Archaeologist from Cleveland, Ohio.
Map of the trails was drawn up by Cleveland engineers: Elmer Wight, Virgil Allen
(Joe Jesensky: Pages from a Tinker's Creek Sketch Book 1923-1933)

Notes: Interview with Joe Jesensky 1984

Erie, Huron, Miami, Wyandot, Potowatomie, Delaware, Ottawa and Iroquois Indians lived or passed through this area.

Moses Cleaveland's surveying party met the Ottawas who were living here.

In the Cuyahoga Valley, the Erie were driven out by the Iroquois
The Iroquois declared ownership; they didn't want other tribes to he here; they were the most powerful group of Indians in this area. They bought ammo and weapons from Dutch fur trappers.

The local trails around the Cuyahoga Valley were the main route to St. Lawrence River, Gulf of Mexico, Great Lakes area

The Indians regarded The Cuyahoga Valley as neutral territory.

After the Iroquois drove the Erie out of the area, Indians used this valley as a transient travel area.

Hermit Hollow Mound: This mound is near the former cabin site of the old Hermit of Tinker's Creek. Mr. Donkin reported that it was not an Indian mound but of glacial origin. This may or may not be true - its nearness to the fort directly across the creek could suggest its use as a burial site. Joe Jesensky

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Interview with David Brose, Cleveland Museum of Natural History:

The area where the Sacred Heart Church and the Hungarian Church are located on Alexander Rd:
Ottawa Indians lived there from 700 AD to 1620 or 1640
Then there was a 100 year gap. Starting about 1730, Indians passed by, along the trail used the area

---

Interview with Joseph Check, Alexander Road resident 10-1985
Before it was the Gospel House property, Joe frequently dug around, looking for artifacts
About 1 1/2 feet deep, he found a spearhead and scraper made out of flint
2 big chunks of flint and small pieces of flint
He found these items about 100 steps behind where the church is today,
by the east side of the building, all in one spot. The parking lot covers the area today.
He took the items to the Museum of Natural History, but because they were disturbed,
the museum didn't want them.
Notes:

On the east side of the hill along Woodlake Drive (Jack Wise property)
When the Wises were excavating for an addition onto their house, the excavator found 32 Indian "Chunkies" buried about a foot or so under the ground, in the woods to the rear of their house. Chunkies is the name we give to Indian game balls. Indians buried their "toys" for use the next summer, when they would return to their Summer Camp site.

Indian Game Balls

The Wises took the game balls to the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, but because they were disturbed, the museum didn't want them. They gave some to each of their 3 children and some to Jean Kainsinger. The balls are in 3 different sizes, most are of sandstone, a few are granite and they had been scraped to become round. One game ball, not round, but shaped like a 1 1/2 inch thick pancake, looks like a discus, for discus throwing.

Interview with Jack St. John

Timko Property NE corner of Alexander and Dunham Roads : Now part of the Metropark
This hillside was used by Indians.

Archaeological dig 1978-1979 This was a year before the Metroparks bought the Timko land.

David Brose who was then with the Museum of Natural History, but was with Case Western Reserve, Archaeological Dept. that year, 1986, Jack St. John and his son, Greg St. John explored the area together.

They explored: the lower section of the Timko land (Metropark parking lot) , creek at its north, cliff at its east; the eastern third of the property

They did a careful excavation of two 10'x10' squares.

They found: 2 shell beads
piece of deer jaw
1 pottery shard
fragments of flint
rock scrapers
a few arrow points
an ax celt ??

SUMMARY: (Tinker's Creek & Lower Cuyahoga Valley)

by David Brose - 1975

This preliminary survey represents a sample rather than an exhaustive listing. There are many other sites not yet discovered. What sites have been discovered clearly indicate that the valley was occupied by various wandering bands of prehistoric American Indians - some time between 10,000 and 12,000 years ago. By 8,000 to 10,000 B.C. small family groups of early Indians were camping at bluff-edge and bottomland locations, near springs or small streams. By 3,000 to 6,000 B.C. archaic Indians had established small villages near the edges of upland plateaus overlooking the valley, as well as many of the larger tributaries. The camps were only a part of the mobile settlement-subsistance system, which also included small, special purpose campsites on the floodplains and the plateau interiors. This pattern of land use continued with little change until about 1,000 B.C., when elaborate burials began to be placed on the gravel knolls and kames on the plateau north of Tinker's Creek-Cuyahoga River junction. By the early woodland period-500 B.C.- major village occupations shifted to low saddles on the bluff edges and at least one artificial burial mound is associated with one such ~~burial mound~~ village, south of Tinker's Creek. During the Middle Woodland period there was an apparent shift to floodplain terrace occupation for villages, seasonally complimentary with bluff-edge campsites. In the Tinker's Creek area artificial burial mounds are located both on bottomland alluvial terraces and just back from the bluff-edge on the upland plateau. During the Late Woodland period the Tinker's Creek area major village sites show the shift from several floodplain terrace occupations (A.D. 500-1,000) to fewer secondary stream junction and low saddle ridge occupation (A.D. 1,000-1,300) to a single major fortified village site on a steep-sided, isolated promontory (A.D. 1,300-1,620). This shift is also reflected by the increasing importance of floodplain agriculture and the strong evidence for special seasonal economic activity in the

numerous small campsites located in the region. The earliest historical archeological sites in the Tinker's Creek region are an Upper Great Lakes-related village site with strong French economic ties, dated to the mid-18th Century and the probable site of Pillgeruh, the 1786-7 Moravian Mission. Today, the interior upland plateaus are still basically undeveloped wooded ravines and flat tablelands, which, to a remarkable degree, still support many of the same species of fauna which served the economic needs of the early Indian occupants.

Note:My Comments (JDJ): While the area described covers only a small portion of the Cuyahoga Valley and one major tributary (Tinker's Creek) the analysis and description of the various cultrual activities may well apply to the rest of the upper Cuyahoga Valley, and all other mjor large tributaries, as evidenced by the findings of past, though limited, arhceological study. Chippewa, Brandywine and Yellow Creeks, and Furnace Run, as well as other, lesser tributaries in the Summit Co. region, all offer the same topographic situations as do the numerous broad floodplains and bottomland situations. The reference to the Late Woodland Period practice of situating single major fortified villages on narrow, steep-sided promontory locations might be the answer to our "forts", etc. in the valley and update them from a previously believed more-ancient period to a more recent one, which might well be atributed to the Erie people. Although Mr. Brose never once mentioned the Eries specifically, he did refer to various Iroquois aspects among some of the artifacts found in that region, which would mean the Eries.

828

"*Indians of the Cuyahoga Valley and Vicinity*" Book by Bloetscher p.1

Archaic Indians 7000 BC and forward

Late in the Archaic Period the Glacial Kame people (a sub-culture) They got their name by burying their dead in the hills of gravel deposited by the glacier. They lived in the Cuyahoga Valley, from Northhampton to Akron-Canton area

Mound Builders: Adena 1000-300 BC and Hopewell 300 BC - 700 AD

Adena Indians

They lived in the Cuyahoga. Valley, from Boston Mills area southward. They mostly hunted for their meat and gathered wild food.

But, they also started to farm.

They were probably the first people of our area to cut trees for farming.

They didn't really cut the tree, they girdled them, so leaves would no longer grow and the tree would die.

They burned the underbrush and planted their seeds in the ashes. We have evidence of their having grown pumpkins, squash and sunflowers. --seeds found in excavations of Adena mounds--

They probably also grew tobacco and maize.

Hopewell Indians

They did more farming, including herbs and other medicine plants.

They had established trade routes to satisfy a wide variety of wants and needs. They traded to get hematite, copper and flint. They traded with Indian tribes who lived along the Atlantic coast, a stretch of coast along the Gulf of Mexico and west to upper Mississippi River, to Minnesota, Missouri, Wisconsin.

These Indians traded for a wide variety of possessions from sharkskin to copper to hematite to mica.

Early late Woodland Period Indians

Little is known about the Indians who inhabited the Cuyahoga Valley between 700 AD and 1000 AD

Erie Indians 1000 AD - 1650 AD -- also called the Late Woodland Period

They lived south of Lake Erie, from Erie Pa. to Toledo Ohio. We don't know how far south of Lake Erie.

Erie Indians were called the Cat Nation by the French. They had many permanent and stockaded towns, villages were located on high land bordering the many rivers and streams that fed into Lake Erie.

They built circular houses. An Erie village had a stockade around it.. 2 rows of logs that were nearly 30 feet high.

Erie forts and lookout posts and signal stations dotted the Cuyahoga River ridges.

Colonel Whittlesey recorded the following hilltop fortifications:

Soldat site east of Cuyahoga River and north of Alexander (just west of Hub Parkway on a "private" drive.

None of his documented sites were in Walton Hills.

The primary enemies of the Cat Nation were their eastern neighbors. In 1654 the Erie Tribe was decisively defeated by the Iroquois Nation.

The Iroquois Indians

The Iroquois formed a confederation of 5 Nations in about 1570. For many years afterwards no one could withstand the combined might of the Iroquois League. It is said that the US Constitution, Bill of Rights and the Articles of Confederation all were influenced by the UNWRITTEN constitution of the Iroquois Confederation.

The Iroquois Nation was made up of 5 tribes: Iroquois, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Mohawk

The Iroquois Linguistic Tribes included: Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida, Tuscarora, Huron Neutral, Erie Honniasont, Susquehanock, Wenroe, Petun-the Tobacco Nation.

The Iroquois were on good terms with the English.
In 1682 the Ottawa moved and settled to Maumee River, the Miami moved to the Miami River and the Wyandot moved to the Scioto River area.

1682 Cuyahoga Valley was not settled by one nation as were other Ohio Valleys. Bloetscher feels it is because Iroquois claimed this area and although they didn't live her, other tribes moved into this area only when the Iroquois were distracted by war, etc. and were busy elsewhere.

The main reason for the location of so many villages in the Cuyahoga Valley area is that it was an important crossroad of east-west and north-south travel, either on foot or by canoe.

Ottawa and their Chief Pontiac were enemies of the British. France promised to help the Indians but didn't. In 1765 Chief Pontiac and several Indian tribes who joined him in a big fight to regain Indian territory west, had to surrender and sign a peace treaty with the English. In the treaty, The Royal Proclamation Line: English had the Appalachian Mountains and eastward and the Indians had the land west of the mountains.

The Pontiac led the attack in 1763. The plan was to attack all the forts of the English.
These tribes joined Chief Pontiac and his Ottawa Tribe: Chickasaw, Cree, Potowatomie, Kickapoo, Wipissing, Chipewa, Wyandot, Miami, Ottawa, Shawnee, Saux, Lenape, Fox and Seneca Cayuga nations of the Iroquois tribe.

The Indians of the Cuyahoga Valley were most actively engaged in hostilities against the settlers during the years between 1760 and 1790. No real battles were fought, but there were raids to burn, plunder and kill.

The Indian villages along the Cuyahoga were well concealed and secure, far from the trails used by the White people. So, an Indian war party could strike the settlers and no one would know who to blame.

"*Indians of the Cuyahoga Valley and Vicinity*" Book by Bloetscher p.3

The Cuyahoga Valley Indians were unhappy with the agreements made by the treat Chief Pontiac signed with the English in 1765.
Even though the Cuyahoga Valley was west of the Royal Proclamation Line of 1763, surveyors, squatters, land agents and hunters were in the valley.

1765: There were lots of squirmishes between the Indians and Settlers.

Mingos and Ottawas lived in this area then. Chief Logan's family (not Him) were killed by whites. Chief Logan was a Cayuga Chief of the Mingos at Riverview and Yellow Creek Roads.

Between the US and the Indians:
The Treaty of Fort McIntosh in 1785. Some of the Indian nations ceded lands east and south of the line formed by the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas Rivers.

The Treaty of Greenville in 1795. This treaty reaffirmed the Fort McIntosh Treaty and once again made the Cuyahoga River the boundary between the US and Indian Territory.

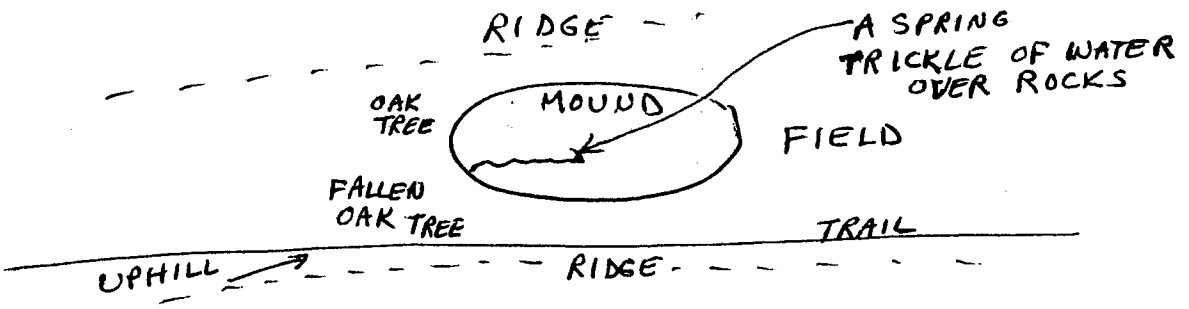
The Treaty of Fort Industry in 1805 (near Toledo). It moved the Greenville Treaty line to the western boundaries of the Western Reserve. The local Indians started moving west, but there were still about 200 or so in the Cuyahoga Valley area when the settlers began arriving. Very soon after the Treaty of Fort Industry, settlers started streaming into the Western Reserve to claim homesteads sold to them by the Connecticut Land Company.

INDIAN SITE
RUTH SOLDAT

RUTH SOLDAT 7500 Indian Mound Drive 524-8449 (widow)

This info is not about Walton Hills land. Nor is it in the book. The Soldat land is on the north side of Alex. Rd. Indian Mound Drive is off Hub Industrial Parkway which is a horseshoe shaped road off Alexander Road, just to the west of the Walton Hills border.

The Soldat house is on a hilltop east of Canal Road. It is an authentic archeological site.: an Indian village and mound site. The Sagamore Trail goes through there.
There are glacial mounds and Indian burials on the top of those mounds.
I saw part o the Mahoning Trail that goes along the ridge.
I saw the Indian Mound in the woods.
The signal tree, an oak, fell down in 1984. The Indians removed strips of bark to designate the trail. The Mahoning Trail went straight along the ridge.
There was an outline of the palisades, ditches were each post was, outline of the fort.
I saw the fort outline by the creek, also.
The Indian village site was on the high grassy area.
The land is now part of the CVNRA. Ruth can live on the property for a total of 25 after the purchase by the National Park.



WALK ON THE SOLDAT SITE
SUNDAY JULY 28,1985
LED BY HELEN BOCH AND JEAN KAINSINGER

To preface this paper I'd like to add my notes about the names of Indian tribes. We can trap ourselves into a web trying to put names on various groups of Indians. These notes mention the Senaca and Wyandot tribes which belong to the Late Woodland Period and Historic Indians.

An Indian band consisted of a manageable number of families who followed a chief. The chief led them as long as he or the tribe felt confident with his leadership. When the size of the tribe became too large to handle, some members would leave to form a new band. Each band or tribe gave allegiance to its own leader. Similar bands could belong to a "Tribe" or could remain independent or neutral.

As tribes regrouped, language patterns became diverse. When the French and English met the numerous Indian tribes each gave their own names to the tribes. A duplication of names resulted - the name the tribe called itself, the French name and the English name. For example, the Huron Indians called themselves the Wendat (Sendat). The English pronounced and spelled this tribe the Wyandot. The Huron were an independent nation as were the Erie. They chose not to belong to the Iroquois Nation. Another example is the Senaca. The Senaca were called the Iroquois by the French. Most Senaca tribes belonged to the Iroquois Nation and eventually settled the Finger Lakes Region of New York State. Some Senaca tribes chose to remain independent. The English called the independent Senaca the Mingoes.

Archaeologists label the Indians of our area by the following headings:

Adena Indians	1000 BC - 300 BC
Hopewell Indians	300 BC - 700 AD
Early Woodland Period	700 AD - 1000 AD
Late Woodland Period	800 AD - 1650 AD
Historic Indians	1650 - Present

The visitors to the site got feelings about people who lived on the site during the Late Woodland and Historic Indians Periods. Helen did get a picture of an Indian man of a long ago peiod, standing on the mound site. He was different and did not belong with the other Indians Helen saw and will be

described in the following paragraphs. This man was short in stature. He had short legs and long arms extending way down. He had very long hair. Feathers bound around a bone held his hair in place. He had a dark, intelligent looking face. He wore leggings that were not deerskin, but were fur-covered animal skin. His shoes were like baby booties, made of animal skin and tied together at the ankle. His fur-covered animal skin shirt was of two pieces. The top piece included the neck opening and the arm covering. The lower part of the shirt was like a tunic wrap, tied at the waist.

A spring was on the Indian Mound that provided good water. A trickle of water traveled over the rocks traveling east to west from the spring. (Helen, Mary, Marge)

By the spring and its trickle of water over the rocks, Senaca mothers gave birth. When the Senacas lived on this site the mothers felt the spring water was a good place to have their children. One Senaca mother knew that soon after the babies were born she and the others would have to leave the area. (Helen)

A Senaca woman who was married to a man from a different tribe had been there. There was a sense of happiness from this woman. (Helen)

A pregnant Senaca woman lived on the mound. She saw the other women having babies there, but she knew her time was not ready yet. She was hoping that she, too, could have had her baby there and then, but she knew she had to wait and move on soon. (Mary)

A large contingent of Senaca lived on the site. Several tribes used the site. (Helen)

Many kinds of ceremonies took place on the field: a ceremony at puberty giving of a second name; Spring ceremonies; harvest celebrations, and weddings. (Helen) Peggy sensed participants shaking rattles that looked something like tambourines. Perhaps the rattle was made of turtle shells with rattlers attached to its edges.

There were no horses, not even when the soldiers were here. (Helen)

The homes were longhouses with each section having its own fireplace. (Helen) Longhouses were typical homes of the Mingoes and some Iroquois tribes. A longhouse was built of saplings and bark. It was about 50-150' long and narrow. It had an arched roof. No windows were in the sides, only the smoke holes in the roof gave light. The longhouse was a cold, dark, and drafty place. The women stuffed the cracks with grass and moss to keep the house as warm as they could. A row of firepits ran down the center of the longhouse. There was a firepit every twenty feet. It was shared by the families on either side. As many as ten or more families, all related on

the woman's side, lived in a longhouse. Animal skins could partition the sections of the house. The dwellings were arranged on the outside of a circular field that was used as a commons. (research notes-Jean)

Games were played on the field. (Helen, Mary) Children played with sticks and round rocks. Youngsters were hitting a stone with sticks, and boys were hitting one another with sticks, in play. (Helen)

Ruth showed us a granite ball about 2 1/2" in diameter that was found on the site. It was a game piece. Helen had a happy feeling about it. Perhaps it was used for a relay game and a game of passing the ball, something like football. (Helen) Marge sensed an eight year old Indian boy rolling the ball as he was playing with a group of boys. Each had a similar ball and was rolling it to the center of the play area.

Marge's son Scott found several Indian balls in their yard when they built their addition to their house in 1970. Three of the balls are gabro rock, two of them about the size of Ruth's and one that is larger. Gabro, like granite, is an igneous rock, but it has no pink feldspar in it as does granite.

Ruth showed us a sandstone tool that was also found on her property. The Indians probably used it for scraping animal skins.

On the western edge of the field, by the east end of the mound, the Indians built several sweat lodges. They didn't use a lodge for long, hence they kept building new ones. (Helen)

Sweat lodges were used to heal the sick. A big hole was dug and large stones were placed at the bottom. Then hot stones, that had been heated for days beforehand, were placed on top the stones inside the pit. The pure steam was to heal the sick persons. (Helen)

A sweat lodge was a fairly airtight structure. It was big enough to hold from two to six persons at a time. Usually there was one for the men and one for the women. They were usually buiilt on a slope so that half of it was above ground and half in the ground. Fist sized stones were preheated. Persons entering the sweat bath carried with them a small kettle of liquid that was both a medicine to drink and to put on the hot stones once in awhile to make steam. The hot stones were rolled into the sweat lodge, and additional hot stones were added as needed. The sweat lodge was used to heal the sick and for purificaation ceremonies. (research notes-Jean)

There was a strong feeling of fear for the people who were sick. These feelings of fear were strongest by the sweat lodges. There was a fear of starvation because so many in the tribe were ill. Feelings of helplessness prevailed because of the sickness. They felt it was too late to help themselves.

There was a fear of not knowing what was happening to their people. There were strong feelings of the people's emotional efforts to sustain life. Many did not get well. (Helen)

Marge sensed a wrenching feeling of sorrow on the north ridge of the mound. Mary saw items valuable to the Indians buried with them in the mounds. These items were pottery and wampum.

There was a lot of strength and power felt on the mound. On the trail, going uphill to the mound, there was a feeling of urgency. There was a particular fear and threat from the Wyandot, especially by the fallen oak signal tree. (Helen)

The Indian people were surprised when "soldiers in disguise" came up over the hill to the southeast of the mound. These were French. They wore no uniforms and did not fight the Indians. However, the "disguise" was that the French brought the Indians sickness. Hence, the need for so many sweat lodges and the many Indians who died of the white man's sicknesses. (Helen)

There were two kinds of soldiers who were on the site: the French soldiers not in uniform "in disguise" and the English. (Helen)

At the west end of the Indian Mound is a Signal Tree. This giant, old oak fell down in the Autumn, 1984. The Indians had cut a vertical slice from the bark of the oak tree marking the Sagamore Trail as going straight along the ridge. Helen could feel the tree's spirit (the tree sylph) still in this fallen tree. It is unusual that there is still spirit, and so much spirit, in the tree almost a year after it has fallen. (Helen)

The Sagamore Trail was part of the Mahoning Trail that went from Fort Pit to Fort Detroit in colonial times, but dates back to probably 10,000 BC. Both trails were made by the buffalo and bison, used by many animals after the big beasts, used by prehistoric and modern day Indians, used by French fur trappers, the English Soldiers, used by pack trains carrying supplies to western forts and trading posts, used by colonists, and used by us today. Near us, at the south end, the Mahoning Trail is now Valley View Road to Dunham Road, follows Dunham Road north into Maple Heights. One branch of the Mahoning Trail, called the Sagamore Trail branches off at Dunham and Alexander Roads, follows Alexander Road west to Indian Mound Drive, goes north on Indian Mound Drive, follows the ridge to the intersection of Hathaway Road and Canal Road, and thens heads north. Another branch of the Mahoning Trail follows Dunham north to Tinkers Creek Road, follows the ridge west to the Sagamore Trail, and then joins the Sagamore Trail north.

The final Fort to be discussed in this article is described by Whittlesey as "Fort No. 4 southeast part of Independence" He also designates it as Fort No 2 lot 3 Independence (meaning the 2nd Fort in Independence) See fig 12. The Fort No. 4 designation is shown on the general map fig. 1

Whittlesey' s description of the site in his "Ancient Forts" follows:

"Mr. Dickson, whose daughter, Mrs. Roreback, still resides on the premises, cleared the enclosed space A, in the year 1810. The embankment, b, was then three or four feet high. A house and barn were built on it, which are there now, and little can be seen of its primitive condition. It is not certain there was a ditch. There are springs of perpetual flow in the river bluff and in the adjacent ravines. Within space A, near the mound, great numbers of human hones have been plowed up, so many that they were collected and reburied The position is beautiful and commanding. On the same farm now owned by Messrs. David L and N. A. Phillips, about half a mile east there are four small mounds, nearly leveled by long cultivation. Near the township corners, about one-third of a mile south of these, is another mound, which was five feet high when the early settlers first saw it."

As stated above Mrs. Roreback resided on the land in 1871. The embankment, which closed off the neck of the Fort, was still visible at that time as well a house and barn. Today, however, none of the latter exists. A Check of maps made in 1874 and 1892 show D. I. and N. A. Philips still owning the land.

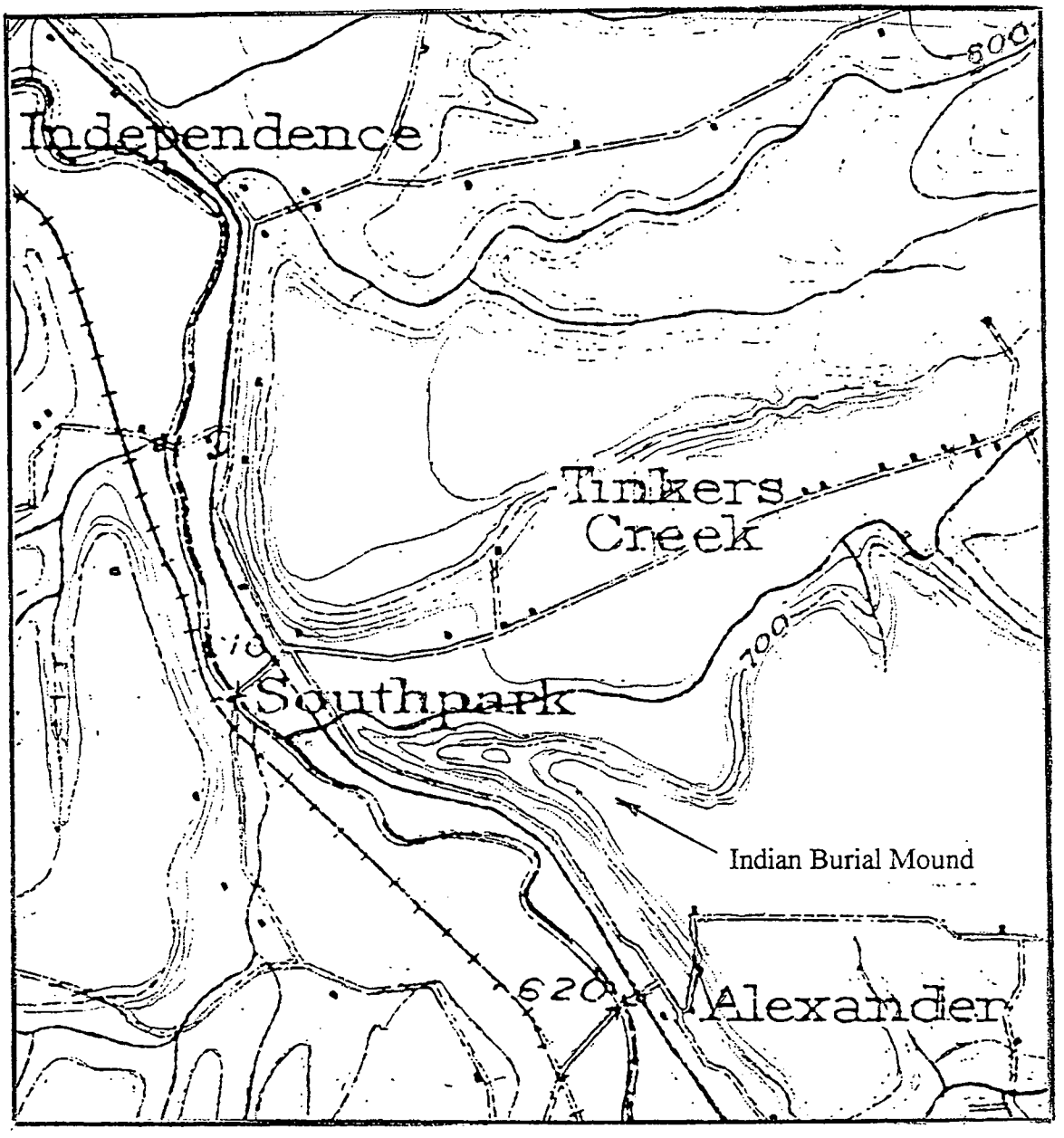
Today the site is known as the Soldat Indian Mound. It is named after the Soldat family, the current owners of much of the land near the mound. The actual mound is on the Ohio and Erie National Heritage Corridor. In a meeting with Mrs. Ruth Soldat a tour of her property was given. I estimated the mound is about 100 ft in diameter and 10 ft high at the edge of a high bluff about 100 ft. above the Tinkers Creek plain. The mound is completely covered with small trees ranging in size from one inch to a few 12 inches in diameter. There appeared to be a shallow depression around the eastern edge of the mound from which the material to construct the mound was dug. The mound is believed to be for ceremonial functions. Mrs. Soldat indicated that the remains of the Mahoning Indian trail was about 50 yards southwest of the mound. We walked to it. The original Mahoning Trail started at Fort Pitt moved past Youngstown directly west across Ohio to the Cuyahoga River then northwest to Detroit. Later investigation indicates the trail we were on is an extension of the original trail and has also been known as the Mahoning Path or Sagamore Path. The markedly visible trail was about 8 ft. wide running in a northwest direction, and approximately parallel to Canal Rd. It was on a kind of a hogback going up hill and then it started to drop down toward Tinkers Creek. We walked the trail for about 400 ft. which was cluttered by small trees and sprigs. There were several huge oak trees along the trail at least 5 ft. or more in diameter and more than 100 ft. high. One of the large trees, now fallen, was lying on its side. Ruth said it was an Indian Trail marker tree, which she remembered from her earlier days. It had a chopped-out blemish mark in its bark. Ruth was very informative and I was very appreciative for all her information.

Later a check of a 1903 topographical map of the Tinkers Creek, Alexander Rd. area and the trail definitely follows the contours shown. See fig. 13. I also checked the Heckewelder map, which he sent to Moses Cleaveland, which showed the Mahoning trail in the Tinkers Creek area, and again there was correlation. See fig. 14. It showed the trail running in a northwest direction. We also checked the Whittlesey map of the fort near Tinkers Creek and again the earth contours agreed with the actual trail and the clincher was the location of an actual mound shown on his map. See fig. 13.

Previously in the above Whittlesey mentions four small mounds about half of a mile east of the

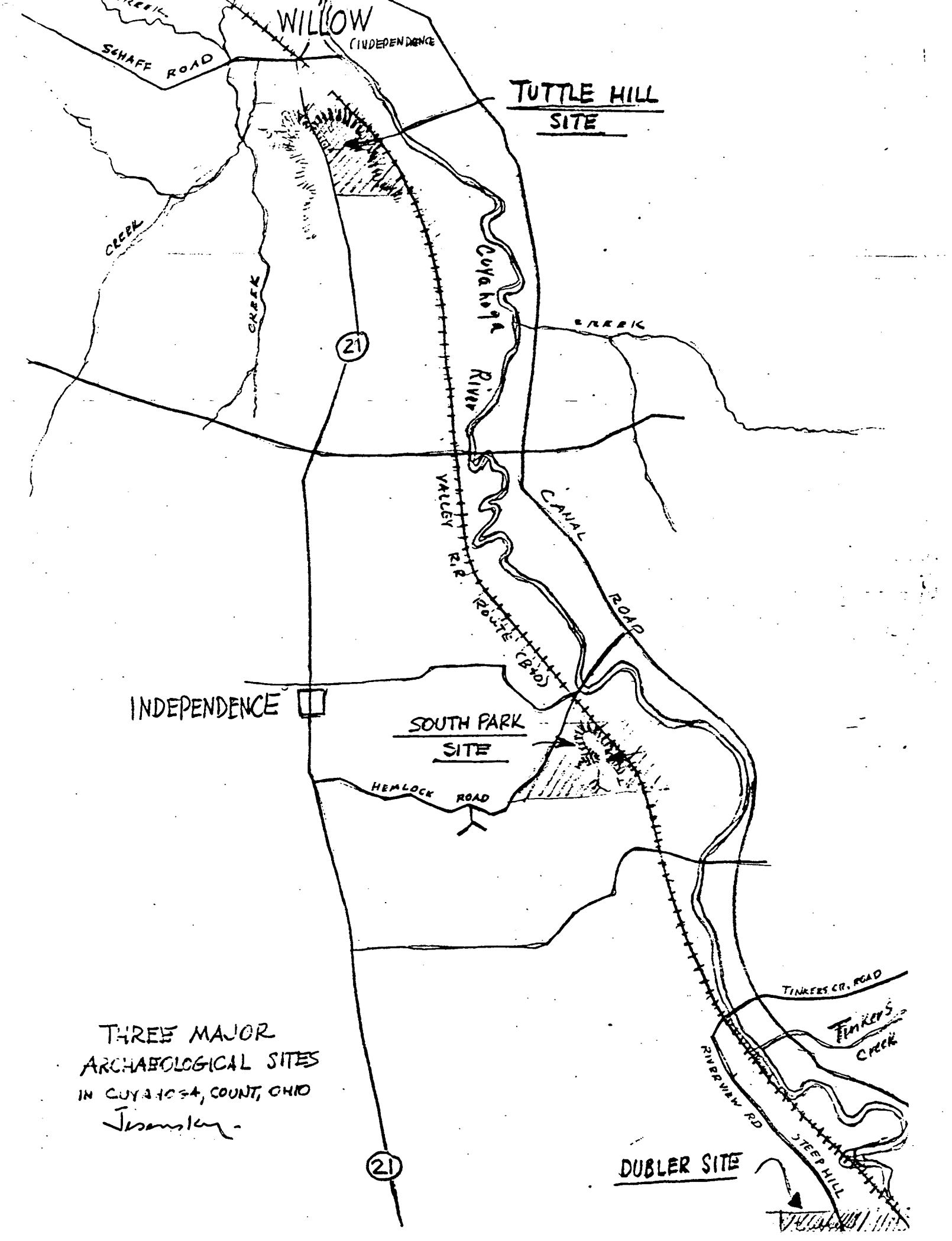
Soldat mound. Today, this is in the area of Hub Parkway. The mounds no longer exist as well as the last mound he mentioned which was 1/3 mile south.

This concludes my review of the early Forts and Mounds of the Townships of Independence and Newburgh and the early Cleveland river corridor.



1903 topographic map of Tinkers Creek showing the narrow promontory of the Mound and the Mahoning trail area.

Fig. 13



THREE MAJOR
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY, OHIO
J. Swanson

File: Tinkers Creek
Arch:

SPECIAL NOTE: FLOOD FORT (?) SITE:

Near mouth of Tinkers Creek in the flood plain of the Cuyahoga R. According to Dr. David Brose, Cleve. Archeologist- this was an important Key site of special importanc established by the OTTAWAS in the middle of the 18th century.

It was located in the inner curve of the meander-bend of the river about 250 Mtrs. south of the mouth of Tinker's Creek just north of the present Pleasant Valley Road.

It was explored by a team from the Cleve. Museum of Nat. Hist. in 1975. Found were the following artifacts:

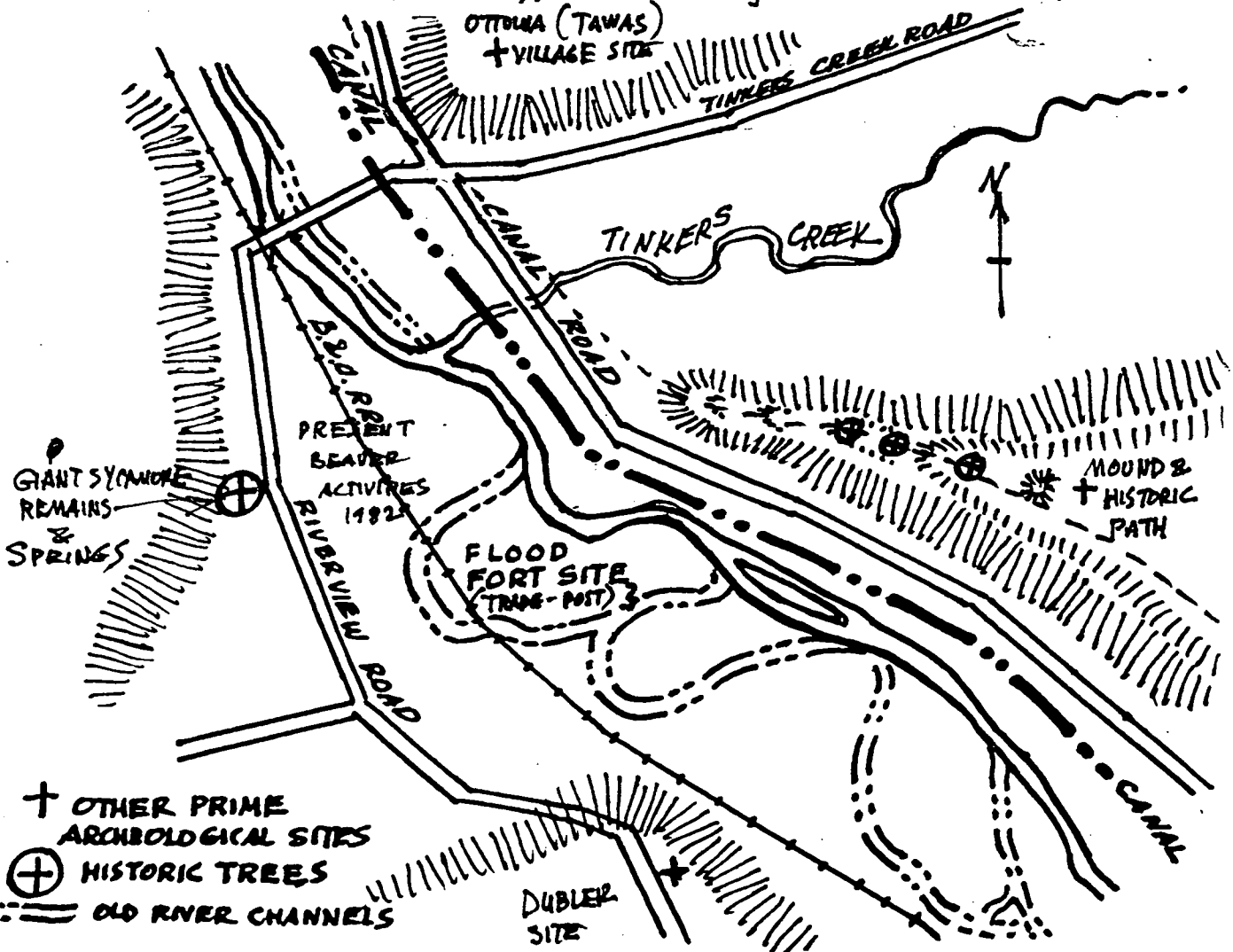
- Lead Musket Balls (.38 Cal.); Projectile Points; Fragments of a brass kettle; Two glass beads; Ceramics from vessels of Ottawa design.

Soil-stripping some 25 years before, exposed a series of fire-pits. spaced approx: 3 mtrs. apart. These - and a numerous artifacts found suggested that the the Flood Fort Site was once a Longhouse of the Upper Great Lakes type. It was also determined that the site, while now on the west side of the river - was originally on the East side (bank) The river has since changed it's channel.

The Early Moravian Missionaries stated that their town of Pilgerruh was located on an old Ottawa Village Site. This Flood-Fort site very possibly could contain remnents of that Town.

Brief Note: Saugin:

Early documents (French) indicate that the Cuyahoga was then refered to as - the River Saguin - Shaguin - Seguin, after 1742.
This was probably named after the early French Trader - Saguin, who was said to have had a trading post in the valley.



