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Northwest Ohio History is a regional journal of history published by the Maumee Valley Historical Society. The journal has been published continuously since 1929 and actively seeks unpublished scholarship addressing Northwest Ohio's political, military, social, economic, cultural, and religious history. It is interested in all periods and aspects of this region's history, from prehistoric to modern times. Northwest Ohio History emphasizes interdisciplinarity and scholarship that meaningfully enhances knowledge of the region as well as its people. The journal is interested in advancing scholarship that uses interdisciplinary methodologies and frameworks of analysis. These include but are not limited to, studies utilizing the research methods and lenses of archaeology, anthropology, sociology, political science, urban and cultural geography, material culture studies, memory studies, and historic preservation to advance primarily historical scholarship. Northwest Ohio History publishes works that vigorously embrace interdisciplinarity and demonstrate an understanding of the interconnected disciplines that orient scholarship. Northwest Ohio History is a refereed periodical. The scholarship of exceptional undergraduate and graduate students, scholars, and professionals is published. The members of our editorial board and reviewers are drawn from the region's colleges and universities, libraries, archival repositories, historical societies, and museums. Our peer-review process ensures that the articles and reviews published in the journal reflect excellent scholarship and a high standard of professional quality.

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Front Cover

State of Ohio Historic Marker for the Worthington Cemetery acquired by Defiance Public Library with help from Defiance College. The marker will be unveiled at the historic site of the Worthington Cemetery Juneteenth 2025.

Ghosts of the Past:
Confronting the 1849 Cholera Pandemic in New Bremen and Minster, Ohio
by Riley Davis Peterson

Humanity's victory over the 1854 cholera outbreak in London due to the work of John Snow is hailed by Steven Johnson as the pivotal point in history where our bacteriological foes could no longer prevent humanity from gathering in such mass.[1] Cholera is most often associated with major population centers. However, smaller communities are usually not hit as hard. But what of smaller communities? What can cause small communities to suffer a similar death rate to that of large cities?

New Bremen, a town with an approximate population of seven hundred, allegedly lost one hundred fifty individuals, and Minster lost two hundred forty-seven (the population of Minster at that time is unclear).[2] For comparison, Cincinnati purports to have had 4832 deaths of a population of 115,438, or approximately 4%, whereas New Bremen's mortality rate was approximately 21%.[3] The staggering numbers from this area seem to be an anomaly. This work will seek to answer the following questions: Why were the death tolls so high compared to the population? What are the religious and emotional effects of such staggering amounts of death in small communities both during and after the event? The 1849 cholera outbreak became the breaking point for these communities. The difficult decades preceding 1849 of prejudice, sickness, emotional crisis, and lack of infrastructure, had put enormous pressure on these people. They culminated into the mass death from the 1849 cholera epidemic.

Methodology

For detailed firsthand accounts, there are two essential primary sources. Liwwät Böke's drawings and diary, as published and translated by her descendants, and Phillip Jacob Maurer's diary, along with his descendants' writings, will be used to color the tragedy locally. The unpublished manuscripts of St. Augustine's church in Minster and St. Paul's church in New Bremen were used to ascertain data on the deaths from cholera. There are also a few valuable newspapers for this time frame, including the Cincinnati Inquirer and the Catholic Telegraph, which offer a regional perspective.

This study will start with the existing historiography of cholera within Ohio and then attempt to detail the religious tensions and connection between cholera as the perceived judgments of God. Next, it will delve into the contemporary treatments for cholera and perceived causes, relying heavily on *Gunn's Domestic Medicine* for necessary context. Finally, the study will apply this background information and context to those living in New Bremen and Minster during the 1849 cholera epidemic. One difficulty of this project is that most detailed accounts of cholera in New Bremen and Minster are recorded secondhand. In conversation, Locals excitedly spoke about what they had heard about the cholera epidemic of 1849. However, little can be traced back to reliable sources beyond oral tradition.

Historiography

The current historiography of cholera in Ohio emphasizes the experience of large cities but lacks an in-depth study of rural communities. There have been studies of cholera in Cincinnati specifically due to the devastating death toll, which emphasize how cholera hit the immigrant and poor communities the hardest, a finding that is supported by this study of cholera deaths in these small, entirely immigrant cities.[4] This strengthened the prejudice against immigrants, as native Cincinnatians viewed their lack of care for diet to result in cholera.[5] Most primary sources mention the 1849 cholera epidemic, however, often only briefly. This was such a devastating time that almost all records lend at least a passing mention to the disease, but rarely more. One published instance of cholera in a small Ohio town is *The Story of Zoar*. It mentions cholera in a small German community, but it is not that work's focus.[6] Additionally, Walter J. Daly writes about cholera in several small towns in Indiana, but his focus is much too broad to accomplish the goals of this paper.[7]

Linking events like mass death, epidemics, and sickness to religious beliefs is easier to analyze in small communities, though still challenging. Two confessionally homogenous areas, like Catholic Minster and Protestant New Bremen, will be analyzed to limit another variable.

Cholera's Contemporary Causes and Treatments

There were varying explanations for the cause of Cholera in the 1830s, many hearkening back to Aristotelian thought of the imbalance of the four humors causing sickness. Religious beliefs also influenced the causes of cholera, as those of 'low morals' would frequent places with atmospheres more likely to cause cholera.

Physicians in the mid-nineteenth century were ill-equipped to help their patients suffering from cholera. An example of detrimental physician's advice in Zoar, a small separatist German community in eastern central Ohio. To those suffering from cholera in 1849, their physician "had forbidden liquids but they were all taken by death until one strong-willed elderly lady became afflicted. Thinking she would die anyway, she demanded a cup of water, her fever being very high. She was given the water, rallied, and recovered. After that, all patients were given liquids and many were saved."[8] To forbid liquids was counterproductive, made clear by this anecdotal evidence, however it illustrates the counterproductive approaches by doctors at the time.

Dr. Gunn suggested another detrimental treatment. He recommended blood-letting as a cure for cholera. "The remedy, the good effect of which, in the treatment of cholera, appears to have been most generally acknowledged, and the early employment of which is most insisted upon, is blood-letting...the testimony of the German, Russian, and Polish physicians, has all been given in favor of the beneficial effects of blood-letting, when early resorted to in cholera."[9] While the practice of bloodletting today seems utterly absurd, the idea was to restore health by balancing the four Aristotelian humors—blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. Today's treatments are quite the opposite of bloodletting, as the World Health Organization suggests "rapid intravenous fluids" to prevent fatal dehydration that can occur within hours.[10] Thus, the last thing that a cholera victim needs is to lose blood and, thereby, fluid.

Thus, the medical help was often negligible, if not detrimental, during the mid-eighteenth century in combating cholera. Despite this, Gunn confidently states that "this pestilence may be, and has been perfectly within the control of medicine."[11] After analyzing the cholera treatments of the day, we can determine how detrimental they were. Bloodletting did precisely the opposite of what was needed. Forbidding water, as suggested elsewhere in German communities during a cholera outbreak, was also a poor solution. Contemporary medical practices frequently left victims of the 1833 and 1849 cholera very vulnerable to more devastating casualties.

The Religious Themes of the 1833 and 1849 Cholera Pandemics

Physician John Gunn and Miami University Professor John Scott emphasized the religious themes of the 1833 cholera epidemic. According to them, this disease supposedly illustrated God's displeasure, and those affected by the sickness were the immoral of society. In 1833, Cholera was frequently seen as the wrath of an angry God exercised on immoral people. Professor John Scott of Miami University gave a lecture in 1833 titled "The Cholera, God's Scourge for the Chastisement of the Nations." In this address, he states, "It has been said, and with truth, that the morality of a city or country could almost be inferred from the comparative ravages of the Cholera."[12] Scott claims that cholera's effects can reveal a city's sum morality. This odd arithmetic claims that the death toll or number of those with the disease correlates with the amount of people involved in lascivious activities.

The physician John C. Gunn was well known throughout the Midwest and South during the nineteenth century for his book *Gunn's Domestic Medicine*.[13] Following the sentiment of the time, his book also emphasizes immorality as the reasoning for cholera. He writes, "The two best preventives for cholera from experience are temperance and great cleanliness....The persons most liable to this affection, says the French Royal Academy of Medicine, in their report, are those physically and morally debilitated; those weakened by excesses, of whatever kind they may be; gluttons, drunkards and gamesters, and women of imprudent habits, and all persons suffering under the pernicious effects of uncleanliness."[14] It was commonly believed that immoral people frequented such places where cholera was contracted, thus leading to the idea that immorality was the cause of cholera and cholera was the consequence. Gunn continues this thought several pages later: "In all these countries the intemperate, the vicious and the lewd, when attacked, have universally fallen victims—and are the first to fall prostrate before the cholera, and most difficult to cure; and as an able physician expressed himself, generally beyond the reach of medicine."[15] The idea that these immoral people, when sick with cholera, were "generally beyond the reach of medicine" compounded the woes of many victims of cholera.

Cholera also brought widespread despair, thus the challenge of cholera was twofold. First was containing and preventing the spread of disease. The second challenge was assuaging the feeling of dread that spread throughout the community once affected by cholera. Dr. Gunn suggested a preventative for the crippling, and sometimes fatal, fear resulting from the 1833 cholera outbreak: "[I]n this epidemic—at all times and under all circumstances, to place a reliance upon Almighty God...No difficulties, no dangers, no sickness, can terrify him who has that great Being on his side, the sole, the sovereign disposer of all events."[16] The religious aspect comes into focus even more, and reliance on God should be the panacea for all ills.

Religion, Prejudice, and Xenophobia

This religious emphasis was also present for New Bremen and Minster residents. A contemporary diary local to this area was from Phillip Jacob Maurer. He and his descendants compiled their writings about their lives, including their experiences moving to and living in New Bremen, Ohio.

Phillip was the first of his Maurer line to emigrate to America. In his journal, he provides several reasons for wanting to come to America, among which are many religious qualms, such as frustration with the desecration of the Sabbath in Germany.[17] He traveled to Baltimore, Cincinnati, and finally New Bremen with his family. As he was past Stallostown (today's Minster) and headed north, he asked at each cabin where New Bremen was, and at a solitary cabin, he received the answer, "You are right in it this minute."[18] He determined that he could not make a living in this small settlement and headed to Fort Wayne, Indiana, for work. He lived there for nineteen months before returning to New Bremen to find that it had grown considerably, and he started farming there. Unfortunately, he died within weeks of arriving back in New Bremen. He was survived by his family and is buried in the German Protestant Cemetery in New Bremen.[19]

Another diary is from Liwwät Böke, who was from Neuenkirchen, a region in Germany adjacent to the Netherlands. The poor family's father frequently traveled to Holland during the summers for extra work, and those remaining home would spin flax into linen. With the technological advancements that expedited the creation process for cotton in 1830, the market for linen dried up, and in Böke's words, "We were starving."[20] They set out anew and made their way to the United States, arriving through the port of Baltimore, traveling to Cincinnati, and eventually blazing the trail to the Minster area.

Local historian Father David Hoying writes about the immigrants from Oldenburg that ended up in Minster, "[r]eligion was life itself, and not a mere adjunct to life. It was life's meaning and existence."[21] Their Catholic faith was essential to family, a common aspect of the community, particularly given the hardships they endured individually and collectively. "With God in heart and mind, hope is given to our children; they have nothing else to hold on to... here one does everything alone... and with God. Holding on to our Catholic customs, teachings and culture will make it easier for our children's children."[22] This faith in daily life helped many to look forward to how their labors would benefit their children.

Outside of their communities, anti-Catholic and xenophobic ideas swept through Ohio before and during the 1849 outbreak. The Know-Nothing party, which promoted nativism, xenophobia, and anti-Catholic sentiments, was gaining traction. This hatred of foreigners and Catholics applied especially to the German Catholics but also, in less measure, to the German Protestants. Local historian Father David Hoying notes, "The immigrants, the majority of whom were Catholic, were not at all welcomed [by] the people of Cincinnati because of a nativist feeling. They were thought to be involved in some papal plot to subvert the United States."[23] The Cincinnati Catholic community responded to this antiromanist mentality several times in its contemporary newspaper, *The Catholic Telegraph*.

> While [the Catholics] were mourning the loss of their relatives striken down on the right and left by the Cholera, what kind of Christian consolation did they meet at the hands of our zealous Protestants? Tell it not in laughter, that instead of dropping a tear over their affliction, Protestant divines lifted up holy hands to the God of the people in the presence of their congregations, and shut up the sympathies of the heart by declaring the Cholera a judgement of the Most High against the Catholics!! Unmindful of the fact that the Catholics are made up largely from the rank of the poor and of unacclimated foreigners, and that those who belong to the principal Protestant sects are independent in means, educated in the best mode of preserving health, and native to the climate — unmindful of these adequate reasons for the difference of fatality amongst them, these learned and eloquent gentlemen declared the finger of God distinctly traced in the Cholera against the Catholics and the poor!![24]

The anti-Catholic sentiment was widespread and pervasive enough that it was necessary to mention it several times in the Catholic Telegraph during the 1849 Cholera pandemic. However, it seems the majority of that pressure was less due to the immigrant Protestants and much more due to the native Protestants, and the xenophobia didn't limit itself to the German Catholic immigrants.

The devout Catholic Böke confirms this with her statements regarding her work as a midwife in the Minster area. "...I am not surprised that many Lutheran families [likely hailing from New Bremen, though it can't be determined with certainty] call on me also. The surprise is that the Protestant Yankees sometimes call me. It is not often, but it is interesting to me."[25] And again, she writes, "The Yankee does not understand us Low German Catholics one bit. They still hold a complete hatred for the Pope in Rome, and they really do not know why, only that their forefathers brought this hate to America a hundred years ago."[26] They were outcasts, socially and spatially, unable to lean on the existing infrastructure and systems already in place by the Americans.

The Struggling Young Communities

There were numerous difficulties in starting a new community, both internally and externally. Internally, they had difficulties living in the forest and carving out a life there. Böke illustrates the many challenges of living in the woods and clearing away the primeval forest, along with dozens of drawings she sketched of day-to-day life. She paints a picture of a solitary life, isolated from the rest of the world: "The people here, all of them, were in need, needing cattle, pigs, etc., all at the same time. But we didn't have the time or the food for handfeeding the stock... it was impossible to do everything... clearing, fencing, building the barn, house, stall, lean-tos, cribs; needing to drain the land, build bridges, haul off stones—on and on till eternity — it was not possible. It was not!!"[27] On top of everything they had to do, it was also challenging to stay healthy, with nagging sicknesses that were hard to avoid. Böke attributes this, in part, to "filth...all the time itching and scratching with dirty fingers."[28] They had to build up infrastructure, such as draining water, to help protect themselves from filth and insect-borne diseases. However, many factors, including weather, hindered them.

The years between the two cholera outbreaks were difficult, with consistent heavy rain preventing them from doing their work, causing mothers and children to spend more time inside than usual. Böke writes, "They were bad times. In the years 1835 till 1842 it rained for weeks and sometimes months.

It was so difficult in the forest that the old people said, 'Children, pray! In the big cities they no longer want to know about our Lord, and now God is punishing the world, and he punishes us with the deluge coming again.'"[29] The weather was yet another disadvantage to these groups. As mentioned in *The Catholic Telegraph* earlier, the principal Protestant sects (not the Germans) were "native to the climate," and educated in the best mode of preserving health," advantages that the German immigrants did not have.[30] *The Catholic Telegraph* denotes this as a reason for the higher death rate among immigrants in Cincinnati, about which Dr. Matthew Smith writes, "[i]mmigrants were 40% of the population, but according to one contemporary source *four times* likelier to die than native-born Americans."[31] This vulnerability was even more pronounced in New Bremen, as can be seen by the death ratio from cholera.

Emotional Distress

Beyond their physical vulnerability, there was also emotional distress. Their many external struggles were accompanied by extreme loneliness, mental struggles, and homesickness. As a midwife, Böke was exposed to many families and got insight into the difficulties that women were experiencing. "The wives worry themselves half to death with complaints. Many are without hope. Always and all the time they are in the dismal forest. Their husbands are usually outside in the woods, sawing and chopping trees and gathering and burning the underbrush."[32] This isolation from a larger society and loneliness seemingly had a large impact on the local women, as Böke continues:

> Most troubles come to us from mishaps in the forest. We don't know the weather or our unfamiliar surroundings, and we don't know exactly how to manage the forest. The sad problem is our adverse lifestyle here, the daily new things alongside our worries and burdens with the forest. It is irritating, hateful this tendency of us in this community towards both bodily illness and sullen attitudes. And in every family in the district, from Minster (Stallo) to here, our ordeal is frequently overladen with heartache... Also I certainly have to wonder... I have never before seen so many wives mentally ill. They now cannot speak out or talk things over. They say they are tired, feel alone, afraid, and also homesick.[33]

The gender roles of men and women seem to largely be what makes the difference for Böke, writing of herself, "the daily, weekly, and monthly confinement in the little cabin makes the children and mother restless, especially in the wintertime; my husband is mostly outside in the light."[34] We have far less insight as to the mental condition of the local men, but Böke was clearly concerned for the mental well-being of the local women and children.

Cholera became the breaking point for many emotionally within New Bremen and Minster after decades of hardship. Although the source of the cholera-contaminated water cannot be determined, the lack of infrastructure, knowledge, and poor weather created circumstances of constructed vulnerability. Cholera struck while these groups were still attempting to maintain their foothold and establish themselves in the area.

Cholera hits the Communities

With the warm summer of 1849 came cholera. The Catholic community of Minster lost over one hundred and ninety of Minster's parishioners at St. Augustine.[35] Liwwät Böke's diary describes cholera's effect on Minster: "In Minster, the plague was loose like a raging, treacherous beast!! Then started the frightful question: Who, or which families, will be dead next? The people could not hide their ill temper while we shunned one another."[36] The hundredth anniversary of Minster booklet mentions of the 1849 cholera pandemic,

> This plague descended upon the people here in the latter part of June. During July and August the people died so rapidly that the bodies were collected twice each day and buried in four tiers in two trenches each seven feet wide on the west portion of the cemetery. This unmarked section is mute evidence of the toll of the dread disease. No funeral arrangements, no religious service, no weeping relatives to follow, just wrapped in a plain shroud placed in a crude box and taken by some surviving friend to the last resting place. The neighbors would then take all personal effects, soak them with grease and oil and burn them. Any surviving children were taken by the nearest neighbor or relative and raised as their own.[37]

Liwwät Böke also reflects on the dire circumstances regarding burials: "The graves were mere holes in the ground with a lot of water in them. The corpses came by wheelbarrow, wagon and stretcher. The sight was awful, with horror in every breath. The corpses went into the grave mixed atop one another, no names, no prayers, nothing."[38] Religion seemed to be pushed to the side in these extreme circumstances in light of the terrible events.