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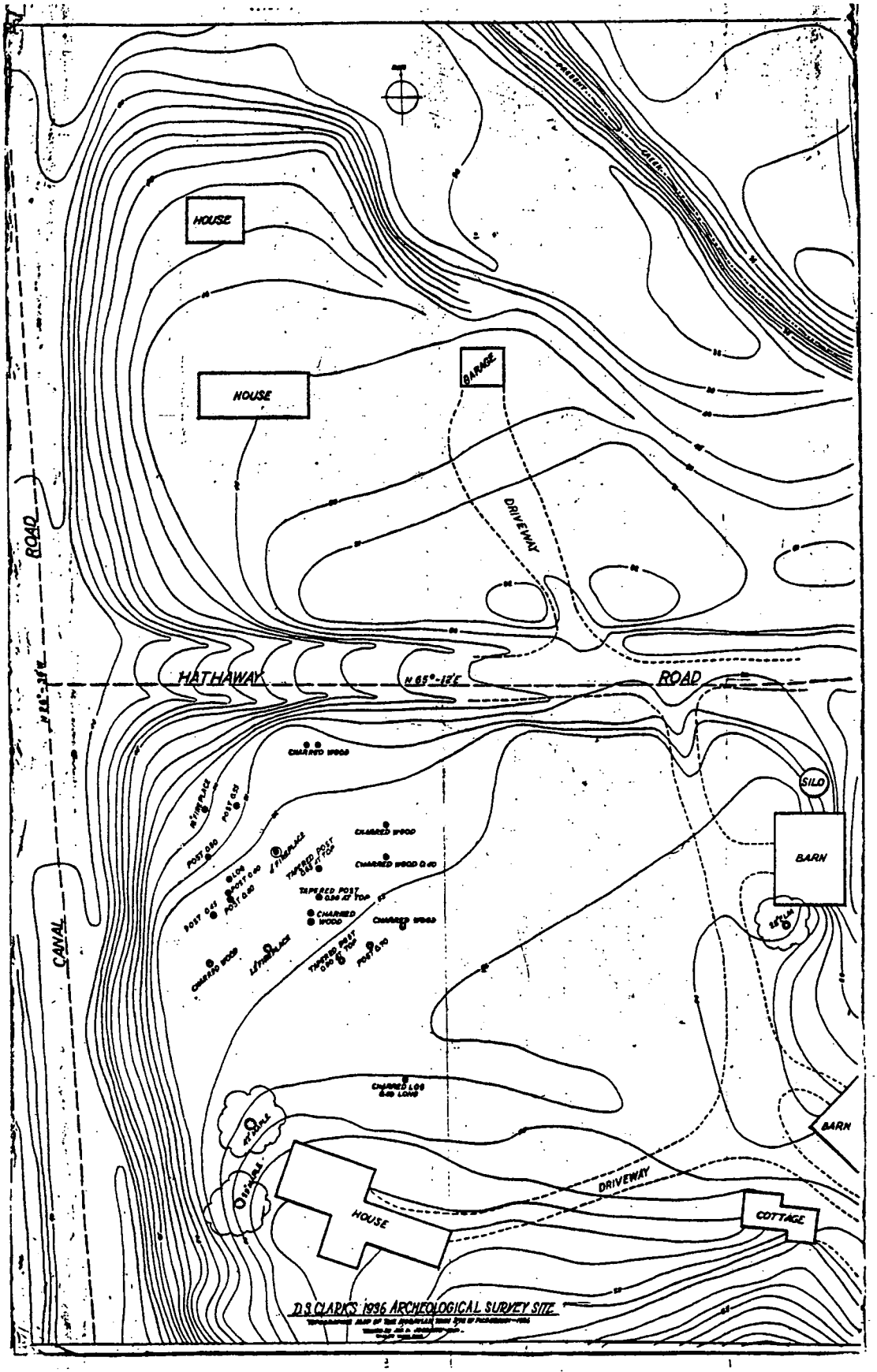

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The Whittlesey People

Prehistoric farmers of Northeast Ohio | Findings of the Summer 1994 excavation

Timeline of native occupations of Ohio

Paleo-Indians

10,000 to 8000 BC

The first small groups of native Americans, known as Paleo-Indians, enter Ohio in search of game animals in the newly ice-free lands of the Great Lakes.

Archaic

8000 to 1000 BC

People of the Archaic Period hunt and gather modern forms of forest plants and animals in a seasonal cycle of movement between the river valleys, the Lake Erie shoreline, and interior forests and wetlands.

Woodland

1000 BC to AD 1000

Woodland Period inhabitants of northern Ohio begin the use of pottery. They also construct burial mounds and cultivate squash, grouds, and native seed plants in small gardens.

Whittlesey

AD 1000 to 1600

The latest prehistoric peoples of northeast Ohio, known as Whittlesey, live in settled villages. They fashion elaborate pottery; grow corn, beans and squash; and use the bow and arrow for hunting and warfare.

???

AD 1650 to 1740

Native peoples appear to have abandoned northern Ohio after AD 1650.

Early Historic

after AD 1740

The region is reoccupied by Wyandot, Ottawa, and other native groups after 1740. Direct contact with Euro-Americans brings brass and iron trade goods and glass beads into widespread use. These quickly replace native pottery and stone tools. Epidemics of introduced diseases change tribal cultures forever.

Note:

To view the entire timeline in your graphical browser, you may need to enlarge the browser's window and/or use its horizontal scroll bar.

If you print this document, you may wish to set your printer to landscape mode.

JOS. D. JESENSKY
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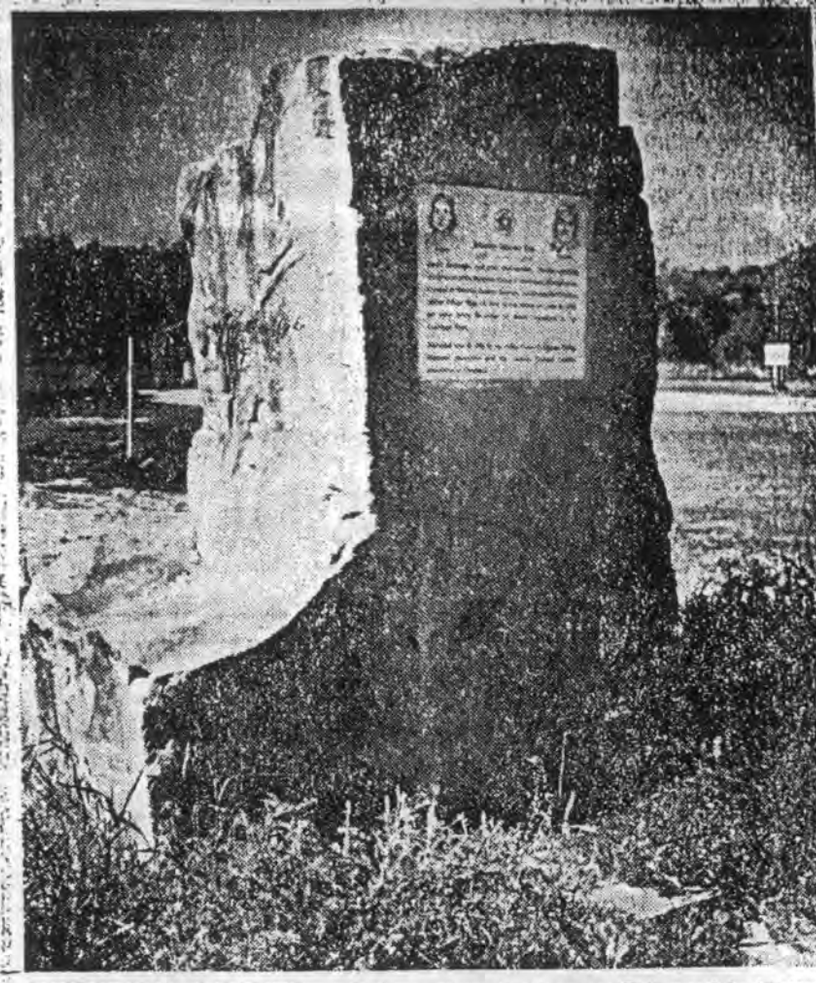
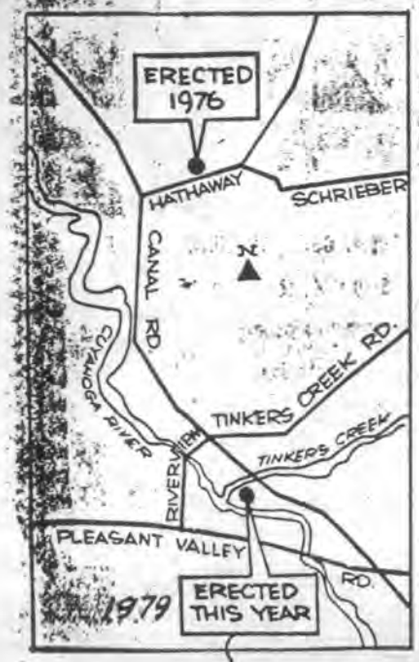
Two historical markers, a mile apart, commemorate the settlement in the Cuyahoga River Valley by missionaries some 10 years before Moses Cleaveland came to town.

Settlement markers are in conflict

A MILE AWAY — Another marker on Canal Rd. says this was where the Pilgerruh settlement stood for a year. The differing marker was erected last month by the Ohio Historical Society and the Sons of the American Revolution. *Erected - 1979*



HISTORICAL DISPUTE — This spot on Hathaway Rd. next to Valley View Village Hall is where the Moravian mission was built nearly 200 years ago, according to Valley View and Cuyahoga Valley historical groups. (Press photos by Frank Reed) *Erected - 1976*



Cleveland Press 8/31/79

By BOB MODIC

A difference in historical opinion over the site of the first white settlement in Cuyahoga County is raising eyebrows, if not tempers, in Valley View.

Two historical markers, a mile apart, commemorate the settlement in the Cuyahoga River Valley by missionaries some 10 years before Moses Cleaveland came to town.

Both purport to mark the spot where, in 1786, Moravian missionaries David Zeisberger, John Heckewelder and William Edwards, their families and some 100 Delaware Indians established Pilgerruh or Pilgrim's Rest. That was a stop on the group's way from Detroit to the larger and better known Schoenbrunn and other mission towns in the Tuscarawas River Valley.

The settlement lasted only a year, but its location has remained a matter of historical interest, and even debate, two centuries later.

The first of the two markers was erected three years ago by the Valley View-Cuyahoga Valley Historical Association and the German Cultural Garden Association.

It is a plaque on native stone resting on Hathaway Road, just off Canal Road, next to the Village Hall.

That was a Bicentennial project and everyone seemed pleased with it.

Then, last month, word traveled through the village that another marker was being put up, by the Ohio Historical Society.

That site is about a mile south along Canal Road at the bridge over Tinker's Creek.

"I was surprised that they didn't talk to us about it," said Bessie Birth, past president of the Valley View historical group, a 40-year resident of the valley who lives in a 135-year-old house listed in the National Historic Register.

The new marker is on land subject to flooding and it is doubtful that missionaries and Indians would have built there, she said.

Don Hutsler, historian for the Ohio Historical Society in Columbus, said the site for its marker was picked out by the Western Reserve Society and Sons of the American Revolution, which sponsored it.

"I asked them if they were sure they had the right site because I thought it was farther north," Hutsler said. "But we leave that to the local group to decide."

Clay Herrick, secretary-treasurer of the Sons of the American Revolution here, said he was not aware of the first historical marker before his group put up its own.

"I asked Mayor (Arthur) Westfall and he said he didn't think one had ever been erected," Herrick said. The first marker is just a stone's throw from Westfall's office.

Herrick said his group relied on William Ganson Rose's "Making of a City" and another history book in determining its site.

Valley View resident Birth said her group used the site determined by David Sanders Clark a study he did for the Western Reserve Historical Society in the 1930s.

Clark ruled out the Tinker's Creek site as not fitting the map left by one of the missionaries.

Says Clark's report:

"Two men who had actually seen the settlement were living as late as 1850. But, somehow, no one ever took the trouble to get from their lips the information needed to mark the site upon a map, and when they died all recollection of the spot died with them."

A F F I D A V I T.

compiled by Robert A. Burns
BURNS

THE STATE OF OHIO)
CUYAHOGA COUNTY.) ss.

Elmer B. Wight of the City of Cleveland, in said county, being duly sworn, says:

That about thirty-five years ago, Mr. John Geisendorfer, who at that time was an old man accompanied me to his farm which was a part of Tract 3, Lots 18, 24 and 30 of Independence Township, and by word of mouth imparted to me the tradition as herein set forth and which relates to the large Sycamore Tree near the River Road and directly west of the confluence of the Cuyahoga River and Tinkers Creek:

"PILGRIM'S SYCAMORE

In 1786 this tree sheltered
Moravian Missionaries, while
in council, after disembark-
ing from canoes on nearby
Cuyahoga River. Pilgerruh
Village occupied site of an
Ottawa Indian town on plateau
above Canal and Dunham Roads".

and further saith not.

Elmer B. Wight

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence, this 6th day of March, 1930.

Roland A. Baskin.
Roland A. Baskin
Notary Public.

2/28/32

This is a reproduction of an old drawing picturing the first meeting of David Zeisberger, Moravian missionary, with the Indians just south of Cleveland in 1786, when Pilgerruh was established.

ROBERT BURNS JR
14114 KENNERDOWN AV
CLEVELAND OH 44137

Virgil D. Allen's article on Indian Trails

Virgil Allen was the father of Walton Hills' 1st Mayor — Virgil Allen Jr

OUR FIRST HIGHWAYS AND THEIR LOCATERS

HOW WHITE MEN FOLLOWED INDIAN PATHS IN PIONEER ROAD BUILDING

By Virgil D. Allen

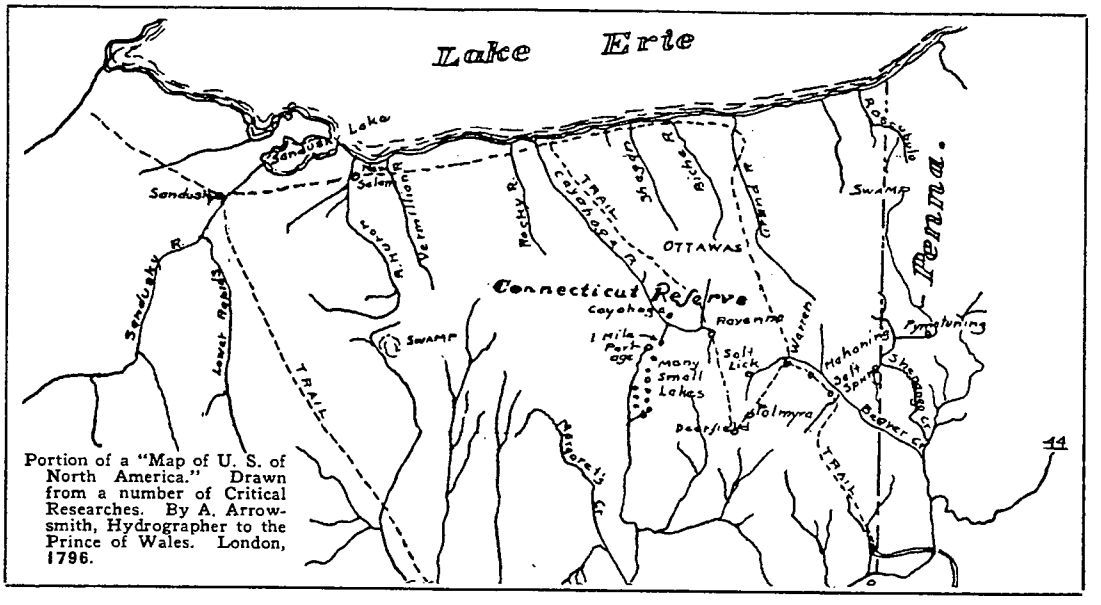
Mr. Allen, author of the following sketch, is an engineer and commissioner of buildings for the City of Cleveland. Archeology is one of his hobbies and his studies of Indian paths and early earthworks have largely been made first hand. He rambles along historic highways and interviews with early settlers. He is one of the organizers of the Pathfinders, a club of students and business men similarly interested.

Statue of Indian marking the junction of West Market Street, Akron, with the Portage Path connecting Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas valleys, and used by travelers from the Lakes to the Mississippi.

THE study of road location is one which must be viewed from a historical as well as an engineering standpoint. Men are continually making new roads and laying them in accordance with settled principles of direction, grade and drainage. But the most traveled highways of the present day are still those that existed before the coming of the first white man and I know of no more fascinating employment than to discover the evidences of aboriginal thought on the subject of highway making and town building.

When we attempt to discover who first laid out our important highways, we are lost in conjecture. Before the days of the Indian there was the mound builder, evidently of a superior race. The relation of the earliest earthworks to ascertained Indian paths leads me to think that the Indian was often a follower, rather than a pioneer. Insofar as aboriginal roads follow game trails, it is probable that they represent highways which were familiar to the mastodon before human life had appeared on this continent.

There is abundant evidence to show that the great central plain of which Ohio forms a part has been the home of man for thousands of years. Over all parts of it are found mounds, forts, enclosures, rock carvings,



Portion of a "Map of U. S. of North America." Drawn from a number of Critical Researches. By A. Arrowsmith, Hydrographer to the Prince of Wales. London, 1796.

quarries, village sites, burial grounds, pottery, vast numbers of stone implements and some metal implements, both for war and peace.

A race of men who built so many works and with such skill was evidently a people of fixed abode, not mere forest rangers. I believe that they had organized government, agriculture and commerce. Their travel and transportation was very probably by some means superior to mere foot passage. I am convinced that many paths credited to the Indian were adopted and used by the latter from that force of example which plays such a powerful part in the wearing of ordinary foot paths in our own day.

We often think of the Indian as roaming at large without compass or trail. There is a tradition that Indians never got lost. On the contrary, the Indian was probably more dependent upon roads than we are today, because the danger of confusion and the obstructions to travel were greater in the day of universal forests. While a roamer, the red man had use for settlements. I have had frequent opportunity to observe that certain sites served as villages successively for different tribes of indians, forced from place to place by the exigencies of conquest. General Harmer wrote in his journal on return from the Ft. Wayne expedition of 1790 "All these Chillecothys (village sites) are elegant situations, fine waters near them and beautiful prairies. The savages know how to take a handsome situation as well as any people on earth."

Such village sites were always at strategic points with reference to paths and waterways and they usually included a small clearing for the women to cultivate. The paths, themselves, seem to fall into certain definite classes.

1. General travel paths, leading from east to west and generally following watersheds.

2. Portage paths, leading from the headwaters of one stream to those of another stream going in the opposite direction.

3. Hunting paths that usually led along the banks of streams. Both game and the hunter had need to keep near a supply of water.

4. War paths, leading from one tribal territory to another. These were sometimes used for peaceful travel.

The logic of path location often bore a

close relation to principles which modern engineers recognize as sound. Ridges were favored for travel because they were more free from moisture at all seasons of the year. Being dryer, they were also immune from rank undergrowth. They often afforded a good view of surrounding territory and were swept clear of snow by winter winds.

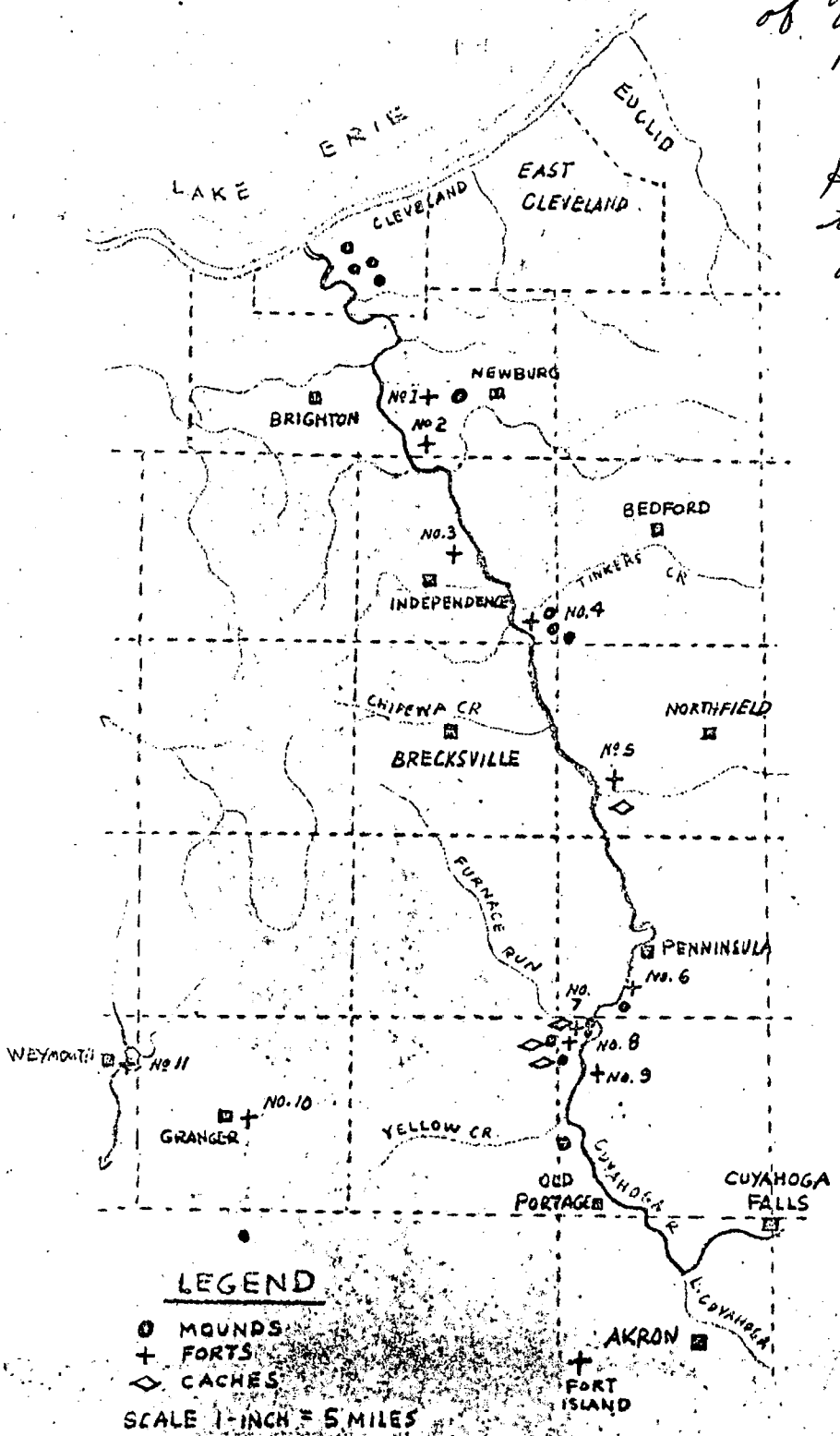
On the other hand, a circuit was made around the steeper hills, grade being considered more important than directness. Morasses were similarly avoided. For this latter reason fords were usually located between comparatively high bluff banks that were drained dry at all times. Hence these ford sites have made good locations for bridges.

Indians were experts in the matter of road signs. The hacking of a roadside tree was made to convey a large variety of information to the subsequent passer-by. A common method was to hack the bark from a handsbreadth of a tree trunk and draw a picture that could easily be interpreted. Had a hunting party passed, the picture was that of the game sought. A series of marks indicated the number of campfires distant that the traveler would find them and a twig or splinter wedged in a cleft of bark, would point the direction. Similarly warning would be given of an enemy in a particular direction. The famous "standing stone" in the Cuyahoga river near Kent when first described in 1804, by Christian Cackler, had two trees upon it, each of which bore many signs left by forgotten expeditions. This rock formed the buttress of an Indian bridge, trees having been felled from the main bank to rest upon it and afford passage.

There is a wealth of fact connected with early roads, settlements, expeditions and wars which I have no room to detail. I think it may be claimed, however, that the Indian was often a better engineer of road location than his white successor. Many localities have a duplicate system of roads, the older ones laid out by prehistoric men on the principles set forth above and then a later rectangular system of roads, surveyed on an arbitrary boundaries of townships and sections. My observation is that the heavier traffic still clings to the older roads, laid out to connect the natural strategic points by the best topographical route and that the white man's arbitrary road of straight lines and square corners is frequently of secondary importance.

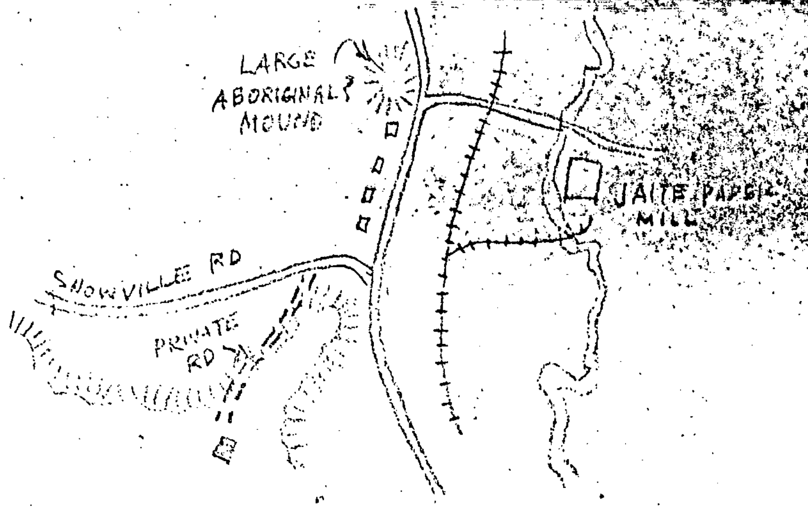
Standing Rock in Cuyahoga River near Kent, Ohio

according to Josselyn Charles Whittlesey was an amateur archeologist a geologist a lawyer by profession He was the first president of Western Reserve Historical Society 1870's over a 15-20 yr span He located most of the prime arch. sites in this area



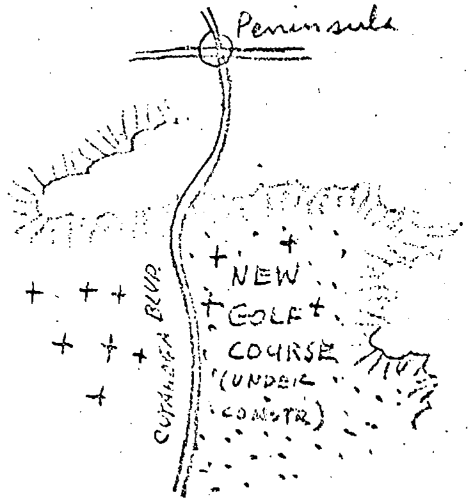
FROM COL. CHAS. WHITTELSEY'S "ANCIENT EARTHWORKS OF THE CUYAHOGA VALLEY"
WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY - TRACT No 5

NOTES ON GOOD RELIC HUNTING GROUNDS
REPORTED BY JOSEPH WITZMAN - 1963



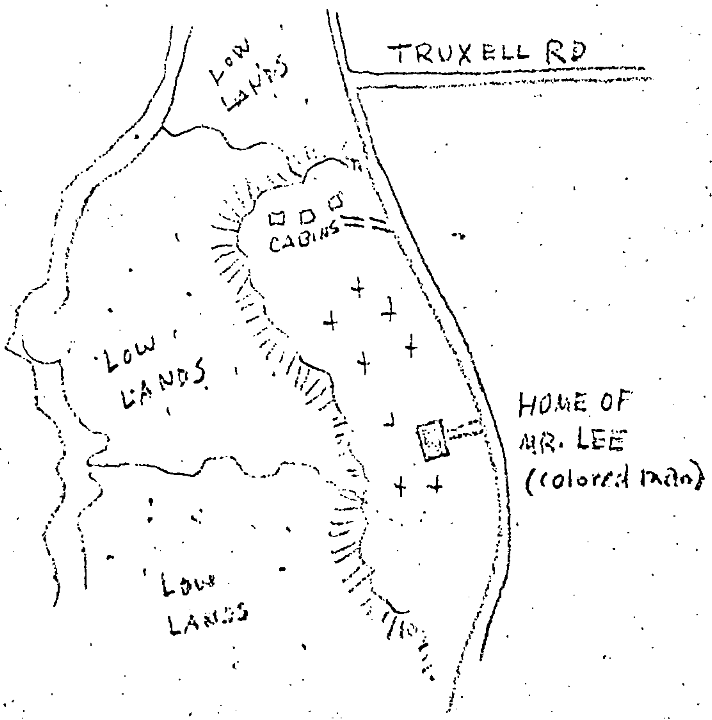
JAITE AREA.

Off Snowville Rd - there is a private road built along steep ridge to house on top - along this drive - J.W. found flints etc. Also - along both sides of the Spur RR - to Jaite mills. The large mound in Jaite is now under Clev. Met. PK. ownership. May be a <u>real</u> mound?



PENINSULA AREA: "A"

On both sides of the Cuyahoga Valley Boulevard and especially in the area where a new Golf course is being built - J.W. found numerous Erie "points" - so many that he thinks an indian battle was fought here.

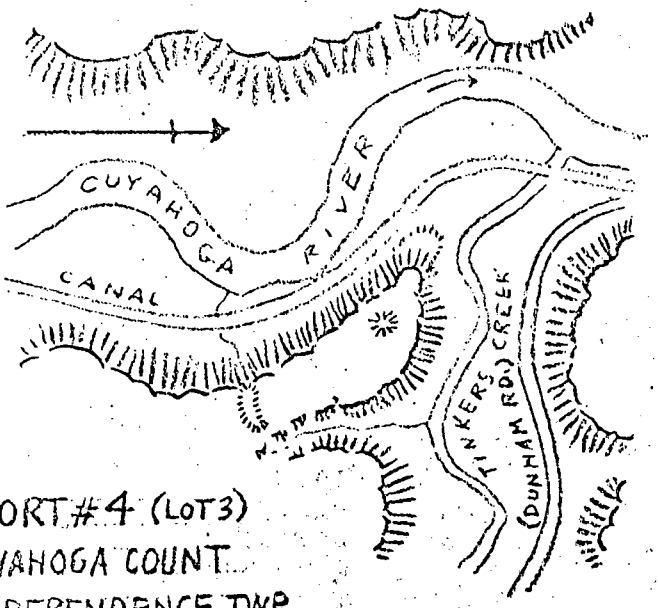


PENINSULA AREA. "B"

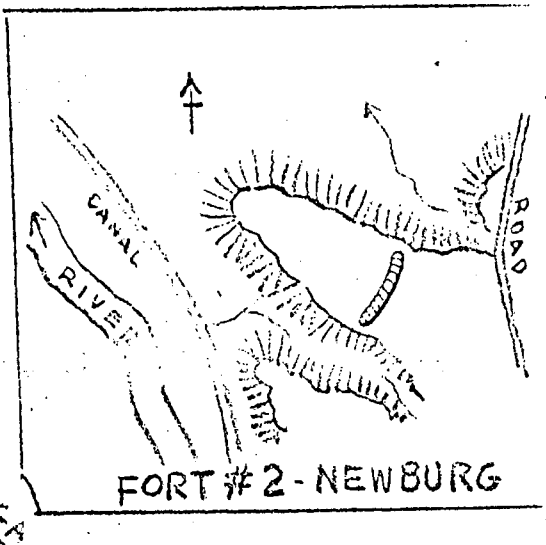
According to J.W. - both sides of the fields adjoining the house of Mr. Lee, a colored man, owner, is <u>excellent</u> relic hunting area - the Indians must have used this low terrace for their village site - good drinking water was handy - enough elevation to keep dry and plenty of good corn fields - and the Cuyahoga river, close enough, for transportation.

CUYAHOGA COUNTY EARTHWORKS

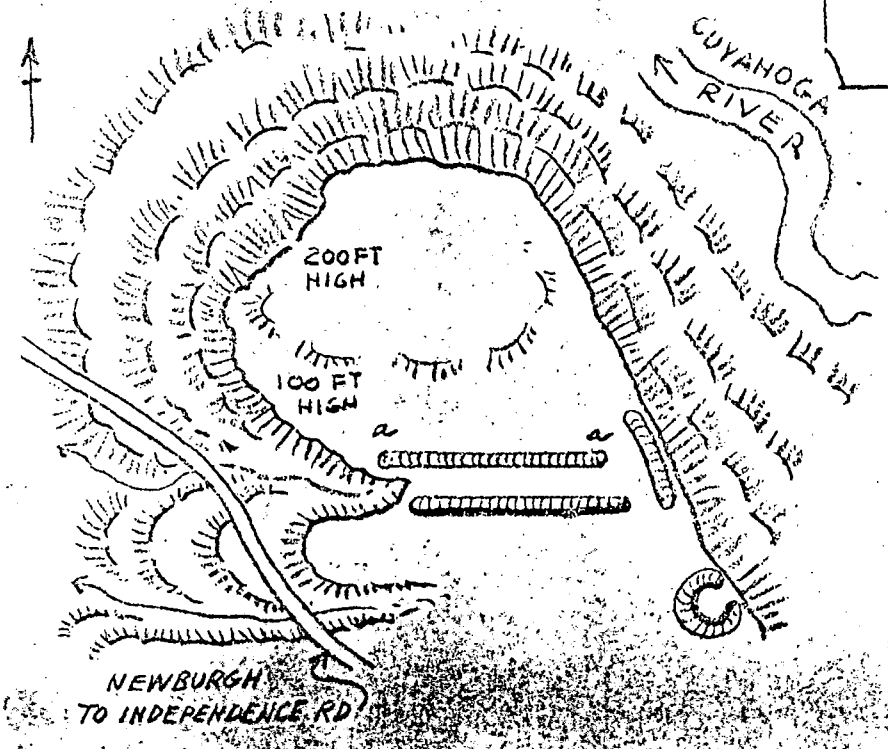
COL. WHITTELSEY'S TRACT #5



FORT #4 (LOT 3)
CUYAHOGA COUNT
INDEPENDENCE TWP
WHITTELSEY - 1870



FORT #2 - NEWBURG



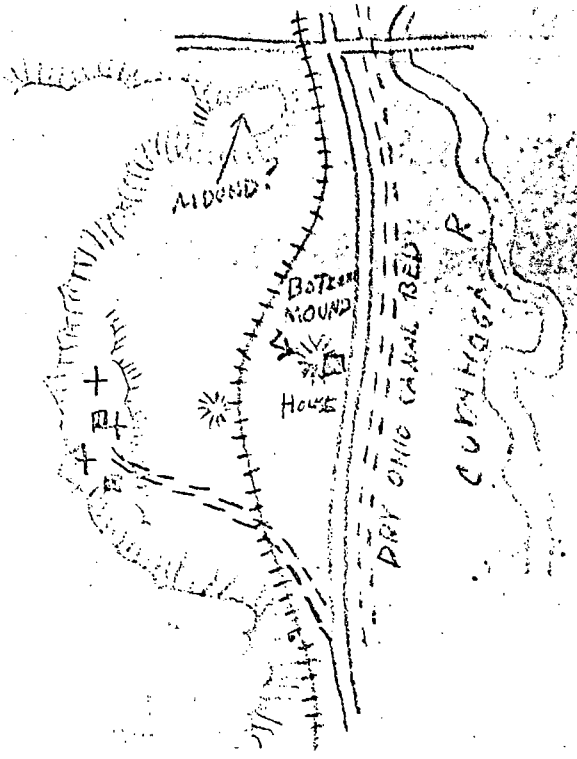
FORT #3 (LOT 1 - TRACT 3)
CUYAHOGA COUNTY - INDEPENDENCE TWP.
COL. WHITTELSEY 1878

0 100 200 FT.

a - a EMBANKMENT OBLITERATED AT TIME OF SURVEY

NOTES ON GOOD RELIC HUNTING GROUNDS

REPORTED BY JOSEPH WITZAN - 1963

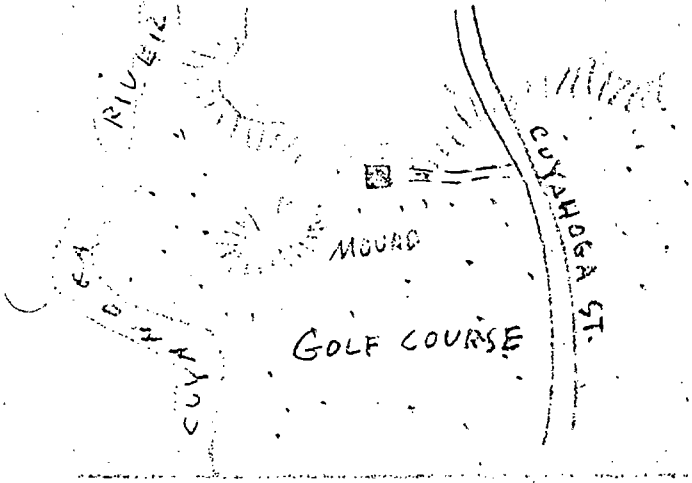


BOTZUM AREA

In the area marked + + + J.W. found arrowhead flints etc. The entire area is most interesting. Here - along the Revere Rd - is the celebrated Botzum mound. There is another small mound about 175 yards SW of the mound above. These mounds are both on the same owners land - they are referred to as the "Twin mounds" Some years ago - the Akron University group excavated the larger mound but nothing of importance was discovered.

TURKEYFOOT LAKE AREA

On an "island" like formation - J.W. found many flints etc



CUYAHOGA STREET AREA - AKRON

This on the former Himelright lands - who wanted the golf course - but spared the mound - It was excavated and 6 different kinds of earth were noted - perhaps brought by distant tribes for an important burial ceremony

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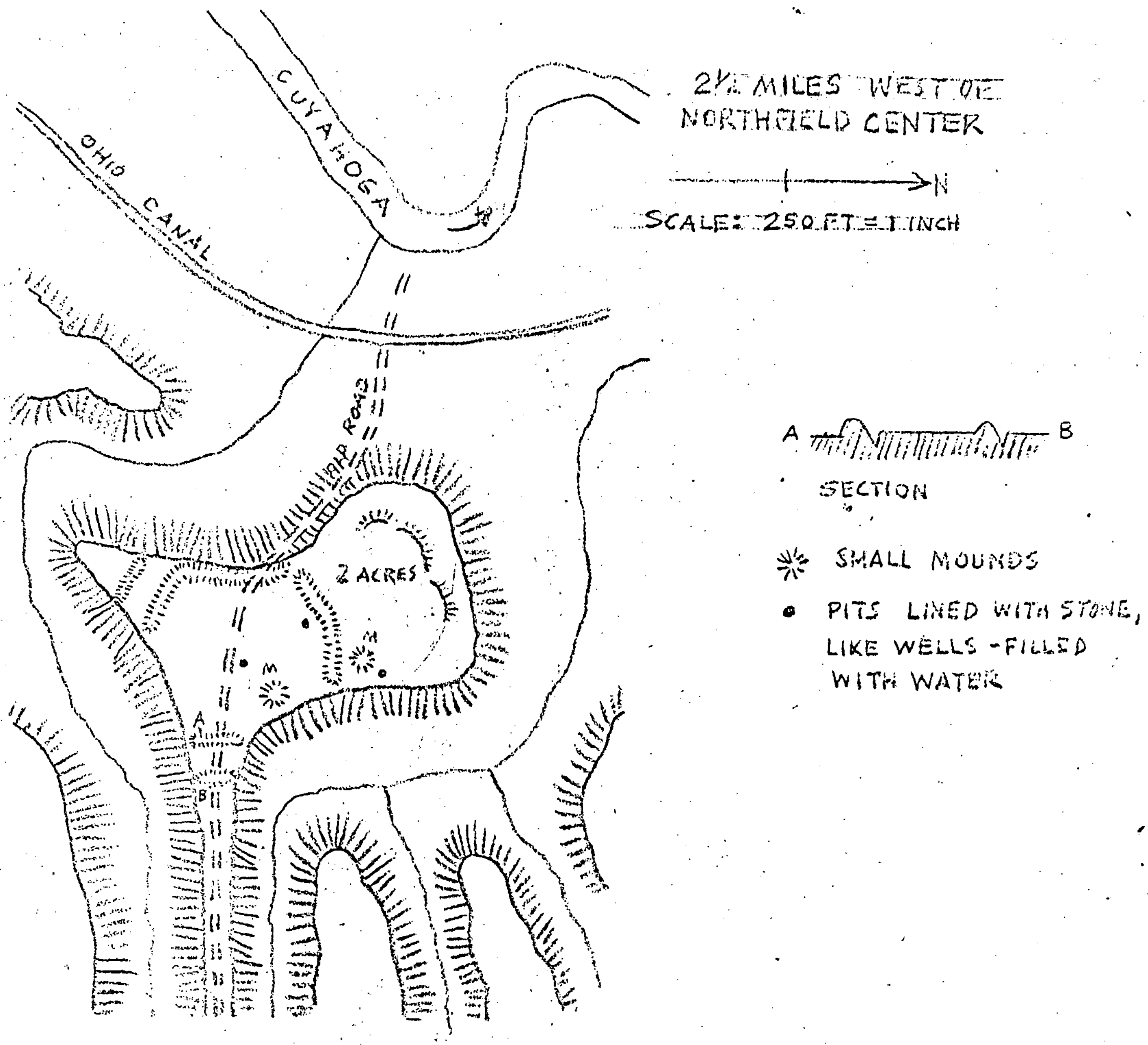
NIMISHILLA LAKE AREA

The discovery of many important relics in this area by J.W. is detailed in the "Ohio Archeologist" July - Aug - 1962



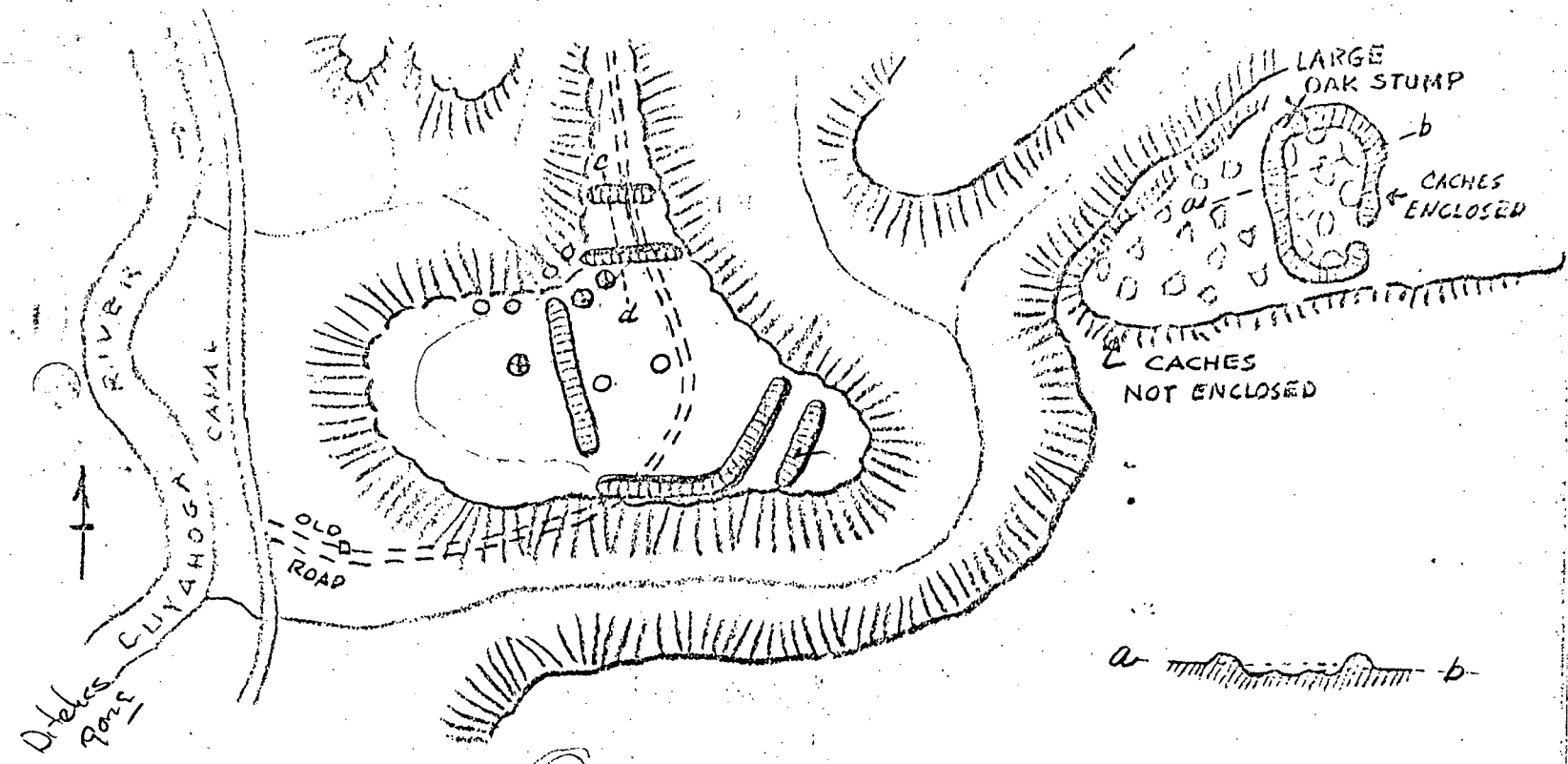
This was traced from "Early History of Cleveland" by Col. Chas. Whittlesey 1867 (Copy in reference division of Akron Main Library) 1963

on the land of Milton Arthur - - ;

"A larger and more elaborate fort, 2½ miles west of Northfield, has ditches 4-5 ft. deep. and 2 small mounds. There are several pits - found filled with water and which were lined with rock like a farmer's well. An old road follows the narrow "hogsback" ridge from the east across part of the earthworks and down the west hillside towards the river. A part of the earth taken up from the inside of the area - used to build the parapets - indicates that they were built in haste in a stage of siege - perhaps their attackers had gained some foothold in the level space outside the lines.

On the west side of the river is another fort. - (Opposite this fort)

At the junction of Tinkers Creek + the Cuyahoga - opposite the mouth of Tinkers Cr. is another Fort.

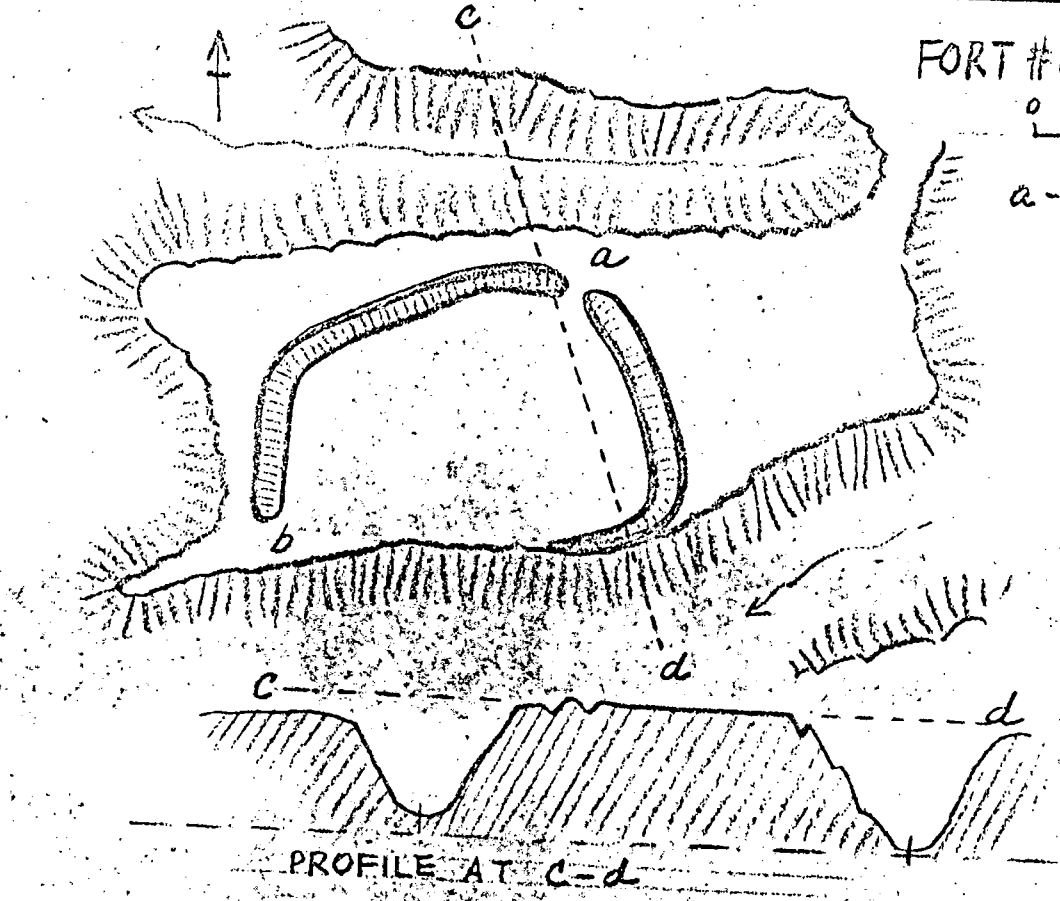


FORT and CACHES #5 (LOT 79 NORTHFIELD)

WHITTELSEY SURVEY 1870

○ CACHES 1 to 2½ FT. DEEP

⊗ CACHES OBLITERATED

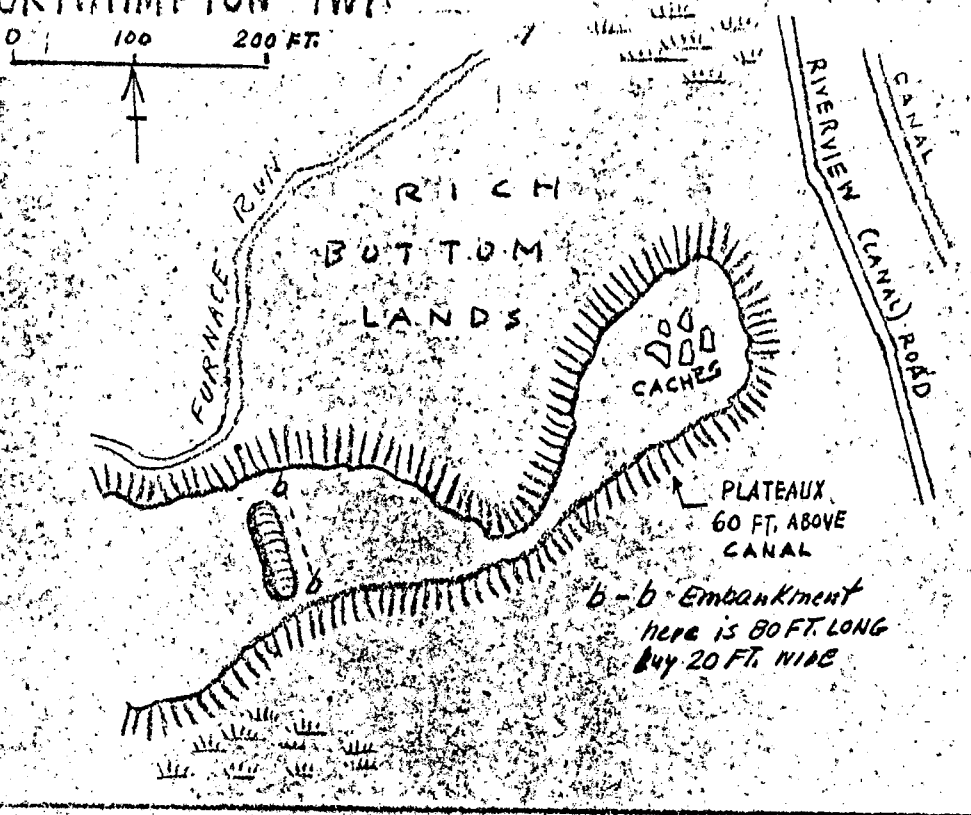


FORT #6. BOSTON TWP. 1869

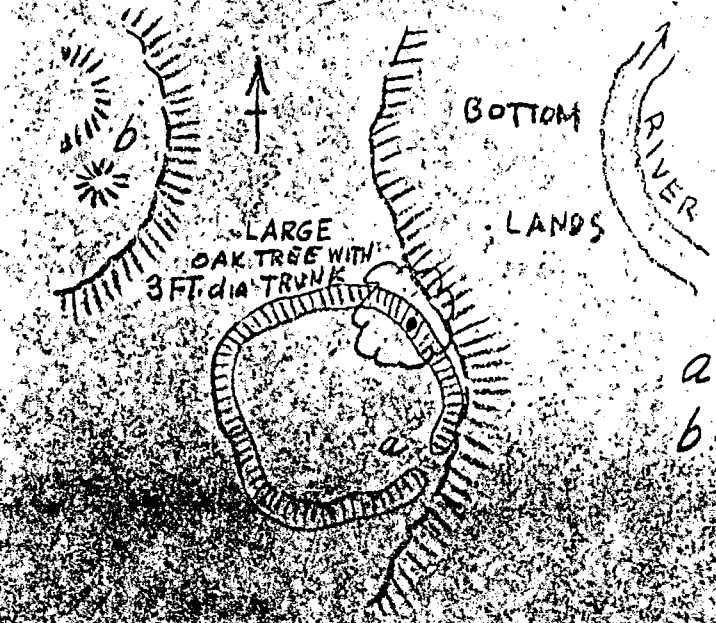
0 50 100 FT.

a-b = GATEWAYS

FORT # 7 (LOT 15)
NORTHAMPTON TWP.



b - b - Embankment here is 80 FT. LONG by 20 FT. WIDE

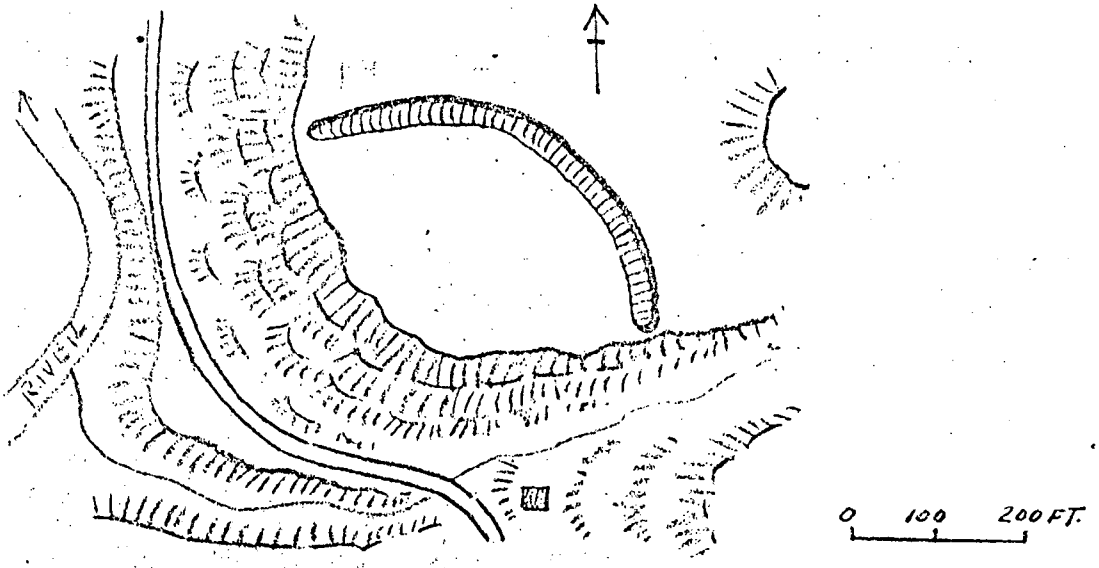


a - ENTRANCE

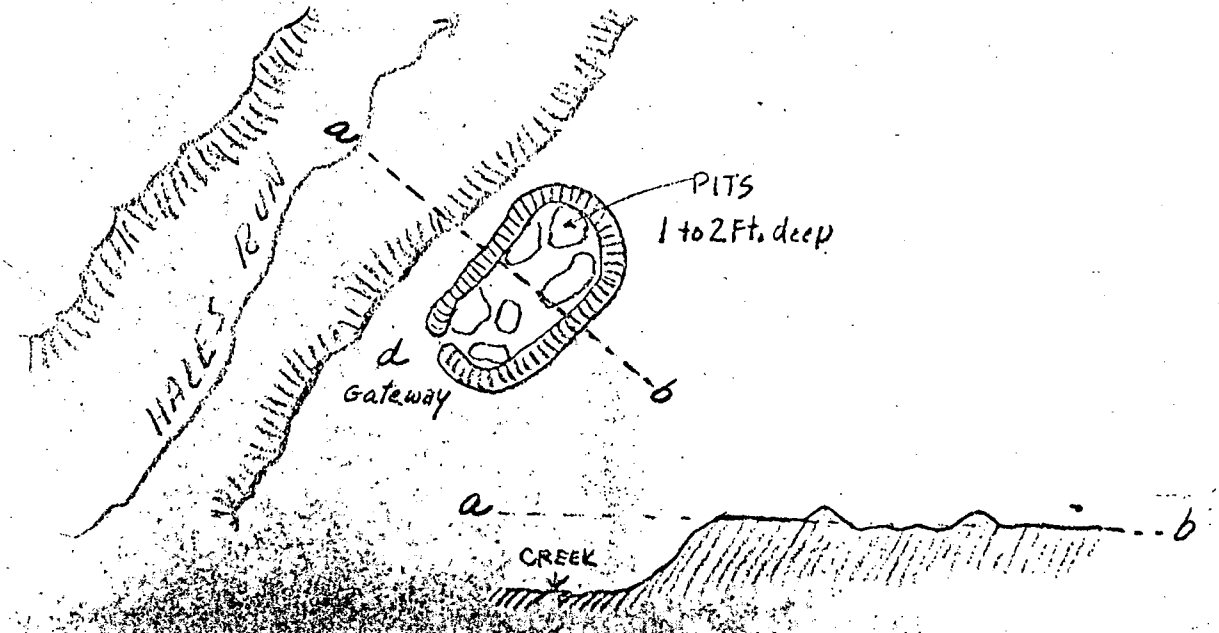
b - GRAVEL KNOLLS 50 FT. HIGH

EARTHWORK # 8 (LOT 13)
NORTHAMPTON TWP. 1870

0 50 100



FORT #9 (LOT 74) NORTHAMPTON TWP-1869 (WHITTELSEY)



ENCLOSED CACHES & EARTHWORK #___ (LOT #13)
NORTHAMPTON TWP. WHITTELSEY

COLONEL CHARLES WHITTLESEY AND CLEVELAND'S FORGOTTEN HILLTOP FORTS

The well-dressed field geologist, Charles Whittlesey prepared to attack the geological problems of the Lake Superior copper district.

photo from Western Reserve Historical Society.

by JAMES L. MURPHY
Research Associate in Archeology
Natural Science Museum

1968

THE CUYAHOGA VALLEY was early recognized as one of the richest archeological regions in Ohio and remains such today, despite the incalculable damage wrought by industrial expansion and urbanization. Unfortunately, the area has also suffered from neglect by the professional archeologist, no genuine survey of the Valley's archeological potential having been made since 1869.

That pioneer survey—and in one way or another all archeological work done in the Cleveland area since that time—centers around Charles Whittlesey, a notable Cleveland lawyer who found time to become even more outstanding in geology and archeology than he was at the bar. As early as 1838 Whittlesey had begun careful surveying and mapping of the Valley's mysterious hilltop forts as well as other of Ohio's earthworks, his maps forming a significant portion of Squier and Davis' classic "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," the initial volume of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Whittlesey, though plagued by ill health, spent over thirty years exploring the earthworks along the Cuyahoga River and produced in 1871 his "Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio," publishing the comprehensive work himself under the auspices of the young Western Reserve Historical Society of which he was president. During those three decades Whittlesey also had found time to serve on the first Ohio Geological Survey, do considerable prospecting in the Lake Superior copper region, work on David Dale Owen's pioneer exploration of the geology of Wisconsin, and fight two years during the Civil War. Illness forced him to resign after the battle of Shiloh.

Colonel Whittlesey tested his speculations about the Cuyahoga's hilltop fortifications by only limited excavations, not a particularly unfortunate fact in view of the crudeness of his technique, which was typical of the day. The major importance of his work was the accurate mapping and description of the many sites along the Cuyahoga from Cleveland to Akron. Whittlesey was actually very reluctant to speculate upon the origin of the earthworks, though he did put forth two intriguing suggestions, both ignored by subsequent archeologists. Finding numerous pits within some of these earthen enclosures, pits devoid of potsherds or other refuse, Whittlesey suggested that they were the remnants of aboriginal pithouses. He could not have been further from the truth, for the structures are not man-made but simply the result of slumping of glacial till and lake sediments on which the earth enclosures were built. Ironically, it was Whittlesey who first noted the occur-

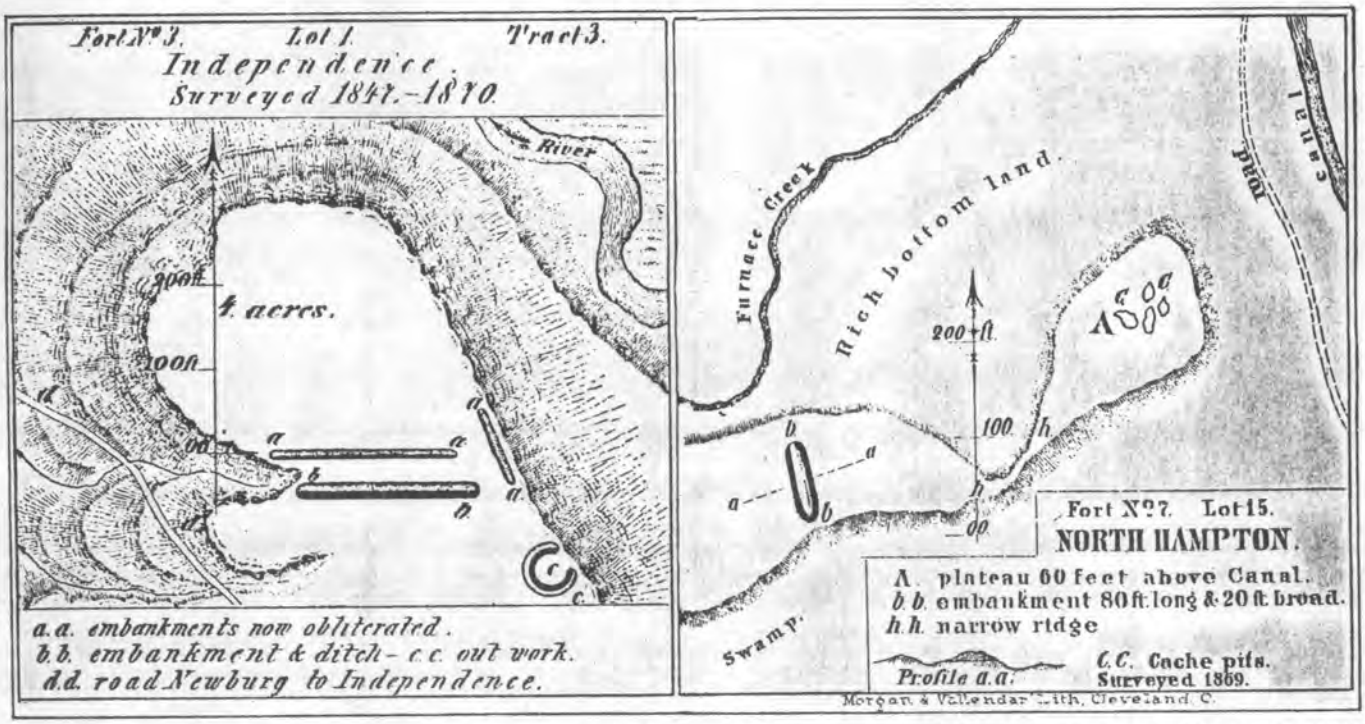
rence in Ohio of glacial kettle holes—depressions created by the melting of relict patches of glacial ice—the irony lying in the fact that some of Whittlesey's "pithouses" may actually be kettle holes.

Whittlesey's other hypothesis, that more than one group of Indians occupied these hilltop forts at different times has also been given short shrift by most archeologists, but with far less justification. Half a century after Whittlesey's work, Emerson F. Greenman, of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, examined portions of the hilltop forts at South Park and Tuttle Hill near Independence but did not realize that the sites had been occupied by distinct groups of people at widely separated intervals in time. Together with excavations at similar forts on the Ashtabula, Conneaut, Grand, Chagrin, and Vermilion Rivers, the work at South Park and Tuttle Hill formed the basis for Greenman's "Whittlesey Focus," a cultural unit which archeologists now believe to be identical with the historic and protohistoric Erie Indians. Named in honor of Whittlesey, the concept of the Whittlesey Focus nonetheless violates Whittlesey's idea that the hilltop fortifications were occupied by more than one group of people at different times, and archeologists ever since Greenman have accepted as axiomatic the idea that the Eries or proto-Eries built the hilltop forts of the Cuyahoga, even though Greenman himself was reluctant to accept the identification without more evidence.

The Natural Science Museum's 1967 excavation at Indian Point, a typical hilltop fort near Painesville on the Grand River, has provided the first radiocarbon date on a northern Ohio hilltop fort. Examination of the pottery and flint point types found within the earthwork and the date—2090 B.C.—support Colonel Whittlesey's assumption. Apparently the earthen fortifications were built by Early Woodland people at least 3000 years before the same sites were reoccupied by the later Whittlesey people. Supporting evidence comes from exploration of the Leimbach Site, a similar hilltop fort on the Vermilion River, excavated by Dr. Orrin Shane, Kent State University. These Early Woodland people were related to members of the early mound-building Adena Phase of southern Ohio, though Adena-type burial mounds are extremely rare in northern Ohio. Further evidence substantiating Whittlesey's hypothesis is the fact that many of the hilltop forts do not reveal Whittlesey Focus artifacts. The paucity of artifact material on some of the sites, such as the Waite Hill fort near Willoughby, suggests that the original builders used the forts only as places of refuge and that not all of the hilltop forts were later occupied by the Whittlesey people.

Colonel Whittlesey's survey of the Cuyahoga Valley, as ambitious as it was, could not help but miss some important archeological sites. As he himself wrote,

"It is possible that all the old earth works of this valley are not yet discovered. They are even in an undisturbed



Whittlesey's map of the Tuttle Hill earthworks, all of which have been destroyed. *Western Reserve Historical Society.*

Whittlesey's map of the Furnace Run earthwork, south of Peninsula, Ohio. *Western Reserve Historical Society.*

condition, not very prominent, the embankments seldom exceeding three feet in height, with a ditch of equal depth. In old fields that have been under cultivation twenty-five to forty years, none but a practiced eye would detect them. Fifty years since this country was but little settled; most of it being then covered with a heavy forest. When the old forts were from time to time discovered they attracted little attention."

Most sites missed or omitted from his report were not included because they did not have earthworks associated with them, but the South Park site near Independence is an important exception for it seems to have had an earthen embankment separating the major occupation area from the rest of the high ridge on which the site lies. The Carey Farm site, now largely destroyed by gravel operations, and the Doubler site are both important Whittlesey components which went unnoted by Whittlesey.

In an effort to delineate the exact nature of Greenman's Whittlesey Focus, the Natural Science Museum has initiated an excavation program centering around known Whittlesey sites. The 1967 season included excavation of two Lake County Whittlesey sites, Fairport Harbor and Indian Point, and this past summer has seen the beginning of reinvestigation of the important South Park site, the best preserved of the four components which formed the nucleus of Greenman's concept. The nearby site of Tuttle Hill has been completely destroyed and is now the site of an industrial complex. South Park, though also owned by a manufacturing company, has met a happier fate, having been sealed off from trespassers for many years. When the material recovered by the Museum this past summer is analyzed and the information considered in relation to radiocarbon dates from the site, it is anticipated that we will have at last the beginnings of a chronological framework for the Whittlesey Focus, a temporal scale which will allow us to better appreciate the nature of the earthworks which, though less mysterious, are just as fascinating today as they were to Colonel Whittlesey.

It is remarkable that these earthworks, forgotten by archeologist and public alike, have not all disappeared. Many are gone, deliberately plowed away by farmers, carted away for garden soil, or simply covered with buildings. But Cleveland's expanding park system, which has grown with the city, incorporates a classic example of the hilltop fort, located at Little Cedar Point in Rocky River Reservation. Here, a large isolated hill of Cleveland Shale, also noteworthy for having yielded many fossil fish, was utilized by the aborigines as a natural

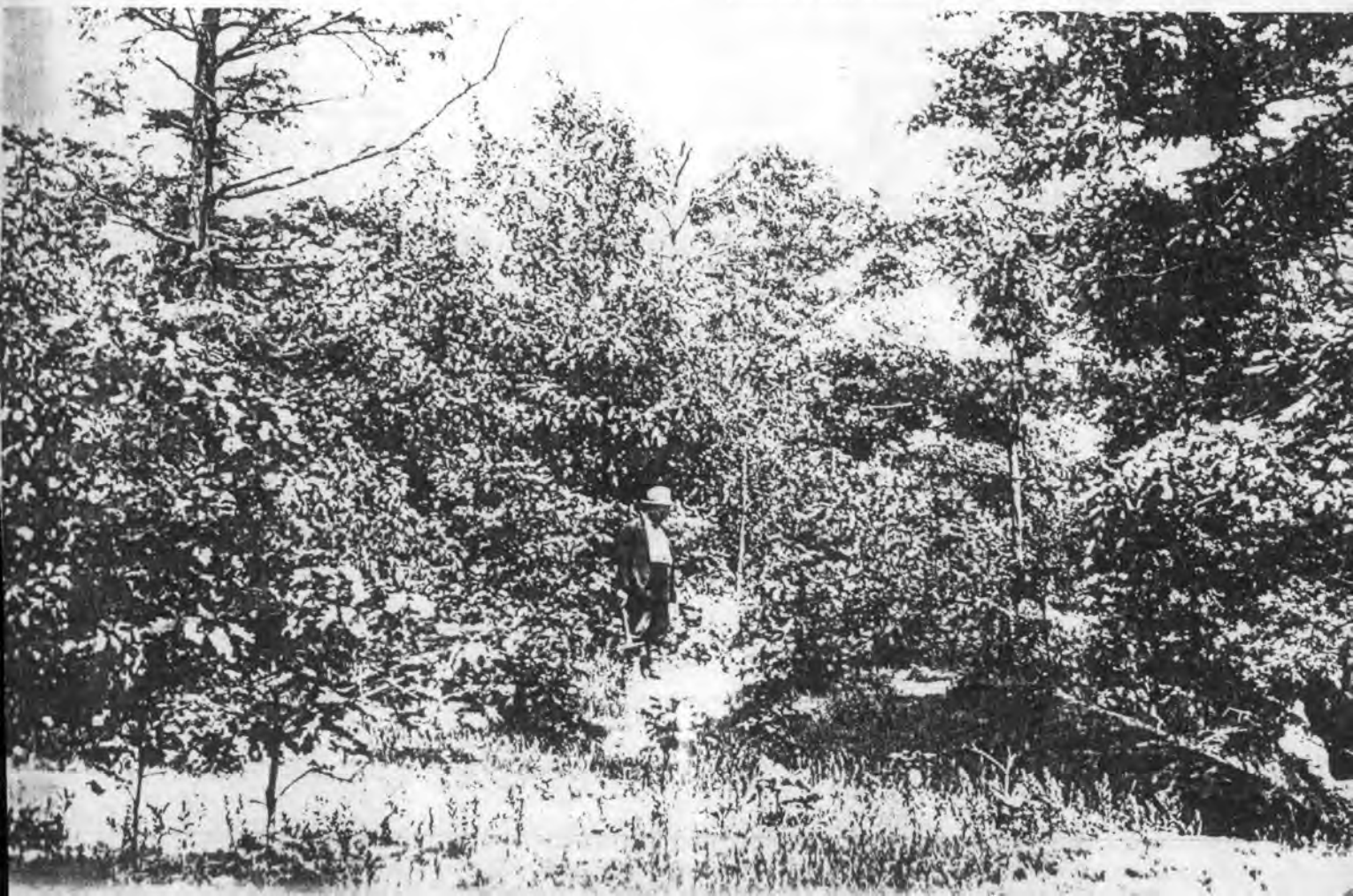
Student assistant examines partly excavated refuse pit at South Park site. Pit yielded a nearly complete pottery vessel.

fortification. A three-walled earthwork is still visible at the northern end of the hill. The scarcity of artifact material from the site suggests that it was not occupied by the later Whittlesey Focus people, though only careful excavation would settle the point. Whittlesey, if he knew about this fort, did not include it in his survey, which was restricted to the Cuyahoga Valley, but another geologist-archeologist, M. C. Read, mapped this site in the 1870's. The Rocky River fort remains the best preserved hilltop fort in the immediate Cleveland area, all of those described by Whittlesey having been destroyed or damaged to some degree by agriculture, industrialization and urbanization, or amateur archeologists.

Colonel Whittlesey did little archeological work after publication of his "Ancient Earthworks," partly because of increasingly poor health and partly because of increased geological work. In particular he was preoccupied with his iron and coal lands in the Hocking Valley region, having been one of the first to realize the economic importance of the iron ores of the Hocking-Perry County district. Law and an interest in local history as well as consulting work in geology also drew him away from archeology, as evidenced by a voluminous correspondence (preserved in the Western Reserve Historical Society) including such notables as Francis Parkman and John Wesley Powell. However, he still found time to correspond with such archeologists as Read and C. C. Abbott, his interest in the much debated question of pre-glacial man in Ohio remaining strong until the end. His ever-precarious health giving way completely, his death finally came in 1886.

Whittlesey, despite his limited publications, remains one of the major pioneer archeologists of Ohio, ranking high above the typical relic collector with which the state has been too often cursed. His "Ancient Earth Forts" and other publications remain his most enduring monument, but an even more fitting one would be permanent preservation of the earthworks which he described. Such an idea could yet come about if plans for the proposed park system along the Cuyahoga River materialize, for several of Whittlesey's ancient earth forts adjoin the projected park area. In particular, the small but well-preserved fortification at the mouth of Furnace Run, just south of Peninsula, Ohio, would make an ideal focal point for the proposed park area; others still exist immediately north of Peninsula, in the vicinity of Boston, and could probably be included in the park with relative ease. Certainly some effort should be made to preserve and study these ancient monuments before they vanish as completely as did their builders.

Paleontologist Peter Bungart inspects the Rocky River fortification, taking a brief respite from fossil fish collecting. *photo from Case Western Reserve University, Geology Department.*



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CHAS. WHITTLESEY'S

ANCIENT EARTH FORTS

OF THE

CUYAHOGA VALLEY, OHIO

WESTERN RESERVE HIST. SOC'Y. TRACT NO. 5 1871

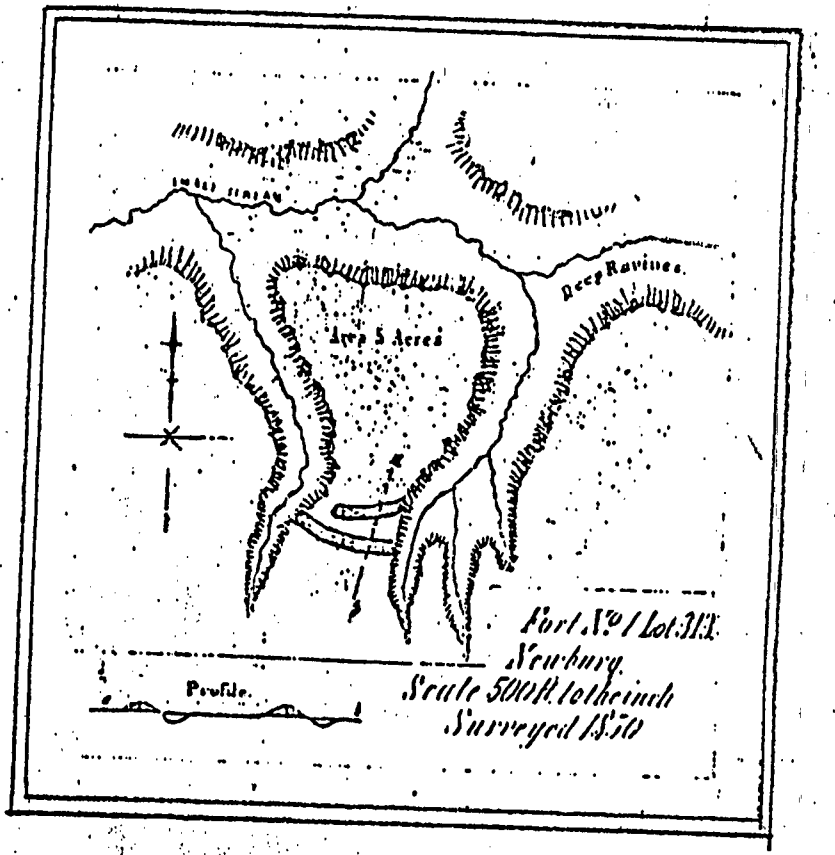
(REVISED BY JOS. D. JESENSKY 1983)

JOS. D. JESENSKY
Cuyahoga Valley Historical Research
200 La Fayette Dr. — Akron, OH 44303

Fort No. 1—Newburg.

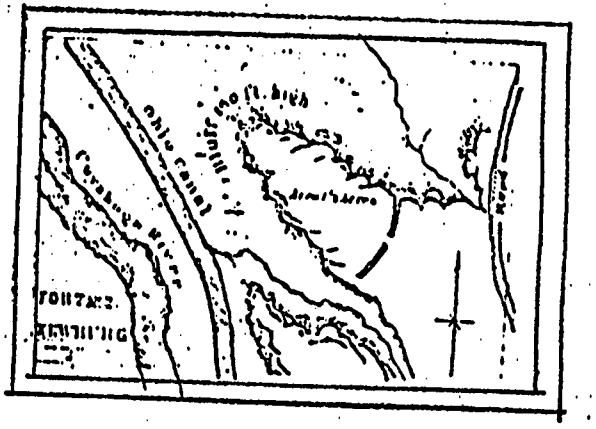
The topographical surroundings of this fort are seen at once on the engraving, Plate II. It occupies one of the numerous headlands that project from a gravelly plain towards the rivulets which have, in the progress of ages, excavated these deep and nearly impassible ravines. The sides of the adjacent gullies are as steep as the earth will lie, and are wet and slippery from springs. Probably there was some defence of pickets or brush in the form of abattis, around the crest of the space within the double wall. Through the outer one, no gateway or open passage was left. This is not uncommon in the old earth forts. There must have been some mode of entering them, over the walls by stairs or ladders that could easily be removed.

Like most of those on the Cuyahoga and on the waters of Lake Erie, this was evidently a fortified village; like those of the Colorado Indians, in New Mexico, and the strong holds of the ancient Canaanites in Palestine, into which the inhabitants entered at night. The banks are now from one and a half to two feet above the natural surface, and the ditches two feet below. About one-fourth of a mile south-east, on the same level plain, is a mound which was ten feet high in 1847, but has since been much reduced by the plow.



Fort No. 2—Newburg.

This is smaller in size than any of those which stud the river bluffs. It is simply a projecting point, rendered more defensible by a bank of earth and a moat. The view from it is quite commanding and picturesque. Its position is about midway between Nos. 1 and 3, about one and a half miles below Lock No. 8, on the right bank of the river. At the middle, the ditch was never excavated, but there is no opening in the wall at this point. There is a narrow passage around the south end of the embankment along the edge of the ravine, by which the work may be entered. The soil is dry and sandy. In 1850 it had not been long in cultivation, and the elevation of the wall above the bottom of the ditch varied from four to six feet.

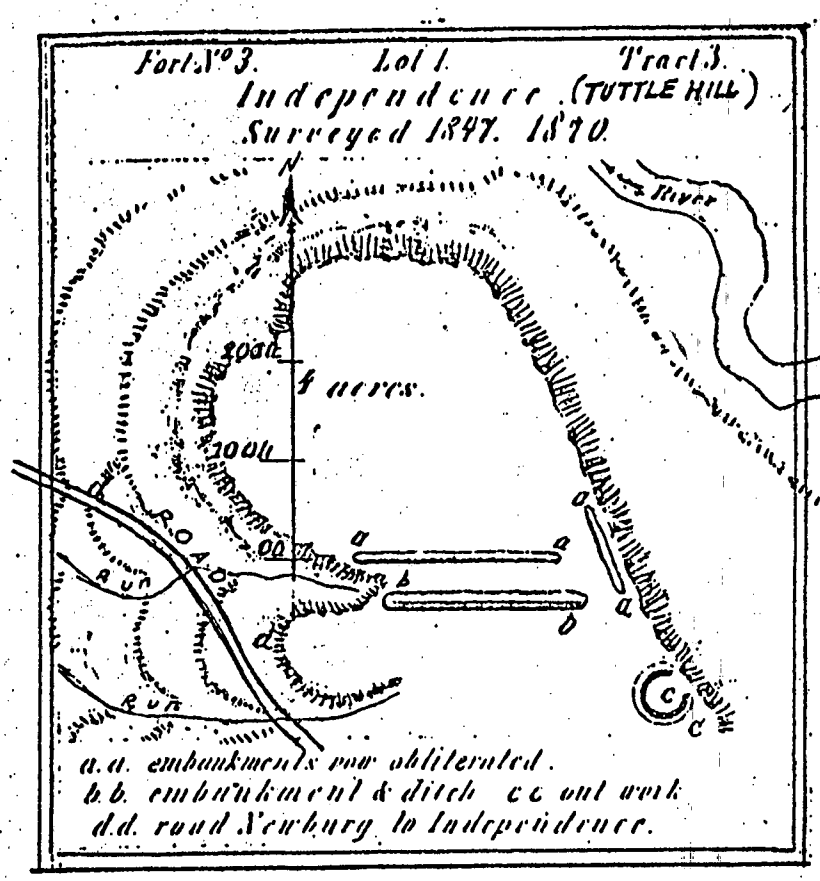


TUTTLE HILL.

Fort No. 3—Independence.

There is little difference between this and No. 1, except in size. The interior wall is now wholly obliterated—the outer one with its ditch nearly so. A resurvey in 1870 disclosed a slight bank at *a a*, parallel with the bluff, for which there is no apparent object, nor for the horse-shoe outwork, *c c*.