In New Bremen, records of how cholera personally affected people are scant but extant. Adam Paul, who married the widow of Phillip Jacob Maurer, Elizabeth Boesel Maurer, wrote his will during the height of the epidemic despite being healthy. His first words encapsulate the fear of cholera within the community: "*If enough of us live*, we should feed the hay and grain to the cattle. If not, the cattle and the feed can be sold. The land I own shall go to my wife."[39] The uncertainty of cholera caused this fatalistic view, with many unsure of how many would survive this epidemic. St. Paul's church in New Bremen's manuscripts record 105 people who died of cholera during July-September of 1849, which is likely less than the actual total for New Bremen.[40]

The Emotional Effects of Epidemics—Cholera-induced Hysteria

The death toll is a common metric to measure the toll of epidemics. It is a way to quantify the actual effect on the numerical population. However, something just as real as the death toll but not as quantifiable is the emotional effect of such a deadly disease. Writing of the 1849 cholera outbreak in Cincinnati, Dr. Matthew Smith writes, "[d]espite efforts to promotes calm, panic broke out wherever cholera struck. This reign of terror was particularly pronounced in outlying towns and villages."[41] Although further separated from Cincinnati than the villages Smith references, these two towns had close connections with Cincinnati, with most of the residents at least having passed through Cincinnati.

Gunn's Domestic Medicine offers insight into the emotional effects of cholera. Published in the aftermath of the previous cholera wave, it claims that the sickness itself is only part of the struggle against cholera.

"The mind has a powerful influence in this complaint; and I have frequently observed in my practice, that the disease was produced in many cases of females in delicate health, by the passions of the mind..." In another instance, Gunn writes, "[t]ime and attention to the early symptoms of this disease are of great importance. But urgent as may be the demand for assistance, it ought never to be given from fear or as a preventive, (which has no doubt been often the case) *for hundreds have died from fear*, as reported by many distinguished observers of this malady."[42] The idea that "hundreds have died from fear" is something not reasonably expected, but Liwwät Böke offers insight into how this might occur. She details an intimate sense of hysteria, likely only experienced by those in such dire circumstances,

> "In these times the people around here were more given over to prophecies, dreams and old wives' tales than at any time before or since...Now, later, it is scarcely believable, the dreadful occurrences we experienced every day, people in the raging of the fever and affliction, or in the torment of their own agitation... who could stand that? Many times people laid their violent hands on themselves, threw themselves outside the door. Often it was insanity. Some died from mere fright, without infection; some frightened others with their despair, folly or madness."[43]

This firsthand depiction makes clear how terrifying cholera was, as some resorted to self-harm to protect themselves from the misery and despair associated with cholera.

In New Bremen, the vast majority of the victims were buried in St. Paul's churchyard, immediately adjacent to the church. Many were buried in an unmarked mass grave due to the dire circumstances and inability to provide a proper burial. The decision was made in March 1865 to move St. Paul's cemetery outside the city.[44] There were various reasons for this, with the "History of the German Protestant Cemetery" manuscript claiming it was due to sanitary reasons.[45] However, a descendant of Phillip Jacob Maurer and a young woman at the time in New Bremen, Dorothea Dicke Maurer, writes,

> St. Paul's churchyard was filled during the cholera epidemic of 1849, after which the German Protestant cemetery was established. In 1900, a notice was placed in the paper, asking all members of families who had tombstones to remove them if they wished to keep them. I was horrified; I asked my mother, 'Why do they desecrate this place where your grandfather is buried?' She said, 'It has become a dangerous place. People go there with children to pick the lovely flowers, and the ground is alive with snakes.'[46]

Perhaps these snakes are literal, and the cemetery was closed for the safety of the children. However, the wording is interesting: "The ground is alive with snakes." This statement offers a more haunting picture, like the memories connected to the cholera deaths infected the ground with lasting misery.

Cholera in Amsterdam

The most compelling part of these stories is the story of Amsterdam, a small community between contemporary New Bremen and Minster. Little is known about Amsterdam beyond the local legend that it was entirely wiped out by this cholera scourge in 1849. In 2006, the New Bremen newspaper, *The Towpath*, quotes a sixteen-year-old resident of the nearby St. Mary's who remembered Amsterdam in 1849 as such,

> The settlement continued until visited by the cholera scourge in 1849, when the entire population of the village was exterminated. No man, woman or child escaped the ravages of the awful disease. There was no human being left to carry on. Their habitations decayed, returned to dust, and Amsterdam became a rapidly vanishing memory. Its former location is now no more than countryside and its fields of waving grain voice no echo of the time when busy housewives there plied a daily care, when prattling children were engaged in the amusements of their age, and where crude forefathers of the hamlet regarded it as a metropolis in embryo. Amsterdam is a ghost town of a past whereof no chronicles were written.[47]

While regarding this small town of likely less than 100 as a "metropolis in embryo" is quite idealistic, this quote demonstrates the chilling nature in which it disappeared.

Scanning through the list of names from the Celina recorder's office, one can notice that the population of Amsterdam is likely inflated. Most of the landowners in Amsterdam were Minster residents who purchased lots in Amsterdam and were likely planning to resell them.[48] Cholera could have impacted the remaining residents and caused the survivors to flee to avoid the sickness. This is seen in Aurora, Indiana, approximately twenty-five miles downstream from Cincinnati, during the 1849 epidemic. Even though Cholera only claimed approximately a dozen victims, 1,600 people out of 2,000 left the city.[49] Was this also what happened to the few residents of Amsterdam?

Conclusion

Due to the massive influx of German Christian immigrants in this area, New Bremen, Minster, and the surrounding area were dubbed the "Land of the Cross-Tipped Churches." The unique location, with dozens of spires and unusually large churches for a rural farmland community, is striking. However, the beauty of the place's uniqueness belies the struggles of its early inhabitants against sickness and prejudice and to carve out a life in the forest.

The two communities of New Bremen and Minster were hit especially hard due to the struggles of building a new community, which resulted in poverty, mental strain, and a lack of infrastructure. The cholera hysteria during and after the 1849 cholera outbreak left lasting scars. The sheer fear during the outbreak was enough to cause people to end their own lives or turn to paranormal help, and the perception of the graveyard in New Bremen was tainted due to the mass graves from the disease. This study offers a different look at cholera beyond deaths and statistics. It seeks to show a personal look at the struggle of starting a new community and how many factors assembled against them which caused these communities to be ill-prepared to combat an outbreak of cholera. Despite these many challenges before, during and after the cholera outbreak in 1849, these communities are still thriving to this day. Though perhaps they aren't hugely-populated metropolises, the quiet, religious farm life is what these communities were built on, and this culture persists more than one hundred and fifty years later.

[1] Steven Johnson. *The Ghost Map: A Street, an Epidemic and Two Men who battled to save Victorian London*. London: Penguin, 2008.
[2] These numbers are inconsistent. See the heading "Cholera hits the communities" for more detailSchmieder, Velma F. 1932. Centennial Minster, Ohio. Minster, OH: Globus Printing and Packaging, 15 for Minster numbers, and see McMurray, William J. History of Auglaize County, Ohio. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Indianapolis, Indiana: Historical Pub. Co, 1923, 422 for New Bremen numbers.
[3] Charles Cist and Joseph Meredith Toner Collection. *Sketches and statistics of Cincinnati in 1851*. Cincinnati, W. H. Moore & Co., 1851. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/rc01002358/., 44,45
[4] Matthew D. Smith. "The Specter of Cholera in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati." Ohio Valley History, Volume 16, Number 2 (The Filson Historical Society and Cincinnati Museum Center) 2016, 21-40.29.
[5] Ibid, 29
[6] Hilda Dischinger Morhart and Edna Leuking. *The Zoar Story*. 2nd ed. Dover, Ohio: Gordon Printing, 1969, Browne Popular Culture Library, University Libraries, Bowling Green State University, *The Zoar Story*.
[7] Walter J. Daly, "The Black Cholera Comes to the Central Valley of America in the 19th Century - 1832, 1849, and Later." Transactions of the American Clinical and Climatological Association 119, (2008): 143.
[8] Morhart and Leuking, *The Zoar Story*, 75.
[9] John C. Gunn, *Gunn's Domestic Medicine, or, Poor Man's friend: In the hours of affliction, pain and sickness*. 9th ed. Xenia, Ohio: JH Purdy, 1837. Center for Archival Collections, University Libraries, Bowling Green State University, 725, 736-37.
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[11] Gunn, *Gunn's Domestic Medicine*, 725.
[12] John Scott. The Cholera, God's Scourge for the Chastisement of the Nations. Oxford, OH: W.W. Bishop.1833. *The Cholera, God's Scourge*, 1833, 7.
[13] Ben McClary, "Introducing a Classic: 'Gunn's Domestic Medicine.'" Tennessee Historical Quarterly 45, no. 3 1986, 210.
[14] Gunn, *Gunn's Domestic Medicine*, 710-711.
[15] Ibid, 725.
[16] Ibid, 725, italics added.
[17] Phillip Jacob Maurer and Dorothea Dicke Maurer. *Phillip Jacob Maurer and his Descendants in America*. New Bremen, Ohio, 1968, 12.
[18] Ibid, 14.
[19] Ibid, 15; Phillip Jacob Maurer and Jack Densmore, *The Life of Phillip Jacob Maurer (1791-1833)*, Digital Access granted by Ohio History Connection, Columbus, Ohio, 1992, 2.
[20] Liwwät Böke, and Luke B. Knapke. *Liwwät Böke 1807 - 1882; Pioneer; the story of an immigrant pioneer woman and her husband who settled in western Ohio as told in her own writings and drawings* compiled and edited by Luke B. Knapke. Minster, Ohio: Minster Historical Society, 1987, 7.
[21] Fr. David Anthony Hoying, Fr, *In Praise of Our Ancestors, History of the Hoyng~Hoying Family*. Minster, Ohio: Mercer Color, 1990, 52.
[22] Böke and Knapke, *Liwwät Böke 1807 – 1882*, 129.
[23] Hoying. *In Praise of Our Ancestors,* 26.
[24] Purcell. "Catholics- Protestants," *The Catholic Telegraph*, August 9, 1849, 251.
[25] Böke and Knapke, *Liwwät Böke 1807 – 1882*, 118.
[26] Ibid,, 121.
[27] Ibid, 107.
[28] Ibid, 88.
[29] Ibid, 92.
[30] Purcell,, "Catholics- Protestants," *The Catholic Telegraph*, August 9, 1849, 251.
[31] Smith, Matthew D. 2020. "Pandemic Redux: Revisiting Cincinnati's 1849 Cholera in the Age of COVID-19" Origins; Current Events in Historical Perspective, Ohio State University, italics in original.
[32] Böke and Knapke, *Liwwät Böke 1807 – 1882*, 67.
[33] Ibid, 88. 34 Ibid, 68. 35 Minster numbers are from L. Hoying, R. Hoying, and D. Hoying. *Pilgrims All: A History of Saint Augustine Parish, minster, Ohio, 1832-1982*. Minster, OH: St. Augustine Parish, 1982, which is taken from St. Augustine church Manuscripts.

[36] Böke and Knapke, *Liwwät Böke 1807 – 1882*, 139.
[37] Velma F. Schneider, *Centennial Minster, Ohio*. Minster, OH: Globus Printing and Packaging, 1932, 15.
[38] Böke and Knapke, . *Liwwät Böke 1807 – 1882*, 139.
[39] P. Maurer and D. Maurer, *Phillip Jacob Maurer,* 76, italics added.
[40]"Death records from St. Paul's Church, New Bremen, Ohio" (Unpublished Manuscript July-Sept. 1849), These numbers are listed differently elsewhere. These numbers are what I counted from the unpublished manuscripts of St. Paul's church; however, the Atlas of Auglaize County, Ohio: From Records & Original Surveys mentions on page 31, "one hundred and fifty-seven of the seven hundred settlers were swept away."
[41] Matthew D. Smith, 2016. "The Specter of Cholera in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati." Ohio Valley History, Volume 16, Number 2 (The Filson Historical Society and Cincinnati Museum Center), 30.
[42] Gunn, *Gunn's Domestic Medicine*, 725.
[43] Böke and Knapke, *Liwwät Böke 1807 – 1882*, 139.
[44] Finke, William, Christian Schmidt, Henry Schmidt, Henry W Huckreide, Charles Boesel, and H.F. Kuenning. Ms. History of German Protestant Cemetery. New Bremen, n.d., Accessed through St. Paul's Church in New Bremen, Ohio.
[45] Ibid.
[46] P. Maurer and D. Maurer. *Phillip Jacob Maurer*, 76.
[47] Mooney, Daniel F., and David Armstrong. "Amsterdam." The Towpath, April 2006. https://www.newbremenhistory.org/towpath/2001-2010/THE%20TOWPATH%202006-2.pdf.
[48] Records of the exchanges of deeds can be seen in the following records: Mercer County Recorder's Office Amsterdam Deed Log Book E page 362-63, 382,394,559, Mercer County Recorder's Office Deed Log Book F, pages 212-213, 543, 574, 598, 636, 719, Mercer County Recorder's Office Deed Log Book H, pages 9-11, 47, 198, Mercer County Recorder's Office Deed Log Book J, pages 10-11, 38, 414, 524, 714, Mercer County Recorder's Office Deed Log Book K, pages 81, 282, 489.
[49] George Sutton. "A Report to the Indiana State Medical Society on Asiatic Cholera." Indianapolis, Indiana: Elder and Harkness Steam Press Print, 1854. 9-10. Interestingly, within Sutton's report of cholera in Aurora, Indiana, some residents assume that Cholera resulted from a contaminated well, as many people who had drunk from the well were now sick. The well was abandoned and cistern water was used, however the cholera did not abate.

Buckeyes in Butternut:
Notes on the Organization, Uniforms and Weapons of the Ohio Militia in the War of 1812

by Joseph C. M. Dowd

As fighting forces in the War of 1812, state militias in the Northwest earned-and have maintained-a checkered reputation. These volunteer troops from Ohio, Kentucky, and the territories of Michigan and Indianna comprised the bulk of troops serving in the northwestern theater of war. Some of these state forces gained distinction like the Kentucky troops favorably remembered for such things as Moraviantown and River Raisin.[1] These citizen soldiers distinguished by their bravery or sacrifice are the exception, not the rule. To modern historians and military commanders of the period, state troops were inadequate in combat, unreliable in service, and difficult to implement in military planning. One state militia which often possessed these lackluster qualities was that of Ohio. Its central location, large population (for a western state), and number of engagements within its borders made Ohio's militia one of the most active state military forces during the War of 1812. Despite its high degree of involvement, the reputation of the Ohio militia is less than ideal in the traditional history of the War of 1812. Often the only mention of Ohio troops by modern historians is when regarding their faults such as the Ohioans deserting General Hull's army upon leaving the state, the inability of Ohio's divisions to organize in support of Harrison's pursuit of Proctor in 1813, and refusal of many buckeyes to serve in the militia throughout the war.[2] These deficiencies have largely overshadowed the positive impact the Ohio militia had on the north-western theatre of war. Many Buckeyes provided essential support to American military infrastructure and logistics supporting the U.S. war effort in the region. Building fortifications, escorting scouts, supplies, and livestock, and protecting vital routes of supply and reinforcements for the army in the field. These support operations are often overlooked because they were away from the frontlines and the climactic engagements most studied by modern historians. The deficiencies of the Ohio militia should not be laid solely on the quality of the soldiers. The Ohio militia's ability to serve as an effective fighting force can be attributed to chronic issues in its organization and ability to supply its soldiers. This seems ironic for a force so often tasked with supporting supply and logistical operations. The purpose of this study is to explore the organization, uniforms, weapons, and equipment of the Ohio militia in the years 1812-1815 to better understand how buckeye volunteers looked and fought in America's second war with Great Britain.

Researching the War of 1812

There is a certain level of difficulty when researching topics pertaining to the War of 1812. America's second clash with the British Empire is often overlooked by modern historians and all but unknown to much of the American public. Occurring between the larger and more impactful War of Independence and the American Civil War, the War of 1812 has been starved of in-depth study like many of America's frontier conflicts such as the Seminole Wars, Mexican War, and the many Indian wars of the 18th and 19th centuries. For a long time, the militia remained an under-studied aspect of an under-studied war, what Donald Hickey called, "a forgotten conflict." The war's bicentennial evoked a new round of serious scholarship.[3] Still, the intervening 200 years, the relatively lesser importance of the war in the American imagination and the comparatively smaller number of soldiers involved, particularly in the Northwest, has led to an extreme scarcity in surviving artifacts of the period and has made researching and understanding the material culture of the War of 1812 more difficult than other conflicts where more artifacts survive, allowing for a higher degree of comparison and study.

The American Militia System

By the time of the American Revolution, the militia system had existed under colonial law for over a century. The premise was simple: all able-bodied men were expected to serve a term of military service at the request of the government. This could be at the town or county level for local emergencies and for constabulary needs, or colony-wide at the call of the governor or other colonial authorities. This system was one born out of necessity. Isolated colonies an ocean away from the mother country required some form of military organization that could muster at short notice. Although, many militia units would serve with distinction and bravery in colonial conflicts such as the French and Indian War (1754-1763) and Pontiac's War (1763-1766), the purpose of the militia was to augment and support England's professional army in North America, not replace it.

The Revolutionary War would change the American perspective regarding the role of the militia. The American colonies' separation from Great Britian came after eight years of bloody fighting between the mostly professional army of Great Britian and the inexperienced, citizen army of the United States. The success of the continental forces in the revolution was truly an incredible feat, and this "David and Goliath" outlook would permeate the new nations regard towards the citizen militia. Why would the United States ever need a standing army if a collection of citizen soldiers could defeat the largest, most powerful standing army on earth? Of course, this notion of the humble minuteman turning out with his squirrel rifle and defeating the crown was fictitious. The Continental Army that eventually won American independence was more like a professional European army than the romanticized minuteman with his squirrel rifle. In fact, the difference between the militia at the war's beginning and the Continental Army that had Cornwallis cornered at Yorktown could not have been more different. Despite this, the seeds of American exceptionalism had already taken root, and the mythos of the American militiaman had arrived.

With the United States separation from Great Britian came the difficult task of creating a new nation and all that it required. As with any nation, a system of national defense was at the forefront. The founding fathers' enlightenment-era thinking of a standing army being the tool of a tyrant paired with the last eight years of bloodshed led to strong opposition towards any proposals for the creation of large national army. Instead, it was agreed that the defense of the nation would be entrusted to the militia, with a small regular army serving as its heart. As stated by Congressman Peter Buell Porter, the army would be the sword of the Republic and the militia its shield. [4] This was enshrined into law by the Militia Acts of 1792. These acts, adopted by the 2nd United States Congress in 1792 laid out a system that would dictate US military affairs for the next quarter of a century. The First Militia Act of 1792 enabled the president to call out and take command of state forces under limited circumstances such as in times of imminent invasion or insurrection. The Second Militia Act of 1792 would further provide details regarding the organization and administration of militias as well as authorize the conscription of all able-bodied white men between the ages of 18-45 if called upon for service by the president of the United States.[5]

This vision had regular U.S. army regiments form the core of the army, supported by state militia forces in a time of war to increase the army's size and ability to conduct operations. This was not new or radical. In fact, that was the common application of militia throughout history. The fatal flaw lay in the envisioned ratio of militia soldiers to regulars. In 1812, the U.S. Army had around 27,000 officers and men on the roles, although the effective strength was closer to 12,000. If the country was to rely solely on the militia to increase the army to the size necessary to conduct a large-scale war, say 100,000 men, this would make the ration of unexperienced citizen volunteers to professional soldiers 10:1. The United States would eventually raise eight additional regiments, bringing the total number of US regulars to 36,000 by the end of 1812.[6] Still, most American soldiers who served between 1812 and 1815 were state militia.

The Organization of the Ohio Militia

Despite the state of Ohio being carved out of the Northwest Territory in 1803, it wouldn't be until 1808 that codifying legislation would formally organize the Ohio Militia. In most respects, Ohio's militia laws repeated most of the regulations established by the Northwest territorial legislature in 1788 while also conforming to the national Militia acts of 1792. As with most other state legislation authorizing militia, it called for all male citizens between the ages of 16 and 45 to perform military duty if called upon by either the state of Ohio or President of the United States. The law established detailed regulations pertaining to frequency of drill and musters. Men were to report for frequent drill sessions or face fines. Another addition from the federal militia acts was a system of organization that divided the state militia into divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies.[7] The legislation was strong, but the task of implementing it would prove difficult and in some cases impossible.

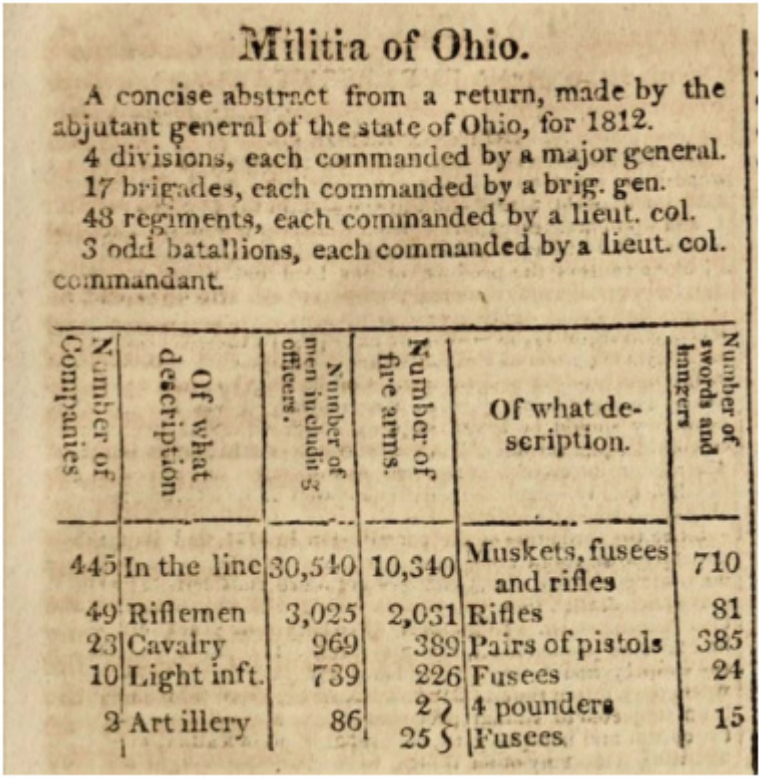
The federal militia acts of 1792 divided the state into four organizational divisions with each division comprised of men from a particular area, encompassing eight to ten counties. Each division would have two to four brigades, organized by county, containing two to six regiments containing two battalions. Battalions were comprised of no less than four and no more than eight companies. By law, companies were to consist of 64 privates but as few as 40 and as many as 80 were permissible. Many companies had fewer than 30 men. The company was the core unit of 19th Century militaries. Companies typically comprised of men from one area, often a single community. Most soldiers served alongside their neighbors, family members, and friends. In keeping with the longstanding tradition of European armies at the time, companies were designated by the last name of the company commander, typically a captain. The better-known system of designating companies alphabetically (e.g. "Company B") would not be introduced until after the War of 1812. This system of organization was received with frustration and confusion by Ohioans. The system itself was not the issue, a similar organizational structure had been adopted by the French Army with remarkable success. The problem seems to lie in the fact that the State of Ohio was trying to organize its small, part-time military like that of a large, professional army. To make matters worse, there were serious taxonomical discrepancies: the term "brigade" and "regiment" was often used interchangeably, while "battalion" was sometimes misinterpreted as meaning "regiment" since most US regular army regiments were comprised of a single battalion. While units raised at the beginning of the war attempted to follow this system of organization, independent companies raised and organized for a particular operation or in response to threats in the immediate area became common as the war progressed.[8]

Until the peculiar "Toledo War" and subsequent compromises of 1836, both the State of Ohio and Territory of Michigan claimed jurisdiction over the territory comprising the northwest corner of the state. Officially, men from this region were incorporated into the 2nd Michigan Regiment of Territorial Militia.[9]

The company comprising of men from the Maumee River north to Otter creek (modern-day Monroe County, MI) were organized as the "Light Infantry Company of Erie Volunteers." Many of the area's newly arrived settlers from the east were distrustful of the French habitants that comprised much of Michigan's militia. These 'yankees' or 'bostoners' as they were known, would form an independent "American" company along the Maumee River.[10]

As with many state militia systems, implementing the militia laws proved challenging. Complacency and lackluster enforcement of the law was commonplace. Despite the threat of fines and even court-martial, many citizens shirked militia duty. Some refused to procure adequate weapons and accoutrements at their own expense, turning out for drill with inadequate arms or none at all.[11]

Musters were held twice a year in April and September. This was planting and harvest season and not a convenient time for a militia force comprised mostly of farmers. Many Ohioans failed to attend the biannual musters. Despite these troubles, in March of 1812, just a few months before the outbreak of war with Great Britian, the state's adjutant general reported a total of 4 divisions; 17 brigades; 48 regiments comprising 445 infantry companies, 49 companies of riflemen, 23 cavalry troops, 10 companies of light infantry, and 2 companies of artillery for a combined strength of over 30,000 men fit for service. At least, that was the militia's strength on paper.[12]



Militia of Ohio.

A concise abstract from a return, made by the abjutant general of the state of Ohio, for 1812.

4 divisions, each commanded by a major general.
17 brigades, each commanded by a brig. gen.
48 regiments, each commanded by a lieut. col.
3 odd batallions, each commanded by a lieut. col. commandant.

Number of Companies	Of what description	Number of men including officers.	Number of fire arms.	Of what description.	Number of swords and hangers
445	In the line	30,540	10,340	Muskets, fusees and rifles	710
49	Riflemen	3,025	2,031	Rifles	81
23	Cavalry	969	389	Pairs of pistols	385
10	Light inft.	739	226	Fusees	24
2	Artillery	86	27	4 pounders	15
			255	Fusees	

Return of the strength of the Ohio Militia in early 1812 (Niles Weekly Register, Vol. II; Image courtesy of Internet Archive)

As war clouds loomed in the spring of 1812, the federal government ordered the state of Ohio to raise three volunteer regiments from the state militia. These "U.S. Volunteers" were essentially federalized militia who volunteered to serve in an adjunct capacity to the regular U.S. army for one year. These units were to receive standard pay, clothing allowance, and were initially permitted to keep their government-issued weapons once they completed their service (this provision would be rescinded after the war started).[13] From a command standpoint, these federal volunteers proved much more useful than the common militia. The one-year enlistments gave commanders the ability and time to train and prepare these troops for combat, something almost impossible for the average militiaman whose service rarely exceeded more than thirty days. Although these early war volunteer regiments were short lived with all three included in the American surrender of Fort Detroit in August of 1812, they served as a sort of trial run of how to effectively utilize state troops in war. The federalization of state militia forces would become a Return of the strength of the Ohio Militia in early 1812 (Niles Weekly Register, Vol. II; Image courtesy of Internet Archive) powerful tool later during the Civil War. Because of such problems in implementing and enforcing the state's militia system, Ohio found itself in a precarious situation when war was declared in June of 1812. Nevertheless, thousands of Ohioans would take up arms in defense of their state, serving in every capacity from ad-hoc militia companies, army spies[scouts], to U.S. Volunteers, and in the regular army regiments raised in the state. Regardless of what their service was, outfitting and arming them was essential. This would

prove a challenge throughout the duration of the war. With little to no support from state and federal stores, Buckeye militiamen would through necessity and frontier ingenuity develop a distinct dress from a mixture of civilian and military fashion that would come to embody the image of the American frontiersman.

Uniforms of the Ohio Militia

When discussing the dress of the Ohio militia, the term "uniform" is used loosely. The clothing worn by buckeye volunteers did not follow standards of color, cut, and style but rather general military fashions of the day mixed with practical frontier dress. To clarity, the use of the term "uniform" in the following paragraphs pertain to any clothing made or modified for the purpose of military use. The state of Ohio never made any attempts to adopt a standard uniform for its militia. Neither the federal Militia Acts of 1792, nor the state's militia laws prescribed a standard uniform for the militia. The only provision regarding uniforms in the Ohio Militia Acts of 1809 and 1813, stated that all companies of volunteers were to wear "while on parade, such uniforms as well may be agreed [to] by the majority of the company".[14] In effect, the state of Ohio was leaving the task of uniforming its forces to the individual companies. Ohio would take steps to provide some support in uniforming its men. In April 1812, funds from the Bank of Ohio were withdrawn to provide an advance of $16 to each man to pay for clothing with an additional $40 promised later.[15] This was of little use to many militiamen during the war as few articles of clothing were even available to purchase due to supply shortages. Many simply sent the money home to their families. Ohio was not alone in this hands-off approach. Other states and territories, particularly in the west, had adopted similar policies without specific regulations for uniforms, instead leaving such decisions to the discretion of individual units. By doing so, Ohio likely avoided issues faced by its neighbor, the Territory of Michigan. In 1805, Michigan's territorial governor, William Hull, published detailed regulations for the territorial militia's uniforms that required its citizens to procure uniforms adhering to published regulations at their own expense. This included the men of northwest Ohio who were under the jurisdiction of Michigan's militia laws. Not unexpectedly, this caused an uproar among territorial residents. To make matters worse, Governor Hull had obtained a large store of blue cloth needed for making uniforms and was offering it for sale. This further infuriated resident as it appeared the governor was attempting to profit from his own legislation.[16] The result was predictable: many of the militia simply ignored the law and did not procure a uniform for themselves.

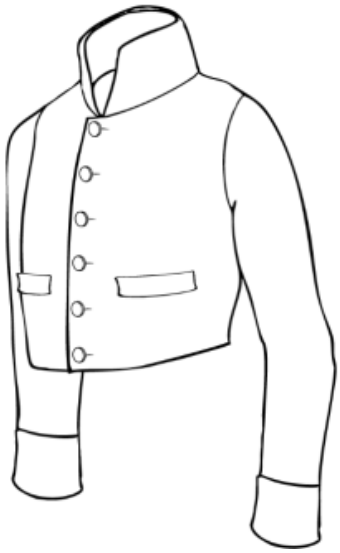
Most Ohio militia uniforms were a variation of U.S. Army uniforms, militia regimentals, and civilian frontier dress. Some companies would copy fashions of neighboring state militias while others would emulate uniforms of the regular army. Many more would simply go without uniforms, turning out for service in their civilian frontier dress with a musket and accoutrements being the only features to distinguish their military service.[17] The uniform adopted by most buckeyes was a militarized version of clothing worn in civilian life. The degree in which these outfits were modified for military service varied. Some units would adopt uniforms comprised of civilian-style clothing but all following a standard cut and color. Others would simply wear civilian dress with no modifications for service. Two primary styles of men's upperbody garments would have been worn— a coat or hunting shirt.

Coats

While today the tailcoat is an article reserved for formal occasions, during the early 19th Century it was the standard style for men's coats. Most day, evening, and formal dress included some variation of this garment. Uniform coats of most militaries (including the U.S.) were either a tailcoat or a shorter-tailed coat called a coatee. The fashions of the era usually called for a set of tails extending down to the back of the knee, a stand-fall or falling collar, and narrow fitted sleeves. Most coats were made of wool, especially formal wear. Coats worn as daywear could be made from linen, hemp, or jean mix.[18] Due to it being the average coat worn by most men, many Ohioans would sport a tailcoat when reporting for militia duty. Despite its popularity, the tailcoat was not always practical as a military garment. The tailored design and snug fit of the shoulders, waist, and arms often inhibited mobility, and the cutaway design left much of the wearer's upper chest, hips, and legs exposed to the elements.

Gentleman's tailcoat ca.1812
(Illustrations by the author)

Another common style of coat was a short jacket known as a "roundabout" or "round-coat." Round coats were essentially a tailcoat without the tails. The bottom of the jacket ended at or just below the waist and the overall fit was often looser, allowing for more movement. Round coats had become popular with sailors, farmers, and other professions where a tailcoat was impractical. The U.S. Army issued round coats as fatigue dress: troops north of the Potomac were to receive wool coats while those serving in the south received linen coats.[19] Despite the popularity of the tailcoat and roundabout, the most common choice for Ohio militiamen was a garment that would gain a prominent place in the national psyche—becoming engrained world-wide as the romanticized image of the American frontiersmen: the hunting shirt.



Round Coat ca.1812
(Illustrations by the author)

Hunting Shirts

The origin the American hunting shirt is a subject of debate and worthy of its own study. However, we can assume that its style and features result from the needs of individuals living in the backcountry of 18th century America. Generally, the hunting shirt was an outer garment worn to protect one's regular clothing from being soiled when performing dirty or rigorous activities. Light-weight outerwear was worn to protect the clothing underneath were common among farmers, laborers, and tradesmen of the period, with pullover smocks, and overshirts being almost a uniform of the 18th century working man.[20] These were made from cheap, lightweight material like linen or hemp with styles that varied with their particular use. While the hunting shirt shared many basic qualities of these work garments, unique features in both style and function separated it from other outer garments of the period. Unlike other overshirts which were a pullover design and only opened partially down the neckline, hunting shirts opened down the entire front and could easily be worn over additional clothing and equipment. To close the front, a small button or hook

could be fastened at the collar and the front of the coat wrapped across the chest and held closed with a wide sash or belt around the waist. Another prominent feature of the hunting shirt was a short cape attached at the neckline which covered the shoulders and gave an added layer of protection when worn in inclement weather. The most recognizable feature of the hunting shirt was the fringe found all along its outer edges (it appears the fringe served no practical function). That said, one possible explanation may be that the early shirts made by hunters were sewn in a quick and crude manner and the outer edges left unfinished (i.e. turned under and stitched down). Being made from coarse and loosely woven linen, hemp, or linsey-woolsey, this raw edge would have quickly frayed giving the shirt a shaggy appearance. Whatever its ultimate explanation may be, the fringe proved very popular and became the primary focus for style and fashion variations as hunting shirts worked their way into mainstream fashion. During the last quarter of the 18th century, the hunting shirt became the default outer garment for outdoorsmen. Even affluent men like Thomas Jefferson would don a hunting shirt for a fox hunt or afternoon ride through the country.[21] Its use extended to the military as well, most notably when thousands were supplied to the Continental Army during the revolution. Following American independence, hunting shirts remained part of the US Army, issued to soldiers as fatigue dress.[22] As a civilian garment, the hunting shirt moved west with the settlers into the Northwest Territory and the region that would become the state of Ohio.

Hunting Shirt ca.1780
(Illustration by the author)

By the War of 1812, the hunting shirt had not only become a popular part of frontier dress, but it had also developed into a garment much different than its colonial era ancestor. Depictions of hunting shirts worn by frontiersmen and militia soldiers during this period show a longer garment extending to below the knee and more tailored in its fit. This appearance suggests a construction like that of a proper gentlemen's coats with a four-piece body and two-piece sleeve.[23] Because of this evolution, names for the hunting shirt began to include "hunting frock" and "rifleman's frock." Some, like those adopted by the United States Rifle Regiment, were made with front button closures instead of simply wrapping it across the body as described above. [24] The standing collar rose to just below the ears, as was the fashion, and the capes had lengthened. It was not uncommon to see two or even three capes on the shoulder, providing more protection from the elements.