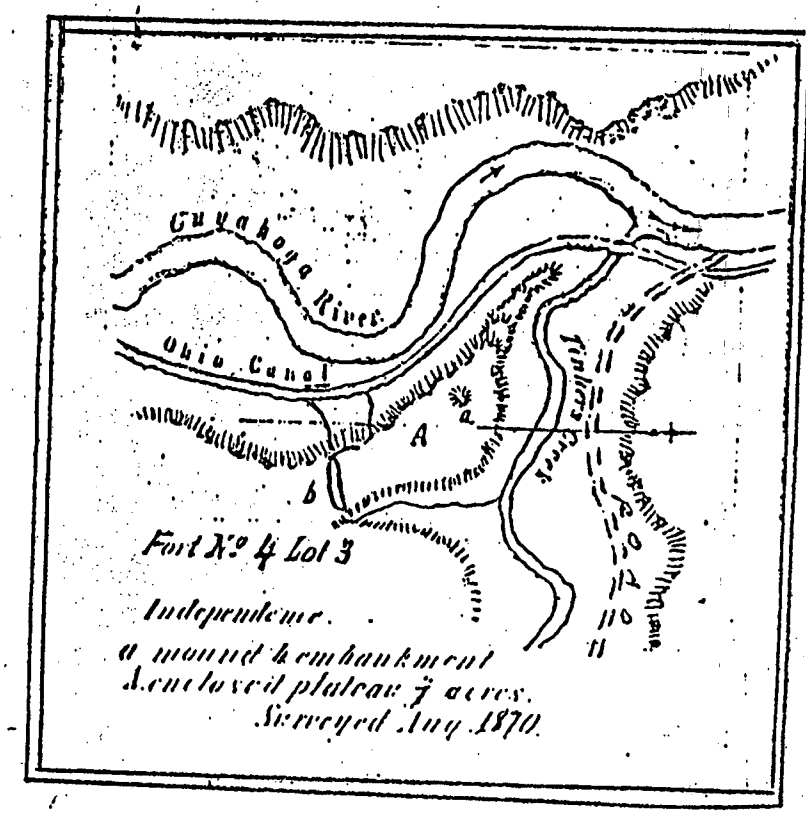
As the soil within the lines is very rich it has been mercilessly cropped during one generation, and is still not exhausted. A rank growth of corn was waving over the entire enclosure in August last. About one-fourth of a mile southerly along the bluff, Mr. Henry Tuttle, the owner of the land, has found numerous relics and bones of the Indian race, indicating the site of a village. Among them is a small neatly carved pipe from the famous red pipe-stone quarry on the Coteau de Missouri, in Dakota. It is in the form of the head of a bird, and is among the collections of the Society, donated by Mr. Chas. Tuttle.



Fort No. 4—South-east part of Independence.

Mr. Dickson, whose daughter, Mrs. Rorcback, still resides on the premises, cleared the enclosed space *A*, in the year 1810. The embankment, *b*, was then three or four feet high. A house and barn were built upon it, which are there now, and little can be seen of its primitive condition. It is not certain there was a ditch.

There are springs of perpetual flow in the river bluff and in the adjacent ravines. Within the space *A*, near the mound, great numbers of human bones have been plowed up, so many that they were collected and reburied. The position is beautiful and commanding. On the same farm now owned by Messrs. David L. and N. A. Phillips, about half a mile east there are four small mounds, nearly levelled by long cultivation. Near the township corners, about one-third of a mile south of these, is another mound which was five feet high when the early settlers first saw it. Polished stone implements were once common in this vicinity. One presented by Mr. Philips is in the Society's Cabinet, which is different from anything hitherto described. It is a soft crystalline coarse grained sienite, cut into the form of an acorn, with a flat base and a groove around it. Its length is two and a half inches, and its base an inch and eight-tenths.



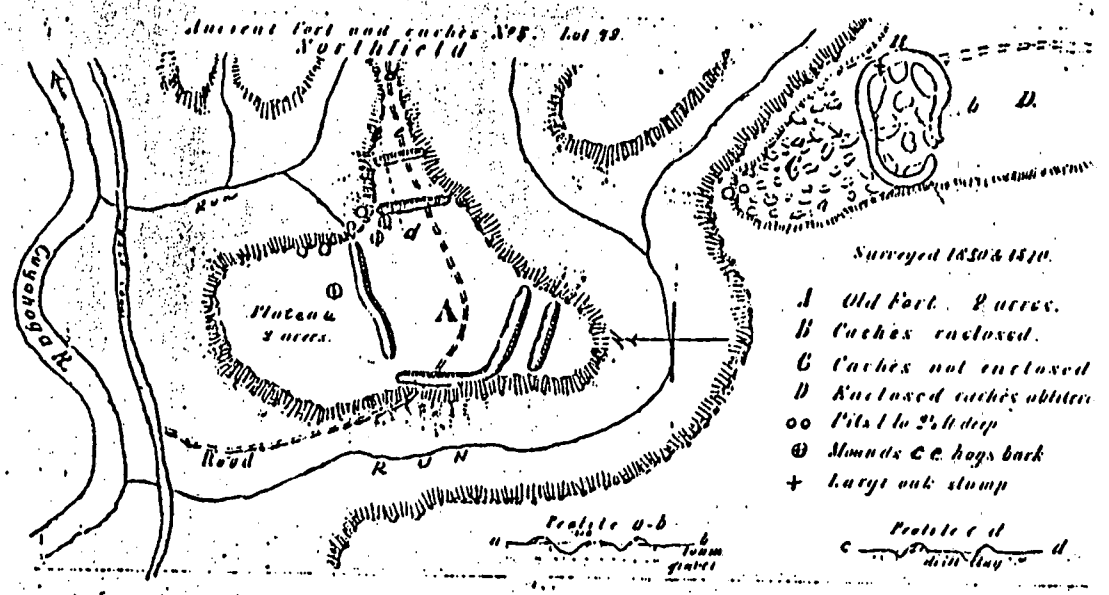
Fort No. 5 and Caches—

When this fort was surveyed in 1847, the ancient pits across the ravine on the east were not known. Mr. L. Austin, of this city, first apprised me of their existence and went with me to the spot. I cannot say that there is any connection or relation between them and the fort. There are similar pits but more regular and circular in and around the space A. which were regarded by the early settlers as wells, because most of them contained water.

The hard-pan of this level space, only a part of which is enclosed, is not favorable for caché pits, but the appearance of those on the crest of the bluff is the same as at C. For a time I regarded them as the remains of pit dwellings, both at the fort and and at B, C. With the assistance of Messrs. A. B. and Lorin Bliss, of Northfield, I made trenches through some of those in the group B. No relics, ashes or charcoal was discovered in them, such as are invariably found in the ancient pit dwellings of England. My present conviction is that they are caches, and the work of the red men. A further notice of them will be found below.

It is necessary to add little to the exhibit given in the plate in respect to this fort. The engineers who selected the site understood its natural advantages, but it is not apparent why they left a part of the plateau without their lines, or why the wall is single on that side and the ditch is within it.

The earth of the bluffs is as steep as it will stand, and the ravines as well as the river, furnish abundance of water. Before the ground was cultivated, a man standing in the ditches could not look over the embankment. Along the sharp ridge or "hogs back," *e e*, there is barely room for a single team to pass. On this side there was no gateway or entrance, but at the west end of the inner parapet, there was a very narrow passage around it. The main entrance was evidently from the river side, near where the present road ascends the hill. Inside the lines the ground was much richer than without them. The mounds are small, and have not been explored. Pieces of flint, pottery and wrought stone implements, are numerous in the space A. They are of the Indian type. The caches at B C, are on a level with the fort, and the ravine between them is sixty and seventy feet deep. As their strongest apprehensions of attack were from the country side, it is not probable that the fortress would have its magazines so far away, more than fifty rods distant, in an exposed position, beyond a very difficult gulf. As the present red race have made similar pits for storing their corn, and wild rice, it is reasonable to attribute all works of that kind to them. But in no instance, have the northern tribes been known to have occupied earth forts at, the period when they were first known to the whites, and rarely if ever since. We must therefore regard the forts, as the work of a different and an older race.



The only other work of this character in this vicinity, is represented on Plate V., upper corner at the right. It has the same ear like outline, with a narrow entrance; is situated on the edge of a terrace near water like the others, and has eight oblong pits in the interior. It is eighty-two feet in length, thirty feet broad at the narrowest part, and forty-five at the widest. A part of the timber had been cut away but the stumps remained, and the work was not injured by the hand of man. Outside of this group however, were a large number of pits at C; not quite as deep or as regular as those within, which are also represented. On the east are the remains of a slight bank at D, inclosing a space one hundred and sixty feet long by one hundred feet broad; which is in an old field. Mr. George McKisson on whose land it is found, says that in a state of nature, the pits within this embankment, were like those on the other side of the enclosure, at C. Here the soil is dry and gravelly requiring no draining. Some of the pits at C are partly down the side of the bluff; which led me to regard them as remains of cave dwellings, but on cleaning out some of them, and especially after making an open cut across B, it appeared necessary to abandon this conjecture. In one of them was nearly half a cart load of the blue hard pan or clay, which lies twelve to fifteen feet below the surface, and which crops out on the side of the gullies. Numerous springs of water issue at the top of this blue impervious clay.

There is no rim of earth around the edges of these, or of any of the pits. The earth from the enclosed ones at D, is about equal to that of the embankment. It is the same for the one on Plate VI. The earth taken from those which are outside the enclosures, must have been carried away. They appear to have been sunk from two to four feet, with perpendicular sides; probably sustained with wood, and the whole covered with wood or bark, of which nothing remains.

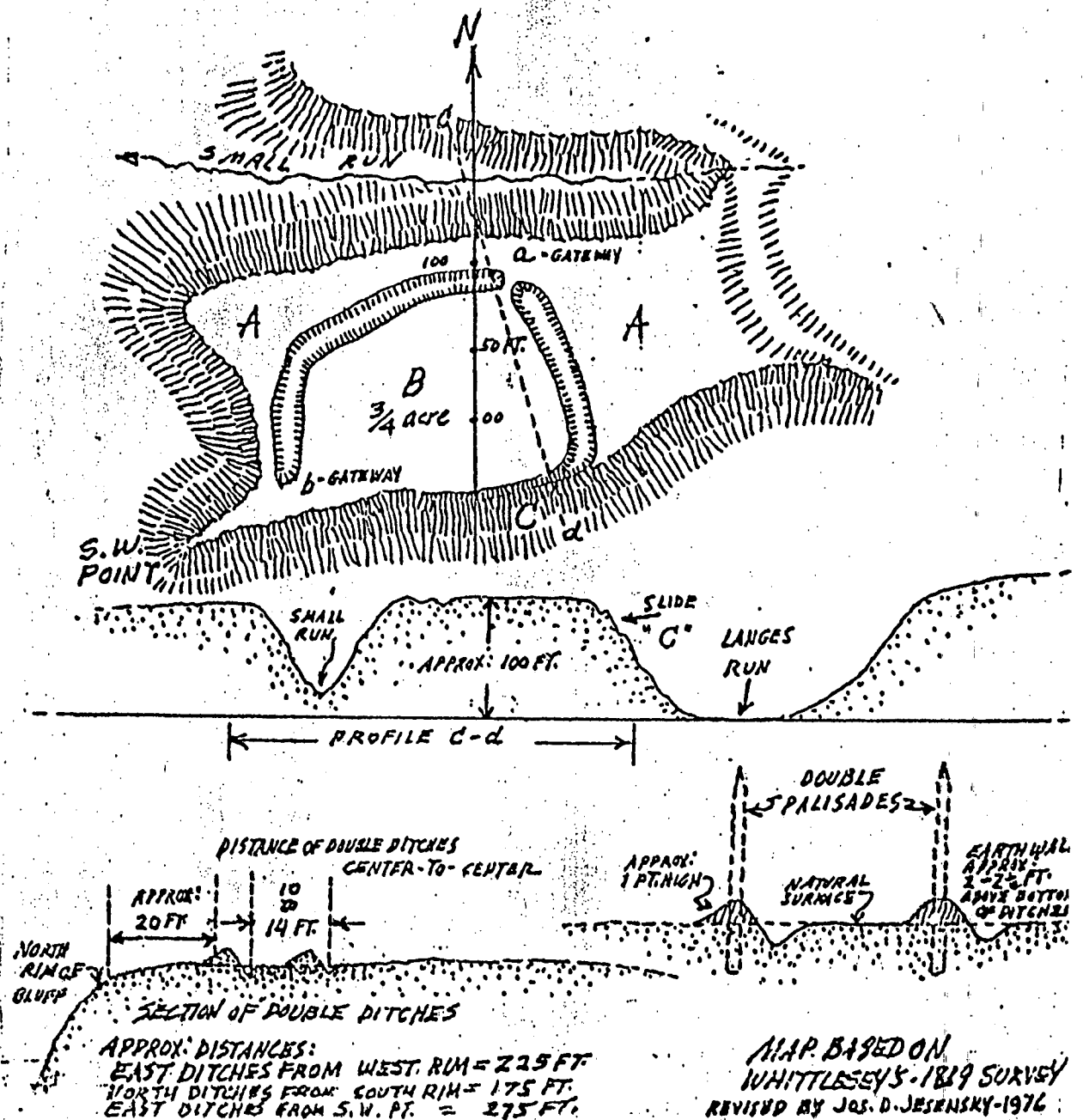
Fort No. 6—Robinson Peninsula

This work is situated on the land of William and Randolph Robinson, on an elevated point of the river bluffs, near the east bank of the Cuyahoga, and near the south line of the township. It is upon ground very inaccessible, elevated about one hundred feet above the river. Its general topography, extent and form are fully shown on Plate V. As the ground has not been cultivated, and is now covered with full-grown oaks, the work is as near its first condition, as is possible after the lapse of centuries. The walls are low—seldom more than a foot above the natural surface, and two to two and one-half feet above the bottom of the ditches, which are double. At *a* is an opening only a few feet wide, and at *b* a broader one of twenty-one feet.

Very likely the slides at C have carried down a part of the wall on that side. Outside the work, the unenclosed space A A, is on a level with the terreplein B. Why, in this and several other of the Cuyahoga forts, there should have been left around the parapets, a level place above the bluff, for the convenience of the assailants, can not easily be explained.

From the center of one ditch to the center of the other is ten to fourteen feet. C. C. Baldwin, Esq., of the Society, and the Messrs. Robinson assisted at the survey.

MAP OF WHITTLESEY'S FORT Nº 6
ROBINSON TRACT - BOSTON TWP. SUMMIT CO.
1869 - SURVEYED (CORRECTED BY J.D. JESENSKY 1975)



About a mile up the valley to the south, on the same or eastern bank, is a mound which has been much lowered by long cultivation. It is situated on NATHAN POINT'S land, upon the second terrace, about fifty feet above the river, and one-fourth of a mile from it. The brothers O. K. and W. K. Brooks, of Cleveland, and Mr. Baldwin volunteered to employ what remained of the day in opening this mound. It was then three feet above the natural surface, which is a dry, sandy plain. At two and one-half feet below the natural surface, they found parts of two human skeletons, with charcoal and ashes, showing that they had been burned. Only a few and small portions of the skull were sound enough to be raised or handled, and these soon fell to pieces. Even the teeth were soft and rotten, except their enameled crowns.

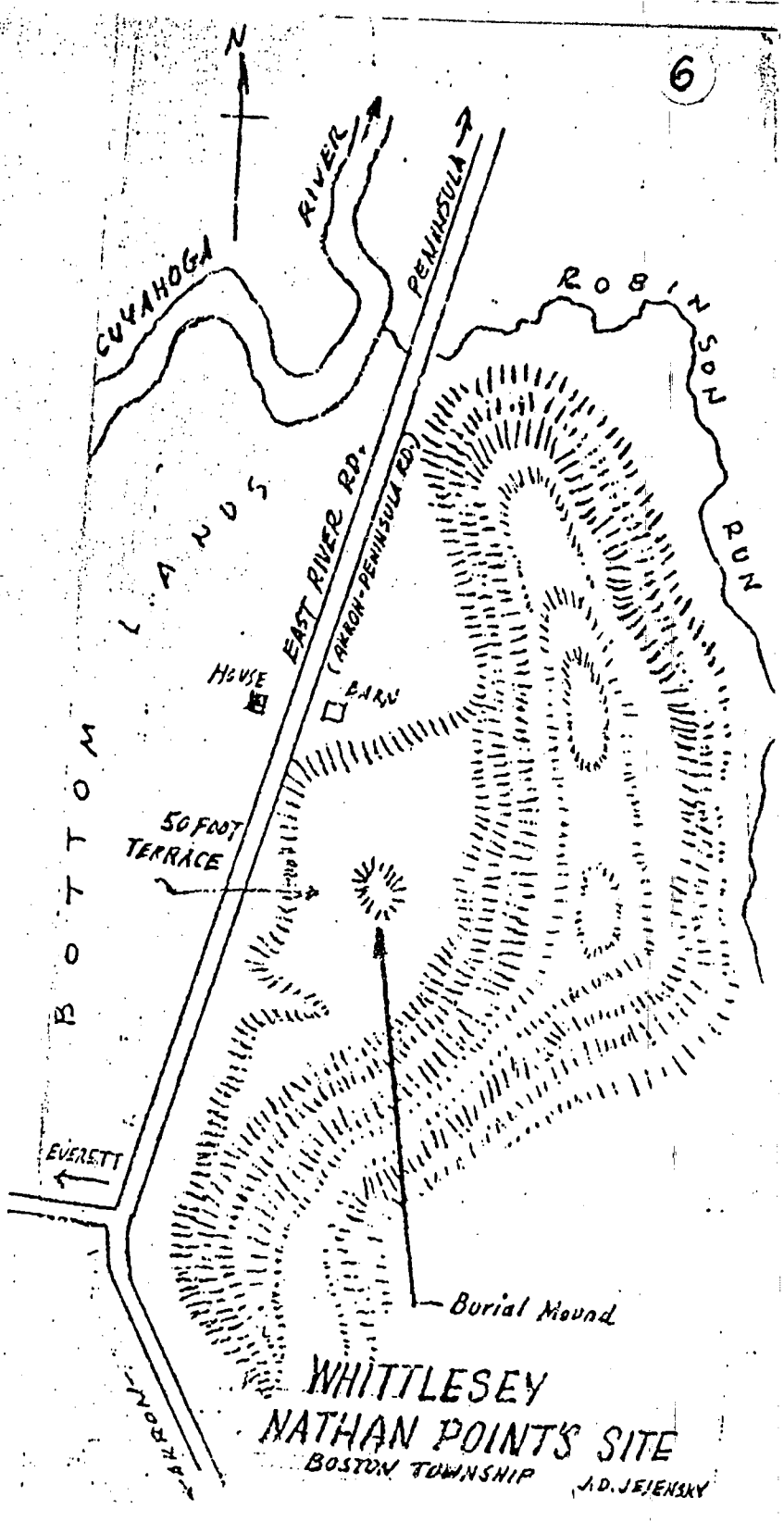
With the remains were two flint arrow points, without notches at the base, one of which is represented on Plate IV. There was also a small thumb and finger stone, such as are common on the surface along the valley, and a portion of a call or whistle, fabricated from a piece of iron ore. It is nearly the same in size and figure, with the one from a mound in Cleveland, as figured on the same plate.

Another and larger one was found on the surface in Northfield. The arrow points, thumb stones and whistles were evidently articles highly prized by, and therefore necessary to the parties buried there.

At first we supposed that this arrow head, without a neck, was typical of the Mound Builder, and would serve to separate those of the red men, from those of his predecessor. On this account it was accurately sketched by Mr. W. J. Rattle, and engraved for this pamphlet. But flint arrow points have since been found on the surface, without the usual notchings at the base; and which may have been wrought and used by the recent Indians.

On the plains it is reported that arrows provided with poison, for use in war, are not securely fastened to the shaft. They are intended to remain in the wound. Those designed for killing game are notched, and firmly tied in a slit at the end of the shaft.

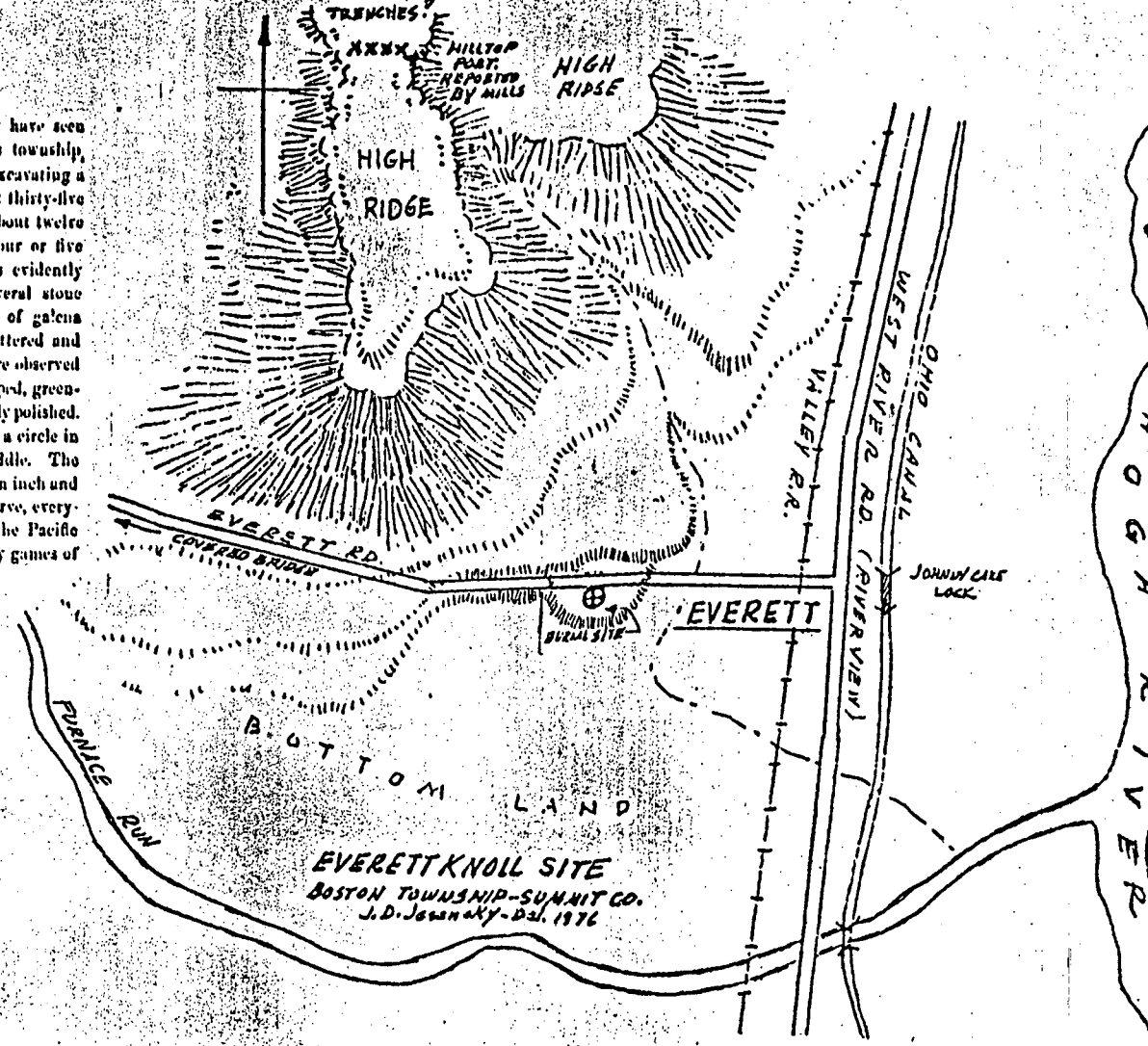
NOTE: IN 1925 ROAD REPAIR CREW GRADED TOPSOIL FROM THE TERRACE TO OBTAIN GRAVEL. 11 FIREPITS WERE REVEALED

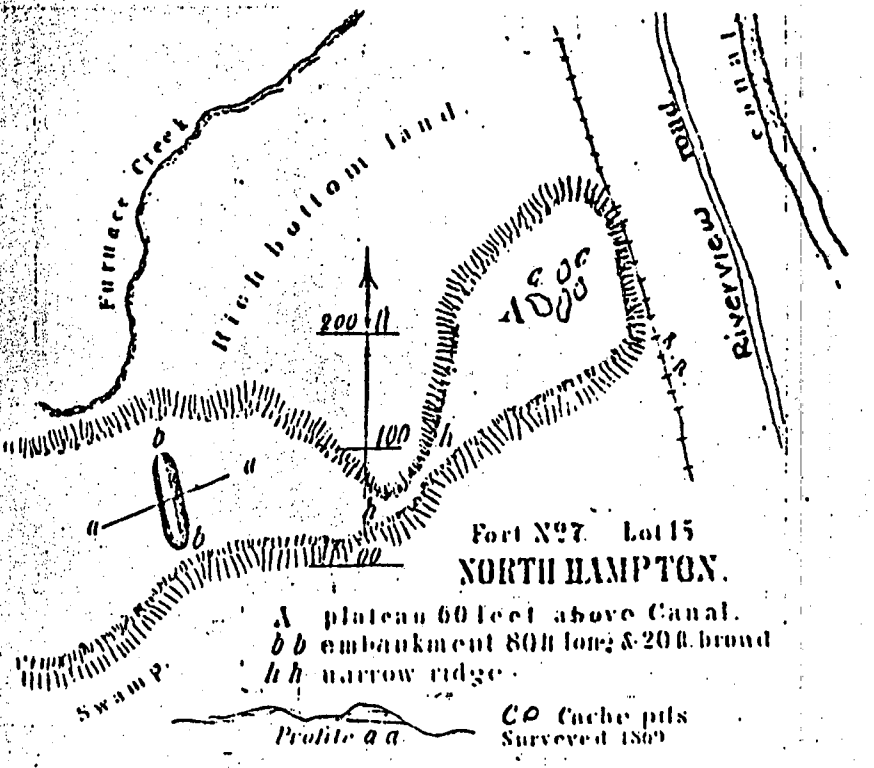


EVERETT KNOLL

Mr. Austin and other gentlemen of the Society have seen some relics procured in the southerly part of this township, on the west side of the river. They were found, in excavating a cellar, within a small circle or hexagon of earth, about thirty-five feet in diameter. Among them was a copper knife about twelve inches long, very perfect, a copper awl or bodkin, four or five inches in length, and a copper chisel. These tools evidently belonged to the Mound Builders. There were several stone implements, and large pieces of mica; also, a piece of galena or lead ore. Most of the stone implements are scattered and probably lost. One of them had a figure, not heretofore observed in this region. It was made of the fine-grained, striped, greenish gray metamorphic slate of Lake Superior, and highly polished. Its length is four inches, the cross section everywhere a circle in form, like a short rolling pin, with a bilge in the middle. The diameter at each end is about an inch, at the middle an inch and a half, tapering from the center to the ends in a curve, everywhere symmetrical. Dr. Sterling says the Indians of the Pacific Coast have similar stones, by means of which they play games of chance.

NOTE: IN 1975 AN ARCHEOLOGICAL GROUP DETERMINED THIS SITE TO BE A HOPEWELL SITE





Fort No. 7.

Across the valley from the mound which was opened, is the stronghold No. 7, on the west side of the river, in a south-west direction, about a mile and a half distant.

Its position and general characteristics can be readily ascertained from the sketch, and the notes attached to it. It is neither very extensive nor imposing. The plateau A is not strictly inaccessible, but may easily be defended. Not more than one mounted man, could ride at once along the narrow ridge *h h*, which connects this tongue of land with the country in the rear. About one hundred and fifty feet beyond this narrow pass, is a broad bank and ditch, extending partly across the space between the bluffs. It has passages at the ends forty-four and twenty-one feet wide. The pits *c c* have precisely the aspect of modern caches of the northern Indians, and were doubtless made by them.

faintly shows the site of their villages. We should expect a people like the Mound Builders who had the intelligence, and the industry; to construct so many, and so extensive earth works; over a territory so broad; would have built for themselves comfortable and permanent dwellings, of which the remains would now be visible.

I wish to call attention to this subject by referring to pits, and artificial cavities; which still exist in the vicinity of ancient earth works in Ohio. In those which I have examined the evidence is by no means conclusive, as to their age or their purposes. The style of the earth works, in different parts of the Mound country, is by no means the same. The differences are such, as to indicate at least three races or nations, as already stated; but they may not have occupied their respective territories at the same time.

Ancient Pits or Caches.

On the farm of Mr. Andrew Hale at the northeast corner of Bath, in Summit county, are the remains of two very remarkable groups of pits. Fifty years since when Mr. Hale commenced clearing away the heavy forest, which then covered this country; they were quite conspicuous, and were covered with trees of the largest size.

The largest group, was near the south line of lot 11, on a small branch running east into the Cuyahoga river, near where it crosses the north and south lines, between Bath and North Hampton. It consisted of an enclosure or bank of earth of an irregular figure, approaching a pentagon; with the corners rounded off. It was situated at the crest of a terrace, but a few feet above the branch; and was about one hundred and twenty feet across. Nothing but a dim outline is now visible, the ground having been plowed many times over. On the north and west sides at a distance of fifty to sixty rods is a high drift ridge, overlooking the valley of the brook. The soil is dry and gravelly. At present it has the appearance of a broad cavity, with a slightly raised rim. When Mr. Hale first saw it, there was a series of cavities like those hereafter described.

About half a mile north-west of this spot, on a part of the drift ridge just referred to, and at a much greater elevation, there was another but smaller group of pits. Here the embankment was only about thirty feet across. It stood on the edge of a dry gravelly terrace, and overlooked towards the north-west; the valley of Hale's brook. This is also obliterated by the plow.

Less than half a mile down the brook on the south bank stands a similar work, represented in Plate X. This is still covered with growing trees, one of which is an oak, two and a half feet in diameter. Mr. Hale says it is in all respects like the others except the size. The largest diameter of this is sixty feet, the shorter one thirty. A man standing in the deepest pits can with difficulty look over the highest part of the bank, which encloses them. It is two to four feet high, and the pits two to six feet long, somewhat oblong, and irregular. The breadth of the bank is five to sixteen feet, the soil dry and gravelly, forming part of a plain about twenty feet above the creek. An open cut was made by us, at the south-east corner through the bank, and the pits; and no relics, coals or ashes were found. The bottom of the cavities is clean sand and gravel, and somewhat dish shaped.

On the stream above these remains there had evidently been a village or camp. Old hearths of stone, charcoal and ashes; cover a large space on its northern bank. A large Indian trail passed near this old camp, and thence over the hills to the west; along which there were very old hacks or blazes, upon the trees. In one of them, Mr. H. found a leaden bullet forty years since; which then had sixty annual layers of growth over it. Over one of the axe marks, there was a growth of one hundred and sixty layers. Near by on the hills, was an old and extensive sugar camp of the Indians.

Between this mound and the caches on Hale's Brook, Plate VII, are six small mounds, which Mr. Osborne and others have opened at different times, and in which are human bones and charcoal.

Earthworks Nos. 8 and 10.

No. 8 is a low bank of earth, generally less than a foot in height, with an average breadth at base of nine feet. It has no ditch, and its situation precludes the idea of a design for a fort. The ground is yet a forest of venerable oaks, one of which stands on the embankment in full vigor, having a diameter of three feet.

If we had proof that the Indians or the Mound Builders had domestic animals, this work and the one in Granger, (No. 10,) not represented among the plates, might be taken for permanent corrals, surrounded with pickets as a protection against wild animals.

No. 10 is nearly a circle, eighteen rods in diameter, with a wall two feet high (1850) and ten feet broad, having one opening. The ditch is about equal in dimensions to the bank. It is situated upon ground lower than the general level of the country, except on the north-west, where there is a large swamp. Near it on the west is a terrace several feet higher. On each side are two small rivulets of permanent water. The road running east from the center, passes through it at about half a mile, but the owner had, twenty years since, nearly leveled it with the natural surface, for the accommodation of his house, barn and outhouses.

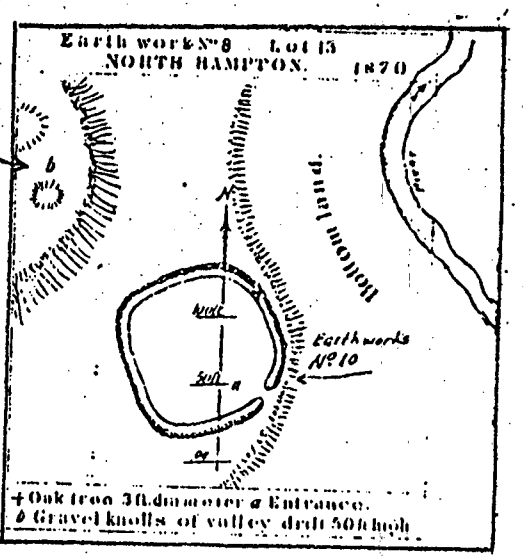
It is less than half a mile in a south-west direction to the enclosed caches represented on Plate VII. The village of Niles is about half a mile to the ~~north~~ south. In this vicinity, in the townships of North Hampton and Bath, is a numerous group of mounds, caches and embankments, which are shown on the map, Plate I.

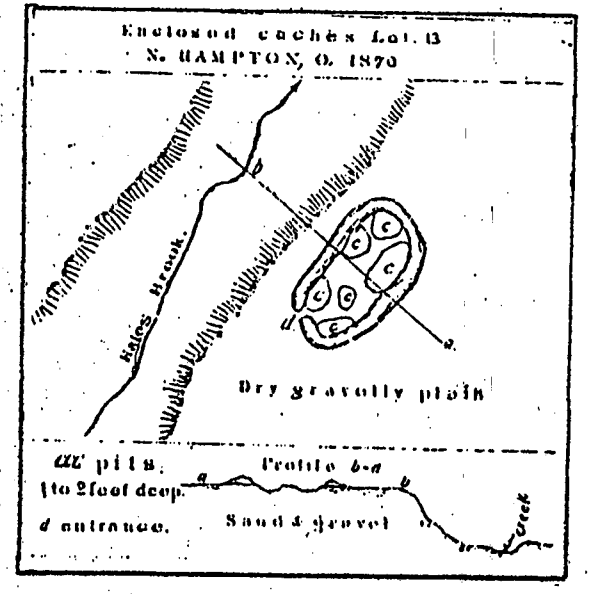
Earthwork No. 8, belongs to this cluster of ancient remains. It is a low bank, without a ditch, situated near the river, on the second terrace, which is about thirty feet above the channel.

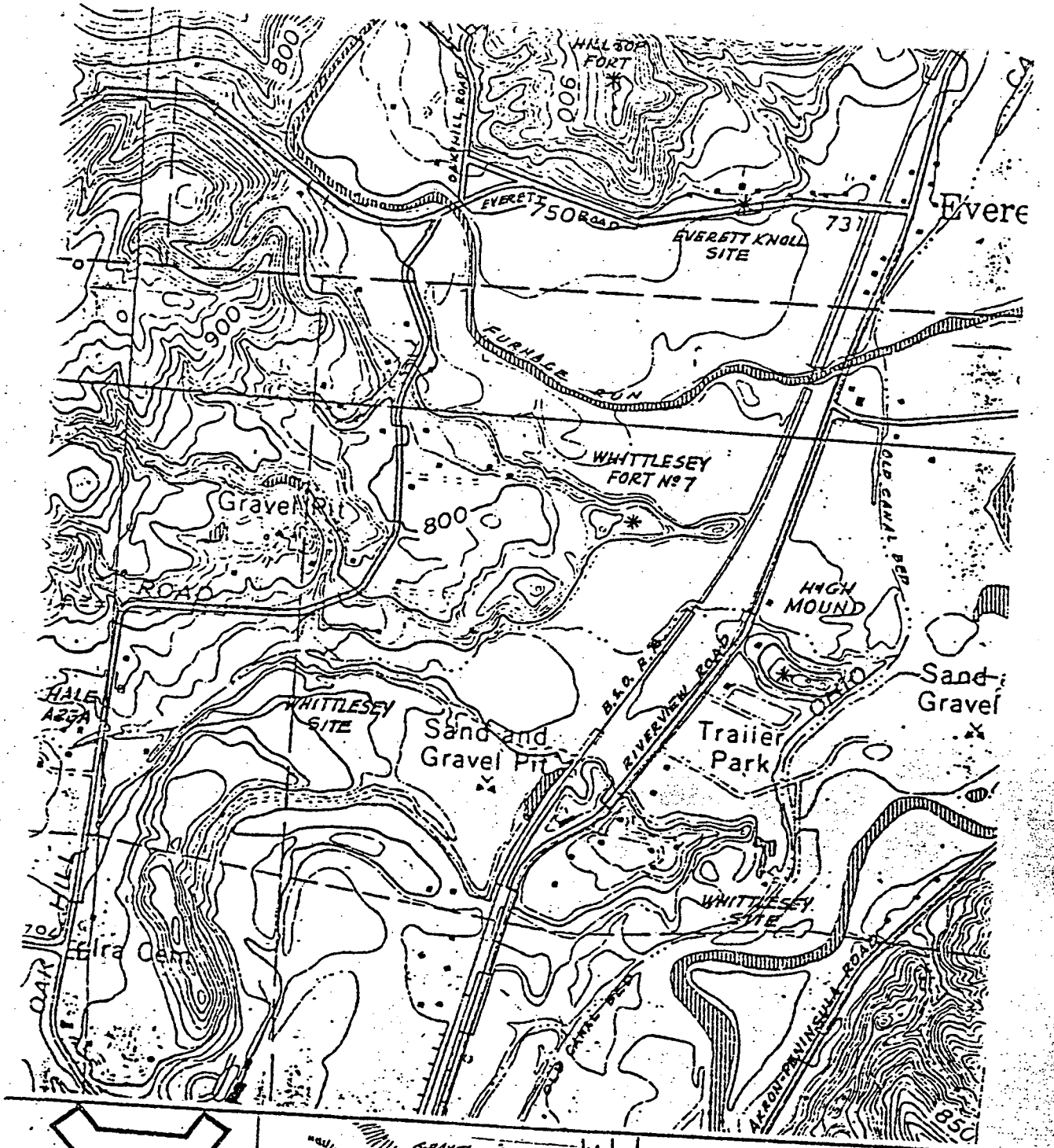
In the rear, and overlooking it, is higher land in the form of a terrace, and drift knolls. This is on the land of Mr. Richard Howe, between the road and the river. Near the house of Mr. P. W. Osborne, adjoining it on the north, on the ridge, *b*, is a mound which is now four and one-half feet high, after being plowed over many years. Across the road to the north-west, half a mile distant, is another, in which a human skull was found seventeen years ago, reputed to be that of a Mound Builder.

With the assistance of Mr. Andrew Hale and his son, we made an open cut through this mound, without discovering anything but a few human bones near the top, evidently a burial much more recent than the erection of the mound; a stone chisel and a flint arrow joint. It is composed of rich surface soil of a dark color. Originally it was seven feet high, now five feet, one diameter being forty-nine and the other forty-seven and one-half feet. Mr. Waggoner saw the skull plowed out of the mound, and is satisfied it lay near the surface. It is evidently more modern than the Mound Builders. (CONT'D-NEXT PAGE)

Earthworks No. 8







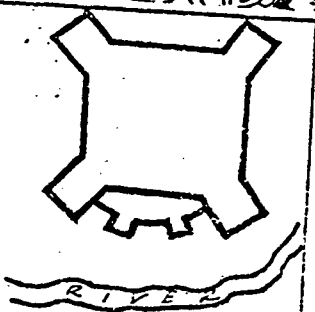
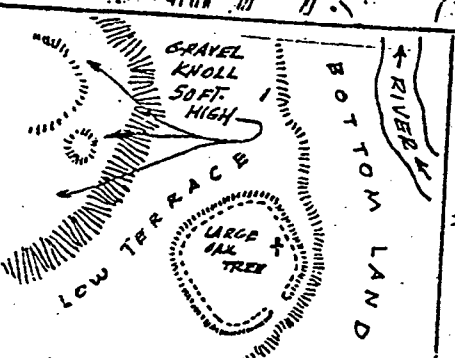
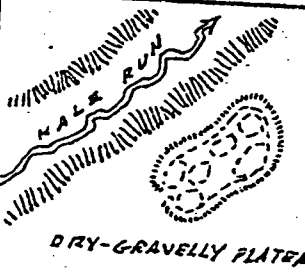


DIAGRAM OF A TYPICAL BIERCE FORT IN THE IRA AREA

HE DESCRIBES SEVERAL SUCH FORTS IN THE AREA



WHITTLESEY EARTHWORKS No 8
R. HOWE LOT No 13



DRY-GRAVELLY PLATEAU

WHITTLESEY ENCLOSED CACHES
LOT No 14

TYPICAL MAJOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
IRA-EVERETT AREA

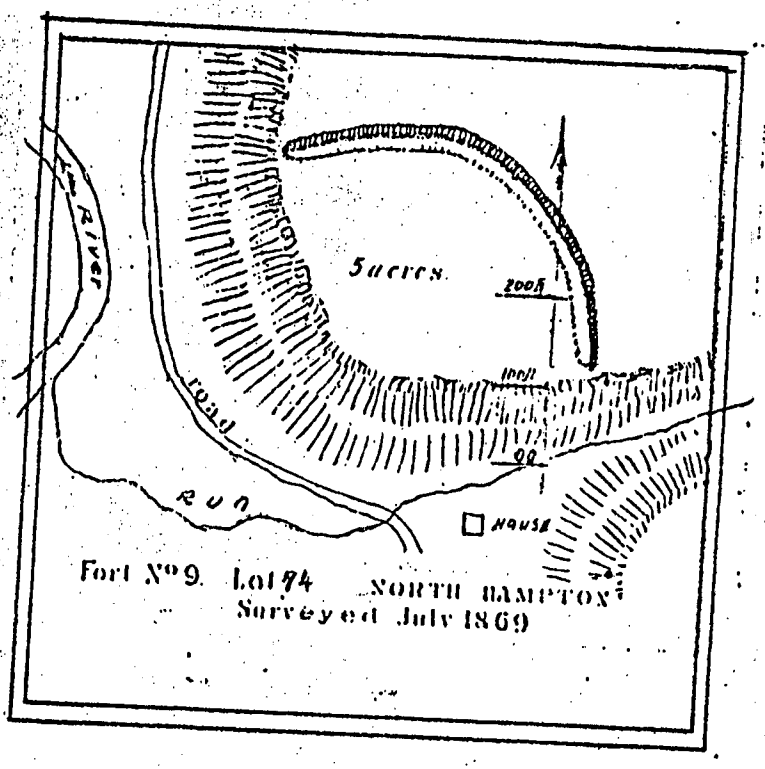
J.D. Jessup-Dec. 1986

Fort No. 9—

This work is situated on a high and very precipitous bluff, on the land of John Hovey. He has been laboring during many years to obliterate it, by turning the furrows always towards the ditch, which has now nearly disappeared. Originally the bank was more bold than is usual in the Cuyahoga forts, being full six feet above the bottom of the moat.