Early 19th Century Hunting Shirt
(Illustration by Craig Fisher)

In the previous century, most hunting shirts were made from unbleached, naturally colored linen or hemp with the fringe made from the same material as the garment. By the 19th century, many hunting shirts were made with commercially available fringe that could be purchased by the yard. The introduction of commercial fringe trim led to a radiation in colors used for hunting shirts, often with contrasting colors between the coat and the fringe. Linen fringe could be purchased in its natural color and dyed locally. Common colors included brown or "butternut" obtained from dying with black walnuts and other tannin-rich hardwood barks, and deep blue from indigo. Lieutenant John Jackson from Pickaway County described the uniforms of his company, including the variation of fringe colors on their hunting shirts:

> "··· [the men] were armed with their own rifles· And each had a tomahawk and large knife attached to their belts; was uniformed with blue linsey pants and hunting shirts· The officers' hunting shirts was fringed with red· We made a respectable appearance when on parade·"[25]

When the War of 1812 arrived, the hunting shirt was a tempting option for Ohio volunteers needing to outfit themselves for war. They were simple and inexpensive to produce, and the materials used in their construction, mainly linen, hemp or jean, were obtainable on the frontier either by local producers or importation from the east coast. This practical garment made it an ideal choice for volunteer units needing to quickly procure uniforms. Of the few surviving accounts describing the dress of Ohio militiamen, most mention some variation of the hunting shirt. Veteran Samuel Williams described the uniforms of Captain Henry Brush's Company of Ohio Milita:

> "Everyone, officers and men, were alike dressed in unbleached, tow-linen Hunting shirts, and trowsers of the same material, with low-crown hats, on the left side of which were Early 18th Century Hunting Shirt (Illustration by Craig Fisher) worn black cockades about two inches in diameter, on the center of which were displayed a small silver eagle about the size of a silver quarter-dollar. Around the waist of each was a stout leather girdle [waist belt]: in a leather pocket attached to this was slung behind a good-sized tomahawk, and in a leather sheath, also attached to the girdle, hung a medium sized butcher knife"[26]

Along with the hunting shirt, Williams mentions the addition of cockades and eagle to their civilian round hats to give a more military appearance. With the limited number of known descriptions of Ohio solders, further insight may be drawn from the militias of neighboring states. Western Pennsylvania had close ties to eastern Ohio in culture, commerce, and blood. Many of the first families to settle Ohio came from this region. Joseph Junkin, a resident of Mercer County, PA, wrote of his experiences serving in the county's militia company known as the "Mercer Blues". In his writings, he describes the dress of these western Pennsylvanians:

> "...was composed of a Good Rifle gun, shot Pouch, powder horn, tomahawk, butcher knife, and our uniform at this time was yellow hunting shirts and leggings [possibly referring to overalls] trimmed with fringe of the same which was made of good strong tow cloth dyed with hickory bark. The head dress was a black hat with a strip of bear skin—the width of the crown passed from the rim in front to the rim behind, with the longest deer's tail we could get, a stick stuck in it which was fastened to the right side of the hat, the butt of which was covered with Cockade of blue and white ribbon, with an eagle in the center."[27]

Accounts of militia soldiers from another of Ohio's neighbors, Kentucky, are numerous and offer key insights into the general dress of frontier militiamen. Orlando Brown provided an in-depth description of the riflemen of Captain Hickman's Company of the 1st Kentucky Rifle Regiment upon mustering in August 1812:

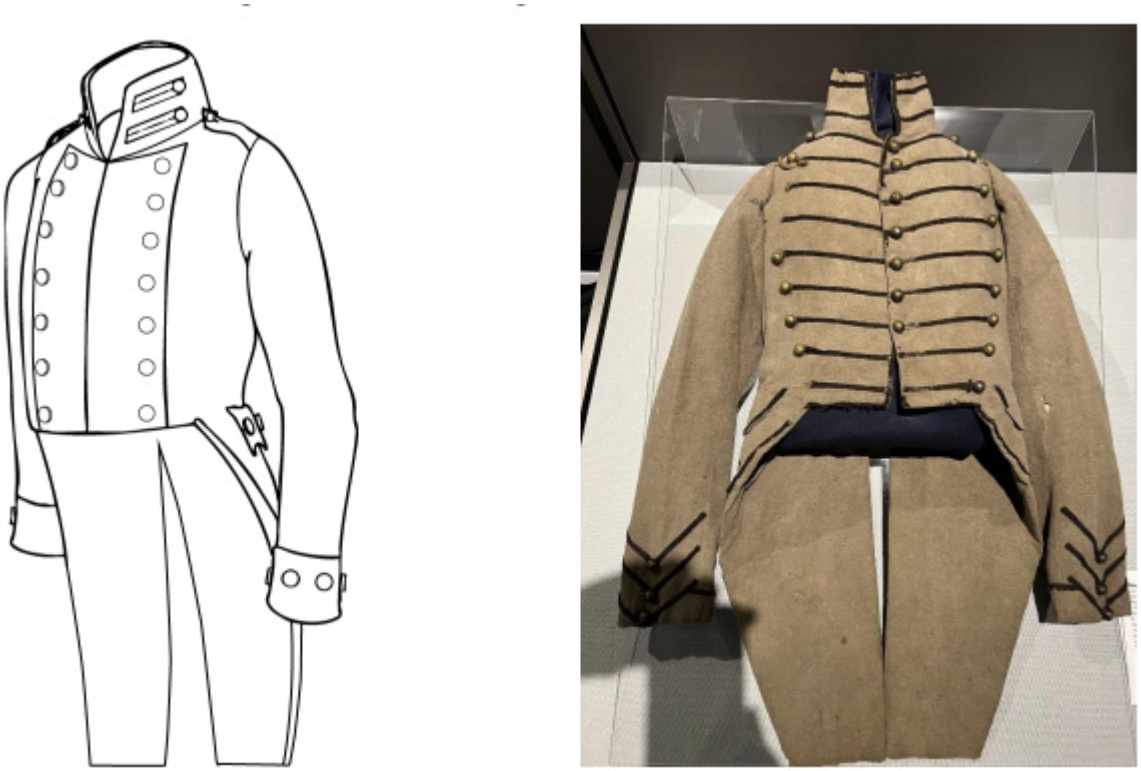
> "A hunting shirt made of linsey, with a slight fringe border, color either blue, such as obtained from indigo, a pale yellow made from hickory bark, or a dingy brown obtained from the black walnut. His pants were of Kentucky jeans, and he walked in shoes or moccasins as were his fancy..."[28]

Hickman's Company was part of the American forces surrendered at the River Raisin the following January. A British officer noted the condition of the prisoners' clothing after several months on campaign:

> "They had the air of men to whom cleanliness was a virtue unknown and their squalid bodies were covered by habiliments that had evidently undergone every change of season, and were arrived at the last stage of repair... It was the depth of winter, but scarcely an individual was in possession of a great coat or cloak, and few of them wore garments of wool of any description. They still retained their summer frocks and descending to the knee. Their trousers were of the same material. They were covered with slouched hats, worn bare by constant use, beneath which their long hair fell matted and uncombed over their cheeks; and these, together with the dirty blankets wrapped around their loins to protect them against the inclemency of the season, and fastened by broad leather belts, into which were thrust axes and knives of enormous length, gave them an air of wildness and savageness which in Italy would have caused them to pass for brigands." [29]

Uniformed Militia

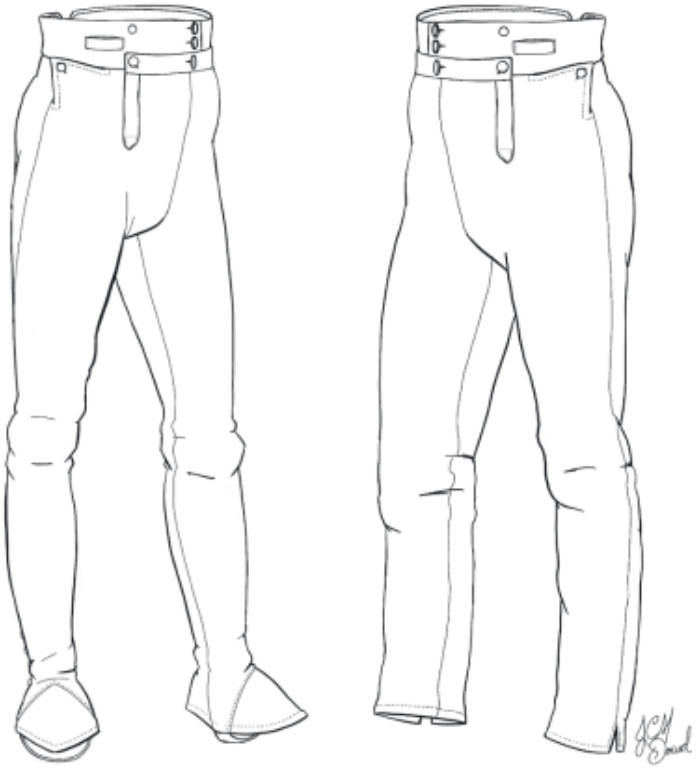
Uniformed militia companies in Ohio typically adopted a variation of uniform style popular among east-coast militias mostly referred to as "regimentals".[30] These followed popular military fashions of the day which valued form over function to evoke a martial, professional appearance on the parade field. These would usually comprise of a uniform coat, hat, and pants that were to be worn uniformly throughout the unit. Companies established prior to the outbreak of war usually had some form of regimental uniforms, the style agreed upon by the men and adopted after approval by the unit commander.[31] These uniforms typically drew inspiration from those of the regular army, albeit often a generation or so behind. Variations among companies are too numerous to list in detail, but most followed a basic style that became an unofficial uniform of state troops during the first two decades of the 19th Century. A regimental uniform coat or coatee would have a high standing collar, shoulder straps, and hip pockets with flaps. The coat was almost always of dark blue cloth with the collar, cuffs, and facings of a contrasting color (usually scarlet). The coat closed at the front with a row of 8 to 10 metal buttons. Many incorporated false-turnback lapels on the chest and closed by a row of hooks and eyes up the center, with a row of non-functioning buttons on each turnback. Like uniforms of the regular army, the branch of service might be indicated by colored trim on the collar, cuffs, and across the chest. The color of the buttons and trim was determined by the branch of service, white (pewter) for infantry and dragoons, yellow (brass) for artillery and rifles.[32] Regimental coats would remain a tradition of the American militia throughout the antebellum period.



(Left) Example of an American militia Regimental Coat ca.1812 (Illustration by the author). (Right) This post-war uniform coat attributed to the Ohio militia has features often seen in regimental coats from the War of 1812 including full-length tails, high standing collar, and trim indicative of US Army uniforms of the period. Due to the presence of a waist-seam in its construction, this particular coat likely dates to the 1820s. (Courtesy of Fort Meigs Historic Site; author's photograph)

Legwear

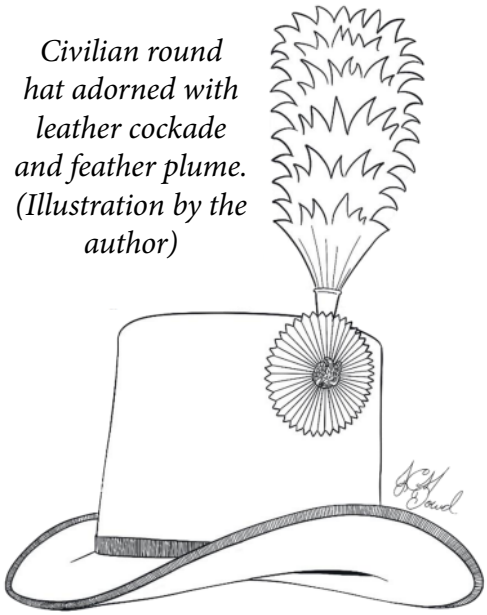
Ohio militiamen wore a variety of legwear. The three primary types in the early 19th Century were trousers, pantaloons, and overalls. Trousers were wide-legged, loose-fitting pants that extended to just above the ankle. They were used in the regular army as part of a soldier's fatigue clothes and not their service uniform as the loose fit was seen as unmilitary.[33] Because they were regarded as workwear, trousers were typically a course linen, hemp, or jean material. Pantaloons were similar to trousers, extending down the leg to just above the ankles, but fit much tighter to the legs and were typically worn with wool or painted cloth half-gaiters (or spatterdashes) that buttoned closed with 4 to 7 buttons. In the early 19th Century, overalls were not the bibbed denim workwear we know today but rather a type of legwear almost exclusive to military dress and were a sort of combination of gaiters and pantaloons. Overalls were tight fitting through the legs and extended past the ankle covering the top of the shoe, with a strap running under the waist of the shoe to hold the bottoms in place. Pantaloons and overalls were typically made of wool for winter wear, and linen for summer. The variety of legwear options was indicative of menswear during the early 19th Century, a time of change for both military and civilians fashion as long-standing styles were being rapidly replaced with new, partly experimental ones. The standard legwear worn by men for the past two centuries, knee-length breeches, were worn only for evening dress, or by some mounted units and general officers.



(Left to Right) Military Overalls and Trousers. Pantaloons were similar to trousers but with a tighter fit through the legs and seat. (Illustrations by the author)

Headwear

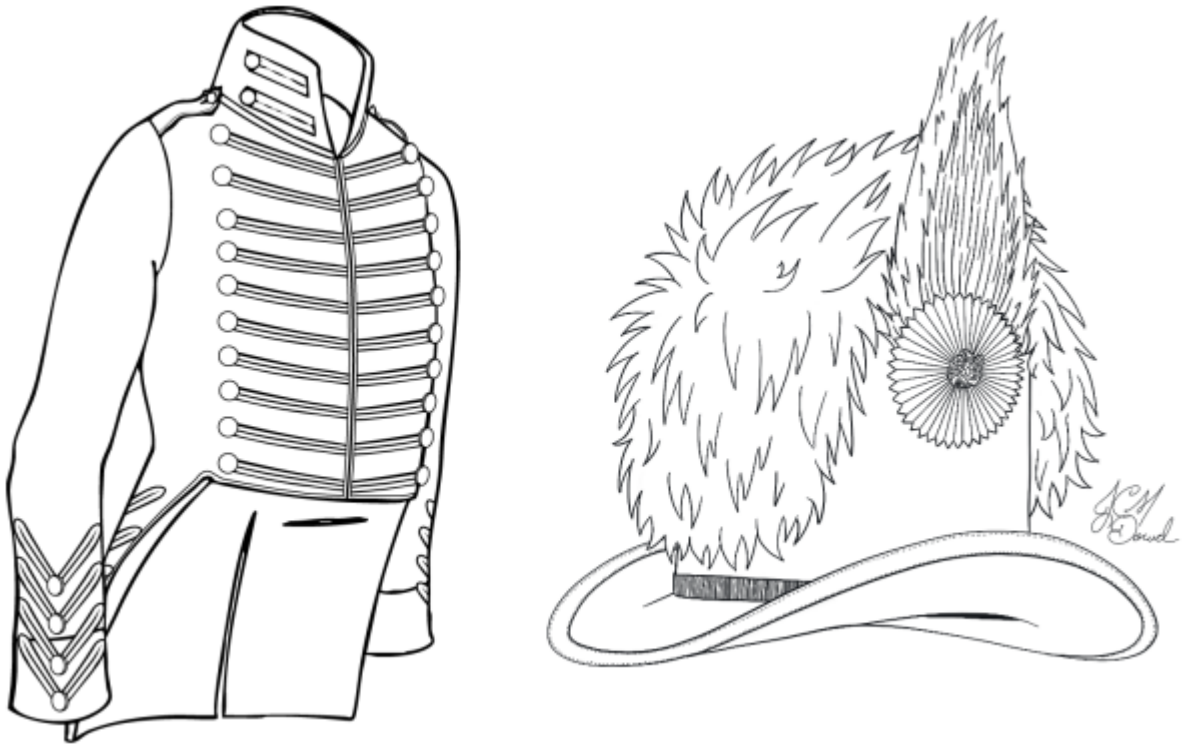
The headgear of choice for most militiamen was that worn by most citizens at the time: a felt round hat. In the 18th Century, a "round hat" was a general term for any felt hat that did not have its sides "cocked" or pinned up as was the fashion of the time. However, by the 1790s it was being used to refer to a specific style that we today would call the top hat. By the War of 1812, the round hat (top hat) had become the default men's headwear in America and Europe. Like the mourning dress of the late Victorian era, the round hat became an almost uniform item for civilian men in the early 19th Century. Hence, it is not surprising that it would find its way into military fashion. Round hats were first introduced in the US Army in the early 1790s and would remain the primary headgear for foot soldiers until 1811 when the Army introduced a new style of felt cap (known today as a shako).[34] Although the American army had mostly abandoned the round hat by the start of the war, it was still being worn by citizens, many of which were being called up to serve in the militia. Dressing up an existing hat with some military ornamentation was much more economical than having to purchase an additional hat for the sole purpose of militia duty which, prior to the war, was usually no more than a few days a year. Despite the uniformity of the choice in hat, the ornamentation of militia hats was diverse and often flamboyant. A metallic eagle centered on an embossed leather cockade applied to the upper left side of the crown, and a feather plume or deer's tail above it were the standard additions to militarize civilian hats. However, some units would include more flamboyant accoutrements such as a bear fur crest across the top, a fashion borrowed from the regular army. [35] The company of militia at the Miami Rapids (Maumee, Ohio) commanded by a Captain Bond, [36] was described as "uniformed by a round stove pipe hat with a bucks tail placed conspicuously in front."[37]



Civilian round hat adorned with leather cockade and feather plume. (Illustration by the author)