In its general characters and position it resembles No. 6, on Robinson's land, in Boston. In both of them only a part of the plateau is included within the work, and the surrounding bluffs are very high and steep. Within No. 9, stone implements, pottery and flint arrow points were very numerous, and the soil rich. If there were entrances or gate-ways, they have been wholly obscured by long cultivation.

Neither here nor in any of the forts on this river, are the lines so constructed as to give mutual support to their several parts. The positions are well chosen for natural strength, but each part of the defense, relied upon its own power of resistance. Here, as usual, there are convenient springs, a rivulet, and the river itself, for supplying water.



Fort No 9. Lot 94 NORTH HAMPTON
Surveyed July 1869

BOTZUM MOUND

ISOLATED MOUNDS.

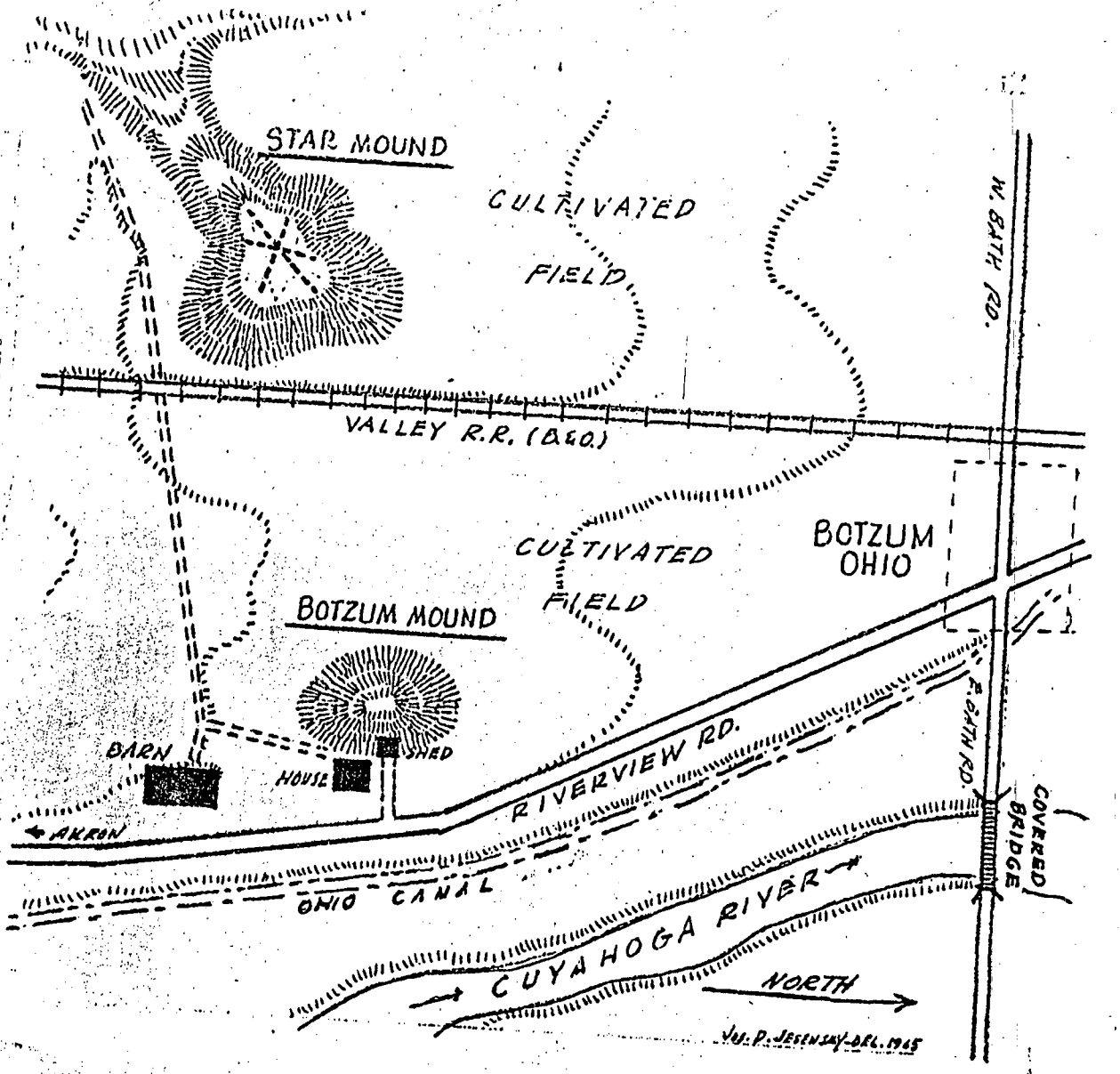
The largest artificial mound of the Cuyahoga Valley, is on the land and near the residence of Col. John Schoonover, in North Hampton. It is now eighteen feet high, and its base is three hundred feet in circumference. Except for the purpose of making a milk house, it has not been opened. A short distance west of it, on a gravel ridge, which corresponds to the second terrace of the valley, is an Indian burial ground; and some irregular cavities, probably caches. Excavations among the group of mounds, at the corners of Bath, Boston, Richfield and North Hampton townships, have disclosed very little of interest. The contents of one further down the river, in Boston, and of a small work in the same vicinity, have already been noticed. There must have been a time, when this neighborhood was very populous.

STAR MOUND

A few miles out of Akron on the "Valley Road" ← R.R. as one goes toward Cleveland, one sees on the right hand side a fine specimen of the Indian mound. It stands in the door yard of a farm home. It is almost a perfect sugar loaf about forty feet high and 150 feet around. It has been kept intact from the first and will probably stand as a relic for generations to come.

* A little farther along and on the left hand side is a more extensive work covering the whole top of a low hill. It is an earth work in the form of a five pointed star, almost exact. It is several hundred feet across, the point of each star being more than a hundred feet from the center. It is most likely a military structure, put in star shape that it might be defended from attack on any side. It must have stood at considerable height above the surface a few years ago with clearly marked form. But now it is in a tilled field, with crops grown over the star every year, and already the outlines have grown very dim. In a few years more the plough and the harrow will have smoothed it all down, and soon after even the memory of it will be gone. So fade the years into the dateless past.

* OLIN'S-HISTORY OF SUMMIT CO.

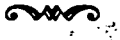


THE ZEISBERGER-MORTIMER DIARY
(Formerly called Susannah
Zeisberger's Diary)

FROM FAIRFIELD

TO SCHŌNBRUN

1798



Edited By

Leslie R. Gray
London, Ontario
1957

• The Early Moravian Missionary - influence on the early history of our region - takes the place of those of the early Jesuit missionaries - elsewhere, in Canada and territory along the north shore of Lake Erie. The Jesuits only paid a brief visit along the south shore of Lake Erie - enough to report the existance of a large tribe called - "The Erie or "Cat-Nation" Indians who once roamed our Cuyahoga Valley and much of the northern half of Ohio - (I have found - "Erie" type material as far south as the Waldhoney Run area)

The Moravians therefore gave us a good glimpse of early northern Ohio and especially the Cuyahoga Valley. Their temporary town of "Pilgerruh" off Hathaway Rd. & Canal Roads - was the earliest "town" ever established by white man - though the Indians had a "town" there - before them. Pilgerruh existed for a brief time - about a year - about 10 years before even Cleveland established Early Cleveland.

The enclosed pages - are taken from a published Moravian Diary - which gives an intimate and interesting glimpse of the early Cuyahoga River and region - its topography - Indians and wild-life - Heckewelder, one of the missionaries mentioned - gave also the first drawn, rough map of N.E. Ohio to Moses Cleveland to aid him in the surveying of the Western Reserve Territory.

J.A.J.

The missionaries followed the old overland Indian Path - known as the - "Mahoning Path" - which later was known as - Egypt Road - It was also used by the early pack trains - transporting supplies between Ft. Detroit & Ft. Pitt.

In the absence of Jesuit missionary activities along the South shore of Lake Erie and Ohio in general - we are fortunate in having the accounts of the early Moravian missionary accounts describing their contact with the resident Indians of the Cuyahoga & Tuscarawas Valleys.

They also - established the first white settlement (though of short duration) in northern Ohio - The Town of Pellgeneal - built 10 years before Cleveland was first established.

Their writings and early maps are important contributions to our early history of N. Ohio, and territory.

J. D. Josselyn

FROM FAIRFIELD TO SCHŌNBRUN—1798

Edited by Leslie R. Gray

Diary of Br. and Sr. Zeisberger and Br. Benj. Mortimer, on their journey from Fairfield in Upper Canada, to Schönbrun on the River Muskingum, in the N.W. Territory of the United States, with 33 Indian brethren and sisters and children; from the 15 August to the 4 October 1798.[1]

The Editor's Introduction

Benjamin Mortimer's earlier diary of his travels with John Heckewelder from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania to Fairfield, on the Thames River in Upper Canada, 30th April to 22nd May, 1798, was published in *Ontario History*, XLVI, Nos. 1 and 2, in 1954.

On his arrival at the Moravian mission village of Fairfield, Mortimer immediately became an important part of its life and activity. He kept a very comprehensive diary of his three months' work among Fairfield's Indians, which has been freely quoted by Elma E. Gray in her story of Fairfield, *Wilderness Christians*.[2] It was unusual for anyone other than the missionary in charge to keep the official diary of the mission or of a journey, and we can only conclude that Mortimer's enthusiasm for writing attracted the attention of his superiors and won him the privilege of keeping the records, under their supervision.

The diary we are now to present is actually Mortimer's third. It concludes his stay in Fairfield and follows his journey to the mission fields in Ohio. Its existence has been known to American historians for many years and some brief extracts have been permitted. It is with extreme gratitude that we acknowledge the confidence now placed in us by the Archives Committee who have given us permission to publish it for the first time in full, with our editorial comments. May we extend our thanks and also our congratulations in this great year of 1957 which marks the 500th anniversary of the founding of the Moravian Church and the 100th anniversary of the Moravian Historical Society.

Ever since the Revolutionary War, when the Moravians and their Indians had been forced from their homes in Schönbrun, Gnadenhuetten and Salem on the Muskingum River, the continuing conflict between Indians and whites in Ohio had prevented their return. Suddenly their

1. Title of the original manuscript of the diary in the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa.

2. Elma E. Gray, *Wilderness Christians*, (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, and Toronto, the Macmillan Company of Canada, 1956).

dream of returning to Ohio from Upper Canada became a distinct possibility. Three areas on the Muskingum, totalling twelve thousand acres, had been patented by the United States Government on February 24, 1798, to the Moravians in trust for their Indian converts. John Heckewelder and William Edwards had gone on ahead in May 1798 with a few Indians from Fairfield to prepare the way for the reopening of the Ohio missions to the Delawares and kindred tribes. Now the permanent settlement was to be made. David Zeisberger, although past his seventy-seventh birthday, volunteered to leave Fairfield, the village he had founded just six years earlier, to reopen the work of Christianizing his "brown brethren" in Ohio. Mortimer, with the energy and enthusiasm of his thirty years, enjoyed to the full the journey to his new home in Ohio in the company of David and Susan Zeisberger and he wrote freely of the things he saw and heard and felt.

The authorship of his diary was in some doubt until recently. It has frequently been referred to as Sister Zeisberger's Diary. Confusion arose because in the Bethlehem Archives there are three separate accounts of the journey—the original long English version in Mortimer's handwriting, here printed in full, a shorter English version prepared for publication (1799) in the *Periodical Accounts* of the Moravian Church,[3] and a German version which is actually a translation from Mortimer's English diary. In the past, some historians have considered the German version to be the original, and mistakenly translating "Geshwister Zeisberger" as "Sister Zeisberger" instead of "Brother and Sister Zeisberger", have assumed the diary was kept by Susan Zeisberger rather than by Brother Mortimer.

The Zeisbergers no doubt influenced Mortimer's writing of this diary in much the same way as John Heckewelder, with his stories and reminiscences, created much of the historic atmosphere for Mortimer's diary of the Bethlehem-Fairfield journey. While Mortimer, eager to learn the history and the local tradition of the country through which they were passing, talked with Indians and whites alike, the influence of John Heckewelder and his meticulous accuracy for mileage is missing.

On Lake Erie and in Ohio Mortimer's distances are quite inaccurate in comparison with those in the Bethlehem-Fairfield story. We had followed his overland journey through Pennsylvania, New York and Upper Canada and the reliability of his mileages often amazed us. But the Ohio trip was quite different; we found we had to ignore the mileage given. The water route probably accounted for some of the differences, but how could Mortimer be so far out on this journey? The real reason was that Heckewelder was not along to help with accurate estimates. The exciting travels of this seasoned woodsman, Heckewelder, who kept excellent records of the distances he covered on foot, on horseback or by boat in

3. Published in England for distribution to English speaking missions and congregations, and containing news of all missions throughout the world.

the service of Moravian missions, will shortly be told by a noted historian and author, Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace, a former Canadian, now of Annville, Pennsylvania, in his book, *Thirty Thousand Miles with Heckewelder.*

Mortimer's manuscript consists of eleven sheets of paper, folded in the middle and written on four sides each, i.e. forty-four pages. On thirty-six pages, a margin is left on the outer side ("For Br. Zeisberger's remarks"), but only in three cases was it used, the handwriting being that of Mortimer. The writing is clearly readable, medium small, and without much pressure. For some reason, underlined words are only *partly* underlined. There are few corrections such as crossed-out letters or words, or inserted half sentences. The footnotes, appearing at the bottom of the respective pages in the manuscript (first note marked by a little star, second note by a cross), have been included in the text behind the word they refer to. The present editor's comments or identifications are in square brackets [ ].

It is impossible to follow this journey in the same detail as the overland trip from Bethlehem to Fairfield. There we could travel by car along the modern roads, in many cases superimposed on or adjacent to the roads of a century and a half ago. The voyage from Fairfield to Schönbrun by dugout canoes on rivers and lakes was a different problem. However, we did follow it as closely as pavements or gravel roads permitted, and were able to identify most of the landmarks mentioned. The difficult part to visualize was the handling of clumsy dugout canoes. Today, our canoes are light and graceful, but not capable of carrying heavy burdens. The seven Fairfield canoes were long, heavy, freight-type craft which carried in all thirty-six persons, with camping and cooking equipment and all the movable property that could reasonably be transported. Few museums have examples of dugout canoes. They were made from huge trees, cut down, hollowed out and shaped by fire, axe and adze, to form a blunt-ended, round-bottomed, clumsy craft, reasonably suitable for calm waters but dangerous in a storm or in rapid waters. The Fairfield Indians were experts in making these canoes and supplied them to many of their white neighbours on the Thames.

During 1956 we made two trips to Ohio travelling along the Cuyahoga and Muskingum Rivers, searching in the cities of Cleveland, Akron and Monroe and along the shores of Lake Erie and the Detroit River. Topographical survey maps and binoculars were great aids to us in following the route and recognizing some of the still-existing landmarks noted by Mortimer nearly 160 years earlier. Our comments will be found in the footnotes.

THE DIARY

Margin left for Br.
Zeisberger's remarks.

After taking a tender and affectionate farewel of the brethren and sisters in Fairfield, and in particular of our dear fellow laborers in the gospel, we set off from thence on the 15 August, with 33 Indian brethren

and sisters and children, in 7 canoes. Six other canoes, containing 23 persons, accompanied us down the river. The missionary canoe, which had been presented to us for the journey by an Indian brother, was conducted by three young brethren of the Fairfield congregation, who had obligingly offered their services for that purpose. It started at 12 o'clock and was followed at intervals by the rest. Some horses belonging to the Indians went along with us by land.

Three miles from the town, at the end of Fairfield township,[4] we entered the settlement of the white people. The road[5] thither, which was made last year by the Indian brethren, is acknowledged to be the best finished of any along the river Thames. As we descended the stream, many of our neighbors[6] appeared on its banks in order to take leave of us. Some invited us into their houses, others presented us with melons &. and all testified much regard for us. In the evening we encamped on the land of a Mr. Abbot,[7] a justice of the peace.

It is known that the white people, traders excepted, commonly avoid settling near to Indian towns. They are afraid of their horses being stolen, their cattle killed, their improvements injured, and their persons molested by them. Thus quarrels are produced, which often end in bloodshed. Nothing can be a more unequivocal testimony of the high opinion generally entertained of our Indians in these parts, than that so [no] sooner was it known that they would establish themselves on this river, on land granted them by the king, but white settlers were eager to take up lands in the vicinity of their settlement. They are now encreased to above one hundred families. The fact is, the so called Moravian Indians are accounted the best of neighbors, especially for new settlers. The white people have not only experienced from them an inoffensive conduct, but have found that they readily worked for and assisted them with provisions; and when they visited them in their town, they made no charges for their entertainment. (Note: When the missionaries have advised the Indians to charge the white people for lodging and entertaining them, and shewn them the reasonableness of so doing, they have answered: "When an Indian comes to my house, I do not make pay me for what I give him: Why then should I ask money of a white man?")

The inhabitants of Fairfield, considered as citizens of an extensive, and but thinly inhabited, commercial country, have been of acknowledged advantage to it. Through them, as Mr. Askin[8] once observed to the late commanding officer at Detroit in presence of Br. Senseman,[9] the price

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4. The Township was never called Fairfield. The boundaries of the township were approximately those of present Zone. The settlement would be that of the Shermans, near the present Thamesville Bridge, and of the Cornwalls on adjoining land.

5. This road followed closely the present No. 2 highway. It was the main street of Fairfield village and part of the York to Detroit road.

6. Space will permit only "thumb-nail" sketches of white residents along the Thames. More details are available in Elma E. Gray, *Wilderness Christians*; Fred C. Hamil, *The Valley of the Lower Thames*; Victor Lauriston, *Romantic Kent*; Milo M. Quaife, ed. *John Askin Papers*.

7. Joseph Abbott received a crown grant, lot 18, on the Thames River, Chatham Township, one and a half miles north-east of present Louisville.

8. John Askin, prominent British merchant of Detroit, later of Sandwich, U.C. (See John Askin Papers).

9. Gottlob Sensemann, one of Fairfield's four original missionaries, now left in charge of the mission by the departure of David Zeisberger, the original leader. He died in 1800 of tuberculosis aggravated by a fall during the building of Fairfield's bridge, and was the first missionary to be buried with the Indians in the cemetery, "Hutberg".

of many of the principal necessaries of life has been reduced in Detroit market. The great North West fur company[10] buys up annually 5000 bushels of Indian corn. Fairfield supplies on an average about 2000 bushels of it. They raise great numbers of cattle, which are all for sale. (Note: The Indians very seldom eat beef. Being accustomed to deer's meat, it seems coarse and unpalatable to them.) In the winter they make about 5000 lb of sugar; and though they consume a great part of it themselves, yet what they bring to market is considerable: it is also of superior quality, for no where in Canada is the juice of the maple better manufactured than in Fairfield. They have supplied all the adjacent settlements with their canoes. Their coopery, mats &c. command a ready sale. Thus after all the distresses they have sustained, our Saviour favors them externally as well as internally. He blesses the sweat of their brows, and their faithfulness in all their business; and in this respect also sets them to his praise on earth.

But what is of far more importance, and a principal subject of the solicitude and prayers of the missionaries, Fairfield is to all human appearance, a very eligible place (Note: The great, but only material disadvantage of situation under which it labors, is: its lying on a river which is one of the grand channels of communication between Detroit, and the western parts of Canada. It is consequently much frequented by traders, who embrace every opportunity of introducing spirituous liquors.) from whence the gospel may be sounded forth to the various and numerous tribes of the Chippeways. The nearest Chippeway town is not above 9 miles distant; there is another town 22 miles farther off.[11] Both may be approached from thence by land or by water.[12] The latter, though the most circuitous, is the easiest mode of access, on account of the swampiness of the country. The innumerable rivers and creeks which empty their waters into lakes Huron, Michigan and Superior, are mostly inhabited by Chippeways, who have not, and whose fathers never have had, any knowledge of the gospel of our salvation through a Redeemer. What a happy circumstance would it be, if these glad tidings could be made known to them, as they have been to other nations! Is it not more than probable that our Saviour has, contrary to the wish of themselves, and those who direct and superintend their mission, led a congregation of believing Indians into their country, with the view that this may, sooner or later, be effected? "Go over & help them", (Acts 16.9) our Saviour has said, as the Shepherd and Leader of his people, But in order to this, it seems necessary that their language should first be learnt by those who are to preach to them; and this cannot be attempted with success by any but *young* missionaries. Though the Chippeways understand many Delaware words, yet it is impossible for them to comprehend the plainest and most simple evangelical testimony in that language.[13] We quitted Fairfield with the most fervent wishes and

10. The North-West Company, founded in 1783 by Montreal fur interests to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company for the furs of America's north-west.

11. Their settlements were on the Sydenham River and on the St. Clair River. See Elma E. Gray; "A Missionary Venture on the St. Clair" in Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions*, XIV pts V and VI (1951) pp. 341-349.

12. The water route would be by Thames River, Lake St. Clair, Chenail Escarte, and Sydenham River.

13. Mortimer's words were apparently given consideration at Bethlehem for in 1800 Christian Frederic Dencke was ordained for work among the Chippewas. After receiving instruction from David Zeisberger in Goshen, Ohio, he commenced his mission to the Chippewas in 1801. See Elma E. Gray, *Wilderness Christians*, chapter 18.

prayers, that our Saviour would be pleased, not only to continue to shower down his favors upon that dear congregation as he had done hitherto, and preserve them from all evil, but also that he would make them the blessed means of propagating his gospel extensively among their heathen brethren!

The 16.th early we pursued our journey. About 16 miles from Fairfield is a gristmill belonging to Mr. Field.[14] A little lower down the river lives Mr. Messimer,[15] a tunker preacher. A Mr. Arnold,[16] of the same persuasion, has a saw-mill. Thirty miles[17] from Fairfield is the store, tavern and farm belonging to our friend Mr. Matthew Dolson,[18] who received us with his usual hospitality. Here we had the pleasure to be overtaken by Sister Senseman,[19] and were altogether very kindly entertained.

Mr. M. Dolson's name has frequently been mentioned in the letters and diaries of the missionaries. He is deservedly esteemed by them, on account of his having approved himself to them indeed—a friend in need. When they went to live at New Gnadenhütten[20] on the Huron river,[21] in the year 1782, they were greatly in want of provisions, both for themselves and the Indians, as is always the case, for the first year at least, at new settlements. The character of the brethren was at that time unknown in Detroit; and hence they had no credits there. On applying to the principal merchants to advance them flour, and promising them payment as soon as they should receive the remittances which they expected from Pennsylvania or England, they all either civilly excused themselves, or absolutely refused to comply with their requests. In this distress they took their refuge by prayer to our Saviour, beseeching him to raise them up some friend who would assist them. They then agreed to speak on the subject to Mr. Dolson, who was master of the tavern at which they lodged. They told him frankly the business on which they were come,

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14. Daniel Field, a former resident on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, received a grant to lot 10, Raleigh Township on the south bank of the Thames. The mill here mentioned, however, was located on lot 18, Harwich Township, south of the Thames, about two miles east of present Louisville.

15. John Messmore received grants for lots 6, 7, 8, Chatham Township on the north side of the Thames.

16. Christopher Arnold's grist mill was on lot 3 in Howard on a creek flowing into the Thames. It could not be seen from the canoes, which accounts for its mention out of chronological order. Mortimer probably remembered this when passing the property of other members of the Arnold family, lots 12, 13, 14, Chatham, near Messmore's land. Stones from the Arnold mill are displayed at the Museum of the Kent Historical Society.

17. Mortimer's mileage notes are wrong. Dolson's store was about 24 miles by road from Fairfield, but much farther by river.

18. Matthew Dolson, formerly of the Manor of Sunderland on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, later joined Butler's Rangers and at the close of the Revolution settled in Detroit. He was granted land on the north side of the Thames near the present city of Chatham, but his settlement known as Dover preceded the founding of Chatham by several years.

19. Anna (Brucker) Sensemann, wife of Gottlob Sensemann. Like the wives of all Moravian Missionaries she played an important part in the Christianizing and training of the Indians, particularly the women and children.

20. A monument on the outskirts of Mt. Clemens, Michigan, on the heights of Moxen Road near Moravian Drive, marks the site of this mission, a temporary refuge at the time of the Revolutionary War and subsequent Indian troubles.

21. Now the Clinton River.

and the ill success they had hitherto met with; adding, that they must now betake themselves to begging. "There are, we know," said Br. Zeisberger, "many far wealthier gentlemen in this place than you are, who could help us if they would; but perhaps they are not so *worthy* of doing it. We ask that favor of you." On this Mr. Dolson's heart was touched. The thought, that he should be judged more *worthy* than others, of assisting deserving men, whose life in a good cause was a continued series of sufferings, struck him powerfully, as he has since often remarked to us. He answered, with tears in his eyes: "I shall be happy to assist you gentlemen to the utmost of my power"; and then immediately went, and pledged his credit to the utmost, in order to procure for the brethren the quantity of flour which they asked for.—Mr. Dolson was at that time in very moderate circumstances. Since then, the blessing of God has manifestly attended all his undertakings, and he is become rich. It is his intention soon to retire from public business, having realized a fortune of several thousands of pounds. He is now settled on this river, where he is enabled to gratify his taste for farming and gardening. He is the only person in these parts whose meadows are sown with clover. He has contracted to build a vessel of 80 tons burden for the N.W. [North-West] company, which is almost ready to launch. The timber he has procured from the large pinery 70 miles up the river;[22] the principal workmen are from Philadelphia. The depth of the river here, which is 14 miles distant from its mouth, is from 15 to 20 feet.

Among Mr. Dolson's servants is a Pani [Pawnee], from the nation of the black Panis beyond the Mississippi. There are said to be many of that nation in Detroit and the adjoining settlements. They have been taken captive as children by the Chippeways and their confederates in their wars with them, & sold to the white people. This is one proof among many which the history of mankind affords, that however fond men may be themselves of civil liberty, the love of gain, if predominant, will divest them of every humane principle, and they will shew no reluctance at making slaves of their fellow creatures. Mr. Dolson's black Pani has a complexion as dark as that of a W. Indian negro, but her features, her large white eyes excepted, are perfectly European. Her figure is small & genteel. We had no opportunity of observing her hair. The so called white Panis are the supposed Welch Indians, whose existence is now much questioned.

The 17th after taking leave of our dear Sr. Senseman, and of Mr. & Mrs. Dolson, we set off for the mouth of the river, which we reached in the evening. This river is called by the French Retrenche, and by the Chippeways Eskońne or Horn river. Our Indians prefer the name Thames, which as pronounced by the English, sounds pleasing to them. It meanders slowly through a flat and rich country, gradually opening, so as to be in some places near a mile wide. The distance from Fairfield to the mouth of the river is accounted by land about 44 miles. By water it may be fairly estimated at 85 miles. We passed to day several Shawnee (Note: This nation is so called by the English; by our German brethren Shawanosen; by the Delaware & other nations Shawanee, or people from the South, from Shawaneu, South; and by the Wiondats, Shan'wuenue.) and French settlements, and the dwelling-house of Mr.

22. Near the present village of Delaware. The mileage given is apparently by the river, not by land.

Mc.Gee,[23] British superintendant of Indian affairs, with whom the Brethren have formerly had much business. We had heard that he was gone to Michilimakinac.

Mr. Mc.Gee is a half Shawnee, and has married a Shawnee wife. These circumstances, and the office he holds, with the power of bestowing annually large presents to the Indians, in the king's name, and at his expence, gave him for many years a vast ascendency over that nation, and through them over the other Indian tribes. But that has now in a great measure ceased, and the Shawnees are universally despised and execrated.

The weather in these days was extremely warm, and from our mode of travelling, we felt all the inconveniencies of it, notwithstanding the awning, that was extended over us. Enclosed between the high-timbered banks of a river, which near its mouth is without a visible current, we felt no cheering breeze of air; while at same time we suffered excessively from the reflection of the sun-beams from the water, from whose surface our canoes did not much elevate us. Long continuance in such a situation cannot but be irksome. If the hands or face are exposed for any length of time to the scorching beams of the sun, they are covered with blisters. At all events travelling in this manner, in such hot weather, produces in most people, great inward heat, and gives a swarthiness to the complexion, which is more or less durable, according to the texture of the skin. The Indians, though they become browner by going on the water, do not seem to be so liable as the white people, to suffer from blisters or other painful irruptions.—It was with the view to save expence to the heathen Society,[24] and for other substantial reasons, that we had chosen to travel in a canoe along with our Indian brethren and sisters.

As we proceeded, we frequently met or overtook other Indians in their canoes. We observed that at the sight of Delawares or Monsies, our people and they smiled to each other, and seemed to rejoice, as if they saw their best friends. This was done too when the parties had no previous acquaintance with each other. But with the Chippeways there subsisted no such cordiality. The Delawares call those of their own nation Linni Lenape,[25] or Proper Indians; the Chippeways they call only Lenape, and that merely by way of distinction from the white people. The Delaware word Chippeway (Tschiip-u-e) seems to have been originally a term of contempt or derision. It signifies in their language: "a whistler".

The 18th we entered lake St. Clair. Its borders are covered with rushes, of which the women in Fairfield make mats. Here the air was somewhat cooler, but we had to take down our awning, as it obstructed that distinct view of each other, and of every adjacent object, which is necessary for those who navigate a canoe in open water. Having a fair wind, we could now put up sails, for which purpose the Indians

23. Alexander McKee, son of Captain Thomas McKee who in 1748 was visited at his home "the last white settlement below Shamokin" (Sunbury, Pa.) by Moravian Bishop Cammerhoff. McKee, with Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty, joined the British on the western frontier early in the Revolution and greatly influenced the Indians of the west to join the British forces. McKee was by 1798, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

24. The Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen (S. P. G.) was organized Sept. 21, 1787 and incorporated Feb. 28, 1788. All mission land was held in the name of the society in trust for the Christian Indians. Missionary work was organized and financed by the society.

25. Usually written Lenni-Lenape (the grandfathers, the original people) referring to the Delawares.

make use of their blankets; in this manner, very judiciously, making their very clothing by night, form a useful appendage to the vehicle in which they travel by day. About 10 o'clock we were obliged to go on land, on account of the increasing wind, when our people amused themselves with fishing and fowling. Through habit, the Indians have very penetrating eyes, to discover every object which is interesting to them, and at a great distance. As the wind soon abated, and continued favorable, we were again enabled to proceed with hoisted sails, but seldom ventured above a mile from the shore, that we might be able to retreat thither for safety in case of danger. In this manner we literally coasted the E. side of lake St. Clair, proceeding today about 30 miles, viz. to the commencement of the Detroit settlement, about 8 miles from that fortress. We encamped near the habitations of some French people. In the course of the day we saw several large boats sailing to the northward; and at night were joined by the last division of our floating congregation, contained in 4 canoes. Our whole company consisted now of 54 persons.

The 19th. in the afternoon we went on for Fort Detroit. That part of the river St. Laurence[26] which connects lakes St. Clair and Erie, is called here Detroit river. It is 18 miles long, and on an average about 2 miles broad, containing several islands. The houses and orchards which line both sides of it, make a pleasing appearance; but that is all which they have to recommend them, for they are inhabited by a filthy, ignorant race of men, called French Canadians, being the descendants of the first French inhabitants of Canada, who have very generally intermarried among the Indians, and, for no good purposes, tried to assimilate themselves to them in many respects in manners and character. These people in general discover no inclination for agricultural labor, or for improvement of any kind. They are dressy, obliging and tractable; fond of trade, company and amusements; but averse to strenuous exertions, in order to procure any distant good, or guard against future evils. They are, in short, according to the character which they bear in Detroit, a thoughtless and wicked, a cheerful and good-natured people. Most of the men have long since laid aside the use of breeches. Instead thereof, they wear a piece of cloth about them like the Indians. They live chiefly on Indian corn. Their farms on this river are laid out merely for shew, and without the least regard to convenience; for they are only 40 perches in front, & 1 ½ mile deep.[27] In their orchards the trees are only 15 feet asunder, which excludes the intervention of the rays of the sun. They have no knowledge of pruning, grafting, rotation of crops &c.

Immediately on our arrival at the Fort, we applied to Mr. Wallen,[28] the deputy quarter-master-general, for permission for our people to encamp in the ship-yard,[29] which he very obligingly permitted. Br. Mortimer then, through the introduction of a gentleman of the name of Williams,[30]

26. The term St. Lawrence River was frequently applied in old diaries to the entire Great Lakes chain.

27. To Mortimer these long narrow farms would seem ridiculous, as he did not realize the need of the inhabitants for access to water routes or understand the tradition of French Canadian settlements. Fields of this nature may still be seen in parts of Quebec province.

28. Probably Elias Wallen, who in 1800 was acting as sheriff of Wayne County and in 1802 was appointed Marshall by the Legislative Council of the North-West Territories (Milo M. Quaife, ed., *John Askin Papers,* II, 276).

29. The shipyard was in the Woodward Ave.-Bates St. area.

30. Isaac Williams, a British trader in Detroit and in Ohio as early as 1777. He is frequently mentioned in Zeisberger's Diary as a friend of the Moravians. He later settled in Harwich Township, not far from Fairfield (*John Askin Papers,* II, 258).

waited on the commander, Lieut. Col. Strong,[31] to apprize him of our arrival, and the object of our journey. The Col.l was extremely polite, evinced a disposition to do us any favor in his power, and invited Br. Mortimer to visit him again. In the following days he was several times a guest at his table. At his desire he once introduced a deputation of Indian brethren to him, with whom he shook hands in a very friendly manner, wished them a good journey, and presented them with 4 cwt. of flour out of the public store. To one of the Indian brethren, John Adam, whose countenance & behaviour particularly attracted his notice, he said, he wished he might go, and be a blessed preacher of the gospel to his countrymen. The Col.l and his lady are religious, sensible and much esteemed characters. They arrived here this year from one of the posts on the Ohio.

During our stay in this place, we were much engaged in preparing and making further arrangements for our journey. We visited many kind friends, who on their part also, paid us the most respectful attention. The arrival of above 50 Indians, headed by their missionaries, in a small town like Detroit, excites nearly as much notice, as if the same number of persons were to come in a body to one of our place-congregations. The number of inhabitants in Detroit is not above 2000, without including the garrison, and the officers of government. At Mr. Askin's we had the pleasure to find a letter for us from Br. Ettwein,[32] which after perusal we forwarded to Fairfield. Our friend Mr. James Henry[33] had sailed for Montreal two days before we came.

It has been justly observed, that persons who have been long in official stations among the Indians, and by a knowledge of their language, and other means, have acquired some acquaintance with and ascendency over them, have very often a certain peculiar, consequential air, bespeaking too high an idea of their own self-importance. This is never more apparent than when they converse with the white people on subjects relating to the Indians; and is to be accounted for from the influence which they usually possess among them, the respect with which they are treated by the whites, and the variety of useful & entertaining information which they may have been enabled to collect. This almost descriptive feature of character in Indian agents and interpreters, particularly those of the inferior class, is perhaps, humanly speaking, one of the most pardonable of our common frailties; but as it certainly does no honor to the *Christian* character, it ought carefully to be guarded & prayed against by missionaries, and especially by those who have been newly clothed with that, otherwise self-denying, office. *Here* these reflections occurred to us with peculiar force.

The situation of Detroit is delightful, but the town is not pleasing. The streets are so narrow that two carriages can but barely pass each

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31. David Strong served throughout the Revolution in his native Connecticut, and was promoted to Lieut. Colonel by General Wayne. He had been appointed Commandant at Detroit only a short time before the missionaries' visit.

32. Bishop John Ettwein, founder of the "S. P. G." and at this time in charge of Moravian missionary work in America. He had suggested the present move to the Muskingum.

33. James Henry of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, son of William Henry, the staunch Moravian who played such a prominent part in the Revolution as a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, master gunsmith and superintendent of arms for the American army. James came to Detroit in 1797 and operated a tannery and general store. He had been appointed Justice of the Peace shortly before the Moravian visit. (*John Askin Papers*, II, 305).

other, and being unpaved, must be miry in rainy weather. The houses are of frame-work; many of them are neatly constructed, but on account of the narrowness of the streets, many of the apartments in them have not sufficient light. The principal inhabitants are English or Scotch. Since the cession of the place to the United States in 1796, the offices of trust have been of course entrusted to American citizens. Most of the former inhabitants chose then to declare themselves to be British subjects. These engross nearly the whole trade, and are contented to remain under the American government no longer than they are exempted from paying their duties, which are considerably heavier than those in Canada. The laws on this head are for the present not put in force, out of policy, with the hope of inducing the British to remain in the territory. They are however building a town on the opposite shore, to be called Sandwich, whither the principal merchants intend to retire. Otherwise the Americans and British live here upon the most friendly and equal footing.

The morals of the people of Detroit are said to be extremely bad. Br. Zeisberger, from his former residence here, and knowledge of characters, terms it: "a sink of iniquity, a wicked & accursed place". This seems to be the general opinion of serious and reflecting persons who have travelled hither. Since the arrival of the Americans, and the consequent dullness of trade, a general spirit of idleness and gaming has pervaded all ranks of people, against which the present commanding officer has remonstrated in a serious and fatherly manner, and with good effect.

Great depravity of morals, is a general characteristic of all distant colonies and trading posts like Detroit, where the reigning principle is, the desire of gain. In such places the principal characters generally consider their residence to be but temporary. Hence but little attention is paid to the instruction of youth, and the establishment of divine worship is totally neglected. This however is the way to *make* men become heathens. For wherever the gospel is not, at stated times, publickly taught, mankind will of course forget, neglect, despise and at length hate it. (Note: Through the especial mercy of God, the case may however be otherwise, as in Moravia[34] among the ancient Brethren.) Where it is not known, it can have no influence upon the hearts and consciences. There is here a Roman Catholic chapel. But the inhabitants of British descent, who have had the government and superiority of trade in their hands now for near 40 years, have no church or religious meeting-house. Had they therefore all been Christians on their arrival here, it is difficult to conceive how they could have remained so to the present day. The state of things is such at this time, that a public evangelical discourse, concerning our Saviour, would probably appear to most of the inhabitants, like Paul's harangue at Athens:—"a setting forth of strange gods", (Acts 17.18); and as such, excite the eager curiosity, or provoke the indignant ridicule, of a divided multitude. As a proof of the ignorance here prevailing, it deserves to be mentioned, that among the numerous stores, there is not one where books of any kind are to be procured, except English Bibles, common-prayer and spelling books. Happily these still find a place, though in the obscurest corners of their shelves, where they appear covered with dust.