Ohio's U.S. Volunteer Regiments

The three Ohio regiments of U.S. Volunteers raised in the Spring of 1812 were meant to receive an annual clothing allowance on par with the regular army. However, little evidence has been found suggesting any such funding was provided. It is unclear whether volunteers received uniforms upon joining Hull's Army at Dayton. That said, one company, possibly Ohioans, garrisoned at Detroit in August of 1812 was described as dressed "in the uniform of the regulars."[38] If these federalized volunteers received army uniforms, they may have been old surplus since the newer pattern of uniforms introduced in 1812 would likely have been reserved for new regular army regiments being raised. The older uniform introduced in 1810 consisted of a dark blue uniform coatee—with scarlet collar and cuffs, trimmed throughout with white lace, and closed at the front with a row of hooks and eyes. Legwear would have been overalls or pantaloons of blue or white wool.[39] Headwear would have been the old army round hat introduced in 1801 and only replaced by the felt shako in 1810. When fully dressed, the hat was adorned with a large white bucktail placed above a cockade and silver eagle on the left side, and an arching crest of bear fur running from front to back.[40] When issued in the regular army, such additional ornaments were typically acquired separately from the hat. If Ohio volunteers received surplus army round hats, it is unlikely that they were fully ornamented. Aside from these early war volunteer regiments, few Ohio troops would have received regular army clothing. While sources directly citing the issue of government clothing to state troops are lacking, existing records show the amount of military stores shipped to the Northwestern Army in the fall and winter of 1812. This suggests suggest some non-regulars were receiving government clothing, blankets, and shoes.[41] Most men in the three volunteer regiments wore typical frontier dress of a linen hunting shirt, trousers, and felt round hat.[42] The riflemen of Col. MacArthur's 1st Regiment were reported as wearing brown hunting shirts.[43] The dress of the First Division assembled at Cincinnati was described as "all kinds of apparel, from hunting-shirts to butternut jackets"[44]



(Left to right) 1810 Pattern U.S. Army Infantry Coatee, 1801-1810 U.S. Army round hat fully dressed with bucktail, cockade, and bear-fur crest (Illustrations by the author)

Officers' Uniforms

Uniforms worn by officers in the militia typically emulated those worn in the regular army. This was particularly the case among field and staff officers not attached to individual companies, which according to the Ohio militia law dictated the style of uniform worn. Platoon officers (known today as company officers), were more inclined to wear uniforms like those of the enlisted men, albeit of a finer material and trimmed with metallic braid instead of worsted tape. As William's account of Brush's Company noted, some officers were dressed so similarly to the enlisted that they could hardly be distinguished from their men.[45] The only visible distinction of these modestly dressed officer's authority was often just a sword, short-rifle or fusil.[46]

Rank Insignia

Regardless of uniform variations across units, and likely for the sake of simplicity, rank insignia in the Ohio militia generally followed that of the regular army. Non-commissioned officers (corporals and sergeants) wore one epaulette on the right shoulder. Corporals wore epaulettes made of white or yellow wool or silk. Sergeants wore silver or gold with a red wool sash around their waist. Sleeve chevrons distinguishing NCO rank were not introduced to the American Military until after the war· Platoon officers (ensigns, lieutenants, and captains) wore a single gold or silver epaulette—ensigns and lieutenants wore theirs on the left shoulder and a captain on the right. Field and staff officers (majors and above) wore epaulettes on both shoulders. Sashes for all grades of officers were red silk.[47] Militia officers and NCOs who wore non-regimental uniforms like hunting shirts or surtouts often omitted the epaulettes entirely, opting for just a sash or small embroidered device on the collar.

Weapons and Accoutrements of the Ohio Militia

A brief overview of the arms and equipment carried by buckeye soldiers is necessary to better understand the Ohio militia's ability (or at times inability) to function as an effective fighting force. Note that the following discussion focuses on weapons and accoutrements used by infantry soldiers. Due to the small number of artillery and cavalry units in the Ohio militia, most of the weapons and equipment unique to these branches would have followed the styles in use by the US Army. As was the case with uniforms, the kind of weapons and equipment used by Ohio troops during the war can be broken down into two primary types: military and civilian. As with most other states, the system for arming its militia followed the policy outlined in the second Militia Act of 1792:

> "That every citizen so enrolled and notified, shall, within six months thereafter, provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball: or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder;...That the commissioned officers shall severally be armed with a sword or hanger and espontoon, and that from and after five years from the passing of this act, all muskets for arming the militia as herein required, shall be of bores sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound."[48]

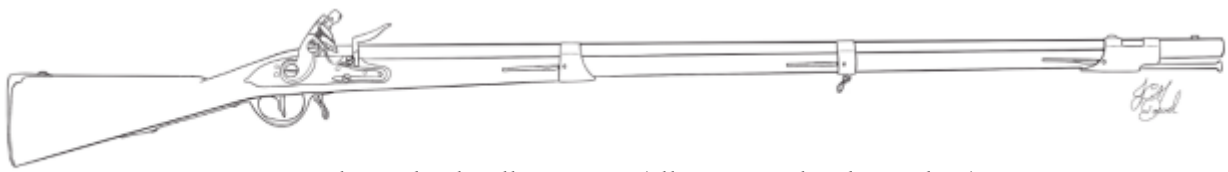
State militias were to be established with its citizens providing their own weapons, accoutrements, and ammunition. However, unlike the adoption of uniforms, the federal government established a plan to standardize arms throughout the state militias within five years. Reasons for doing so were well understood. Having its citizens provide their own weapons for militia service was certainly a cheaper option for the young, cash-strapped nation. However, if at any point the militia were called up to serve for an extended period or in conjunction with regular army troops, supplying ammunition for such variation in weapons would be a most difficult process for any ordinance officer. Most civilian firearms at this time were still hand-built by skilled gunsmiths. As a result, there was extensive variation in 18th and early 19th Century civilian firearm calibers—even more so than modern firearms which are generally designed to accept commercially available ammunition of standard sizes. The late 18th Century saw some standardizations in commercially available parts such as lock mechanisms.[49] However, the barrel was often a custom-built piece, which meant a unique caliber for that particular firearm (this was especially true for rifle barrels). In such cases, a gunsmith would often make a bullet mold unique to that weapon's barrel. Although this uniqueness of caliber was not a concern for everyday use such as hunting, it would cause significant problems for ordinance officers.

An additional complexity to this issue is the lead ball ammunition used by the militia soldiers. Lead was usually purchased in bulk on the frontier as it was more cost efficient than purchasing pre-casted balls. If an individual needed ammunition for an upcoming hunt or a biannual militia muster and target shoot, it was easy to melt bulk ingots and cast the number of rounds needed. However, soldiers spend much more ammunition than hunters and although the Militia Act required soldiers to have at least twenty rounds at the ready, that's only enough ammunition for about a quarter of an hour's worth of combat (assuming the soldier performs the expected rate of fire of three rounds a minute). In effect, aside from brief call-ups for local emergencies, the militia could not be counted on for sustained firepower. The War Department understood that supplying ammunition to troops without a standardized caliber of weapon was untenable and shortly after the adoption of the Militia Act, the federal government began work towards arming state forces.

Martial Firearms

The State of Ohio struggled in its ability to organize, uniform, and support its militia forces during the War of 1812. It also saw limited success in arming them. One of the first primary objectives of the federal government in the early years of the republic was the ability to produce and repair arms for its state militias. This was achieved through a series of contracts to private arms manufacturers and the establishment of two federal arsenals: one in Springfield, Massachusetts, and another in Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). Throughout the 1790s and 1800s, the United States would produce thousands of muskets and rifles, many of which would be sold or loaned to the states for use by their militias.

U.S. Muskets



U.S. Musket, Charleville Pattern (Illustration by the author)

Most US muskets built before and during the War of 1812 followed the same basic design known as "US Musket, Charleville Pattern."[50] They were named for the weapon that inspired their design: the French Model of 1766 Infantry Musket, commonly known as the "Charleville" after the royal armory in Charleville-Mézières, France. During the War of Independence, France would supply thousands of Charleville muskets to the Continental Army, becoming the standard infantry weapon of American troops by the end of the war. Following America's independence, thousands of French muskets from the now disbanded Continental Army were left sitting in government store houses throughout the various states. This stockpile would sustain the small regular army as well as local militias for the first decade or so of the nation's existence. However, by the mid-1790s this surplus was beginning to be exhausted through use and improper storage. The federal government would begin awarding contracts to private manufacturers to both repair existing arms in government stores as well as produce new weapons off of the same basic pattern. [51] In 1795 the armory at Springfield began producing the first musket produced by the US government, followed shortly by the Harpers Ferry Armory in 1802.

Of these contract and armory- made weapons, distinctions in style, components, and build quality varied significantly among contractors as well as the federal armories. However, most followed the same basic design of the original French 1766 musket. The US Charleville pattern muskets adhered to the general standards of 18th Century military long-arms. With a total length of around 46 inches, they were long enough to be fired in ranks two or more men deep. They were equipped with an iron ramrod and large lock mechanism for ease of use and improved durability (civilian weapons of the time usually had wooden ramrods and smaller locks). Like all standard infantry weapons of the time, these muskets were smoothbore with a 0.69 caliber barrel[52] and the muzzle was designed to fit a triangular bladed socket bayonet. This caliber was consistent with the 1792 Militia Acts that called for a standard caliber "sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound."[53] Where it differed from the other primary musket design of the day, the British "Brown Bess" musket, was the use of iron bands to secure the barrel to the stock that is instead of a series of small iron retaining pins as seen in British muskets and civilian weapons. With limited modification, this basic design would remain the standard for American infantry muskets for the next half a century—ending with Springfield model of 1872

1808 Model U.S. Army cartridge Box- Front view (Courtesy of the National Park Service; author's photograph)

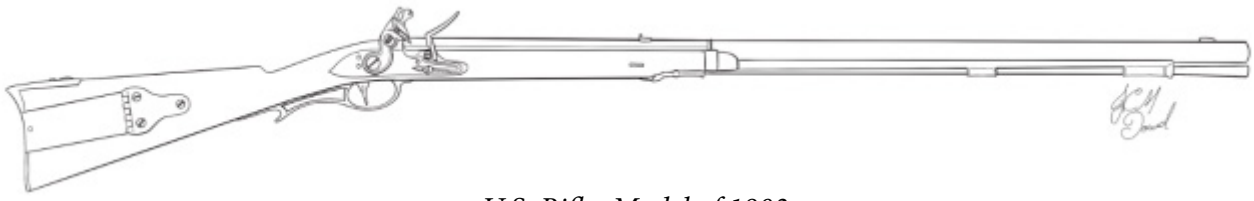
1808 Model U.S. Army cartridge Box- Back view. Note: this cartridge box has been modified to be carried on a waistbelt with the addition of belt loops. (Courtesy of the National Park Service; author's photograph)

1808 Model U.S. Army cartridge Box- Interior. Note: this cartridge box lacks the secondary opening under the wooden block to access the lower compartment. (Courtesy of the National Park Service; author's photograph)

which was the last standard-issue smoothbore musket of the US Army. In addition to the newly made muskets, some surplus French muskets would remain in use by the US Army well into the first decade of the 19th Century. Many more would be carried by state troops, including Ohioans, throughout the War of 1812 and beyond. Surprisingly, the French 1766 musket could still be found in some state arsenals (which often had far lower standards for what was deemed "serviceable") through the start of the Civil War in 1861, nearly a century old by that date.[54]

In addition to the musket itself, soldiers need the equipment required to operate it. This equipment, known as "accoutrements," served two primary functions: contain and protect a soldier's ammunition and bayonet while remaining easily accessible. This was accomplished by a leather bayonet scabbard and cartridge box. Most cartridge boxes carried by the militia were of the style in use by the regular army. In 1808 the US Army introduced a new set of infantry accoutrements, including a new pattern of cartridge box based on designs borrowed from both the French and British armies.[55] The cartridge box was made of thick leather and contained an interior wooden block with 24 holes bored into the top of it to neatly hold paper musket cartridges, and a small tin tray located underneath the wooden block as a place to store additional ammunition, flints, and a musket tool. The cartridge box was carried on a 2 ½ inch wide belt which hung from the left shoulder with the box resting against the right hip. On the opposite shoulder would hang a bayonet carriage (shoulder belt or baldric) also 2 ½ inches wide with a plain oval chest plate made of brass. Both the bayonet carriage and cartridge box shoulder belt were originally made of white buff leather but during the war, buff leather became scarce and so many war-time accoutrement sets included black leather belts instead. The bayonet scabbard was held in a small pocket at the bottom of the carriage known as the frog. The bayonet scabbard of the 1808 pattern was unique in that when inserted, the socket of the bayonet faced inwards towards the center of the body. This development reduces the likelihood of the socket snagging a soldier's musket while changing position. The 1808 pattern infantry accoutrements would be used by the US Army and State troops throughout the War of 1812, remaining in service with little modification until its replacement in 1839.[56]

U.S. Military Rifles



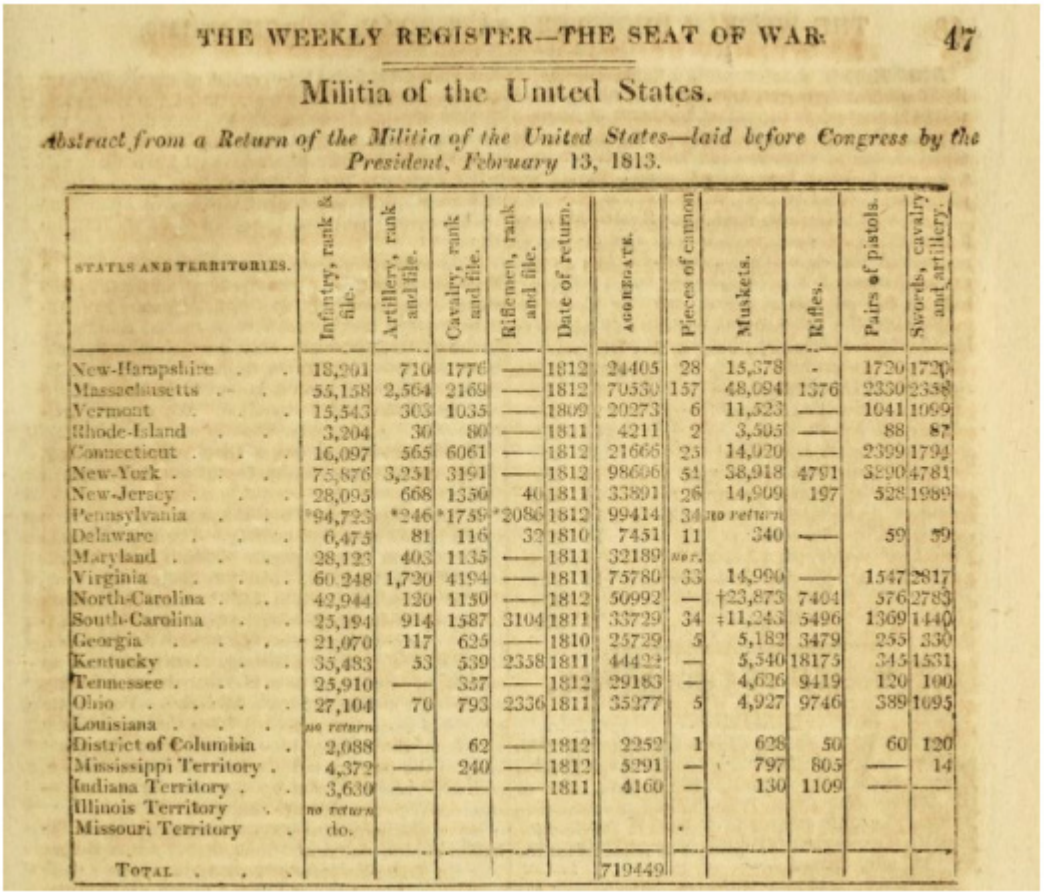
U.S. Rifle, Model of 1803
(Illustration by the author)

Until the creation of the Regiment of Riflemen in 1808, no rifle units had existed in the US Army since the Revolutionary War.[57] Because of this, most army rifles were produced for militia use. Most military rifles were produced through contracts to civilian gunsmiths in 1792 and again in 1807. Rifles sent to Ohio from the federal government were likely from these contracts. Contract rifles followed the same basic style and design as civilian rifles with the only distinction being a "US" occasionally stamped on the barrel or lock.[58] The early contracts were 0.49 caliber with a 42-to-44-inch hexagonal barrel while the 1807 contracts called for a 38-inch barrel bored to 0.54 caliber. Besides the large brass patch box set into the stock, little else can be noted in regard to their design or construction of these early contract rifles.

However, another military rifle from this period has become one of the most well-known and sought-after American military flintlocks: the model 1803 Harpers Ferry Rifle. This was a short rifle with a barrel length of 33 inches on a half-stock construction. Its design was due to Henry Dearborn, then Secretary of War, believing in the need for a short-barreled rifle for America's military.[59] This was a departure from the traditional longrifles of the period which usually sported barrels over 40 inches with slender wooden stocks running the entire length of the barrel, terminating directly under the muzzle. Dearborn's vision seemed to be appropriate as the 1803 rifle was both lighter and easier to handle than traditional longrifles, making it ideal for fast moving light-infantry troops. Between 1803 and 1807, 4,000 rifles would be produced at the Harpers Ferry Armory. Production of the 1803 pattern began again in 1814 which would eventually total over 15,000 rifles, but most would not be completed until after the war. These rifles, both contact and arsenal made, were simplistic in their design and sturdily built for the strenuous life of a military weapon.

Supply and Condition of Government Weapons

With this supply of new American muskets and rifles, the federal government would authorize the loan of thousands of weapons to the states in the decade prior to the War of 1812. When the war began the reported number of arms in Ohio's public stores was approximately 5,000 muskets and almost 10,000 rifles, an interesting ratio given the Ohio Militia's reported strength of 27,104 infantrymen and only 2,336 riflemen.[60]



THE WEEKLY REGISTER—THE SEAT OF WAR. 47

Militia of the United States.