34. Part of present Czecho-Slovakia, where for many years following the formation of the "Unitas Fratrum" (or United Brethren)in 1457 the "hidden seed" of their religion was kept alive in spite of persecutions and apparent destruction.

We were visited in our camp by some of the principal gentlemen of the Fort, who seemed much pleased with the appearance, order and conversation of our Indians. They asked us many questions concerning our missions in general, and the mode of conducting them. It was the prevailing opinion that we received salaries from the London Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. We assured them to the contrary, informing them that we received no stated salaries whatever, but drew upon the treasures of our own society for whatever sums of money we stood in need. It was remarked by some, that our Indians seemed as much attached to, and were as fond of us, and each other, as if we all belonged to one family. The observation pleased us highly, as an illustration of the words of our Saviour: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another";—and its justness appeared, from the opportunities that occurred at same time, of witnessing the contrast in this respect, between Christian Indians, and those who are still in heathenism.

But we do not, and from a knowledge of human nature, dare not presume to boast, even of the brightest examples of the power of the grace of our Saviour, and of what most redounds to his glory. They are at all times more a subject for humble thankfulness, than for joyful exultation. Surrounded as we were by numerous temptations, we had reason to be anxious, for fear of scandal to our Christian profession. We were happy therefore to be able to remove with our little flock, on the afternoon of the 21st, to the southern extremity of the settlement, 9 miles from the Fort.[35] Here we assembled to our last singing meeting with that part of the Fairfield congregation, which had thus far accompanied, and were soon going to take leave of us. It was attended with those sympathetic feelings, with which those only are acquainted, who have parted with beloved brethren and sisters. On this memorable occasion, the Muskingum colonists appeared the most cheerful.

We missionaries called to mind apart, that to day the annual general meeting of the Brethren's Society for propagating the gospel among the heathen, had probably been held in Bethlehem, when we would certainly have been remembered in love.[36] We felt ourselves united in spirit with those dearly beloved brethren, who compose that benevolent and respectable institution.

The 22.d early we took an affecting farewel of the Fairfield brethren and sisters, who now returned again to their homes. In the course of the day we passed the mouth of the river Rouche [Rouge], where the Americans are building some ships of burden, in order to engage in the North West trade, in conjunction with some English merchants, under the name of the New N.W. Company.[37] The Old N.W. Company are jealous of them, as indeed they are of all attempts to partake of, lay

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35. The distance would appear to be incorrect as nine miles would take them beyond River Rouge which they did not cross until the following day.

36. The Annual Meeting of the S. P. G. on Sept. 21st (the anniversary of its founding) would be known in advance, as all mission stations were required to send reports to this gathering of mission leaders.

37. The New North-West Company which became known as the X Y Company was formed about 1795 by traders who broke away from the old Company. They achieved a great measure of success in competing with the older group, but the two factions amalgamated in 1804.

open, or unveil the nature of their traffic. A Mr. Mackenzie,[38] who travelled a few years since up the lakes, thence across the continent to the Pacific ocean, and then back again, was induced by them, in consideration of a sum of money, and the promise of a stipulated annual share in their profits, to withhold the publication of his interesting travels.[39]

Not far distant from the French settlements are some small towns of the Wiondats[40] (Note: This is the name by which the English call them. The Delawares name them Dellamóttanee; the French, Hurons; and the Chippeways, Nottaways[41] or Nottawessies. Hence the nation of the Naudawessies in Carver, which is so inexplicable to Barton. (See his New Views, page) They call themselves Windat.) and Monsies.[42] Our Indians called at many of their houses, in order to procure milk, fruits and vegetables. At the mouth of Detroit river, on the Canada side, the English are building Fort Malden,[43] which is to be the substitute for Fort Detroit. In the afternoon we crossed a large bay, where we saw the house of the well-known Mr. Elliott,[44] upon whose land the Indian congregation was settled for one year, previous to their moving to Fairfield. Not far from him lives the notorious Simon Girty.[45] In the evening, for want of a good haven, we encamped at a promontory called Stony point,[46] where, not long after we had all retired to rest, we were awoke by the dashing of the waves, and obliged to unload all the canoes and draw them on shore. On such occasions the Indians are very active, and ready to assist each other.

The 23.d & 24th we were obliged to remain on land, on account of a boisterous southerly wind. At times our people went a fishing. There is nothing to hunt on this part of the coast but squirrels. The young people spent much of their time in reading & other school exercises.

At this encampment we were visited by some French people and Indians, who like us, were wind-bound. Between Detroit and the Miami

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38. Alexander Mackenzie, born in Scotland about 1763, came to Canada in 1779 and in 1785 became a partner in the North-West Company. In 1789 he explored, for the company, the river which bears his name, following it to the Arctic Ocean. He was the first white man to cross the Rocky Mountains (1792-3) and reach the Pacific Coast. He went to Great Britain in 1801 where he published his story, *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Ocean.* He was knighted for his achievements in 1802. He returned to Canada as head of the X Y Company which combined with the North-West Company in 1804. He retired to Scotland in 1808 and died there in 1820.

39. Mackenzie's story was published in London, England in 1801, probably the earliest opportunity for successful publication.

40. We now use the name Wyandotte, or Wyandot.

41. Ottawas.

42. Sometimes Muncy, Muncey, Monsey, etc.

43. At present Amherstburg.

44. Matthew Elliott, companion of McKee and Girty in the Revolutionary period. He had great influence with the Indians and great respect for the Moravians. The chimneys and part of the roof of his 1784 house are still standing just south of Amherstburg on the river road.

In 1791 the first Moravian mission in Upper Canada, known as "Die Warte" (the Watch Tower), was established, and a small church was built on Elliott's property. Here they were still too close to the warlike Indian tribes and in 1792 moved to a safe retreat, Fairfield.

45. Simon Girty, third of the trio. He had been particularly brutal to the Moravians during the Revolution, but later in Upper Canada had been friendly and helpful to them. A tree-shaped monument on the highway south of Amherstburg marks his Canadian home.

46. The name still refers to a point of land not far from Monroe, Michigan.

river,[47] on the main land and on the islands, there live French, Monsies, Chippeways, Shawnees and a few Nantikoks. The several nations remain separate, but the land claimed or occupied by each cannot be ascertained. It is a flat, swampy and unwholesome part of the country, and extremley difficult to travel, both for man and beast. The Indian inhabitants depend chiefly on the presents made them by the British & American governments. They possess therefore little or no indistry.

We had now taken leave of the regions of civilization, culture and convenience, and had a long journey before us, along an inhospitable coast, and through wilderness, which we expected would present us with a continued series of difficulties and hardships. No individual among us seemed discouraged on these accounts. Our dear Indian brethren & sisters did not lament that they had left behind them their little all, the fruit of many years of hard labor and industry,[48] but the general sentiment was: "let us go forward".

Before we do this in our journal, it may be proper to insert some further particulars relative to our mode of travelling, and the regulations adopted by us.

When on land, our manner of life much resembled that of the ancient patriarchs. Like them, we lived in huts and in tents, had no permanent place of abode, or a foot of land which we could call our own. Our drink was taken from the crystal stream, or that grand reservoir, the lake. The bread we eat was baked in the ashes of a large fire, at one time of leavened, at another, of unleavend bread, as circumstances permitted or required. If we could not at pleasure kill a calf, or a kid of the flock, or a fat bullock, our brethren[49] were ever ready with their guns to shoot such game as presented. This was, in the strictest sense, depending from day to day upon the gifts and providence of our heavenly Father; and we can add with thankfulness, that he never let us suffer want. Our food of the meat kind, consisted at first of geese, ducks, turkies, pigeons, squirrels and raccoons, always in increasing abundance as we went forward. We had also plenty of fish, which were commonly killed only by way of diversion. Deer could not be procured till near the close of the journey.

As long as we had to navigate the lake, our rule was; during stormy weather, to lay in a stock of fresh meat; and when the wind was favorable, to sail or row forward as fast as possible. Sometimes we proceeded above 30 miles in a day, but generally less; and we were often obliged to lie by for several days together. In order to avail ourselves of a calm morning, we sometimes started at a very early hour.

As often as our situation allowed, we closed the day with a singing meeting, or a short discourse upon one of the texts of the day. If the evening was cool, we assembled for that purpose round a fire; if warm, we placed ourselves where there was a refreshing breeze. Our Sunday's meetings were generally kept under the shade of some large tree. On these occasions, the presence of our unseen Lord, the universal Head and Leader of his Church, was powerfully felt among us. After the evening meetings, some of the brethren and sisters, at their respective camps, used to sing verses with their children, before they retired to

47. Now the Maumee River in Ohio.

48. Some left behind substantial houses and barns, or sold them for practically nothing to Indians who remained.

49. brethren (small "b") meant Indian members of the congregation. Brethren (capital "B") meant the missionaries.

rest; and at times we have heard a father of a family, like an ancient priest, add a few words by way of exhortation.

Our brother William Henry,[50] under the name of Vorsteher,[51] was the leading or chief person in the congregation. With him we consulted concerning the arrangements to be made, and the steps to be pursued from day to day. He was also the mouth of the congregation, through whom we were usually made acquainted with the general sentiments. The result of our deliberations with him, he always made known in a set speech, delivered in a very pleasing and masterly manner. Upon some occasions all the brethren were called to a general consultation, when it was edifying to observe the harmony and good-humor that prevailed, and the deference that was paid to the opinions of the elder brethren. Through the grace of our Saviour, there was never a necessity of deciding quarrels, or of speaking privately with individuals in order to restore peace. We lived together in perfect harmony and good understanding.

Soon after we had quitted the Detroit settlement, our people came to the laudable determination, that from that time forward they would renew their ancient hospitality to all visitors. This was done privately, and without our previous recommendation. In Fairfield, it cannot always be maintained, partly because of the scarcity of game, but chiefly because it is surrounded by that nation of beggars the Chippeways, whose cravings it should seem can never be satisfied. (Note: The letters and journals of the missionaries contain many expressions, which, like the above, are unfavorable to the character of the Chippeways. These, they know, will never discourage, but rather stimulate their brethren, to undertake a mission among that people; for they are assured by experience, as well as by the word of truth, that,—Where Sin & poverty abound, grace does much more abound. (Matth. 11.5 & Thom. 5.20.)—We proceed now with our journal.—

While lying at Stony-point, we heard that twelve canoes full of Delawares had returned lately from beyond the Mississippi, who said that many of their people had died, and that hunting was bad there. Some of them intended to settle on the Wabash, and others more to the eastward.

The 25th in the afternoon with some difficulty we proceeded about four miles to a creek,[52] where we thought we had the advantage of a safe harbor as long as the rough weather continued. But the satisfaction which this circumstance afforded, was more than counterbalanced by the inconvenience we had, to sustain, from immense numbers of those small and almost imperceptible insects, called by the Delaware Indians, mocpungies, by our German brethren punks, and by the English sandflies. We soon found also that the creek was rapidly falling, owing to the continuing S.W. wind, which drove the lake upwards towards the N.E., so that our canoes would sink in mud, and we be enveloped in a putrid atmosphere.

We were happy to be extricated out of this unpleasant and unhealthy situation early the next day, by the return of fair or rather still weather. We had had nothing like a storm; but a light breeze, such as at this season of year would be very acceptable to every one on land, so ruffles the surface of a large collection of fresh water of the extent

50. His Indian name had been Gelelemund or Killbuck, but he adopted the name of William Henry after the Pennsylvania Moravian mentioned in footnote 33.
51. Superintendent or chief, but not in the same sense as the Indian Chief.
52 Sandy Creek, about 3 miles north-east of Monroe, Michigan.

of lake Erie, that it cannot be navigated by canoes. This will be quite conceivable to any one that has seen the waves of the sea, (whose waters are heavier by being salt), and knows that a canoe is merely a hollowed tree, cut so as to rest equally on, & proceed swiftly through the water. (Note: We have been informed that in some parts of Germany, canoes are called "Seelen Verkäufer," or "Sellers of Souls"; a name that sufficiently implies the idea of danger in the use of them. There they are only used on river.) One pleasing circumstance we noticed on the above mentioned creek, namely, that its borders are inhabited by honeybees; by which it appears that those useful insects have approached, in a wild state, within 40 miles of Detroit. In a few years therefore they will arrive in Canada, if the rigor of the climate does not prevent them. Some Indians call them "the white people's flies"; the Delawares have a word for them, signifying "sugar wasps"; both which names shew the want of an original appellation for them, and corroborate the opinion, that they were formerly unknown in this country. The Indians are very fond of their honey, which they find in hollow trees.

To-day we passed the river Raison, [Raisin][53] where there is a French settlement nine miles in length, and arrived at the Miami (Note: The nation usually so denominated by the white people, call themselves Twechtwee, not Twigtwee as sometimes written in the newspapers. So also they are called by the Delawares.) or Tawa bay,[54] which we were obliged to coast. At the head of the bay is a Tawa (Note: The Tawas, called by the French Ottaways, are closely connected with the Chippeways. When the Tawas, Chippeways, Pottawatamies &c. sit together in council, the Tawas have the precedence. Their languages are nearly the same.) town, consisting of about 20 houses, near which live some French settlers. The Miami river was the principal theatre of the late unhappy war between the United States, & the western Indians. At its mouth it is deep, clear and about a mile wide.

The 28th we left Tawa bay, with some danger from the swell of the waves against the sand-bank at Cedar-point.[55] Two of the smaller canoes were filled with water. All the creeks and rivers which flow into lake Erie, have at this season of the year, bars at their mouths, which nothing but high spring water and ice can remove .They are occasioned by storms on the lake. After this we had to continue out on the water till late in the evening before we could find a safe place to encamp at. At length we arrived at a convenient creek,[56] which has its rise not far from Sandusky-bay.

The next day at noon we were visited by a party of Indians who lived in some houses within sight of our camp. One of them, from his dress, behaviour, and the respect that was paid to him by the rest, appeared to be a person of consequence. He took a seat in Br. Mortimer's tent, and smoked a pipe with us. It appeared that he was an Onondago. Happily, Br. Zeisberger from his knowledge of that language, was able to converse with him. He informed us that all the Onondagoes, [Onondagas] with most of the people of the six nations, and the small remainder of the Mahikans (Note: So called by themselves & the English. Our German brethren have generally named them Mahikanders, after

53. The Raisin River flows through the present city of Monroe, Michigan.
54. Now Maumee Bay and River near present Toledo, Ohio.
55. The name is unchanged today.
56. As distances are not given this may be any one of several small streams, none of which quite satisfy the description.

the usage of the Dutch in New York state.), were leaving their ancient territories on the Mohawk river, and moving chiefly to Brandt's settlement in Canada. He, with some others, had chosen to settle among the Wiondats.

In the afternoon we altered our place of encampment; so as to be ready to embrace the first favorable opportunity of doubling the head of land before us, called Rocky point.[57] It happened that we pitched our tents in an old Indian fort.[58] About half a mile from it is a large pond, which, according to the report of the Indians, is covered with *human* hair.[59] If so, there the bodies of the slain in battle were probably thrown. It is difficult of approach, on account of the surrounding morass.

In the following night there was a heavy thunder storm, accompanied with much wind. The morning exhibited the curious phenonenon of the lake removed to the distance of above half a mile from us, and abundance of fish fluttering on the beach. During the day it gradually returned to us again.[60]

The borders of the lake, which had hitherto been flat and morassy, began now to appear hilly, with a high and sometimes rocky shore, composed chiefly of lime stone. Near our present encampment we discovered a large stone, in which had been deeply cut the figures of a turkey and turtle.[61] Such devices are said to be common along the lakes. The Indians regard them with a degree of reverence, on account of their supposed antiquity; and the heathen suppose them to have been the work of manitto or spirits; but there is no difficulty in believing them to have been made by men.

From the time that we had passed Tawa bay,[62] we observed a great difference in the appearance and productions of the country. The Indians soon found various medicinal herbs, that they had not met with in Canada; also excellent wild fruits, with which they refreshed themselves amidst the intense heat. The wild grapes and plums, which are here in great abundance along the banks of the rivers and creeks, are much superior to those of Pennsylvania.

Sept. 1st at length a calm took place, and we were able early in the morning to double Rocky point, which we considered as one of

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57. The Marblehead Peninsula, extending into Lake Erie and protecting Sandusky Bay.

58. This may have been the ruins of Old Fort Sandusky (Sandoski), built about 1745, on the Marblehead peninsula near the mouth of Portage River, by British traders. Its site is marked by a monument at the foot of Fulton Street extension, Port Clinton, near Sandusky Bay. The monument bears long inscriptions telling the history of this "first fort built by white men in Ohio". It was on the route where Indians and trappers from the Detroit area would portage to the Sandusky River rather than go around the peninsula. With their heavy canoes the Moravian party did not attempt this short cut. This fort had changed hands, been destroyed and rebuilt several times as British and French successes varied, but it was finally destroyed by Indians May 16, 1763 in a bloody battle at the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy. As this fort must have been about two miles from their landing place there is a possibility that the travellers actually camped in abandoned Indian buildings near the portage trail.

59. The tradition is apparently unknown in the district today.

60. Reports of these *seiches* (freshwater tides, or rising and falling of water due to barometric pressure) on Lake Erie are numerous. (See W. S. Fox: *The Bruce Beckons*, 79-93).

61. These are Indian symbols or totems used as signatures on treaties, as ornaments on their wigwams, etc. The ones seen may have been similar to those still preserved on Kelley's Island, which resemble the "Peterborough Petroglyphs," discussed and pictured in *Ontario's History* XLVII, No. 3.

62. Now Toledo.

the most dangerous places we had to pass, because there is no landing even for canoe, for a considerable distance along the coast. Before we were in safety, the wind suddenly began to blow briskly towards the shore, which caused us some anxiety, especially as some of the smaller canoes began to take water. All however arrived safe in the course of the day in Sandusky-bay.

Opposite to Rocky-point and Sandusky-bay is a chain of islands, reaching across the lake to the shore of Canada, at small distances from each other.[63] They are marked on but few of the maps. The largest of them, called Cunningham island,[64] is several miles in length. In another, is Hope's cove, so called because it was discovered in a ship of that name, which lay at anchor here a whole winter. In the spring of the year 1786, the whole Indian congregation remained for five weeks in & near this harbor, being then, as we were now, on their way to the Muskingum, but could not get there on account of the troubles of war. They were brought there in two large Detroit ships.[65]

Sandusky inner bay[66] was the first harbor we had met with in the lake, which as far as we could judge, ships of burden might enter at this season of the year. But they cannot lye there safe at anchor. To us it was a commodious haven, and the heightening gale made it a welcome one. Sandusky is a Wiondat word, whose meaning we could not learn. The river of that name, which flows into the bay, is inhabited by Indians of different nations, particularly Wiondats and Delawares. At the head of the bay live some French traders. Mr. Isaac Williams,[67] a gentleman of a fair and respectable character, and in the service of the United States, resides about 20 miles up the river. Not far from there the Indian congregation abode for the first winter after their flight from the Muskingum, where they and their missionaries suffered inexpressibly from famine and the want of almost all the necessaries of life.[68]

Our Indians related, that they had heard, that in Sandusky inner-bay, there is an image of a woman, who, as tradition says, was once alive but was suddenly changed into a stone.[69] Somewhere on the coast of lake Huron, and in New England, there are said to be the like figures of women, and the same story is told of them. These stone images, if existing, were doubtless made by men, and are particularly deserving of notice, as belonging to a few antiquities of the Indians. The belief of a woman's having been suddenly changed into a stone, seems to be an obscure tradition of the Scripture history of Lot's wife's having been transmuted into a pillar of salt; and, as such, is the more valuable by being found among the natives of America. Similar traditions of the same striking event, it is known are to be met with in other parts of the world.

While at Sandusky, a company of Tawas encamped in our neighborhood. The principal person among them, who was well-known to some of our brethren, paid us a friendly visit. As they were on their way to Detroit, we were glad to make use of the opportunity to write to our brethren in Fairfield.

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63. The Bass Islands and Canada's Pelee Island, leading toward Point Pelee.
64. Cunningham Island is now Kelley's Island.
65. John Askin's ships the *Mackina* and the *Beaver* had brought the entire congregation from New Gnadenhuetten (near Mt. Clemens, Michigan) to Ohio in 1786 and had been forced to delay for some period in the Bass Island harbours. Hope's Cove was Put-In-Bay on South Bass Island.
66. Near present Sandusky, Ohio.
67. See note 30.
68. This spot became known to the Moravians as Captives' Town.
69. Not known today in the district.

The 2.d the child Nathanael, son of our brother & sister John Thomas, departed this life. He had been ill the greater part of the journey.

In the afternoon we set off for the river Pettquotting[70] (Note: Pettquotting is a Delaware word, signifying, "a round hill." There is a remarkable hill of that form near this river.), where we arrived about 4 o'clock, during a heavy storm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning. On the way, we witnessed a curious circumstance. Three raccoons were suspended on the branches of a small tree, where they were picked at by a flock of ravens, who would probably soon have killed them. Some of the Indians, observing this, jumped out of their canoes, and with their fish-gigs or spears brought the raccoons lifeless to the ground.

At Pettquotting our first business was, to shelter ourselves against the rain, and dry ourselves by good fires. It rained almost incessantly throughout the night, and in the following days we had frequent and heavy showers. What most concerned us, was the impossibility of keeping dry all our baggage and provisions; much of which was damaged, notwithstanding all our care in covering, and afterwards opening and drying it.

The 3.d in the morning our people were employed in making a coffin and shroud for the deceased child. Many heathen Ind.s visited us from the town about seven miles up the river, among whom was the son of the late Br. Boaz of Schönbrun.[71] At 11 o'clock was the funeral discourse, after which nearly all the brethren and sisters went five miles up the river, to our former place of abode, called in Loskiels' mission-history, New Salem,[72] and interred the corpse in our former burial-ground. It was a pleasing circumstance, that we had thus an opportunity of visiting in fellowship, the most blessed place of settlement of our mission, since its removal from the Muskingum.

New Salem had an elevated and pleasant situation. The gospel was preached there with blessing. Many joined the congregation, & there was a general awakening among the young people. It was nothing but a general consternation in the congregation, on account of the alarming reports which they heard, that induced the missionaries to evacuate this settlement, and return with their flock to the other side of the lake. These reports, as we found afterwards, originated or were exaggerated, by evil-minded people, the servants of Satan, who wished to live here uncontrouled, in scenes of riot and debauchery. No sooner were the Christian Indians gone, but a party of heathen, principally of the Monsy tribe, resorted hither. They soon destroyed every vestige of New Salem, and built the present town higher up the river. The traders whom they have encouraged to settle among them, (and who are themselves persons of loose morals), give them character, of being the most idle and profligate Indians they have ever known. This is not to be wondered at; for they are chiefly persons who have heard, but not been obedient to the gospel.

There are here some families of Indians who have formerly been

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70. Now the Huron River.

71. Now Schoenbrunn, Ohio, where the early mission village has been reconstructed as a museum.

72. This had been a temporary village, 1787-1791, not far from present Milan, Ohio, during the missionaries' earlier unsuccessful attempt to return to the Muskingum. From here they had fled to Upper Canada to escape threatened trouble from warlike Indians.

baptized by the brethren, but afterwards left their fellowship,—as they said, because they were unwilling to follow them in all their perigrinations. These keep up a certain connexion with each other, like the white people in many places, who have left our congregations. Several of them declared their intention of joining us again on the Muskingum.

It may easily be conceived that in a place like this, where our people found many of their relations and former acquaintance, they could not long remain free from temptations of various kinds. This was actually the case. We soon found, that we were among the Canaanites and Moabites of the land, the declared servants and secret emissaries of Satan.

Among other temptations with which we were assaulted, we reckon the artful misrepresentation of the impossibility of our arriving at the Muskingum by way of Cayahaga. [Cuyahoga]. Our people were told, and in part made to believe, that they ought rather to leave their canoes, and go by land from Pettquotting. This we knew would be impossible for us all to do, and that if a part only should attempt it, it would be highly inadvisable for them, and render it impossible for the rest to proceed. We told the brethren and sisters therefore, that we could only reach the place whither we were bound, by keeping together, and mutually assisting each other; and that the only way we could go, was up the Cayahaga;—which we proved to them by a variety of arguments. There would at all events, be many and great difficulties to struggle with; but we should overcome them all by patience and perserverance. Our Saviour had brought us safe thus far on our journey, and would enable us to go through with it. They should only have good courage, and depend on him, without minding what the old women and foolish people said.—Upon this, the brethren and sisters, who were before disheartened, seemed to recover their spirits.

As a farther encouragement to them, and because we could not tell how long it might be before we arrived at the end of our journey, Br. Mortimer went up the river on the 4th with some Indians, and bought them twelve bushels of corn & other provisions, for which they were thankful.

The same day we were joined by Renatus, one of the brethren who went with Br. Heckewelder to the Muskingum. He came to Pettquotting with the intention, if he did not there meet with or hear of us, to proceed to Fairfield. By him we first heard the melancholy account, that Br. Heckewelder had dangerously cut his hand.[73]

The 5th early we were visited by several parties of drunken Indians. To some who were sober, and spoke to Br. Zeisberger, he gave serious admonitions. The weather was still showery, but we were determined to leave this wicked place as soon as possible. We observed too that the lake began to rise at a distance like a mountain, which we regarded as a sure omen, but that the wind was veering round towards the north, and would soon blow from thence with great violence. We therefore hastened to get out of the port, which was effected about 11 o'clock. In the evening we had the good fortune to reach Wulámanink or Paint river,[74] which is so called, because the Indians get there the red ochre with which they paint themselves.

Here we felt happy at the thought that we were safe from the impending storm, but more particularly because we were removed to

73. The injury apparently had no serious consequences.
74. Vermilion River.

the distance of 16 miles from the town of Pettquotting. It is the opinion of Br. Zeisberger, confirmed by many years experience, that our Indians are, at all times, more liable to be seduced to sin, among their heathenish country people, than any where among the whites. The temptations of a Detroit are not so alluring, nor so dangerous to them, as those of a Pettquotting.

The rum trade appears to be the grand cause of the present depravity of manners among the heathen Indians. This ruinous commerce was first begun under the English government, and is now carried on under that and the American to a great extent. It has 'tis true never been legally authorized by them, but they have adopted no energetic measures to prevent it. It was much to the honor of the ancient French government, that, as long as they held possession of Canada, they had no hand in it. And surely they were right in their judgment. For, in the first place, what can be more unjust than to take advantage of the weaknesses of our fellow-men, for purposes of deceit, and to their manifest destruction? Give an Indian rum, whiskey, or other ardent spirits, and you may cheat him as you please. He cannot perhaps resist the temptation of tasting; and—having once tasted, he is no longer master of himself. His merchandize, which he had acquired by hard and patient exertion, and by means of which he thought to procure himself comfortable clothing, or other necessaries, is squandered in a moment, and he is reduced to misery. In the heat of intoxication, he is involved in quarrels; & Indian quarrels do not unfrequently produce bloodshed. But here they do not end. It is an invariable maxim in the jurisprudence of the savage, that blood must be revenged with blood. Hence murders are multiplied in endless succession, and misery is entailed from generation to gencration. But a habit of drunkenness even at best leads to idleness and vice. It enervates the constitution, is unfavorable to generation, unfits both body and mind for every active and vigorous pursuit, and promotes lewdness and dissipation. Hence that very commerce that was intended to be furthered and increased by the rum trade, is in fact hindered and lessened by it. It defeats its own end. It diminishes the number of the hunters, and both prevents and unfits those who survive to pursue their business. Surely a traffic so shameful, so unjust and so destructive, ought not to be tolerated by any people, who, not to make mention of religion, make the least pretensions to humanity! It is equally disgraceful and horrid with the slave-trade. Both are alike a traffic in human blood, the one fairly and avowedly, the other delusively and circuitously. The African slave dealer gives a certain stipulated price for his prey;—he *professes* himself to be a murderer of the quiet and happiness of families;—he is by *trade* a destroyer of the human race. The American rum trader, perhaps with intentions somewhat less criminal, is the author of as *much* mischief. Under the mask of friendship, he circumvents and accomplishes the ruin of the poor Indian. He sells him to destruction in the liquor that he vends to him. That liquor is within him, a gnawing worm which does not die,—a fire that is never quenched,—a woeful messenger of death,—a poisoned dagger plunged into the unguarded breast of a friend and a brother! It is sometimes said by way of apology for the slave-trade, that it is on certain accounts necessary, or at least expedient, & that the outward circumstances of its victims are bettered by their captivity. Weak and superficial as these arguments are, they are far more plausible than any thing that can be urged in behalf of the rum-trade, which exists,

only because the white people, from a principle of avarice, have taught the Indians to desire it. The love of money is thus the root of the greatest and worst of evils.

Such were our reflections as we sailed from Pettquotting to Wulámanink. We saw all our brethren and sisters following us, except one family, which we heard was also on the eve of departure when the other canoes set off. We rejoiced, and were thankful to our Saviour, that, as far as we knew, none of them had been led astray, to polute themselves in the company of the heathen.

In the night of the 5th the storm encreased, and continued to blow with unremitting violence; so that we conceived it must have been dangerous even for large ships out in the lake. At times we were almost overwhelmed with torrents of rain, which, in spite of every precaution that could be taken, extinguished all the fires in the camp.

Early the next morning the young men as usual went out on the chace, and John Adam brought home the first deer that had been killed on the journey. The joy on the occasion was very great. From this time forward the hunters furnished a constant supply of deer's-meat, which was divided among the several families by a brother chosen for that purpose.

Sr. Zeisberger had been for some time but poorly in health. The motion of the canoe, and the fear of danger, had fatigued & indisposed her. From this time forward we had the happiness to observe; that her health and spirits returned.

The 7th we called to mind the festival of the married choir as we had also done that of the single brethren on the 29 August, & other memorial days. As we were confined on shore by the restlessness of the lake, the brethren and sisters requested that the day might be celebrated with a lovefeast for the whole congregation. The proposal was very agreeable to us. The sisters accordingly went to work to make the cakes, and the brethren cut down timber for a table and seats. In the afternoon we drank tea together as a congregation, with that joyous solemnity which bespeaks Christian fellowship. We called to mind that our brethren and sisters at Fairfield would also meet at lovefeast today, and would doubtless think of us in love; and that if our white brethren and sisters in Bethlehem, Nazareth and other places, knew where we were, and that we were so happy together, it would much rejoice them. Br. Zeisberger then encouraged the brethren and sisters to look to and depend on our Saviour in all circumstances. He would continue to be with us, as he had been hitherto, and would bring us safely to the place of our destination.—This was truly a festival day to us. How exceedingly delightful is it thus to raise an altar to our Jehovah Jesus in the midst of that wilderness, which is as well his temple, as the most sumptuous and stately edifice that has been consecrated to, and is made use of for his immediate service!

The 8th, the general joy of yesterday received a damp by hearing that James, who had staid behind in Pettquotting, had been guilty of the sin of drunkenness, and had behaved very unseemly in a quarrel with a Frenchman. When he arrived with his family to day, he did not attempt to excuse himself, though he might have done so quite reasonably. He did not even venture to associate with, or come near his brethren; but with downcast eyes, and standing afar off, he appeared to think with the publican: "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner!" Scandalous therefore, and highly unbecoming as his behaviour had been, we could

not but feel much—very much compassion with, and sorrow for him.—In the course of the Day we saw a merchant ship sailing at a distance from us.

The 9th we proceeded to the Chitqueu or Deep river.[75] Two miles up it a few families of Mohawks have lately made a settlement.

The next morning some of our people related, that in the night the river had suddenly risen about 8 inches, and then fallen again, which they said arose from this; that a large creature of the serpentine kind had come up out of the lake, and lain across the mouth of it.[76] When they lived in Pettquotting, they had several times witnessed the same phenomenon, and sometimes seen the serpents.—We relate this as we heard it, only observing, that to make a dam across either of these rivers, the serpent (or animal, whatever it may have been), must have been at least 20 yards long.

The 10th we passed along a high shore, consisting of horizontal strata of slate, in some places 150 feet high. This is an extremely dangerous bank for canoes to go along, as there is no landing-place for 9 miles successively. High as the shore is, the waves of the lake sometimes beat over it. We regarded it as a token of our Saviour's providential care over us, that we could pass this place in perfect safety. The lake remained on this and the following day, as smooth as glass. We never saw it so before, for such a length of time, during the whole journey.—This day and the next Br. & Sr. Zeisberger went by land with some of the Indian sisters. In the afternoon we all encamped together on Achsin or Stone river.[77] (ROCKY RIVER)

The 11th after passing still higher rocks than those we had seen yesterday, we arrived at 9 o'clock in the morning at the mouth of the Cayahaga river,[78] thus concluding, if not the most difficult, at least the most dangerous part of our journey. We had now the long wished for joy, to bid adieu to lake Erie, along which we had coasted, according to our calculation, about 220 miles,[79] in 19 days. It was a tedious passage for the season of the year. Had we waited till later in the fall, or till the ensuing spring, it would probably have been more so, and not so safe for the health. A journey in the spring would have been attended with this additional inconvenience, that it would have occasioned greater expence to the heathen society, as it would have been impossible for us to have arrived on the Muskingum before the planting time was over.

The Cayahaga is the boundary between the dominions of the United States, and the Indian country properly so called. The tract of country between this river and the Pennsylvania line eastward, bounded on the South by Lat. 41°, has been granted by Congress to the state of Connecticut, in lieu of their ancient claim to a part of Pennsylvania, which was afterwards found to interfere with the charter of that province to William Penn. The New Englanders have already begun to settle this country in several places, and have given it the name of New Connecticut.[80] At the mouth of the Cayahaga we found two large families of them, (1798)

75. Probably the one now called Cahoon Creek, near North Dover.

76. No doubt another example of a *seiche* but here the Indians had attempted an explanation of the phenomena which fitted into their beliefs.

77. Rocky River. The actual distance was about five miles.

78. The river flows through the heart of present Cleveland. A small settlement is recorded there by Mortimer.

79. The actual distance would be considerably less even allowing for all the bays and indentations.

80. This district was generally known as the "Western Reserve" of Connecticut.

who had lived there above a year. Every individual of them, except one man, was sick of an intermitting fever, called here the lake fever, because it prevails along the borders of the lake at this season of the year.[81] Two of our sisters had labored for above a week under the same disorder, which they did not get rid of, till they came to breathe a drier air several days journey up the Cayahaga.

We went up the river several miles to day. In the evening meeting Br. Zeisberger congratulated the brethren and sisters on their safe arrival thus far; after which in a cheerful singing-meeting, they made the woods to resound with hymns of thanks and praises.

We were now more our own masters than we had been hitherto, being no longer so subject to the contingencies of wind and weather. In the evening we could determine upon the distribution of our time the next day, and spend many or few hours on the water as we thought proper. Our daily course was commonly as follows:—

On a general call, at break of day (Note: This was made by the old men, and commonly by the Vorsteher, as the young people generally slept soundly.), the young men went on the chace, and did not return till about 9 or 10 o'clock. During this, the women dressed the provision for the day, and all who staid at home breakfasted. On the return of the hunters, and after they had made a hearty meal, we re-entered our canoes, and pushed on as well as we could, till about 5 or 6 o'clock, when we encamped again, and prepared for our supper and night's lodging. It was pleasing to see how quickly this was effected. In twenty minutes, or half an hour after we landed, every family had a blazing fire, with a kettle of provision hanging over it. The women were perhaps preparing to bake bread, or amusing themselves with their children; and the men, if not assisting in the domestic concerns of the family, were reclining on their mats, and smoking their peaceful pipes. Every one seemed industrious, contented and happy. In the woods, Indians are every where at home, and at their ease.

* The 12th our people were in uncommon high spirits. As they were rowing up the stream, they saw a large rattle-snake swimming near the shore. One of them immediately struck him twice across the back with his setting-pole,[82] and then seizing him by the tail, pulled off his rattles, which were thirteen in number. We found afterwards that these venomous creatures, the sight of which will make even an Indian to shudder, were numerous along the banks of this river.

It is a happy circumstance for a traveller in the wilderness of America, that poisonous serpents are the only creatures of which he has any cause to be afraid. Even these are not so dangerous as they are commonly supposed to be, and the different species whose bite is fatal are ascertained to be few in number. Providentially, wherever there are rattlesnakes, there are also plants which are a certain remedy against their poison; they will not follow a man unless they have been irritated; and they cannot endure the smell of fire. These are so many securities against them. By making use of the most simple precautions, all dangers from

81. A form of malaria, sometimes called "ague and fever". Although only two families are mentioned, there must have been others in the vicinity, as in 1797 Elijah Cain, Lorenzo Carter, Ezekiel Hawley and James Kingsbury, with their families, settled in the "Reserve". Moses Cleaveland, after whom Cleveland was named, was with the first surveying party in 1796 but he did not take up residence here. A number of surveyors would also be there in 1798.

82. The pole used to guide or push the canoe in shallow water or narrow streams.

them may be avoided; and travelling along the Thames or the Cayahaga may be rendered as safe as a morning's walk on the banks of the Lehigh at Bethlehem. If, for instance, the ground round an encamping-place be touched by a fire brand, it is rendered as safe against them as a castle. At the same time, the possibility of receiving a poisonous bite, in one part of the country as well as in another, calls for our constant thankfulness to God for his daily preservation.—Br. Zeisberger has been for upwards of fifty years a traveller in the Indian country. He has seen and stepped over hundreds of rattlesnakes, and he once trod upon one before he noticed it; but no one has ever hurt him; which we believe may also be said by all our brethren and sisters who have travelled among the Indians. Br. Ettwein, on his journey from the Susquehanna to the Ohio, set his foot on a rattlesnake, without receiving any harm from it. These are especial mercies of God.

✝ The 13th we passed by the place where the Indian congregation was obliged to settle in the spring of the year 1786,[83] finding it impossible at that time to reach the Muskingum. There also they suffered much through sickness and want, and were at length necessitated, instead of proceeding forward, to move to Pettquotting.—From this place we were altogether unacquainted with the country before us, as none of us had ever travelled it before.

The 14th we waited for one of the hunters till after 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He returned soon after, and told us that he had lost himself by following the course of another river to the east of us. Soon after we had to seek shelter from a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, rain and hail. Some of the hailstones were nearly an inch in length. We hardly got forward two miles today, being prevented by hindrances and difficulties.[84] The country now became mountainous; the bottom of the river was rocky, as if paved with flat stones; in some places it was scarcely covered with water; in others, it abounded in rapids and small cataracts. All this was better than we had been taught to expect. We had been told that these rocks would be quite dry on the surface, that only a little water would run through the small interstices between them, and that we should be obliged to carry our canoes & baggage—nobody knew how far—over land. This was not the case, but by the men's pulling each canoe separately when necessary, and being ready to assist each other, all were brought forward without unloading them. We could not however but pity the poor people, who were obliged to wade continually in the water. Some of the women also, with children on their backs, exerted themselves like men. To go by land, in order to lighten the canoes, was also attended with difficulties, on account of the very steep hills, and the high weeds in the vallies, which were in a

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✝ 83. This spot, now referred to as "Pilgerruh" (Pilgrim's Rest), is believed to have been on the high ground above Tinker's Creek at its junction with the Cuyahoga, although some claim it was on another stream about a mile north of Tinker's Creek. Details of their stay at this place can be found in Eugene F. Bliss, trans. and ed. *Diary of David Zeisberger*, I, 279-332.

✝ 84. The Ohio Canal, built through here in 1827, follows closely the Cuyahoga River. As far as the village of Alexander (about where they would be in their travels) a road also follows the river, but soon takes to higher ground and only occasionally finds room to descend to river level. The river runs for miles between high cliffs. We studied the valley from the heights.

manner interwoven in each other. It was however attempted from time to time by the aged and weakly among us.[85]

The 15th we set off early in the morning, & proceeded till noon, when we stopped at an open place to dry the clothing, provision &c. which had got wet the day before. The poor Indians had many hard pulls to day, and the weather was intensely hot.

The 16th we discerned many fresh tracks of an elk. Some of the hunters followed them, but without success. Upon this and former occasions, they discerned plainly the division lines of the surveyors, who measured land here last year agreeable to the act of Congress. We saw also beaver's paths, and twigs and young saplings which had been peeled by them. Their holes are in the banks of the river. The country now began to appear somewhat more pleasant, than it had for some days past, and the rocky bottom ceased, or was better covered with water. But this advantage was fully balanced by the heaps of fallen timber, which in many places lay across the river, and had to be cut through with axes before we could pass them.

In the evening, about an hour after we had encamped, we had the great and unexpected pleasure to welcome Nicholas, the only one of the six brethren who went with the brethren Heckewelder and Edward to the Muskingum, who had not before returned to us. His arrival, which had been anxiously waited for, caused an involuntary and general shout of joy. Nothing indeed could have been more opportune. Our people had just worked very hard, and been informed by the hunters that they would soon have worse places to get over than any they had yet come to. None of them knew when and how this would end. They did their best to encourage one another, but some of them seemed to be a little low-spirited. In this situation of things, Nicholas was, as far as circumstances would permit, "a messenger of good tidings", a comfort and support to the whole congregation. He brought us a letter from Br. Edward, by which we learnt that Br. Heckewelder had been obliged to go to Pittsburg, in order to get his wounded hand healed. The intelligence which he communicated by word of mouth was on the whole pleasing. On the one hand, the difficulties we should have to contend with would be great: the water both further up the Cayahaga, and for a considerable way down the Muskingum, would be shallow; the Cayahaga in particular would be difficult to ascend, on account of the rocks, the carrying-place would be 10 miles across. But on the other side, he said that he had no doubt but their united efforts would bring them up this river, and down the other; there was a good path across the carrying-place; he had one canoe ready there for the use of their teachers; the hunting would become better and better, as they would proceed further; the Indians whom he had seen on the Muskingum wished for our arrival, as did the white people in the settlements, who would certainly be friendly to us. Every body was sorry for what had happened to our Indians, and the murders that had since been committed. "The militia", said he, "and all the bad people who used to hate the Indians, are dead, or gone far away. If any of you have still any bad thoughts of the Choanschican (Note: This word signifies "long knife", At the treaties with the Indians, the governors of

Portage Path

85. The district between the villages of Chaffee and Boston answers this description. Literally scores of valleys cut into the hillside, each bringing in the spring its stream to add to the Cuyahoga. Near Boston the bottomland widens out to permit camping.

Virginia used always to appear with long swords.) (Americans), let him go among them, and in half an hour they will all leave him."

The other Indian brethren who had been this year on the Muskingum had brought us pleasing accounts, but none were so satisfactory as those communicated by Nicholas. He had himself been in the settlements, and spoken with the inhabitants; and being an intelligent and judicious man, whatever he said had weight with our people. He had in short shewn himself to be in every respect "a good spy to spy out the land." We heard afterwards that he had rendered Br. Heckewelder essential services; after which he made a canoe at Gnadenhütten, which he took up to and hid at the landing-place, that he might have the pleasure of bringing his teachers down the Muskingum to the new place of settlement. He had intended to proceed to the mouth of the Cayahaga, or if necessary to Fairfield, in order to meet us. Providentially, he found one of our brethren in the woods, who brought him to our camp.

From this time forward our people without exception pursued the journey cheerfully. No one seemed to doubt but it would have a prosperous issue, and that they would live together securely and happily at the new town which they were going to build.

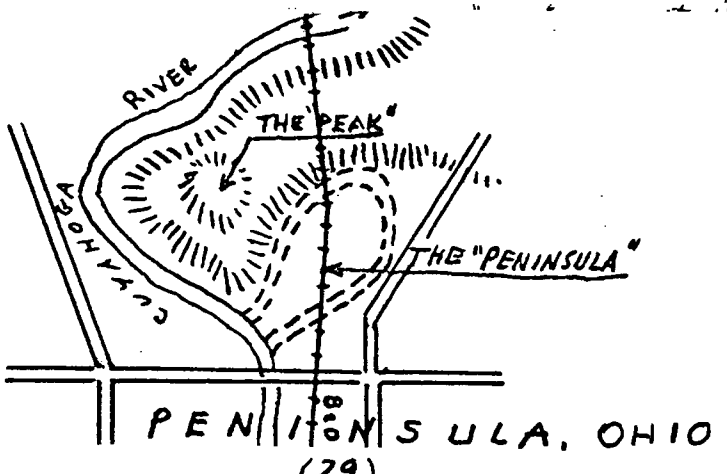
The 17th was the hardest day for our Indians of any which they had experienced on the whole journey. It was extremely difficult to get forward. But they worked manfully. We passed a remarkable place, to which we gave the name of "the saddle." The river makes here a circuit of above a mile, over a surface of horizontal rocks, and then arrives at the place where it was before, separated merely by a small but high ridge of stone and earth, across which one may sit like on a saddle.[86] Should an attempt ever be made to render this river navigable for large boats, this small isthmus or saddle might easily be cut through, and a lock made at it, on account of the great fall of water.

The 18th we found to our joy that we had passed all the rocks, and were now again in deep water. We were able in consequence to make 12 or 14 miles.[87]

The 19th John Adam shot a bear, which was the first that had been killed on our journey. It was old, and the flesh was tough and unsavory; but we accepted it with thankfulness as the gift of God, at a time when, as it happened, no other meat was brought to our camp. The bears are fat in November, when they are esteemed delicious and wholesome food. The reason why the American bears are superior in flavor to those of Europe is probably because the former can find sufficient food in the produce of the woods, while the latter are obliged to have recourse to carrion. The fat of the bear is used both by the white people and Indians as a good substitute for butter, and oil both for food and lamps. It is accounted very nutritious. The skins form one of the principal articles of the Indian trade.

86. There is a place near Peninsula where the river at one time may have made such a circuit. A lock of the Ohio Canal is very close to this point. The "saddle" is not visible now.

87. The day's run probably took them to the present Botzum about seven miles in a straight line, but much farther following the curves.



To day we passed by the so called Old Cayahaga town, which is a place where the Delaware nation had once their principal residence.[88] They moved here in the beginning of the war of 1756, in order to avoid taking share in it. Netawatwees was then their chief, and they were in friendship with the English. The town is now quite destroyed.

From Cayahaga Netawatwees moved about the year 1770 to Gegelemukpéchunk (Note; Signifies "still water". The creek of this name has very little apparent current.) where the Delawares built a large town.[89] There Br. Zeisberger found him and his people, when he first came to preach the gospel in these parts.

In the evening we arrived at the Cayahaga[90] carrying-place where we were to quit that river, which now took a north easterly course, and proceed south to the Muskingum. Our first business was to unload the canoes, which were then hid among the thick underwood, for the future use of ourselves, or any of our friends who might have occasion fo: them. Thus ended our 9 days navigation on the Cayahaga.

There is a small creek[91] that falls here into this river, which is navigable in the spring of the year, within about a mile of one of the heads of the Muskingum. At the present season it could be of no service to us but our baggage had to conveyed 10 miles over land.[92]

The 20th being allowed as a day of rest, the young men were chiefly engaged in hunting, and had good success

The 21st early, a beginning was made to convey the goods over land. The horses our people had with them were now of essential service.[93]

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88. Less than two miles would bring them to the old Cuyahoga town, near present Smith's Road. Heckewelder shows this on his map of 1796 (preserved by Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland) on the west side of the Cuyahoga near the place where the river turns to the east. The river must have been quite shallow as the day's journey took them only about three miles to the portage.

89. Now Newcomerstown, Ohio, where a monument marks the site of Netawatwes capital and Zeisberger's first preaching spot in Ohio. Mortimer's translation of the name is questioned.

90. We were following a road beside the Cuyahoga and as we approached Akron the river made a sharp bend to the east. We turned with the stream and soon crossed a bridge which led to Akron's busy "Portage Path", which follows very closely the old trail, designated now by a bronze marker.

91. In the spring a water route was sometimes possible by the Little Cuyahoga, a mile or so east of Mortimer's Portage. Ohio authorities believe that travellers could sometimes ascend this stream to within a mile of Summit Lake, then follow the route taken today by the Ohio Canal to the Tuscarawas River near Nesmith Lake. Thomas Hutchins' Map of 1776 (reproduced by W. I. Barnholth in his *The Cuyahoga-Tuscarawas Portage*) and Mortimer's diary would both indicate the short portage as being from Summit Lake to the Tuscarawas. Today this is nearly two miles, but Summit Lake was probably considerably larger in 1798. The Ohio Canal has unquestionably changed water levels. Most of the year this route was useless and the longer portage had to be used.

92. We followed the trail as closely as possible through the eastern edge of Akron by Portage Path, Copley Road, Diagonal Road, East Avenue, Manchester Road to Nesmith Lake and the thin stream of the Tuscarawas River. This portage served as the Western boundary of the United States from 1785 until 1805 when the Treaty of Fort Industry extended the boundary farther west, although the land west of the Portage had been claimed by Connecticut much earlier. (See Wm. I. Barnholth, *The Cuyahoga-Tuscarawas Portage*, Akron, 1954, and C. R. Quine, *Old Portage and the Portage Path*, Akron, 1953).

93. Horses have not been mentioned since they were leaving Fairfield and Mortimer wrote "Some horses belonging to the Indians went along with us by land." We can only assume that a small group of Indians led the horses along paths which

At noon, at the request of the grand-parents, Br. Zeisberger baptized Salome's sick child, and named him George. He made use of the opportunity seriously to exhort the mother to alter her course of life, and turn to our Saviour.

In the evening of the 22d we were all except one family actually encamped on the Tuscarabi[94] (Note: Tuscarabi is a Wiondat word, signifying "open mouth". It was originally a name given by them to a place where a considerable creek, that falls into the Musk.m near Fort Laurence[95] takes a large angle with it, leaving a beautiful opening between them. The Delawares call the place Tuscalawi, & some of the English Tuscarawa or the Tuscarawas. It has become customary to give the name to the Muskingum itself, before it arrives at the above mentioned junction.) or Muskingum river, with all our baggage around us. The general willingness that had been shewn on this occasion, made that a work of ease and dispatch, which might otherwise have been attended with difficulty and delay. Our people had however much exerted themselves, and we wished that it had been in our power to shew our satisfaction and thankfulness, by some suitable present. But our journey had been so long, that we began altogether to be very poor in the most necessary and acceptable articles.

Br. Zeisberger has made almost innumerable journeys with Indian brethren and sisters, and always found them, as they approved themselves on this: willing, tactable, faithful, patient of fatigue, quiet, good-humoured, attentive to their business, perservering amidst difficulties, and always ready to hearken to and follow advice if given them with discretion and prudence. But on no former occasion were they so kind and obliging as now, which was particularly observable among the young people educated in the congregation. This journey afforded Br. Mortimer,[96] (who had lately entered into the service of the mission), an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with their character, as we were all closely connected like one family, and saw and conversed with each other frequently.

The country at the carry-place is open and dry, and the surrounding country lofty and level. From the course of the rivers, and the descrip-

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followed the rivers and lake fairly closely. They probably followed the Thames and St. Clair, crossed at Detroit by ferry and kept to the west bank of the Detroit River and the end of Lake Erie to present Toledo. Heckewelder's map shows an Indian path closely following the south shore of Lake Erie, all the way to the Cuyahoga. Only in a few places would wide rivers force them farther inland. At no place does the diary record meeting the group travelling by land so we assume they were in close touch all the way. Earlier in 1798 Heckewelder, Edwards and a party of Indians travelled from Fairfield to Schönbrun by land, but they cut inland from the Miami River to "Upper Sandusky, Owl Creek and the Forks of the Muskingum." They found the travelling indescribably bad. Zeisberger's 1786 journey was by land from the Sandusky area and their principal difficulty was in crossing the streams, through lack of canoes. If the two groups kept close together in 1798 much of this difficulty was probably overcome.

94. The Tuscarawas River. The Moravians usually referred to it as the Muskingum, a name now only applied to the main body of the stream formed by the junction of the Tuscarawas and the Walhonding Rivers.

95. Fort Lawrens, near Bolivar, Ohio.

96. It was common for Moravian diarists to write of themselves in the third person.

tions of travellers, it should seem that it was some of the highest ground between lake Erie, the Alleghany mountains, and the rivers Ohio and Mississippi.[97] Where such eminences are level, they are generally found to abound in small lakes, being the union of the numerous springs which are there formed, by the natural tendency of the moisture that is in the earth to rise to the highest parts of it. Two such lakes, or collections of springs form the Cayahoga, and three unite their streams in the Muskingum.

At this place we found a family of Tuscororas, who presented our people with honey. In their camp was Rebecca, who was baptized in Pettquotting, but staid behind when the congregation moved the second time over the lake. Br. Zeisberger took the opportunity to remind her of her baptismal covenant, which she said she had not forgot.

We now sent Christian Gottlieb with a letter to the brethren Heckewelder & Edward, to apprize them of our near approach to them, and to request a supply of provisions as soon as possible, as we should all soon be in great want. In some families the poor children were seen crying for bread, while the afflicted mothers sighed or dropped a silent tear, because they had none to give them. We would fain have sent a messenger earlier, and had with this view frequently consulted with the brethren, but did not see how one could be spared before we should arrive at this place.

New difficulties now presented themselves. Canoes were wanting to take us down the Muskingum. Nicholas had made one for the missionaries, which was in readiness; but trees were wanting to make others of, the timber hereabouts being very small. Two solitary trees which appeared most promising, on being cut down, so split to pieces with the fall, that they could not be made use of. Three very small canoes were now made, two of which were bound together so as to form a raft, on which the heavy baggage could be brought lower down the river, in hopes of finding larger timber fit for canoes. The light baggage, and the small children, must till then be carried.

While this preparation was going forward, the weather which had hitherto been uniformly warm, and sometimes extremely so, became suddenly uncommonly cool for the season of the year. There were severe frosts in the nights of the 24th & 25th, which we afterwards understood were general throughout the country. In our elevated, moist and exposed situation, it may easily be conceived that we felt them severely. Our fires, which in the first part of the journey were kept burning all night only as a defence against the musquitoes, were now well supported, on account of the cherishing warmth which they afforded us. In this respect Indians never neglect to make themselves as comfortable as possible.

The wolves, whom we had before seldom seen or heard, began now to howl terribly. Whenever their dismal tones, the probable tokens of hunger, were heard, our dogs answered them by a general barking, which had at least the effect, to keep them at a respectful distance from us. The American wolf will otherwise, if hungry, sometimes come near a man; but he is too fearful & cautious to venture to hurt him. The Indians seldom waste their powder and ball on them. The deer, when pursued by them, have no other means of safety, but by taking to the water,

97. This portage definitely crossed the height of land dividing the rivers flowing into Lake Erie from the rivers flowing into the Ohio.

whither the wolves will not follow them. A deer thus chaced once plunged into lake Erie, within view from our canoes. It is easy to conceive what was his fate. It is remarkable and providential that the wolves cannot follow the scent of the young fawns.

The 26th at noon we were at length enabled to begin the navigation down the Muskingum. It went at first very slowly, on account of the unwieldiness of the double canoe.

The 27th at 11 o'clock in the morning was the funeral of George,[98] who had departed this life the preceding evening. The family were sorrowful on account of the event; but we missionaries thought that we could plainly discern the hand of God in it for good. The grave was well defended with posts & logs of timber, to prevent its being opened by the wolves.

The 28th we were rejoiced by the return of Christian Gottlieb from Gnadenhütten with welcome letters from Br. Heckewelder, and from Br. Ettwein in Bethlehem. Our Indian brethren & sisters took share in the joy which we in particular felt on this occasion.

The 29th being Michaelmas day, we thought much of the service of the holy angels, for which we have abundant reason to be thankful. On this & the following day some brethren were employed in making a large canoe. The rest were very successful on the chace.

The 30th at 11 o'clock we were enabled to continue our course, & made good progress. We found ourselves now in that good country, which the land along the Muskingum is known to be, and for which it has become celebrated.[99] The river now opened, the bottoms began to be large, and the tracks of the deer in many places as numerous as those of the cattle around a Pennsylvania farm yard.

Oct 1st The banks of the river exhibited every token of fertility in the appearance of the timber, the height and rankness of the weeds, and the abundance of grape-vines loaded with fruit, which as it were offered us their ripened clusters to regale and refresh us. Those who went by land often found abundance of honey in the trees. At times the bed of the river presented us with the diverting spectacle of thousands of fish of various kinds, while numerous flocks of geese, ducks & turkeys seemed to tell us that they had a particular attachment to the Muskingum. It ought to be noticed however, that this was the most plentiful season of the year for game.

The 3d we passed the Tuscarabi properly so called,[100] and not far from thence the place were Fort Laurence[101] formerly stood.

The 4th was the 51st and last day of our journey. It rained hard in the morning, but the sun shone bright when we reached Schönbrun at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. We felt glad and thankful that our Saviour had brought us safely to the place of our destination.

---

98. The child who had been baptized on the 21st.

99. The dams and flood prevention measures on the Muskingum have probably changed its character somewhat but it appears today, as we approach Schoenbrunn in the summer, as a wide, quiet, algae-covered stream, flowing slowly through rich bottoms and moderate hills. No settlements are mentioned in the diary and probably none had been made on its banks farther north than the Moravian towns of Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten (present spellings).

100. Where the Tuscarawas and Walhonding join to form the Muskingum.

101. Fort Lawrens was built in 1778 in the shape of a star, with five pointed bastions. It served as the only American fort in present Ohio during the Revolution but was abandoned in 1779. Its outlines have been partially preserved in a memorial park near Bolivar, Ohio.

Thus after a period of above 17 years, since the Indian congregations were obliged to leave the Muskingum, a small part of the remainder of them is going to form a settlement there again. Before their captivity, they were numerous and flourishing; the Spirit of God ruled powerfully amongst them; and the prevailing grace and devotion of heart to our Saviour, seemed to answer to the description given in holy writ of the first Christian church at Jerusalem. There was then the pleasing prospect of the gospel's being generally embraced by the Delaware and other nations, and nothing seemed capable of impeding its further progress. Why our allwise Saviour did then permit the enemy of souls to gain a seeming advantage against him & his cause by checking the progress of his gospel, is a mystery which we cannot pretend to unravel. So much is certain from his word, that he possesses all power in heaven & on earth (Matth. 28.18), and that the gates of hell shall never prevail against his church. (Matth. 16.18). This present, apparent evil, must therefore be productive of future, substantial good. And facts make it appear probable that it will be so. By the dispersion and continued wandering of the Indian congregation,[102] some general knowledge of them, and of their faith and character, has been extensively circulated among their countrymen, even beyond the river Mississippi; many individuals who had heard the gospel, have witnessed among the heathen, both in their life & death, their faith in a Saviour; the unmerited sufferings of the Indian brethren and sisters, and their patient submission to them, have produced an universal, national sympathy & regard for them. These are circumstances which seem to forebode a ripening harvest of souls, a speedy and more glorious spread of the gospel among the Indian nations. Till lately it was impossible for the whole or any part of the Indian congregation to form a settlement on the Muskingum: The attempt seems now to be attended with no difficulty, and has diffused a general joy among the heathen, who have on several occasions expressed a desire that they would come and settle also in *their* country. There is also among our Indians a general desire to live to our Saviour, and a wish to be instrumental in the salvation of their fellow men. These are further "tokens for good", encouragements to "abound in the good work of the Lord", with the hope that our "labour will not be in vain with the Lord". Our call is: "to be fellow laborers with God". He, as the Lord of the harvest, appears to have provided sufficient work for us, and to have prepared our way before us. If we "lift up our eyes, & look on the fields, they are white already to harvest" (Jno. 4.35). The harvest moreover is great, and the laborers are few; we pray therefore the Lord of harvest, that he would be pleased to send forth more laborers into his harvest (Luke 10.2).

Upon the whole, we are of opinion, that no combination of circumstances more favorable than the present, can with propriety be looked for to induce the making vigorous attempts to spread the ever blessed gospel of our Redeemer far and wide among the Indian nation. Throughout the continent of N.America this is a time of profound peace. From the Muskingum and the Thames access may be had to, and a communication be kept up with, the most remote Indian settlements. Should, in case of any future Indian wars, or the unfavorable disposition of the

102. Only a small fraction of the Muskingum Indian congregations had followed the missionaries to Canada. During the Revolution and the unsettled period that followed, the remainder had been scattered, most of them to a considerable distance west.

chiefs, the messenger of the gospel, or their converts, be under the necessity of seeking places of refuge, they would now in, every case, find them in *Indian place-congregations,* built on lands belonging to the Brethren, in Canada or in the United States, or in both.

Such are the animating prospects and pleasing reflections with which we close this journal. We are thankful for the divine protection afforded us on our tedious pilgrimage from Canada, & for all the blessings with which it has been crowned; we rejoice that we are thereby removed somewhat nearer to our brn. & srs. in the Pennsylvania cong.ns and can in consequence further the intercourse between them & the cong.n in Canada; but above all, we are happy at the prospect, that some more Indian souls may be brought to the knowledge of a Saviour, through our removal over the lake. Every human soul has cost the blood of the Lamb of God, and is therefore of more value than the whole world; & it is the will of our Sav.r that his gospel should be preached to all nations. These are truths which are imprinted by the Spirit of God in the hearts of our brethren and sisters, and of all the children of God every where. We have full confidence in the dear brethren under whom we act, that, on their part, no expence or exertions will be spared, and that every thing which is, humanly speaking, *possible,* will be done, towards the further propagation of the gospel among these heathen. But amidst all difficulties & obstruction which may present themselves, our chief reliance is, that what may sometimes seem impossible with men, is possible with God, & that nothing can withstand his mighty arm. May he, in mercy, enable us his poor, unworthy servants, and all who are, or may in future, be engaged in the same arduous work with ourselves, to serve him with faithfulness, with zeal, with true humility of heart, in harmony of spirit; & with supreme love to himself, that thus, what he thinks proper, may be effected through us, to his honor & glory! Amen.

David Zeisberger
Benj.n Mortimer

The return to the Muskingum was not the successful move, financially or spiritually, for which Moravian authorities had hoped. Twelve thousand acres was too large an area for the few Christian Indians to handle and it was in the heart of a fast developing white settlement with its unscrupulous rum-traders. The majority of the tribesmen were moving westward to new hunting grounds and the few Monseys who came to live near Goshen, the new village started by Zeisberger and Mortimer on the Schönbrun tract, were unruly and debauched, a constant source of trouble to the Christian towns and a discouragement to the Moravian teachers.

Benjamin Mortimer returned in 1799 to Bethlehem to marry Bythia Warner and came again to Ohio to assist the Zeisbergers. But few lasting conversions lightened the gloom of the end of David Zeisberger's career. He died in 1808, at Goshen, in his 88th year, firmly convinced that his life's work had been a failure. But those who follow his diaries know how much his unselfish devotion and intense love of his Indians had influenced for good many Delawares and kindred tribes who came to know

him. Zeisberger's grave in Goshen cemetery is surrounded by his friends and converts—the Indians he came to save. His fellow missionary, William Edwards, lies close by and also Joseph Warner, the young son of the Mortimers.

Following Zeisberger's death, Mrs. Zeisberger retired to the Widows' House in Bethlehem, and the Mortimers stayed to lead the Goshen mission. Mortimer later became pastor of the First Moravian Church in New York City, where he died February 10, 1834, at the age of 66.

Acknowledgements

We are indebted to the Right Reverend S. H. Gapp, Archivist of the Moravian Church, Northern Provinces, Bethlehem, Pa., and to the Reverend John Fliegel, Translator and Cataloguer in the Moravian Archives, for their valuable assistance in connection with the diary.

We are also indebted to the following for valuable regional information:

Messrs. C. R. Quine and W. I. Barnholth, of Akron, Ohio, for information on the Cuyahoga-Tuscarawas Portage.

Dr. James H. Rodabaugh, Ohio Historical Society.

Sterling A. Spaulding, Bedford, Ohio.

The following Public Libraries—Toledo, Sandusky, Akron, Port Clinton, Ohio.

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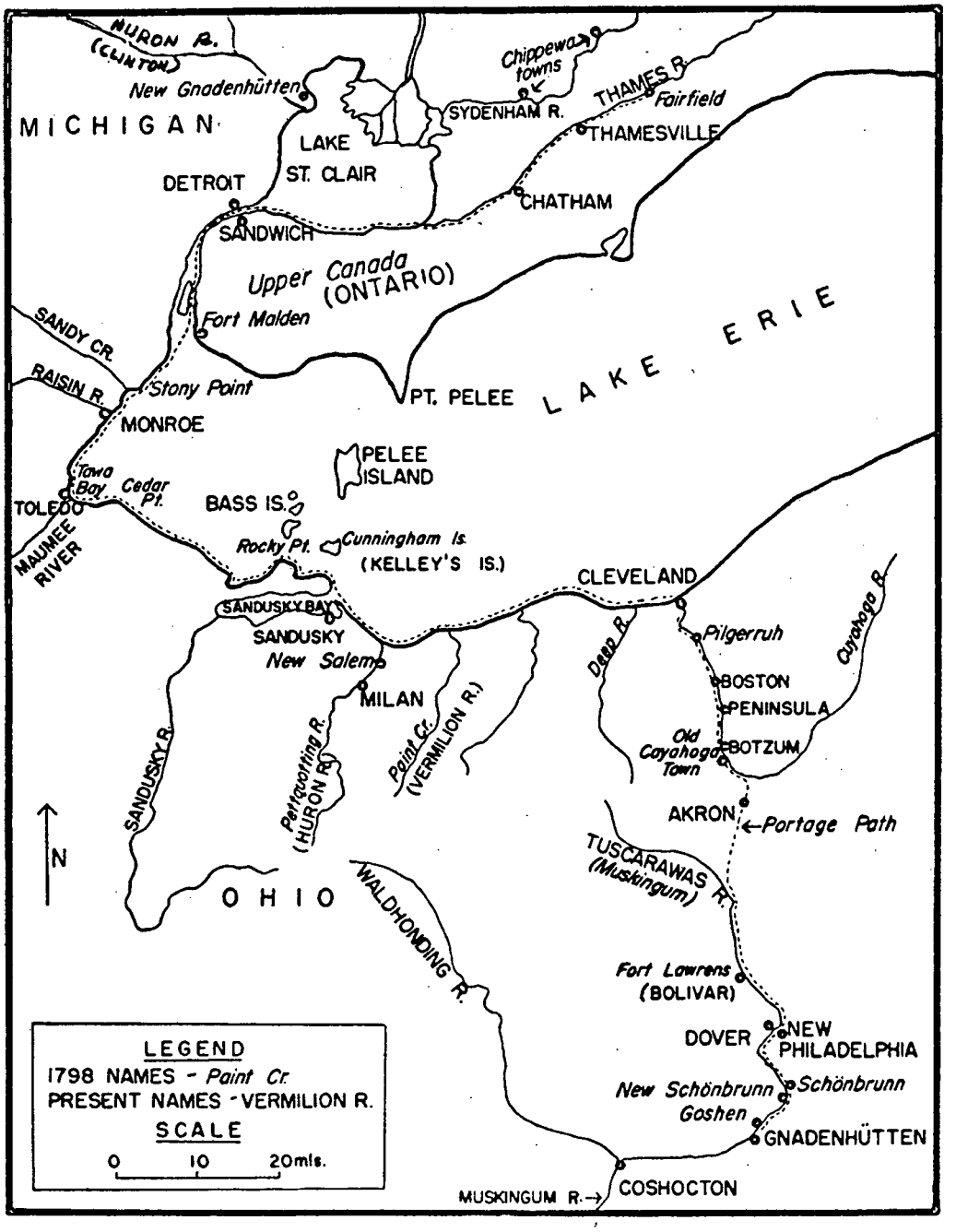
Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.


HURON R.
(CLINTON)
New Gnadenhütten
MICHIGAN
LAKE
ST. CLAIR
DETROIT
SANDWICH
Chippewa towns
SYDENHAM R.
THAMES R.
Fairfield
THAMESVILLE
CHATHAM
Upper Canada
(ONTARIO)
Fort Malden
SANDY CR.
RAISIN R.
Stony Point
MONROE
PT. PELEE
LAKE ERIE
PELEE ISLAND
Towa Bay
Cedar Pt.
TOLEDO
BASS IS.
MAUMEE RIVER
Rocky Pt.
Cunningham Is.
(KELLEY'S IS.)
CLEVELAND
SANDUSKY BAY
SANDUSKY
New Salem
MILAN
Deep R.
Pilgerruh
Cuyahoga R.
BOSTON
PENINSULA
BOTZUM
Old Cayahoga Town
SANDUSKY R.
Portcorning R.
(HURON R.)
Paint Cr.
(VERMILION R.)
AKRON
Portage Path
TUSCARAWAS R.
(Muskingum)
N
OHIO
WALDHONDING R.
Fort Lawrens
(BOLIVAR)
DOVER
NEW PHILADELPHIA
New Schönbrunn
Schönbrunn
Goshen
GNADENHÜTTEN
MUSKINGUM R.
COSHOCTON
LEGEND
1798 NAMES - Paint Cr.
PRESENT NAMES - VERMILION R.
SCALE
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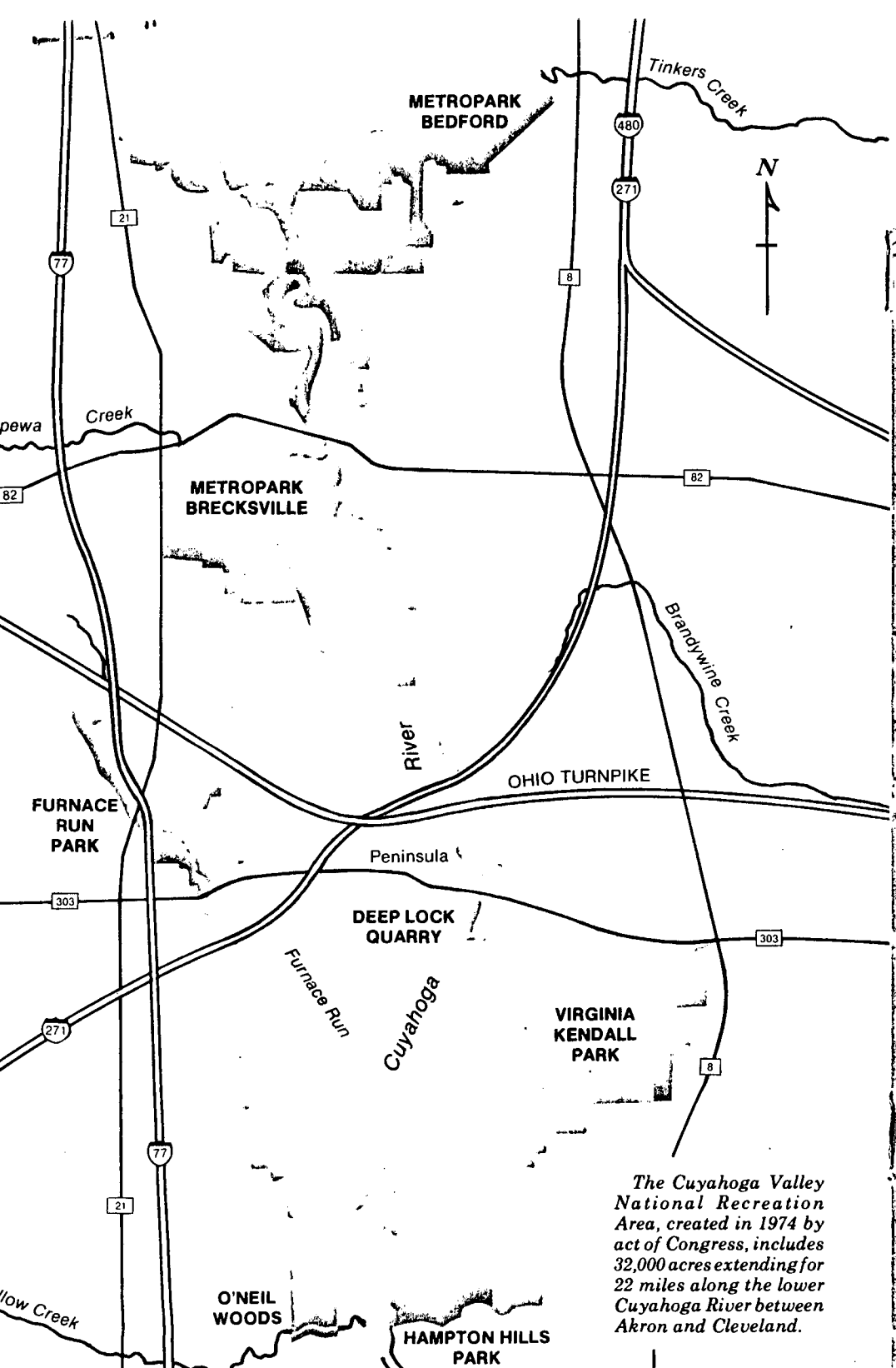


The Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area, created in 1974 by act of Congress, includes 32,000 acres extending for 22 miles along the lower Cuyahoga River between Akron and Cleveland.

Cuyahoga Valley Tales

by James S. and Margot Y. Jackson

Published by
THE CUYAHOGA VALLEY ASSOCIATION

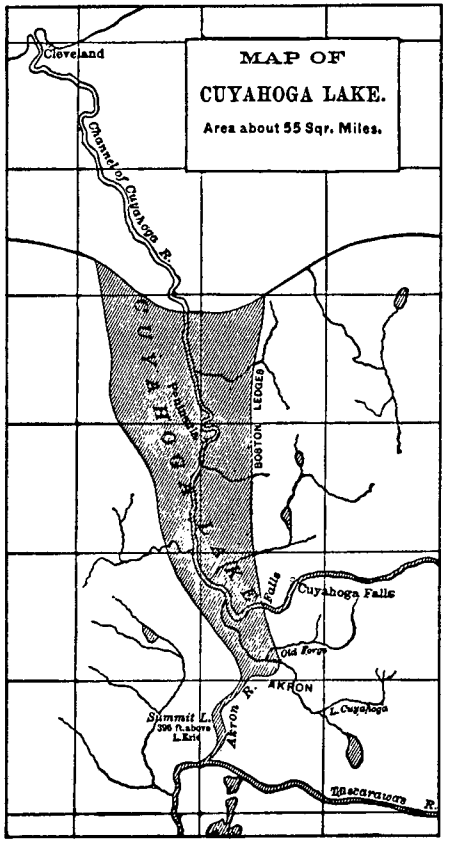
By any name — our Cuyahoga

The Indians had no written language, so the first Europeans who came to this area wrote the name of the river the way they heard it from whatever Indian was speaking.

One of the earliest maps shows it as Caujahoga. The trader George Croghan wrote it as Gichawaga. The Delawares seemed to say Diohaga. The Senecas' version was said to be Cuyohaga, meaning the "place of the jawbone." It is recorded that in the earliest days the skull and jawbone of a mastodon were discovered about five miles from the mouth of the river. Some Moravian missionaries used the spelling Gajahaga but John Heckewelder, who knew the territory best, wrote Cujahaga. The Mohawk Indians called it Cayagaga, which was believed to mean crooked river. And crooked it certainly is, with its mouth as far north as its source.

Always the rhythm of the four syllable word was much the same. Today, most northern Ohioans slur the second syllable and call it Ky-hog-ah.

GLACIERS AND FIRST MEN



THOUSANDS OF YEARS ago glaciers covered northeastern Ohio. They left their visible marks on the scarred rocks of Virginia Kendall Ledges, in conglomerate rocks where many varieties of stone are fused together, and in the sandstone and limestone outcroppings which were later worked as quarries.

The map, reprinted here from Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio,* shows that before that time the waters of the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas rivers intermingled as a lake. As the glacier scooped land from one place and deposited it in another, it created a barrier which diverted the south-flowing Cuyahoga River to the North. This then required a portage, a carrying place, for men later to travel from Lake Erie up the Cuyahoga, across land to the Tuscarawas and Muskingum rivers which would take them south.

The evidence of first men in the valley, among them the Paleo-Indians, Adenas and Hopewells, still needs much skilled exploration and interpretation. In the mid-1800's Colonel Charles Whittlesey was authorized by the state of Ohio to map the sites of prehistoric Indians. He pinpointed nearly a score along the lower Cuyahoga River. Nothing was done then to examine these mounds or fortifications and undoubtedly much has since been lost to the farmer's plow, the developer's bulldozer and the pot-hunter's greed.

Shortly after establishment, the Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area asked Dr. David S. Brose of the Cleveland Museum of Natural

History to be its local archaeological consultant. Dr. Brose had already dug carefully and well at one of the sites Dr. Whittlesey had marked, at South Park in Independence township, near Stone road and Riverview road. His findings show that three separate groups of prehistoric peoples had lived in that same place. One had been there as early as 1,000 A.D. Another had lived there about 300 years later and this group had built four or more houses before abandoning the site. Still later, perhaps about 1550, a group seemed to stay there as long as 50 or 70 years.

The arrowheads, flints, projectile points, gorgets and such found in these diggings, plus a drawing suggesting the appearance of the possible South Park Village of ancient times, are all on view in the Ohio Indian room of the Cleveland Museum of Natural History.

Unfortunately, even while Dr. Brose's team was digging, the hill on which they worked changed ownership. The new owners were disinterested in history and the whole was shortly so ravaged by their churning of the land that Dr. Brose believes no further study is possible there.

But there are other sites in which he hopes to get permission to dig. Possession of an artifact, says he, is not as important as being able to pinpoint the place where it has been found and to recognize clues in the surrounding area that may suggest an ancient structure or fire pit and hence something of the life and culture of these prehistoric people.

One of the mounds built by prehistoric people in the Cuyahoga valley.

MISSIONARIES, TRADERS AND EXPLORERS

MYSTERY and uncertainty still surround the disappearance of those ancient tribes. Not until the middle of the 1600's did any written reports appear concerning the people of what is now northeastern Ohio.

It was then that Jesuit missionaries learned of a tribe which had but recently disappeared, the Erie Indians, conquered and obliterated by other Indians, the Iroquois.

Historian Phillip R. Shriver writes a full and fascinating account of those Indian wars. This appears in the January 1985 issue of the Ohio Historical Society's magazine *Timeline*. It is based on the Jesuit *"Relations of 1640"*, illustrated with fragmentary maps, and titled *"The Beaver Wars."*

Why beaver? In turn he quotes from William D. Ellis' *Land of the Inland Seas:*

> "... Fur was the continent's cash crop and beaver its gold standard .... In England, under heavy trapping, beaver had disappeared by 1520. In France and Germany they were scarce; even Poland had few left. In a high fashion era, the garment trades in Europe were famished for fur.
>
> "...Mink, rabbit, bear and marten were in abundance, but the soft underfur of the beaver had a special fashion property; after being processed it could be brushed to a flat, felt-like material for rakish brimmed hats that held shape and style through rain, snow and hard wear. Each beaver hair is shielded by microscopic interlocking scales that seal out water, an ideal property for hats. These were not utilitarian hats to keep the head warm; they were coveted high-style hats for which Europeans would pay long profits and longer wars."

* * *

In 1666, the 23-year-old adventure-seeking Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, came to Canada. His explorations subsequently became the basis for the French claims to all the territory north of the Allegheny-Ohio rivers.

Letters show that he canoed on the Ohio river, but, how did he get there? No authentic records exist of La Salle's route from Lake Ontario to the Ohio river.

It is known that he was on the western tip of Lake Ontario on September 30, 1669. He probably had four canoes; he had 14 men and a Shawnee Indian guide. What route did that guide take to reach the Ohio?

He could have gone south on the Genesee river, but there are extraordinary falls to climb. It would not be easy.

He could have gone southwestward to Lake Chautauqua and then to the Allegheny river. But the Shawnee would have to go through territory of unfriendly Indians. Similar objections arise to going all the distance west along Lake Erie to go south on the Maumee and the Wabash. And why would his Indian guide know those rivers?

Some believe that the most logical route for La Salle's journey was along Lake Erie's shores to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, thus avoiding unfriendly Indians, then onto one of the oldest highways known — the river and its portage, a highway that was sometimes a no man's land of neutral territory.

There are no records to prove La Salle's route, no map nor town names carry the legend. But somehow La Salle traveled from Lake Ontario to the Ohio river more than 300 years ago.

* * *

George Croghan, an Indian trader, was said to be able to speak both Delaware and Iroquois languages. "To the Indian braves he brought rum, guns, powder, lead, blankets and coats of the brightest colors; to the squaws: knives, kettles, traps, axes, files, awls, wire, needles, buttons, combs, bells, whistles, mirrors, rings and jewelry. These were traded for furs: beaver, raccoon, fox, wildcat, muskrat, mink, deer skin and bearskin."

* * *

Another trader was a Frenchman, Saguin, whose post at the mouth of Tinker's Creek was the only "settlement" marked on the Cuyahoga River in the 1755 map by Lewis Evans. Saguin wrote that he did not like, and would not, trade in guns or ammunition with the Indians. Still they brought him furs in exchange for other offerings.

* * *

The Indian tribes known to the early settlers of the Cuyahoga Valley were all of the Iroquois Confederation of Six Nations.

The Mingoes, of whom Logan was best known, had a camp east of the present Ira cemetery; the Ottawas reputedly occupied the bluff where Columbia road meets Riverview road. The war-chief Pontiac spent some time there. The Chippewas were so well known to the settlers of Brecksville that they named both creek and road for them.