Abstract from a Return of the Militia of the United States—laid before Congress by the President, February 13, 1813.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Infantry, rank & file.	Artillery, rank and file.	Cavalry, rank and file.	Riflemen, rank and file.	Date of return.	AGGREGATE.	Pieces of cannon	Muskets.	Rifles.	Pairs of pistols.	Swords, cavalry and artillery.
New-Hampshire	18,201	710	1776	—	1812	24405	28	15,578	-	1720	1720
Massachusetts	55,158	2,564	2169	—	1812	70530	157	48,094	1376	2330	2338
Vermont	15,543	303	1035	—	1809	20273	6	11,523	—	1041	1099
Rhode-Island	3,204	30	80	—	1811	4211	2	3,505	—	88	87
Connecticut	16,097	565	6061	—	1812	21666	25	14,920	—	2399	1794
New-York	75,876	3,251	3191	—	1812	98606	51	38,918	4791	3290	4781
New-Jersey	28,095	668	1356	40	1811	33891	26	14,909	197	528	1989
Pennsylvania	*94,723	*246	*1758	*2086	1812	99414	34	no return			
Delaware	6,475	81	116	32	1810	7451	11	340	—	59	59
Maryland	28,123	403	1135	—	1811	32189	no ret.				
Virginia	60 248	1,720	4194	—	1811	75780	33	14,990	—	1547	2817
North-Carolina	42,944	120	1150	—	1812	50992	—	†23,873	7404	576	2783
South-Carolina	25,194	914	1587	3104	1811	33729	34	‡11,243	5496	1369	1440
Georgia	21,070	117	625	—	1810	25729	5	5,182	3479	255	330
Kentucky	35,483	53	539	2338	1811	44423	—	5,540	18175	345	1531
Tennessee	25,910	—	337	—	1812	29183	—	4,626	9419	120	100
Ohio	27,104	70	793	2336	1811	35277	5	4,927	9746	389	1095
Louisiana	no return										
District of Columbia	2,088	—	62	—	1812	2259	1	628	50	60	120
Mississippi Territory	4,372	—	240	—	1812	5291	—	797	805	—	14
Indiana Territory	3,630	—	—	—	1811	4160	—	130	1109	—	—
Illinois Territory	no return										
Missouri Territory	do.										
TOTAL						719449					

Abstract from an 1813 Return of the Militia of the United States showing the number of public arms possessed by the State of Ohio. (Niles Weekly Register, Vol. IV; image courtesy of Internet Archive)

By the end of 1812 an additional 5,000 weapons had been sent to Ohio, but it was still woefully insufficient in arming the state's thousands of militiamen being mobilized. Regarding the First Division at Cincinnati: "some of the men had rifles, but the greater part only sticks and corn stalks."[61] It should be noted that many of these weapons were in poor or unserviceable condition as the weapons loaned to the states were often cast-offs the US Army had no interest in repairing and maintaining.[62] The result of this limited supply of often unserviceable weapons was that Ohio soldiers often received arms of poor condition or none at all. Lack of sufficient arms was especially prevalent in the divisions called up in the late summer of 1812. In September, Adjutant General Thomas Van Horne reported on the condition of public arms for Colonel McConnell's detachment, stating:

> "badly equipped, [18] Musquets[sic] with Bayonets only -- were left of the public arms, in my hands, which I delivered out & all the Cartouch[sic] Boxes Notwithstanding five or six armourers[sic] were constantly employed to repair, yet many of them are unfit for service and many are Marched without any arms at all"[63]

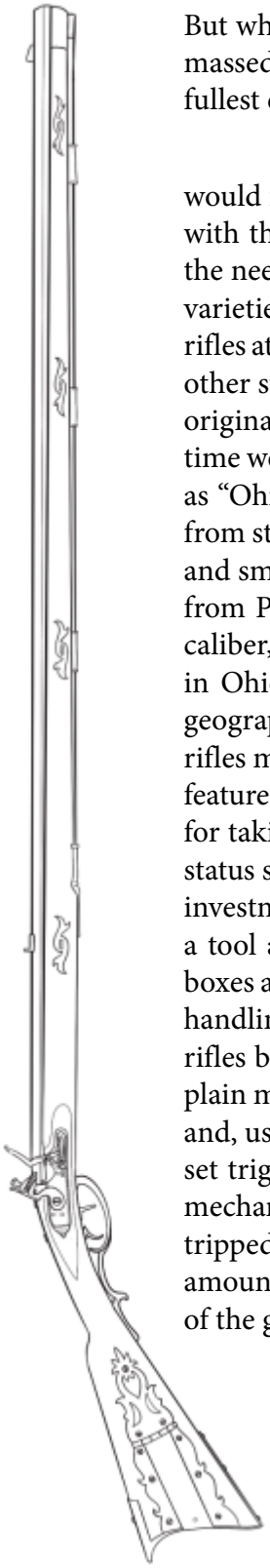
Throughout late 1812 and into the spring and summer of 1813, supplies of muskets and rifles would trickle into the state, but never in a quantity sufficient to outfit the militia. As the war progressed, many Ohioans were forced to report for duty with their own weapons, accoutrements, and provisions.

Civilian Firearms

As mentioned above, the United States attempted to keep the use of civilian-style firearms in the Ohio militia limited but shortages of military weapons often necessitated their use. The use of civilian arms was most common among short-term militia and special troops, particularly riflemen. Short-term and ad hoc militia forces hastily called up in response to immediate threats often reported with whatever gun hung over the fireplace. In this application, civilian weapons were often sufficient for their owners to respond to whatever brief emergency that had arisen. Companies of riflemen, however, often willingly opted to carry their own personal weapons as both a matter of pride and familiarity of its use. Today, accurately hitting a target largely rests on effective use of a weapon's sights, adjusting it in relation to environmental conditions (distance, windage, etc.). Little or no adjustment is given regarding the projectile and propellant today. In contrast, accurate shooting of muzzleloading weapons required much more interpretation and critical analysis on behalf of the shooter as to charge of powder, weight of the ball, and type of wadding used. Due to the unique and custom-built nature of civilian rifles, a rifleman often preferred his own rifle which he was accustomed to shooting over a government issued weapon.

Longrifles

Much has been written on the early American longrifle. As with the hunting shirt, the longrifle has occupied a prominent place in the American zeitgeist regarding this period. However, it is worth noting that their prevalence and contribution has been exaggerated over the years. Although it is true that the longrifle was an important weapon utilized by some American soldiers against British forces in the revolution and War of 1812, it was not the secret weapon that many Americans envision today. The United States did not win either war by hiding behind trees sniping at British officers. American forces won the revolution, and staved off disaster in 1812-1815, by meeting their opponents toe-to-toe and fighting as they did. American troops would use the irregular scoot-and-shoot tactics when engaged against Native warriors allied with the Crown.



American longrifle ca.1800
(Illustration by the author)

But when facing down British regulars, the Americans would utilize the same tactics of massed formations on open ground where the smoothbore musket could be used to its fullest effect. In War of 1812, just as in the revolution, the rifleman was a specialist.

Following the revolution and America's westward expansion the American longrifle would follow the settlers into the frontier, radiating into distinct regional varieties, each with their own distinct style and features based on the environment of the region and the needs of their users. Arms historians have studied and cataloged American longrifle varieties in such great detail that it rivals that of taxonomists in the fields of biology. Ohio rifles at the time of the War of 1812, much like their owners, were mostly immigrants from other states to the east and south and were of the varieties expected from wherever they originated. The two most common varieties of longrifle seen in the Ohio country at this time were the styles from Pennsylvania and Kentucky. The class of weapons known today as "Ohio rifles" would not emerge until the 1830s.[64] Many of Ohio's early settlers came from states south of the Ohio River such as Kentucky, bringing their slender, lightweight, and small-caliber southern rifles. Many of the gunsmiths who settled in the region were from Pennsylvania and brought with them a school of gunsmithing that favored large caliber, heavy barrels inspired by the early Germanic jaeger rifles. The few rifles built in Ohio at this time exhibit features from both varieties that complimented the new geography of the region. The light and slender stocks and swamped barrels[65] of southern rifles made carrying through the region's forests, swamps, and oak savannas easier, while features of Pennsylvania rifles like a robust lock and larger caliber were better suited for taking the large game like elk and buffalo that still populated the state. Rifles were a status symbol on the frontier. A longrifles built by a skilled gunsmith was a considerable investment, usually one or two months of wages. Many were designed to serve as both a tool and family heirloom and possessed artistic embellishments like engraved patch boxes and stocks with floral reliefs. Such rifles would rarely be subject to abuse and rough handling of military service. Instead, many militia riflemen would opt to carry plainer rifles better suited for military use. These typical working-guns were usually stocked in plain maple or walnut with brass or iron mountings (butt plate, trigger guard, patch box) and, usually, .45 to .54 caliber. The only embellishment may be the addition of a double-set trigger commonly used by marksmen of the day.[66] After fully cocking the flintlock mechanism, the first trigger is pulled, activating a secondary "hair" trigger, which can be tripped with the slightest amount of pressure. This helped the shooter by reducing the amount of force needed to compress the trigger and fire the rifle, decreasing movement of the gun and improving accuracy.

Smoothbores

Despite the longrifle's fascinating development and status in American history, the weapon of choice for many early Ohioans was an inexpensive and versatile smoothbore. Commonly known as "fowlers" or simply as a "gun"[67], this was a general-purpose firearm usually around .60 caliber and although its smoothbore barrel lacked the range and accuracy of rifles, with the affective range of them being 50 to 75 yards, the fowlers appeal came from its versatility. Fowlers could utilize a wide variety of options for ammunition. A large smoothbore barrel meant that it could be loaded with round-ball or shot, depending on what was needed. Lastly, but perhaps most importantly: fowlers were usually much cheaper than rifles owing to the simplicity in making a smoothbore barrel compared to that of a rifle. Additionally, unlike longrifles which at this time were still a mostly custom-built weapon, fowlers and other smoothbores such as trade guns were being produced in mass on the east coast and shipped to the frontier, further decreasing the cost. This combination of versatility and affordability made the fowler, not the rifle, the most common site above Ohio fireplaces.

Powder Horns and Hunting Pouches

Militia soldiers not equipped with standard infantry accoutrements, particularly riflemen who did not use prepared paper cartridges, carried their powder and ammunition as they did when hunting or target shooting in civilian life. This was usually done by means of a hunting pouch and powder horn. A hunting pouch was a satchel-like bag usually made of leather suspended from a strap worn over the shoulder. As the name implies, the hunting pouch was the primary means of carrying what was needed to use a firelock while hunting: lead balls, spare flints, wadding material used for patches, and any other tools or equipment needed to operate their firelock. For riflemen, this usually meant a ball-starter, wadding, and a small powder horn containing very fine gunpowder for priming the pan of their flintlock rifles. In addition to the main hunting pouch, a smaller pouch of leather or painted canvas known as a "ball bag" may be carried on the waistbelt to hold the lead balls separate from the rest of the equipment for easier access. Hunting pouches could be modified to carry prepared paper cartridges with the addition of a wooden block inserted into it.

The hunting pouch carried everything to operate a flintlock except the gunpowder, which was carried almost exclusively within a powder horn. The basic design was simple: the keratinous outer sheath of a cow's horn used to carry a bulk supply of gunpowder. The horn was sealed with a wooden plug at its base and the small opening at the tip with a removable stopper serving to dispense the powder. Functional powder horns could be homemade as many were, but most were professionally made by skilled tradesmen (known as a horner) who specialized in making powder horns as well as other items from horn and bone. Like the longrifle, the powder horns carried into Ohio by the state's early settlers sported the unique styles and variations of their region of origin. Such regional varieties included the Pennsylvania "screw-tip" horns with threaded, lathe-turned spouts that better sealed the horn and made the task of filling with powder much easier. Styles from south of the Ohio River often possessed intricately turned bone spouts and applied bands (turned from separate pieces of horn) running down their length.[68] In addition to their stylized construction, powder horns often possessed intricate engraving like the scrimshaw performed on whale's teeth during the period. These engravings ranged from simple linework patterns and symbols crudely scratched in by the horn's owner to the intricate floral motifs, battle scenes, and maps seen on horns engraved by professional horners.[69] By the dawn of the 19th Century, the

popularity of engraved powder horns had decreased considerably from its zenith around the time of the French and Indian War (1754-1763). Nonetheless, many examples of powder horns carried during the War of 1812 possess some form of engraving, both professional and ad-hoc. In fact, these unique folk-art embellishments are likely the reason for their survival to the present day, with some from this period being the most sought-after and by modern collectors, most notably the horns made by the Tansel family of Kentucky and Indianna.[70]

Engraved powder horn possibly carried by an American militiaman at the Battles of the River Raisin in 1813. The crude engravings were likely done by the horn's owner. (Images courtesy of the National Park Service; sketch of engravings by Gerald Wykes)

Ammunition

Soldiers equipped with muskets or civilian fowlers would most often use prepared cartridges in lieu of loose powder and ball. Cartridges consisted of a paper tube roughly the diameter of a weapon's bore containing ammunition and the amount of powder needed to prime and load the weapon. The standard load for military weapons of the day was Known as "ballcartridge" and contained the powder charge and a single, full-sized musket ball. Another type of ammunition used extensively by American soldiers and militia was "buck-and-ball". This was a cartridge containing powder, a single full-sized musket ball, and 3 to 4 pieces of #00 buckshot (roughly .33 caliber).

This was an effective round against enemy infantry, particularly in massed formation, as one shot could wound several men. Buck-and-ball would remain a staple of American musket ammunition through the Civil War.[71] Another round used by the militia during the War of 1812 were simple buckshot-cartridge usually containing 10 to 12 #00 pellets. The benefit in using this kind of cartridge was its flexibility. Units armed with smoothbore guns of various calibers could utilize government-supplied buck-shot cartridges as they were not limited to a single sized caliber like those containing a full-sized ball. Cartridges were produced locally by the soldiers if supplied with loose powder and ball. More often, cartridges were prepared at government "laboratories" [arsenals]. Those prepared at government arsenals would have likely been packaged in paper-wrapped packs containing ten cartridges and shipped to the field in wooden crates or barrels.[72]

Tomahawks, Belt Axes, and Knives

It is worth briefly mentioning tomahawks, belts axes and knives. In truth, these items could be included under both weaponry and field gear. While it is true that during the war these items were carried and used by soldiers during combat, their use by militiamen was more often as tools for performing camp and fatigue duties rather than fighting. The belt axe came out of it sheath more frequently to chop at firewood then during battle. Similarly, the infamous "scalping knife" was in reality just a general use blade, although many lived up to their fearsome name in the hands of frontier militiamen. Although it was common for these edged weapons to be brought from home and personalized to the soldier, many were supplied by federal arsenals. A September 1812 invoice from Fort Fayette to Newport lists: 500 rifle pouches and axe belts; 260 scalping knives, tomahawks, and rifle belts.[73]

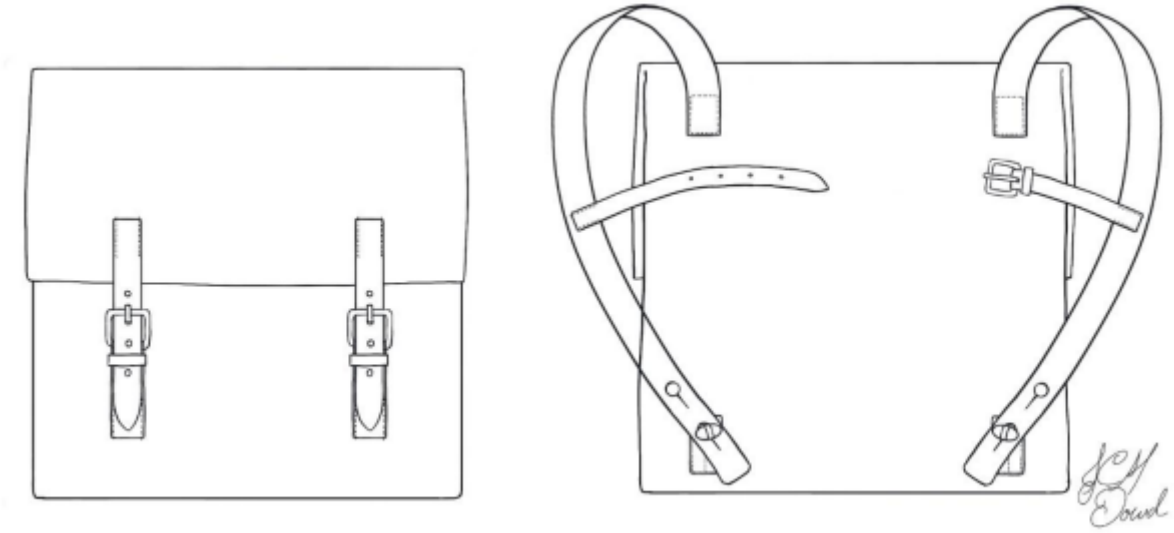
Field Equipment

As with the other material culture of the Ohio militia, the variety of field equipment used was extensive with no common patterns or designs adopted throughout the system. The following is a general survey of field equipment directly attributed to Ohio units as well as equipment commonly used by other state militias, which Ohio likely followed as well. As stated earlier, the following focuses on infantry equipment as that branch comprised the majority of Ohio's militia units· However, it is likely that the equipment discussed would have also been used by the other branches as well.

Knapsacks

The knapsack was the soldier's cupboard, wardrobe, and linen closet. Its purpose was to carry everything a soldier had that wasn't used to fight. Most knapsacks carried by the Ohio militia would have followed the general style used by most militias. The knapsack was carried on a soldier's back with two wide shoulder straps made from leather or cloth, often with a cross strap secured across the chest to better distribute the weight. The main compartment was a rectangular bag of linen or hemp usually 14 to 16 inches wide and just as deep, with the outside painted or varnished to waterproof the knapsack. The most common color was a reddish-brown known as "Spanish red" but packs could be painted blue, black, or left unpainted. A large outer flap closed the pack, secured with leather tabs and buckles or simple cloth ties.[74] The outer flap may have had an additional envelope-like pocket sewn onto its underside to keep wet⁄soiled clothing separate from other items.

The outer flap of the knapsack might have the soldier's unit designation or federal eagle painted on it. Another style seen was the hide knapsack which followed the same basic design except that it was made from cow or horse hide (with the hair still attached) instead of painted cloth. The list of military stores surrendered in August of 1812 list: 21 blue knapsacks; 210 red knapsacks; and 20 horse or ox hide knapsacks.[75] Aside from the "21 blue knapsacks" which likely refer to the "Lherbette" pattern knapsacks used by the regular army, the red and hide knapsacks would have mostly been those from the Ohio volunteers surrendered under Hull. The reason few blue knapsacks are listed is likely because while the militiamen were paroled and sent home but the regulars of the 4th US Infantry were taken as prisoners and likely took their packs and blankets with them.



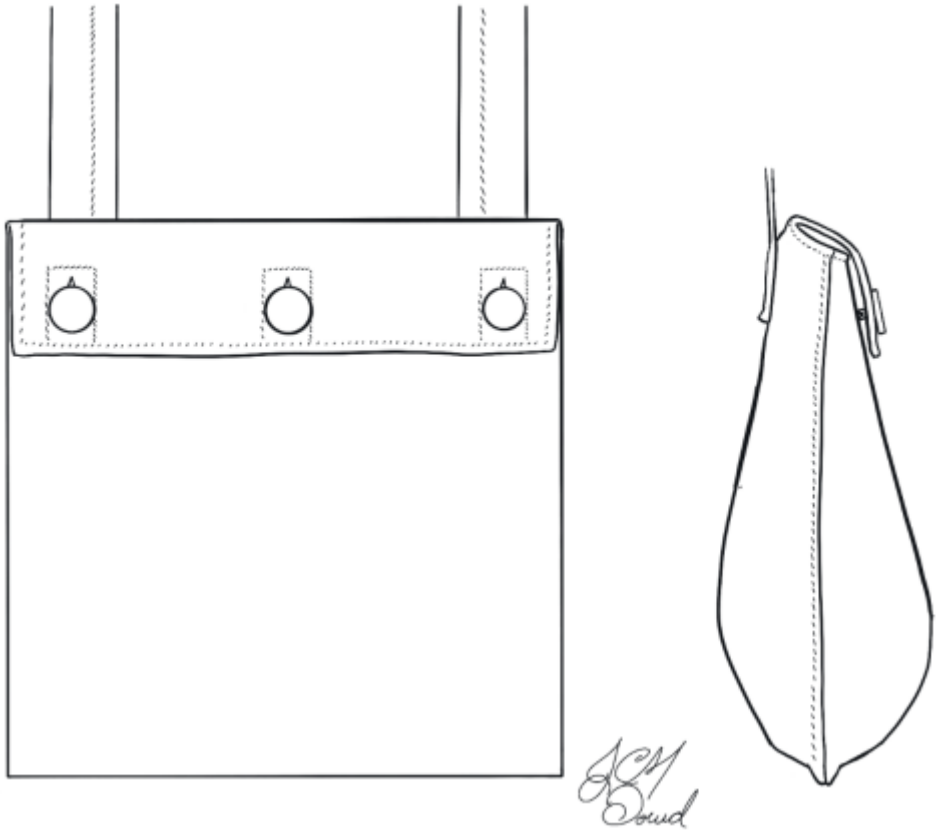
Common style of militia knapsack ca. 1812
(Illustration by the author)

Haversacks and Canteens

Documentation for the use of haversacks by the regular army and militia during the War of 1812 is limited. Haversacks were small to medium sized rectangular bags made from linen or hemp and worn over the shoulder. The bag usually closed with three large buttons. Some period sources refer to them as "bread bags" since their sole purpose was to carry a soldier's field rations while on campaign. During the War of 1812 the haversack was not a standard use item for soldiers. In the regular army, haversacks were typically issued out only when a company or regiment was going on the march and a soldier was expected to carry three days' ration. Haversacks were produced by the federal government at this time. In 1811, Purveyor of Public Store, Tench Coxe wrote to a contractor regarding the manufacture of haversacks saying:

> "The haversack to be made out of two pieces of Russia Sheeting to be as wide as ⅓ of the Breadth of the Sheeting, the depth to be 13 inches clear of the flap when made, the flap to be 3 inches deep, when made"[76]

Coxe noted that the width of the sheeting was 40 ½ inches wide, giving a width of 13 inches. It is plausible to assume that haversacks made for the militia would have followed the same design.



U.S. Army haversack following Coxe's specifications
(Illustration by the author)

Canteens used by Ohio volunteers would have been made from either wood or tin and worn over the shoulder by means of a leather strap. Wooden canteens were built with staves like a barrel, or a in a fashion known as "cheesebox" style. The cheesebox canteen is so named because it was built using thin, circular pieces of wood held in place with a thin wooden hoop, giving it the appearance of a wooden cheesebox. Recalling the recollections by Samuel Williams of Captain Brush's Company: "On the same[right] side hung a tin canteen, holding about a quart, suspended to a small leather strap over the right shoulder"[77] Most tin canteens of the period were made from three pieces: a top and bottom shaped like a crescent and rectangular piece shaped around them forming the sides. A small spout was applied to the center top, sealed with a wooden cork. When worn, the concaved side faced the body, so the canteen sat closer and more comfortably. Little documentation exists for the production of new tin canteens by the federal government prior to and during the war. However, examples of this style have been recovered from War of 1812 sites within Ohio, notably Fort Meigs in Wood County. Additionally, invoices of stores shipped from Fort Fayette (Pittsburgh) to the Northwestern Army include large quantities of tin canteens.[78] It is possible that these tin canteens may have been surplus stores from the late 18th Century.

Limited study of the War of 1812 by past historians paired with the difficulty in researching the material culture of the period has left many gaps in our comprehension of the uniforms and equipment of not only the Ohio militia, but of all U.S. forces during the War of 1812. However, the attention it has received by academics in recent years has increased our understanding of this subject exponentially. The contributions made by members of the academic and public history

fields cannot be understated. In addition to the contributions made by this recent increase in scholarship, a group of equally dedicated amateur historians have also contributed greatly to our understanding of material culture of the War of 1812: historical reenactors and living historians. For them, the desire to accurately represent the people of the past often makes living historians the driving force behind researching the material culture of the past down to the most minute detail. These amateur historians, often with no formal education or credentials, uncover invaluable information into subjects often overlooked by those in academia. Material composition and production, construction methods, and practical use of historic items by those who possessed them are just a few of the contributions to our understanding of the past by living history researchers. This increase in research has led to considerable improvements in the quality and authenticity of reproduction clothing and equipment produced and used by living historians in recent years as well as an overall increase in the authenticity standards held throughout the living history and reenacting community. Research into the material culture of the War of 1812 not only benefits living historians but also those in the field of public history. Historic sites often rely on visual representations of the past. Whether that is through the use of historic structures, living history interpreters, or museum exhibits. The addition of suspender buttons on the waist seam of a pair of 1812 era pantaloons may not be critical in understanding the campaigns of 1812-13, but it is for a battlefield interpreter expected to wear them when conducting a musket-firing demonstration and program about soldiers of the Northwestern Army for visitors. Similarly, a public historian designing a new museum exhibit on 1812 militia forces will need to know what fabric should be used for a reproduction hunting shirt on a mannequin representing a militiaman from Ohio versus one from Kentucky or Tennessee.

It is easy to overlook the importance of such microhistories in the overall context of history. Historians, both professional and amateur, who focus on such topics are often questioned as to why dedicate their time and effort to such small and seemingly ineffectual subjects. Napoleon famously said that an army marches on its stomach. While this is metaphorically true, an army literally marches on its shoes, wears clothes to stay warm and dry, and needs equipment to survive on the march. This is where the small details can affect the outcome of history. Perhaps the militia at the battles of the River Raisin would have performed better if they were dressed in warm woolen coats instead of linen hunting shirts in the middle of January. Perhaps the Ohio militia would have been better prepared for war if unit organization was simpler and musters weren't held during planting and harvest season. Maybe more Ohioans would have volunteered for federal service if provided with complete uniforms and quality arms. Despite the challenges in organizing, arming, and supplying Ohio's militia, when war came to the buckeye state, its citizens answered in defense of their homes. It is true that the Ohio militia lacks the luster granted to the reputations of other state troops in the War of 1812, but it exhibited resourcefulness and adaptability in the common defense of their home state despite chronic problems in organization and supply. Considering the obstacles, the Ohio militia's contribution to the war effort is impressive for what it had at its disposal. The ununiformed, undersupplied, and ill-equipped buckeye volunteers of 1812-1814 deserve the attention and further study of modern American history. This study of Ohio's frontier militiamen shows the practical and uniquely American dress adopted by citizen soldiers throughout the nation's formative years. Uniquely American in its style and practicality, this frontier dress of a hunting shirt, rifle, waistbelt and tomahawk became the uniform of choice for frontier militia throughout the nation's early years and has become synonymous with the collective image of early America. Those who know nothing about the material culture and dress of the period can be shown a man dressed in a hunting shirt, clutching a longrifle, and instantly recognize him as the frontiersman.

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[52] 0.69 caliber is approximately 14-guage by modern measurements.
[53] Musket balls eighteen part to the pounds equals a caliber of 0.637, not 0.69 However, it was common practice for militaries to issue slightly undersized balls to account for both deviation in barrel size and allow loading when the musket has been heavily fowled from previous use.
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Resolved by the National Committee and Council: Marriage Laws of the Cherokee Nation
by Mackenzie Kaverman

This article focuses on the marriage laws set by the Cherokee Nation and Chiefs from 1808-1825 and the Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation from 1839-1851.[i] The essay argues that there was a gradual loss of female power due to European values because Cherokee had to deal with European conceptions of race and property. The interaction of the Cherokee and Americans gradually affected matrilineal customs were gradually replaced by patriarchal laws due to these interactions.The Cherokee National Committee and Council subsumed women's power because of the need to protect and continue the patrilineal ethnic identity after Indian Removal. This essay stays within the first half of the nineteenth century. The laws are specifically from the years 1819, 1824, 1825, 1839, 1843, and 1846. There are several years that the Cherokee National Council did not feel the need to update or create marriage laws.

The frameworks used are matrilineal customs versus patrilineal laws and the conception of property and race. The essay looks at how women are affected by the marriage laws and how the laws legalize who women can marry. Matrilinity is an important framework because of how Cherokee society was configured. The roles of women and their power through matrilinity and the subsequent lessening of that power shows through marriage laws. The essay also examines how some of the laws protected the property of women by continuing the matrilineal inheritance and ownership of property by women. Europeans and Americans had different conceptions of who could, and could not own property, which slowly affected the Cherokee. They were also encroaching on Cherokee land and trying to transfer their beliefs to the Cherokee. The last section of this essay examines how race and the idea of racial purity affected the laws and who were citizens. These laws were written before the Civil War and there were Cherokees that held slaves. There was belief of inferiority of blacks and a legal and racial equality to whites.[ii] There were Cherokee who were black, but they had been adopted into the clans and were therefore Cherokee first.[iii] This paper is organized chronologically so that the difference between the preremoval and post-removal laws is more obvious.

Fay Yarbrough's "Legislating Women's Sexuality: Cherokee Marriage Laws in the Nineteenth Century" is the article I use the most in my paper for the understanding of how marriage laws affected the citizenship of people and the legalization of who women could marry. She ultimately argues that marriage laws were used to redefine racially who was Cherokee. Yarbrough focuses on slavery and how it affected the idea of racial purity and what makes a person Cherokee. John Phillip Reid's *Law of Blood* gives an excellent explanation of Cherokee customs from before the nineteenth century. I use him as a foil to what was happening in the nineteenth century. He is able to explain marriage, property, and inheritance through matrilinity and gender. He emphasizes the contrast between Cherokee women and European women in their rights of property ownership, divorce, and who they chose to marry. Reid also explains the clan system and how it was matrilineal and its role. Like Yarbrough he focuses on laws, however, they are not the same kind of laws. The Cherokee laws before the nineteenth century were not codified and depended on social controls and social harmony. Yarbrough focuses on the codified laws assed by the Cherokee National Committee and Council. Theda Perdue's *Cherokee Women Gender and Culture Change 1700-1835* looks at the power of women and the cultural persistence of the Cherokee women. She covers a wide range of history through a gendered lens and focuses on how women were a part of society and what their roles were. Perdue explains the cultural changes due to colonialism that affected Cherokee women. Perdue does not focus on laws, but on the social change happening to the culture of the Cherokee. She writes about the transformation of some social laws.

Perdue's *"Mixed Blood" Indians Racial Construction in the Early South* is about the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' conception of race and mixed race Indians. Unlike Yarbrough and Circe Sturm, Perdue doe not focus on Afro-Cherokee. Perdue is more focused on white-Cherokee mixed Indians rather than Afro-Cherokee mixed Indians. She uses a racial lens and how matrilinity affected the ethnic make-up of Cherokee. This is a good contrast to "Blood Politics, Racial Classification, and Cherokee National Identity: The Trials and Tribulations of the Cherokee Freedmen" by Circe Sturm. This article's time period ranges from after the Civil War to the late twentieth century. Sturm focuses on the transformation of slaves, that were held by Cherokee, to Cherokee. She focuses on the concept of blood purity and the treatment of Afro-Cherokee after the Civil War. This is outside of the time period I focus on, however, the concept of identity and race can be traced back to the marriage laws in the nineteenth century and how they affected the construction of race and identity and exacerbated racial issues. It shows how these concepts permeated the Cherokee tribe. Like Yarbrough, Sturm writes about several acts passed concerning slavery and the freed slaves' nationality. She also writes about acts that the U.S. government passed that affected the Cherokee and the census rolls to prove Cherokee blood.

There were two major events happening around the same time as the marriage laws that could have affected why and how the Council wrote the laws. In 1830, the Indian Removal Act was signed. This act moved Native tribes from their land in the East to less valuable land in the West.[iv] The Cherokee fought this in 1831 with the Supreme Court case *Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia* and they won the right to stay on their land because they were a sovereign nation and could not be affected by laws of the United States government. Another court case, *Worcester v. Georgia* also found that Georgia state law could not be employed in Cherokee territory. Georgia ended up ignoring both of these cases and continued to enforce state laws. In 1838 to 1839, the forced removal of the Cherokee, known as the Trail of Tears, killed about four thousand Cherokee out of the fourteen thousand that marched to Oklahoma.[v] After the Trail of Tears, there is an increase in the marriage laws and more emphasis placed on race and property.

The Cherokee tribe was matrilineal. The tribe was divided into clans and these clans followed the mother. For example, when a man married a woman, their children were a part of the mother's clan, not the father's clan. The mother was the source of the children's Cherokee blood. It did not matter whether the father was Cherokee, a member of a different native tribe, White, or Black. If the mother was Cherokee then the child was Cherokee. If a Cherokee man had children with a woman of a different tribe, white woman, or black woman, then the children were not Cherokee and were whatever race their mother was. Women were also the ones to decide about a person's adoption into their clan and therefore the Cherokee. If a clan accepted an adoptee then they became Cherokee regardless of their race. Cherokee women were the only people able to produce more Cherokee.[vi] Women were in charge of agriculture and children. They had the last and only say in matters concerning their children. Fathers of the children had no authority over their children. Children's maternal uncles were their primary male authority figures rather than their own fathers because children and fathers were not a part of the same clan.[vii]

In a matrilineal society, women were also able to own and inherit property. If a man died then his personal goods would be inherited by his family in his mother's clan, not his children. If a woman died, then her children would inherit her property, not her husband. Children would also be raised by the mother's clan in the event of death. Matrilinity allowed for women to have an important place in the Cherokee tribe. They were the creators of new Cherokee, made decisions for the family, and could own and inherit property.

Originally, towns were run by councils comprised of members from different clans. Cherokee women had their own council, which an elder would be a part of after being chosen from each clan. These women held power and were able to communicate any concerns with the male councils. The councils were not a coercive, dominant, institutionalized police force, they used traditional procedures to maintain social harmony and avoid social discord. The clan relationships were the driving force behind practicing Cherokee laws. Their laws were social controls and not what we would consider to be a law today. As the American government interacted with the Cherokee, they found that they needed a unified government. The Red and White Councils became a centralized government based on the U.S. government and its production of laws and legal documents. The first law was passed in 1808, however, the constitution was not created and passed until 1827.[viii]

The Cherokee followed marriage customs before the early 1800s. Prior to the nineteenth century, the Cherokee did not have a codified law system, police force, or judicial system. They did not have marriage laws until the Cherokee Nation and Chiefs started to create laws in the early 1800s. Marriage was not the same as European marriage. There were no dowries, betrothal, compulsion to marry from parents or other family, and it was not a contract between two people. Women remained part of their own clans and did not join their husband's clan. Their children belonged to the mother's clan. Marriage customs before the nineteenth century included no dowries, only the woman marrying could consent to the marriage, and marrying outside of one's own clan and father's clan.[ix]

There were four marriage laws written by the Cherokee Nation before Indian Removal. The first marriage law written by the Cherokee Nation's National Committee and Chiefs was on November 2, 1819. There were several points in this law. It required white men to legally marry a Cherokee woman and obtain a marriage license from the Cherokee nation, white men could only become citizens of the Cherokee nation through marriage. It also prevented these men from taking control of their wive's property and leaving their wives for no reason.[x] This law focuses on the legality of with men marrying Cherokee women and protecting the property of the Cherokee women. There was a fear, not unfounded, of white men marrying Cherokee women in order to gain access to and control over Cherokee land.[xi] It also controls the entry of white men into the Cherokee nation. Since women were the only people able at this time to make new citizens and the only ones mentioned in this law, it is implied that Cherokee men could not offer citizenship to their white wives. This law is different from the marriage customs because women were originally able to marry whoever they wanted and there was no need to gain permission from the Cherokee National Council because it did not exist at that time. Now the National Council is regulating the marriages of Cherokee women. The regulation of the marriages of Cherokee men are never mentioned in this law.

The next law passed on November 11th 1824, was more racial in nature and mentions corporal punishment. This law prevented intermarriage between slaves and any other race.[xii] It is the first law regulating marriage by preventing marriage with 'negroes." The law does specify that these are negro slaves that cannot marry whites or Indians, so it does allow for black freedmen to marry whites and Indians. There is some contention with this view from Yarbrough because "The censuses of 1809 and 1835 listed only one racial category of slaves: "black slaves." Free blacks did not appear on the census, but "mixed negroes" did."[xiii] This does show the possibility of Afro-Cherokee and of slaves with a Cherokee father. If they had a Cherokee mother, then they would have been considered Cherokee and the clans would have fought for that child. It was not unheard of for a clan to have a member of African descent, although, they were normally the product of adoption of an African person into the clan.[xiv] The Cherokee did not originally consider race to be the defining qualification to be Cherokee, but of their integration into the Cherokee nation as their basis for ethnic identity.