But, writes Lucius Bierce in his *Historical Reminiscences of Summit County,* "so signal had been the defeat of the Indians at Tippecanoe (1811) that few if any have ever returned to their favorite haunts on the Cuyahoga."

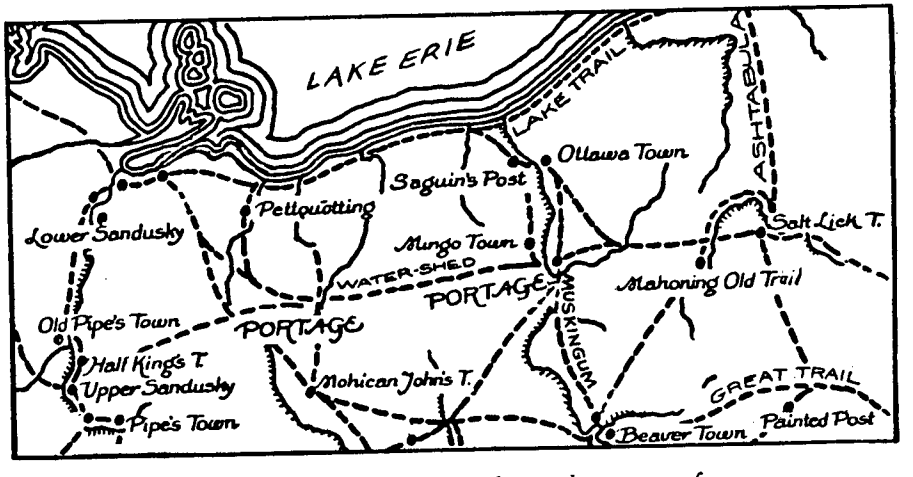
And he explains how the Indians got news of the American victory in that battle: Onondaga George kept lookout on a high bluff near the portage. "Runners brought intelligence of the Indian defeat ... three days before news reached the whites."

Indians had well-known trails which the settlers also recognized and used. Frank Wilcox has traced them in his handsome book *Ohio Indian Trails* and he locates three in this stretch of the Cuyahoga Valley.

The Lake Trail followed the southern shore of Lake Erie and sent a branch south along the Cuyahoga to the portage. The Mahoning Trail came westward from Pennsylvania, past the present Youngstown and Salt Springs, to meet the Cuyahoga River at Old Portage and to intersect there with the Muskingum Trail. This trail from the south closely paralleled the Muskingum and Tuscarawas rivers to the portage, where it connected with the trails along the Cuyahoga to Lake Erie.

Reading in Bierce again: "There was an Indian settlement near the north line of (Boston) township, below the present site of the village. They were Senecas under the chief Stygwanish, or Seneca. Ponty's camp is about a half mile northwest of this old village, on the west side of the river.

"It was a celebrated place for the collecting of war parties previous to starting out on their expeditions. They had erected here a wooden god —a kind of home-made Mars — to whom they made offerings and sacrifices, to propitiate his favor, before starting out on a war-march. The offering generally consisted of tobacco and, on leaving, they usually hung two or three pounds around his neck, for his use during their absence."



An adaptation of the end papers of Frank Wilcox's "Ohio Indian Trails."

THE BEAVER WARS
and the Destruction of the Erie Nation

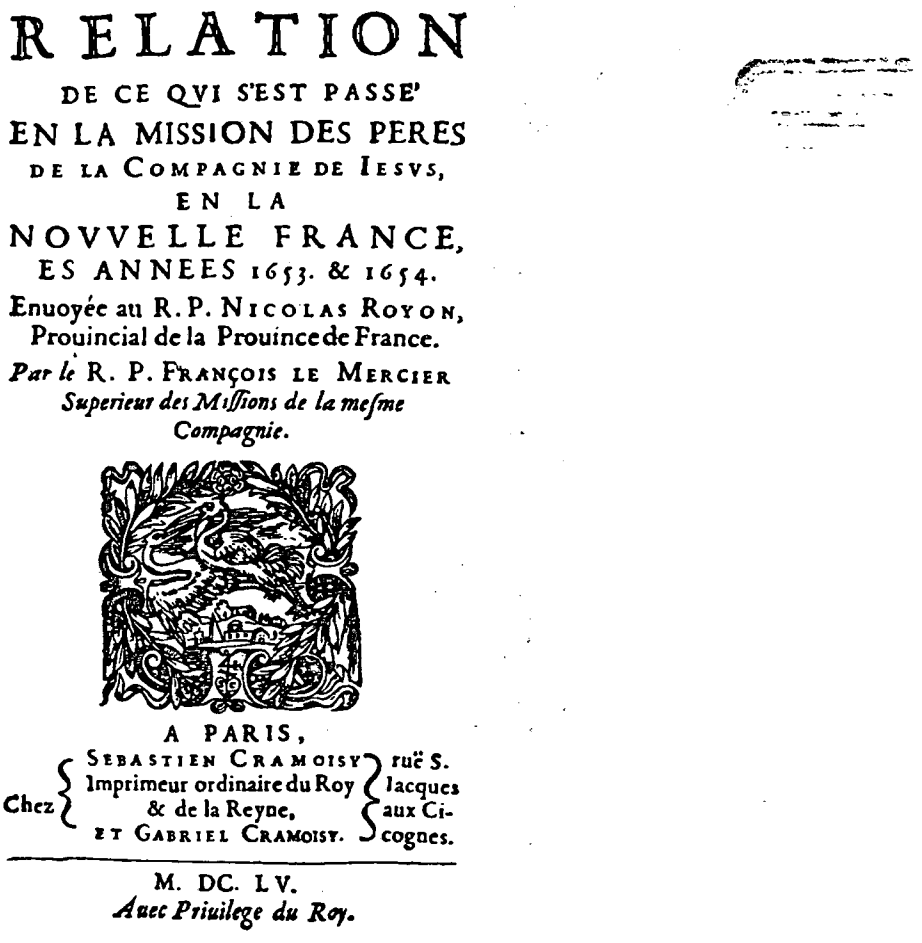
by Phillip R. Shriver

> This lake, called Erie, was formerly inhabited on its southern shores by certain tribes whom we call the Nation of the Cat; they have been compelled to retire far inland to escape their enemies, who are farther to the West. These people . . . have a number of stationary villages, for they till the soil, and speak the same language as our Hurons . . . . *(Jesuit Relations of 1647-48)*

SOMETIME, probably in the third or fourth decade of the seventeenth century, a European first stood on the shores of Lake Erie. Whether that intrepid agent of French imperialism ever traveled among the native peoples on the south shore is a question that may never be answered. Certainly at that time there were Indians still living and hunting on the lake plains, along such rivers as the Maumee, Sandusky, Huron, Vermilion, Black, Rocky, Cuyahoga, Grand, and Ashtabula in Ohio; the Elk and Walnut in Pennsylvania; and the Cattaraugus, Eighteen-mile, and Buffalo in New York. Yet when Jolliet and Pere, Casson, and Galinee explored Lake Erie in 1669, the Indians of the south shore were gone, their villages destroyed, their fires cold.

Who were the Indians who had lived here, and what had happened to them? From the *Jesuit Relations* of 1640 and a series of mid-seventeenth-century maps, we know their names and their approximate locations. Through extensive and continuing archaeological and anthropological investigation, we know more. South-shore Lake Erie may have had at least three groups of Indians living along it in 1640: from west to east, the Assistaeronon, or Mascouten; the Ontarraronon, or Kickapoo; and the Eriehronon, or Erie, called by the French "Nation du Chat" or "Cat Nation."

The Assistaeronon (a Huron term meaning "People of Fire" or "Fire Nation") have the historic tribal name of Mascouten. They were a semi-sedentary Algonquian tribe



RELATION

DE CE QVI S'EST PASSE'

EN LA MISSION DES PERES

DE LA COMPAGNIE DE IESVS,

EN LA

NOVVELLE FRANCE,

ES ANNEES 1653. & 1654.

Enuoyée au R. P. NICOLAS ROYON,
Prouincial de la Prouince de France.

Par le R. P. FRANÇOIS LE MERCIER
Superieur des Miſſions de la meſme Compagnie.

A PARIS,

Chez SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy & de la Reyne, ET GABRIEL CRAMOISY. ruë S. Iacques aux Cicognes.

M. DC. LV.
Auec Priuilege du Roy.

Two generations of Jesuit missionaries recorded sparse references to the Erie in their reports to their superiors in France. These reports, compiled and published as the *Jesuit Relations*, are among the most important documentations of the history of New France, and stand almost alone as a surviving source of information about the Erie. *Collection of the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County*

who apparently preferred areas where they might have access to both prairie and forest; they planted corn and other crops and hunted deer, bear, and (where available) buffalo. David M. Stothers and James R. Graves of the University of Toledo believe the Mascouten occupied the area between the Maumee and Sandusky valleys in northwestern Ohio as well as the southern Lower Peninsula of Michigan in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The marshlands about the western basin of Lake Erie were rich in beaver, an attraction to Indians engaged, as were nearly all of the eastern tribes either directly or indirectly, in fur trade with Europeans. From 1640 to 1643, the Attiwandaron (or Neutral Nation as they were called by the French) from the area north and east of Lake Erie warred against the Mascouten and their allies, the Kickapoo, Sauk, and Fox, forcing them to retreat from the western Lake Erie basin to the area about Lake Michigan.

The Ontarraronon (a Huron word meaning "Lake People") are known historically as the Kickapoo, a tribe of Algonquian tradition whose movements are said to have been so frequent and extensive that no particular area can be regarded as their homeland. In 1640, when they were first mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations,* they were living in Michigan or Ohio near the west end of Lake Erie. Stothers and Graves believe they may have occupied the Lake Erie shore between the Vermilion and Cuyahoga rivers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

In language and culture, the Kickapoo were closely related to the Sauk, Fox, and Mascouten, ties which they also shared with the Shawnee. Alternating between semipermanent villages and temporary winter camps, the Kickapoo lived in pole-framed houses sided and roofed with slabs of elm bark and subsisted on their own crops combined with hunting and food gathering. The attacks of the Neutral Nation against their Mascouten neighbors in the early 1640s appear also to have dislodged the Kickapoo, for the French found them in southern Wisconsin in 1665.

By the 1650s only the Erie remained near the southern shore of Lake Erie. Though it has long been speculated that they might have occupied the entire shore of the lake that still bears their name, they appear to have been concentrated between present Erie and Buffalo, with seasonal movement possibly extending as far east as the Genesee River and as far south and west as the headwaters of the Allegheny-Ohio. Their movement inland "to escape their enemies, who are farther to the West" may have reflected Neutral pressure from the northwest.

A nation of several tribes, the Erie in the 1650s were reported to have a total population of about twelve thousand (including some four thousand warriors) grouped in twenty-eight villages and twelve fortified (or palisaded) towns, though those figures were probably exaggerated. Historic contact materials have been found at Erie village sites in the vicinity of present Erie, Pennsylvania; at Ripley, New York; at two locations in the valley of the Cattaraugus Creek, New York; and at two communities in the Niagara Frontier. Other sites along the Lake Erie littoral as far west as the Cuyahoga valley, designated by archaeologists the Whittlesey Focus, were long-surmised to be associated with the Erie. The present consensus among archaeologists and anthropologists is that the Whittlesey Focus represents an Algonquian, perhaps Kickapoo, culture rather than that of the Iroquoian Erie.

French records respecting the Kickapoo and Mascouten are fragmentary; they are more extensive concerning the Erie. They begin with a report published in 1632 by the Recollect historian, Gabriel Sagard-Theodat. Sagard had spent a year (1623-1624) among the Huron of the Georgian Bay area and had there learned about a people living to the south called by the Huron "Eriehronon", "Rhiierrhonon," or simply "Erie." To Sagard and the French, they were *"la Nation du Chat,"* or the Cat Nation, named not for the bobcat, the lynx, or the panther as many came to believe but rather for the "wild cat" *(chat sauvage),* or raccoon, which still abounds in the forests along the Lake Erie shore. That the raccoon was an important source of food for the Erie is evident in an analysis of animal bones recovered from their village refuse pits. And, as Sagard reported, the raccoon was also the source of the fur from which the Eries made their robes and blankets, each fringed with the animals' distinctive ringed tails.

While it was the gray-frocked Recollect, Brother Sagard, who was the first to publish information about the Erie, our principal understanding of them comes from the records maintained by missionaries of another order, the Society of Jesus. These black-robed zealots were militant, tough, and fearless, and the order was a force to be reckoned with, despite being few in number, at home in France as well as on the frontiers of the Empire. Embodied in letters, journals, reports, and recommendations to their superiors, the records of the Jesuit missionaries were published nearly annually in Paris as the *Jesuit Relations,* ultimately seventy-three volumes of them. Extended direct quotations in the subsequent narrative are drawn from the *Relations* unless otherwise noted. Unlike their Recollect predecessors in the missions of New France, whose official policy was based on the Europeanization of the Indian even to the expectation of his speaking French, the Jesuits sought to graft Christianity onto the native culture with as little disruption as possible, leaving intact so much of Indian spiritual perception and social organization as was not incompatible with Christian doctrine or the interests of the Jesuit order.

Despite incredible hardships and obstacles, the Jesuits and their philosophy proved enormously successful. Baptisms and conversions to Christianity soared beyond anything the Recollects had experienced. Nowhere did the Jesuits have greater impact than in the area north of Lake Erie among the Huron where, led by Jean de Brebeuf, they began to serve in 1625. Yet there is no record of their ever having direct contact with the Erie villages 150 miles away, on the south side of that same lake.

That the Jesuits knew of the Erie through the Huron and other Indians is evident in their occasional references to them throughout the *Jesuit Relations,* beginning in 1635 with a comment by Brebeuf and concluding in 1685 with

Map of New France by Nicolas Sanson, 1656. *Library of Congress*

praise for one who had become a singular Christian convert. In that half-century of Jesuit commentary *about* the Erie, there were a number of instances of direct Jesuit contact *with* individual Erie, including prolonged contact with a few. Thus it is in the pages of the *Jesuit Relations* that the dawn mists which envelope the history of Lake Erie's aboriginal people begin to clear.

Whatever the extent of direct intercourse between the French and the Erie Nation, the European presence on the American Continent had profound consequences for all the woodland tribes. Traditional inter-tribal relationships and balances of power were turned topsy-turvey by the mechanisms of the fur trade. Attempts to control the hunting grounds, the transportation routes, and the favorable trading sites, became a driving force in Indian diplomacy, aggravating old hatreds and creating new ones.

At stake in the newly-fostered rivalry was material wealth of bonanza proportions in the eyes of the Indians: glass-beaded chokers (called "porcelain collars" by the French), iron axes and celts, blankets, rings, bracelets, clay pipes, brass kettles, liquor, and knives were all prized, but most coveted of all was the European's gun. At first, when royal monopolies were vested in private fur companies with taxable shares guaranteed the crown, the several European powers were wary of selling guns to the Indians. Then, as independent operators discovered the comparative ease of circumventing state monopolies in the vastness of the American wilderness, the restrictions on gun sales broke down, particularly in the areas of Dutch and British influence. Only in New France, where gun sales were limited to "Christian" Indians, did restriction persist, a policy which ultimately proved calamitous. The number of guns in the hands of the Iroquois, the Indians closest to the Dutch fur-trading centers of New York and the British settlements in Connecticut and Massachusetts, rose dramatically in the 1630s and 1640s. Tribes trading with the French were much less well-armed. These tribes included the Montagnard and other Algonquians north of Quebec as well as the Huron in the Lake Simcoe-Georgian Bay area, the Neutrals north of Lake Erie and on both sides of the Niagara River, and the Tionontate (or Tobacco Huron) to the east of Lake Huron.

About 1575, when the great leader Hiawatha forged the Iroquois Confederation, the Huron, also an Iroquoian people but not part of the league, were a much more numerous and powerful people than the Five Nations. But in 1636, eleven years after the Jesuit missionaries first came into their villages, an epidemic—possibly bubonic plague—decimated the Huron population. By 1639, the thirty-two villages of "Huronia" had been reduced from a total population of approximately 40,000 to half that number.

It was at that time that forest economics compelled the Iroquois to look to the north and west for more furs. Quite simply, the beaver of the New York area were all but gone. Prices paid in guns and other trade goods for beaver pelts at Albany rose dramatically compared to those paid at Quebec, Tadoussac, Three Rivers, and other French posts. The thirty-five-to-forty-foot Chippewa and Ottawa canoes from the upper lakes, laden with beaver furs and passing through Huronia (and Huron middlemen) to the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers, proved too tempting to resist. Tempting too were the cargoes of furs of the Montagnard and other Algonquians coming down from the north. A decade of Iroquois piracy ensued, culminating in the outbreak of the "Wars of the Iroquois," an all-out attempt to establish themselves as middlemen in the fur trade, in 1649. Their depredations against their fellow redmen have been aptly designated "The Beaver Wars."

In one brief week in March 1649, the Iroquois crushed their traditional enemies, the Huron, the key link to the distant Indian nations in the French sphere, who were already decimated by pestilence and only lightly armed by their French allies. Nine months later, the Tobacco Nation was shattered. The Neutral Nation was next. Situated between the Iroquois and the Huron, the Attiwandaron had attempted for generations to remain aloof from the quarrels of their two powerful neighbors. Though nineteen thousand in number, they proved easy victims of the imperialist Iroquois, whose pretext for attacking them was that they had refused to surrender a Huron girl. In the first months of 1651, a well-armed Iroquois army of six hundred Mohawks and Senecas attacked the Neutral towns along the Niagara and north of Lake Erie, effectively destroying the Attiwandaron as a separate people.

With three of their neighboring competitors now eliminated, the Iroquois paused to lick their wounds, assimilate replacement captives (the combined indigenous populations of the Five Nations had dropped to scarcely twelve thousand), and engage in some diplomatic maneuvering. A deputation of their "most dignified and smooth-talking" chiefs arrived at Montreal and proceeded with Machiavellian guile to brighten the chain of friendship with the French. Blandly professing ignorance of any cause for grievance between two great peoples, they urged that amity hence-forward exist between them. Louis XIV's operatives in the New World were, before all else, realists. Their all-but-ruined fur trade must be re-established immediately on some basis if New France were to survive. For the present the Iroquois looked like the only game in town, and they swallowed whatever indignation they felt at the recent devastation of their principal Indian allies and the destruction of their missions and embraced the perpetrators. Moreover, the Five Nations offered a fertile field to the Black Robes, whom they invited to come to their towns and establish missions. Thus it was that peace came between the French and the Iroquois, and on July 2, 1654, Father Simon Le Moyne was dispatched to the Onondaga, the "keepers of the fire" in the symbolic longhouse of the Five Nations.

The way was now clear for the Iroquois to attack their fourth neighbor, the Erie, to the west. Possibly the largest of the nations the Iroquois had determined to conquer, the Erie were well-led and organized and had defeated the Iroquois in previous battles. Even the Dutch believed the Erie warriors were superior to the Iroquois, referring to them as *satanas* or devils. Yet direct Erie contact with Europeans was minimal to nonexistent. Guns among them were few in contrast to those possessed by the well-armed Iroquois. The bow and arrow was still the Erie warrior's primary weapon. The preponderance of power once held by the Erie had tilted at last towards the Iroquois, thanks to the white man's gun. And the Iroquois realized it.

The Iroquois war against the Erie began in the summer of 1654 and lasted intermittently until 1656, this in striking contrast to the single week of war required to break the Huron in 1649. Historical accounts of the Iroquois-Erie struggle depend almost entirely on the *Jesuit Relations* of those years and are based on the reports of Iroquois informants. Having neutralized the French through diplomacy, the Iroquois informed them at Montreal in May 1654 that "our young men will wage no more warfare with the French; but, as they are too warlike to abandon that pursuit, you are to understand that we are going to wage a war against the Ehriehronnons and this very summer we shall lead an army thither. The earth is trembling yonder, and here all is quiet."

Though acknowledging the aggressiveness of their own young warriors in precipitating the conflict, the Iroquois spokesmen informed the French that there were ample provocations for the attack on the Erie. They told of the burning of a Seneca village by an Erie war party and the surprise attack by another Erie force against a group of Iroquois returning from the vicinity of Lake Huron. These depredations, they claimed, were incited by vengeful Huron now living among the Erie. A cycle of events, inflamed by the inextricable admixture of tribal policy and private retribution which characterized all Indian warfare, had begun—and would end only with the extirpation of the Erie Nation.

In an effort to ward off all-out war, the Erie now sent to the Seneca a peace mission of thirty ambassadors who arrived, inopportunely, at about the same time as a report that a Seneca had been killed by an Erie in an "unexpected accident." In retaliation, the Seneca put to death twenty-five of the Erie envoys, though five managed to escape. Returning to the Erie villages, these reported the fate of their comrades, whereupon the Erie resolved to gain revenge. Two Onondaga warriors were captured; and one, a chief by the name of Annenraes, was sent as a prisoner to an Erie village from which one of the slain peace ambassadors had come. There he was turned over to the sister of the murdered ambassador, the expectation being that he would probably be adopted by the woman as replacement for her dead brother, this in keeping with a traditional practice among many American Indian tribes.

The woman was absent from the Erie village at that time,

but the villagers were so confident of the likelihood of her adoption of the captive that they dressed him in fine clothing and gave a feast in his honor. To their dismay, when the woman returned, she rejected the prisoner and demanded that he be killed to avenge her brother's death. Village leaders pleaded with her in vain to change her mind, arguing that her personal vengeance would probably involve them all in a new war. Their fears were soon realized. Just before his death, Annenraes cried out "that an entire people would be burned in his person." When news of his death reached the Onondaga in early August 1654, an army of eighteen hundred warriors was assembled to accomplish the destruction of the Erie.

At that point, Simon Le Moyne arrived at Onnontague, the principal village of the Onondaga, to establish the first Jesuit mission among the Iroquois. On the tenth of August, he addressed a key council of the principal chiefs of all the Iroquois nations except the often intransigent Mohawk, gathered to discuss the impending war against the Erie. In the words of Le Moyne, "I was occupied fully two hours in delivering this harangue, which I pronounced in the tone of a Captain—walking back and forth, as is their custom, like an actor on a stage." No less cynically than might have any of his soldier countrymen, Le Moyne seized the opportunity to further solidify relations with the Iroquois. To each of the four Iroquois nations (Onondaga, Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida) on hand he gave a symbolic hatchet "to be used in the new war in which they were engaged with the Cat Nation." To the Seneca he offered renewed courage after the loss of "some of their number in this war." To all four nations he gave a "present" or blessing to "enable them to maintain a strong defense against the enemy" and another present of paint for their faces, "for it is the custom of the warriors here never to go into battle without having their faces painted—some with black, some with red, and some with various other colors." Finally, he symbolically "wiped away the tears of all the young warriors caused by the death of their great Captain Annenraes." As Le Moyne made each of his points, the assembled Iroquois "uttered a loud shout of applause from the depths of their chests in evidence of their delight."

After Le Moyne had finished, the chiefs and warriors gathered together by nations and called to them as representative of the fifth Iroquois nation a lone Mohawk "who by good luck happened to be present." After two hours of consultation, they asked Le Moyne to thank Onnontio (literally, "great mountain"), the Governor of New France, Monsieur de Lauson, for "encouraging them to make a spirited fight against their new enemies of the Cat Nation, and for exhorting them never to wage war again with the French." And they asked Le Moyne to build a French mission on the shore of Onondaga Lake "in the heart of the country, since you are to possess our hearts." To help cement the new cordiality between the Five Nations and France, the Iroquois returned to Le Moyne the New Testament taken from the martyred Father Brebeuf, "whom they cruelly put to death five years ago, and another little book of devotion that had been used by the late Father Charles Garnier, whom these very people killed four years ago."

As the Iroquois army of eighteen hundred warriors, largely Onondaga, prepared to leave for the war against the Erie, their principal chief, a young man by the name of Achionagueras who had replaced the dead Annenraes, begged Le Moyne to baptize him. Asked the young Onondaga leader, "If from this day forth I possess the Faith, cannot I be a Christian? . . . Will our enemies' arrows become blunted for my sake? Dost thou wish me, at each step that I take in battle, to fear hell more than death? Unless thou baptize me, I shall be without courage, and shall not dare to face the conflict. Baptize me, . . . and I give thee my word that I will live and die a Christian."

"Their council fire was put out. Their name was obliterated from the number of tribes. The places where they once dwelt knew them no more. . . ."

Early in the morning of August 15, 1654, as Le Moyne prepared to return to Quebec and the Iroquois made ready to strike the Erie villages to the west, the Jesuit missionary baptized the Onondaga chief, giving him the Christian name of Jean Baptiste, or John the Baptist. It is not the least of the numerous ironies of seventeenth-century forest diplomacy that as John the Baptist, wearing a French uniform and carrying a French gun, Achionagueras led the Onondaga and other Iroquois in the war to destroy the Erie, who had dared to give refuge to the Huron, many of them Christian converts from earlier Jesuit missions.

The Iroquois attack came with stunning swiftness, catching the Erie villages by surprise. One by one they fell or were "abandoned to the mercy of the Conqueror, who after burning everything started in pursuit of the fugitives." The stream of refugees ultimately numbered more than six thousand, of whom at least two thousand were warriors. For five days, the Erie fled through the forest, closely pursued by their Iroquois enemies. Unable to escape, the Erie stopped and hastily built a fort of wood with palisaded walls and earthen entrenchments.

As the Iroquois approached the Erie fort, Achionagueras and another chief displayed themselves in French uniform, hoping to frighten the Erie, most of whom had never seen European attire. It was Achionagueras who called out to the

Erie defenders to surrender or face certain destruction. Then invoking his new Faith, he warned, "The Master of life fights for us; you will be ruined if you resist him." "Who is this Master of our lives?" came back the Erie reply. "We acknowledge none but our arms and hatchets." It was then that the "assault was made and the palisade attacked on all sides."

The siege of the Erie fort was a long and costly one. Though the Erie warriors outnumbered the Iroquois, they were burdened by the presence of their women and children. And they had few if any guns (and no powder) in contrast to the well-armed Iroquois. On the other hand, they were archers *extraordinaire*, the Jesuits grudgingly acknowledging that "they fight like Frenchmen, bravely sustaining the first discharge of the Iroquois, who are armed with our muskets, and then falling upon them with a hailstorm of poisoned arrows, which they discharge eight or ten times before a musket can be reloaded."

The end came with the near-exhaustion of Erie arrows and an Iroquois stratagem. Simply, the Onondaga hit upon the plan of using their long war canoes as shields to ward off the volleys of poisonous arrows as they approached the Erie works. Driving back the entrenched defenders with musketry, they inverted their canoes to use them as scaling ladders to get up and over the palisaded walls. As their enemies scaled the walls, more than three hundred of the Erie defenders broke and ran, leaving their comrades and women and children behind. Once in the fort, the Iroquois commenced a systematic butchery of its occupants, the "carnage among the women and children" being so great "that blood was knee-deep in certain places." Shamed by their own cowardice, the three hundred Erie warriors who had bolted returned to the scene of the slaughter. For a brief moment, they caught the Iroquois off guard and exacted their own partial retribution. But the Iroquois recovered in time to crush the returning Erie and complete the annihilation, though their own losses overall were so heavy that they were compelled to remain two months in Erie country to bury their dead and care for their wounded.

On September 11, 1654, while the Iroquois were winning their signal though costly victory, Le Moyne arrived back in Quebec to report the success of his efforts to assure French peace with the Iroquois and their ultimate conversion to Christianity. Indeed, in the two years that followed, the Iroquois did keep the peace with France. And when Achionagueras returned to Onnontague from his conquest of the Erie, he fulfilled a battlefield pledge that if the Master of life would help him achieve victory, he would assist the Jesuit fathers in converting his people to Christianity. With his assistance, so successful was the Iroquois mission that by 1656 the Jesuits could report that "more Iroquois have become Christians in two months than there were Hurons converted in several years."

As for the Erie, the Iroquois war against them continued through 1655 and on into 1656. With the principal fortified towns already destroyed, Iroquois strategy now called for the elimination of the last remote villages and, indeed, the last remaining Erie wherever they could be found. Regrettably, much of the *Jesuit Relations* for 1665 is missing. From that portion which has survived it is known that on September 12, 1655, an Onondaga delegation of eighteen arrived in Quebec to petition the Governor of New France "for French soldiers to defend their villages against the inroads of the Cat Nation" as well as for more weapons. Two months later, Jesuit missionaries assigned to the Iroquois mission at Onnontague, Fathers Joseph Chaumonot and Claude Dablon, baptized a captured Erie boy of nine or ten years of age just before he was burned to death, "no quarter being now given between the two tribes." In late January 1656, they witnessed the "boiling of the war-kettle" as the Iroquois prepared for a new offensive against the Erie, while on the fifth of February, they "wiped away the blood" for a large war party of Seneca and Oneida returning "from their latest engagement with the Cat Nation."

On February 11, two more Erie captives, young men between twenty and thirty years of age, were brought in by Onondaga warriors. Each was given to a family to replace someone lost in combat. As reported by Father Dablon, "The younger and handsomer one, a Nephew of the other, was given to the greatest warrior of the Country, named Aharihon, a Captain famous for his warlike exploits, but as arrogant and bloodthirsty as he is brave . . . ." Though Aharihon already had sacrificed forty Erie captives to avenge the loss of one of his brothers in the war, he concluded that this young man too "must die in atonement for his brother's death." Accordingly, the young captive was roasted alive over a slow fire, his torture finally ending in death in the early morning hours of February 15, 1656.

Not all Erie captives were so unfortunate. An Erie woman, captured and enslaved by the Oneida, became a Christian convert and was baptized by the Bishop of Canada with the name Catherine Gandeaktena. In 1667 she persuaded her Iroquois husband and several of his relatives to go with her to found an Iroquois mission near Montreal, the celebrated Mission of la Prairie de la Magdeleine. By the time of her death in 1673, she had earned the acclaim of hundreds of Frenchmen and Iroquois alike for her virtue and saintliness and for her success in attracting some two hundred Iroquois converts to the mission.

Some Eries managed to elude the Iroquois for a time. As late as 1680, a remnant band of six hundred Erie men, women, and children surrendered voluntarily to the Iroquois south and east of the Ohio River and were then apparently absorbed into the Five Nations, their identities as Erie finally at an end.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, famed Indian authority of the nineteenth century, reported the Iroquois version of the Eries' ultimate fate: "Seneca tradition affirms that after the defeat of the most westerly bodies of the Eries, on the shores of Lake Erie, the survivors fled to the Allegheny River, called Ohio by them, down which they fled. . . . Their council-fire was put out. Their name was obliterated from the number of tribes. The places where they once dwelt knew them no more . . . ."

Beaver Skins and Imperial Rivalry

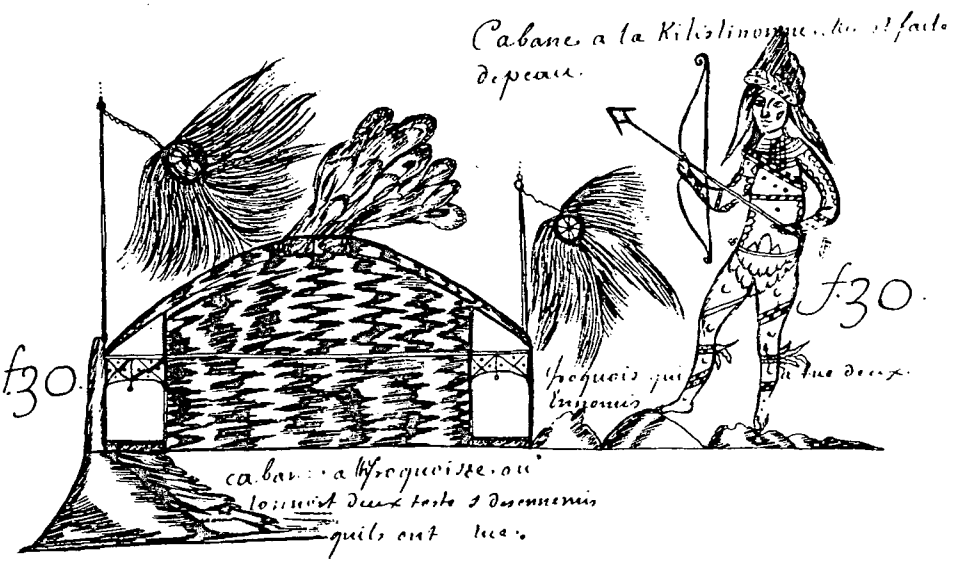
Nearly the entire historical record of the Erie tragically relates to their defeat and dispersal as a people in the 1650s as a major chapter in the Wars of the Iroquois, often called the Beaver Wars. These wars in turn reflected the long struggle between the nations of Europe, ultimately England and France, for worldwide colonial and commercial supremacy, including dominance in North America. It has been said that European fashion ultimately shaped the destiny of North America. William D. Ellis, in *Land of the Inland Seas,* suggests why:

> Fur was the continent's cash crop and beaver its gold standard . . . . In England, under heavy trapping, beaver had disappeared by 1520. In France and Germany, they were scarce; even Poland had few left. In a high fashion era, the garment trades in Europe were famished for fur . . . .
>
> Why beaver? There were mink, rabbit, bear, and marten in abundance, but the soft underfur of beaver had a special fashion property; after being processed, it could be brushed to a flat, felt-like material for rakish brimmed hats that held shape and style through rain, snow, and hard wear. Each beaver hair is shielded by microscopic interlocking scales that seal out water, an ideal property for hats. These were not utilitarian hats to keep the head warm; they were coveted, high-style hats for which Europeans would pay long profits and longer wars.

The "long profits" of the fur trade helped lure not only the French to New France but the English to New England, the Dutch to New Netherlands in the valleys of the Mohawk and the Hudson, and the Swedes to New Sweden in the valley of the Delaware. In turn, the Europeans looked to the several Indian tribes as potential economic allies. Pushing westward along the course of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa rivers to Georgian Bay and the Huron Lake, the French found the Huron the best Indian traders as well as the most amenable to Christianity. Franco-Huron alliance had been sealed as early as 1609, when on the shores of the lake that bears his name, Samuel de Champlain's arquebus ball killed a Mohawk chief whose war party had beset the Frenchman's Huron companions. Estrangement between French and Iroquois never completely healed thereafter, the Five Nations of the powerful Iroquois Confederation—Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Oneida—subsequently aligning themselves primarily with the Dutch and English. Not to be outdone, the Swedes at least briefly cultivated trade in furs with the Susquehannock of Pennsylvania and through them with the more distant Erie.

It is a commonplace of high school history texts that England ultimately defeated France in the quest for North American dominion because the French primarily saw in their colonies a source of wealth in furs, while the English came seeking land and living space. It is also an oversimplification. Though the greater population of the English colonies was a decisive factor when war came, and the real or potential threat of land-seekers from the English colonies alarmed the officials of New France—and, certainly, French preoccupation with European affairs played a crucial role—competition for control of the flow of furs from the interior caused increasing friction. Flash points from the Miami Country to Hudson's Bay were sparked by the rivalry for furs. It was not land alone that Englishmen sought.

Indeed, immediately as the American Revolution reached its conclusion, Great Britain assumed the posture that French imperialism had maintained for 150 years—attempting to exclude its main continental rival from the beaver country. The refusal to relinquish the northwestern posts, disputes over the Lake Superior-Mississippi boundary line, the subsidies in goods and arms which were the lifeblood of Indian anti-Americanism in the area north of the Ohio, the struggle for control of the Oregon Country; all had, from the British point of view, a single overriding purpose. That purpose was to maintain the riches of the beaver streams as a steady increment to the imperial balance-sheet.



At the turn of the eighteenth century, Charles Becard de Granville, a French-Canadian official, made a series of drawings which are among the earliest European depictions of the Northeastern Indians, including an Iroquois warrior in the act of burning an enemy dwelling. *New York Public Library*

Who Discovered the Lake of the Eries?

> Almost due South from the country of the same Neutral Nation, we find a great Lake nearly two hundred leagues [six hundred miles] in circumference, called Erie; it is formed by the discharge of the fresh-water Sea [Lake Huron] and throws itself over a waterfall of a dreadful height into a third Lake, named Ontario, which we call Lake Saint Louys, . . . *(Jesuit Relations of 1647-48)*

A strong historical tradition holds that Lake Erie was the last of the Great Lakes to be "discovered" by Europeans, that the discovery occurred in 1669 when the French explorers Adrien Jolliet and Jean Pere returned to Quebec from Lake Superior by descending Lake Huron to the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair, and the Detroit River, entering Lake Erie from the west. Continuing on to the Niagara portage, Lake Ontario, and the headwaters of the St. Lawrence, they opened an alternate to the Ottawa River-Georgian Bay-Lake Huron route to the west long used by the French. That same year, two Sulpician missionaries, Francois Dollier de Casson and Renee de Brehaut de Galinee, reached Lake Erie from the east and claimed all the land around it—including Ohio—for Louis XIV, the King of France.

Though not officially claimed until 1669, the lake and the people called "Erie" who lived on its southern shores were known to the French at least as early as 1640. Five maps drawn by French cartographers between 1640 and 1660 show Lake Erie in reasonably proximate size, location, and configuration. Three of these were produced by Louis XIV's royal geographer, Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville, in 1650, 1656, and 1657. Another was drawn by Francois Du Creaux in 1660. The fifth was very recently discovered by a Canadian geographer, Dr. Conrad Heidenreich, in the Taunton archives of the British Ministry of Defense. Drawn on a stretched animal skin, it may well prove to be the "Lost Huron" map prepared by the Jesuit missionary Paul Ragueneau and described in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1640. It may, as well, provide a long-missing link in our understanding of the identities and settlement patterns of many of the native Indian populations of the Great lakes area. On it Lake Erie appears with the name *"Lac du Chat" or "Lake* of the Cat." Below the lake appear the words *"Erie - Nation du Chat"* ["Erie - Nation of the Cat"], while immediately to the west of the lake appear the words *"Gens de Feu"* ["People of Fire"] and to the east, "Iroquois" and the names of the five nations then comprising that confederation.

Clearly, some Frenchman (or Frenchmen) had discovered Lake Erie and the lands about it well before 1669, but who? One of America's best-known historians of the nineteenth century, Francis Parkman, has suggested the young *coureur-de-bois,* Etienne Brule, protege of the famed explorer and Father of Canada, Samuel de Champlain. Parkman's contention that Brule may have seen Lake Erie as early as 1615 has been given currency in several of the histories of Ohio, including the most recent, published in January 1984. Yet Champlain evidenced no knowledge of either the people or the lake called Erie in the succession of maps of New France which he drew between 1616 and 1632. If Brule had reached the Erie Lake, he had never reported it to his mentor.

Intrigued by this "good historical puzzle," Theodore D. Wakefield of Vermilion, Ohio, a retired businessman, offered in January 1983 a cash prize of $1,000 to anyone who could present conclusive proof of a pre-1650 discovery of Lake Erie. The Institute for Great Lakes Research at Bowling Green State University agreed to sponsor the competition for *"Le Prix de Lac Erie"* ["the Prize of Lake Erie"]. Announcements of the competition were sent to scholars in North America and in Europe who had demonstrated interest in the history of New France, as well as to the news media. A panel of distinguished scholars, including Dr. Heidenreich, was enlisted to judge the responses.

By January 1984, seventy-five entries had been submitted to the judges. Many suggested Brule. But while the judges could agree that Brule probably had seen Lake Erie during his extensive travels through the Great Lakes between 1615 and 1632, they also agreed that there was "no conclusive documentation of his discovery."

It was Father Lucien Campeau, a Jesuit historian from St. Jerome, Quebec, whose review of the "Lake Erie question" was judged the most knowledgeable. He "proved conclusively that several candidates for discovery could not have seen the lake" and narrowed the field to "one of five Frenchmen, including Brule." The others named by Campeau were Jean de Brebeuf, a Jesuit missionary who worked among the Hurons from 1625 until his martyrdom by the Iroquois in 1649; Joseph de LaRoche Daillon, a Recollect who served the Huron missions from 1625 until 1629; Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot, another Jesuit who lived among the Hurons from 1639 until 1650; and Jean Nicolet, agent of the Company of New France, who explored the Great Lakes from 1634 until his death in 1642. Inasmuch as "conclusive documentation" was not available for any of these, the judges decided that *Le Prix de Lac Erie* could not be awarded, that "the puzzle still existed."

This much seems evident: sometime between the construction of the Champlain map of 1632, on which Lake Erie does not appear, and the Taunton/Ragueneau map of 1640 on which it does, French contact with Lake Erie probably was made. Specifically by whom is something we may never know.