On November 10th, 1825, the Cherokee nation passed a third marriage law. This law made children of Cherokee men and white women Cherokee citizens.[xv] This law allows Cherokee men to be able to create Cherokee children. This law is an early example of the transition from a matrilineal form of citizenship to a patrilineal form of citizenship. Cherokee women were originally the only people capable of creating Cherokee citizens whether by adoption or by reproduction. This law stripped Cherokee women's power of creating more Cherokee and gave that power to men. It makes them less necessary to the perpetuation of Cherokee society. Children who were white and Cherokee were fairly common, but for Cherokee women and white men.[xvi] These children were Cherokee because of their mother not their father. This law completely changed that. One exception to patrilineal citizenship was that men could not have Cherokee children with a black woman, only with a Cherokee or white women. This shows some of the racial prejudices that become more apparent as more Cherokee held slaves and as the civil unrest produced the Civil War.[xvii] However, Cherokee women could still have Cherokee children even if their father was black because matrilineal descent had not been completely transformed into patrilineal descent and the mother's blood had been traditionally more important.

The final law before the Trail of Tears was passed on November 10th, 1825 and it only concerned polygamy. This law said white men could not have more than one wife and then continues to say that no one may practice polygamy.[xviii] This shows a difference from prior marriage customs because it was fairly common for men to have more than one wife, and normally they were sisters which kept power within the women's clan.[xix] This law singles out white men at first, but it stipulates that there would be no future polyamorous marriages for any man. There was no stipulation for women because traditionally they did not have two husbands at a time, only one. If there was an issue of women having multiple husbands, then there would have been a law specifically preventing women from being in a polyamorous marriage. There was a concern of white men gaining access to more and more property through marriage. In general there seemed to be a concern about polygamy. This was possibly due to missionaries coming into Cherokee territory and their Christian belief of polygamy as a sin.

After the Trail of Tears, the Cherokee Nation created the Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation. This document spans from 1839 to 1851. There are four laws specifically about marriage. They have changed from property and the legality of marriage to be more about racial purity and citizenship. The first of these laws was passed four months after the Trail of Tears on September 19th, 1839. This law was called An Act to Prevent Amalgamation with Colored Persons and stated that no one could marry any slave or person of color.[xx] This shows the racial prejudices the Cherokee had developed. Unlike the law in 1824, this law now specifies that no colored person may marry a Cherokee. Like the 1824 law, however, this law includes corporal punishment which the other two laws concerning marriage before 1839 did not include. The punishment of one hundred lashes for black men is of course harsher than the fifty lashes or less for anybody else. This could be because of the myth of the black rapist. Since Cherokee have started to equate whiteness with Cherokeeness, then the idea that a Cherokee woman, like a white woman, could never lower themselves to have sex with a black man so the woman must have been forced may have become prevalent in the Cherokee at this time. Granted this law is about marriage and not rape, but the fear of a black man becoming Cherokee or having a relationship with a Cherokee woman is quite clear in the punishment. There was an entire race closed off from marriage to Cherokees, whether they were male or female. Cherokee citizenship provided through marriage was no longer a possibility for people of color unless they were already considered Cherokee.

On September 28th 1839, An Act to legalize Intermarriage with White Men was passed. This law states that white men have to have a written marriage license to lawfully marry a Cherokee woman and become a citizen.[xxi] Here we see the direct opposite of the first marriage law passed in 1839. This one legalizes intermarriage between white men and Cherokee women. The first law passed pre-removal also covered the same issues. Cherokee women and white men who want to marry have to have permission by the Cherokee Nation in order to marry. This differs from marriage customs before the Cherokee Nation wrote the legal codes. Then women could marry whoever they wanted to and nobody could say otherwise. In the post-removal law, there is no mention of women's property. Women's ownership of property was a large part of matrilinity in Cherokee society. The prior marriage laws protected matrilinity through property, this protection is absent in an Act to legalize Intermarriage with White Men. Cherokee values are being subsumed by the European and American values and beliefs about women and their capability of owning property. What this law does protect women from is their husbands leaving them for no reason. Part of this law focuses on citizenship and deems it important enough to white men for them to not leave their wives. With citizenship, white men gained access to Cherokee land and any of her property. The legality and regulation of marriage is only focused on white men and Cherokee women. There is no mention of Cherokee men having to obtain a marriage license to marry a Cherokee or white woman. Due to the outlawing of marriage between colored people and Cherokee in An Act to Prevent Amalgamation with Colored Persons, there is no mention of colored people in An Act to legalize Intermarriage with White Men. Colored people had already been prevented citizenship, so the only people the Cherokee had to worry about taking advantage of Cherokee citizenship was white men.

On November 10th, 1843, there was an additional act named An Act to legalize Intermarriage with White Men. This law was much longer than the original 1839 version and has five subsections. My focus will be on the first section which states white men have obtain a marriage license from the Cherokee nation in order to marry a Cherokee woman.[xxii] This section of the law focuses on how white men can receive citizenship through marrying a Cherokee woman. This law was passed four years after the first Act to legalize Marriage to White men. It is very similar to the first law, but there is more emphasis placed on what it means to be a citizen of the Cherokee nation and renouncing American citizenship for Cherokee citizenship. The interesting point of these two laws is that it only legalizes marriage to white men, not white women. This law also does not call for Cherokee men to obtain a marriage license to marry a white woman. While an earlier law in 1825 allowed for the children of Cherokee men and white women to be citizens, it did not stipulate that white women were now citizens of the Cherokee nation. The emphasis on citizenship shows how important it has become for the Cherokee National Council to regulate who can be called Cherokee. They have already stopped the citizenship of blacks and now they are more vigorously regulating how white men can become Cherokee. Cherokee men, Cherokee women, white men married to Cherokee women, and their children constituted the basis for Cherokeeness.

On November 10th, 1846, the National Council wrote An Act to amend an act to intermarriages with Whitemen. This law is the final law concerning marriage that was passed by the National Council in the first half of the nineteenth century. It concerns the citizenship of surviving widows and widowers and details what allows them to continue or lose their Cherokee citizenship.[xxiii] This is the first marriage law that mentions white women gaining citizenship through marriage to a Cherokee man. Cherokee men can now make white women Cherokee which was something through matrilinity in the clans that only women could do through adoption. This is a major shift from matrilineal customs to patrilineal laws. Through this law men have the ability

to give not only their children, but their wives citizenship, which was originally under the purview of women. Allowing widows and widowers to remain Cherokee citizens gives them access to their deceased spouse's property. Since they are considered Cherokee then the property remains within the Cherokee nation. If they remarried a white person then they would lose their Cherokee citizenship. White men and women are unable to give citizenship to white spouses because they were not Cherokee by blood. Their children could give citizenship to a white spouse, but a white citizen of the Cherokee nation is unable to give citizenship.

The four laws from the Laws of The Cherokee Nation & C. 1808-1825 are primarily concerned with property and citizenship. Matrilinity played a large role in both of these concepts because they direct played into women's spheres of influence, agriculture and children. Women were the ones who did the farming and they were in control of the land. It was communal land, but as long as no one else laid claim to it then it could be farmed.[xxiv] There was also private property which husbands could own, but they were not entitled to their wive's property. As the Cherokee took on more American values, they placed more importance in personal property.[xxv] For example, the Cherokee did have slavery, however, they did not consider people to be property. The American concept of slavery became the Cherokee concept of slavery.[xxvi] Slaves were now property and property cannot marry because that is a right given to free people. The 1824 slave marriage law was a way to exert more power over property and black people.

The four laws from The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, 1839–51 are primarily concerned with citizenship and race. Only one of these laws actually mentions black people, but since it refuses them the ability to legally marry, they do not become a part of the language in the later laws. With the exclusion of blacks in future generations, the only people who could contribute to the Cherokee population were whites and natives. The marriage laws specify who could gain citizenship and who could give citizenship to people. The legality of marriage was the way the National Council controlled women's sexuality.

These laws show the evolution of patriarchal laws taking the place of matrilineal customs. Women lost the power of citizenship through reproduction and adoption. They were limited by race in who they could marry. The National Council became a part of the marriage process due to the legalization of marriage. They had the ability to regulate who women marry through marriage laws. The protection of property and keeping it within the Cherokee nation was a goal of several of these laws. The loss of matrilineal customs affected how property was viewed and how race was viewed. The idea of Cherokeeness being defined by race was changed from the belief that race did not matter, just the acceptance into a clan.

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Yarbrough, Fay. "Legislating Women's Sexuality: Cherokee Marriage Laws in the Nineteenth Century." Journal of Social History 38, no. 2, January 2004

[i] When I name and summarize these laws, I use the spelling and capitalization used in the documents. For example, in some laws white men is two words and in others it is one. Their punctuation and grammar is also taken directly from the document. When I write about the laws, there is a brief summary and the actual law can then be found in the footnotes if you would like to read the actual language to better understand the law. The first four laws I analyze do not have names, therefore, I refer to them by their year or what the law affects. The last four laws I analyze do have names and I refer to them by their titles.

[ii] Yarbrough, Fay. "Legislating Women's Sexuality: Cherokee Marriage Laws in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 2, January 2004, 390.

[iii] Perdue, Theda. "Clan and Court: Another Look at the Early Cherokee Republic." *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 2000, 563.

[iv] For more information on the Indian Removal Act, Patterson , Sara. Indian Removal Act (1830)." Encyclopedia.com. Encyclopedia.com, November 3, 2019. https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/unitedstates-and-canada/north-american-indigenous-peoples/indian-removal-act. There are multiple articles summarizing the Indian Removal Act and the key players.

[v] For more information on the Trail of Tears, Wing, Jennifer M. "Trail of Tears." encyclopedia.com. encyclopedia.com, November 12, 2019. https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/politicalscience-and-government/military-affairs-nonnaval/trail-tears-national-historic-trail There are multiple articles summarizing the Trail of Tears and its key players.

[vi] Yarbrough, Fay. "Legislating Women's Sexuality: Cherokee Marriage Laws in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 2 (January 2004): 386-388. For more information on Clans look at Reid, John Phillip. "A Family Writ Large: The Clans" in *A Law of Blood The Primitive Law of The Cherokee Nation*. New York, New York University Press, 1970, 35-48. He also goes into detail about how while it was against clan law for children to marry into their mother's or father's clan, they could marry into their mother's father's clan or father's father's clan because the children's mother and father would not have been a part of those clans and neither would their children.

[vii] Driskill, Qwo-li. "UNWEAVING THE BASKET: Missionaries, Slavery, and the Regulation of Gender and Sexuality" in *Asegi Stories Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory*, University of Arizona Press, 2016, 105.

[viii] Driskill, 104, 125. and Reid, 58, 231, 233, 234.

[ix] The Cherokee Perspective "The Cherokees—Then and Now, *Appalachian State University*, 13-14.

[x] New Town, Cherokee Nation, Nov. 2, 1819. Resolved by the National Committee and Council, That any white man who shall hereafter take a Cherokee woman to wife be required to marry her legally by a minister of the gospel or other authorized person after procuring license from the national clerk for that purpose, before he shall be entitled and admitted to the privilege of citizenship, and in order to avoid imposition on the part of any white man, Resolved, That any white man who shall marry a Cherokee woman, the property of the woman so married, shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband, contrary to hereon sent, and any white man so married and parting from his wife without just provocation, shall forfeit and pay to his wife such sum or sums, as may be adjudged to her by the National Committee and Council for said breach of marriage, and be deprived of citizenship, and it is also resolved, that it shall not be lawful for any white man to have more than one wife, and it is also recommended that all others should also have but one wife hereafter. By order of the National Committee. JNO. ROSS, Pres't. N. Com Cherokee Nation, Laws of The Cherokee Nation & C. 1808-1825, 10-11.

[xi] Yarbrough, 388

[xii] Resolved by the National Committee and Council, That intermarriages between negro slaves and indians, or whites, shall not be lawful, and any person or persons, permitting and approbating his, her or their negro slaves, to intermarry with indians or whites, he, she or they, so offending, shall pay a fine of fifty dollars, one half for the benefit of the prosecutor and the other half for the benefit of the Cherokee nation; and Best further resolved, That any male indian or white man, marrying a negro woman slave, he or they, shall be punished with thirty-nine stripes on the bare back, and any indian or white woman, marrying a negro man slave, shall be punished with twenty five stripes on her or their bare back. By order. JNO. ROSS, Pres't. N. Com Cherokee Nation, Laws of The Cherokee Nation & C. 1808-1825, 38-39

[xiii] Yarbrough, 389

[xiv] Perdue, Theda. "Clan and Court: Another Look at the Early Cherokee Republic." *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 2000. A white man killed his Cherokee wife and offered her clan a slave girl named Molly to replace her. They accepted and adopted her into their clan where she became Chickaw. She was considered to be Cherokee and she married and had children who were also considered Cherokee because of her adoption and identity of Cherokee. Perdue also briefly mentions Chickaw in "*Mixed Blood" Indians Racial Construction in the Early South.*

[xv] Resolved by the National Committee and Council, That the children of Cherokee men and white women, living in the Cherokee nation as man and wife, be, and they are, hereby acknowledged, to be equally entitled to all the immunities and privileges enjoyed by the citizens descending from the Cherokee race, by the mother's side. JNO. ROSS, Pres't. N. Cora. Laws of The Cherokee Nation & C. 1808-1825, 57.

[xvi] Perdue, Theda. *"Mixed Blood" Indians Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens, The University of Georgia Press, 2003, 31.

[xvii] Yarbrough, 390.

[xviii] Resolved by the National Committee and Council, That the section embraced in the law regulating marriages between white men and Cherokee women, and making it unlawful for white men to have more than one wife, and recommending all others, also, to' have but one wife, be, and the same is, hereby amended, so that it shall not be lawful hereafter, for any person or persons whatsoever, to have more than one wife. JNO. ROSS, Pres't N. Com Cherokee Nation, Laws of The Cherokee Nation & C. 1808-1825, 58.

[xix] Driskill, Qwo-li."UNWEAVING THE BASKET: Missionaries, Slavery, and the Regulation of Gender and Sexuality" in *Asegi Stories Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory*, University of Arizona Press, 2016. 105.

[xx] Be it enacted by the National Council, That intermarriage shall not be lawful between a free male or female citizen with any slave or person of color not entitled to the rights of citizenship under the laws of this Nation, and the same is hereby prohibited, under the penalty of such corporeal punishment as the courts may deem it necessary and proper to inflict, and which shall not exceed fifty stripes for every such offence;— but any colored male who may be convicted under this act shall receive one hundred lashes. Talequah, Sept. 19th, 1839. Approved—JOHN ROSS. Cherokee Nation, The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, 1839–51 (Tahlequah: Cherokee Nation, 1852), 19

[xxi] Be it enacted by the National Council, That from and after the passage of this act, any white man, or citizen of the United States, who may come into this Nation and take a Cherokee woman to wife, he shall first be required to obtain a written license for that purpose from the Clerk of either the Circuit or District Court, and then be lawfully married by some minister of the gospel, or other authorized person; and the Judges of any of the courts shall be authorized to perform the marriage ceremony. And any such white man, or citizen of the United States, who shall refuse or fail to comply with the provisions of this act, and take up with a Cherokee woman, or any such person who may lawfully marry and then abandon his wife, shall not be entitled to any of the rights and privilege of a citizen of this Nation, and shall be liable to the provisions of the Intercourse Laws of the United States. Any person so obtaining a license shall pay the Clerk five dollars; and the said Clerk shall register all such licenses, and the person performing the marriage ceremony shall certify the same on the license, which shall be returned to the Clerk, and who shall recon* the same. And if such person or citizen as aforesaid, should come into the Nation and marry, and the fact should afterwards be established that he left a wife elsewhere, he shall be subject to removal as an intruder. Tahlequah, Sept. 28tk, 1839. Approved—JOHN ROSP. Cherokee Nation, The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, 1839–51 (Tahlequah: Cherokee Nation, 1852), 32

[xxii] WHEREAS, the peace and prosperity of the Cherokee people require that in the enforcement of the laws, jurisdiction should be exercised over all persons whatever, who may from time to time be privileged to reside within the territorial limits of this Nation, therefore Be it enacted by the National Council, That any white man, or citizen of the United States, who may hereafter come into the country to marry a Cherokee woman, shall first be required to make known his intention to the National Council by applying for a license, and such license may, under the authority of the National Council, be issued by the Clerk of the National Committee. Any person so obtaining a license shall freely alienate himself from the protection of all other governments, and support the Constitution, and abide by the laws of the Cherokee Nation. Which oath may be administered by the President of the National Committee, or the Clerk of that body, authorized for that purpose, and it shall be the duty of the Clerks to record the same on the journals of the National Committee and Council. But if any such white man, or citizen of the United States, shall refer to subscribe to the oath herein required, he shall not be entitled to the rights of citizenship, and shall forthwith he removed without the limits of the Nation as an intruder. Approved—JNO. ROSS. Tahlequah Nov. 10th, 1843. Cherokee Nation, The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, 1839–51 (Tahlequah: Cherokee Nation, 1852), 92-93

[xxiii] Be it enacted by the National Council, That the act passed 15th of November, 1843, relative to intermarriages, be and the same is hereby so amended; that should any white man or woman become a citizen, or citizens of the Cherokee Nation by marriage, and such Cherokee woman or man (as the case may be) should die, the surviving widower, or widow shall continue to enjoy Cherokee privileges—unless such widower or widow shall marry a white man or woman (as the case may be) then in that case all their right to Cherokee citizenship shall cease, this act to take effect from and after its passage. Tahlequah, Nov. Itith, 1840. Approved—JNO. ROSS. Cherokee Nation, The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, 1839–51 (Tahlequah: Cherokee Nation, 1852), 142.

[xxiv] Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1998, 119.

[xxv] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 132.

[xxvi] Driskill, Qwo-li. UNWEAVING THE BASKET", 110, 113.

Contributors

Riley Davis Peterson previously studied Biology and worked as an Environmental Health Scientist before deciding to return to graduate school. He will graduate in May 2025 with a dual MA in German and History from BGSU. His interests include German Religious history and its intersections with the history of medicine and science.

Joseph Colin Michael Dowd has long been fascinated with early American material culture and the trades that supported it and shares this passion today as a professional interpreter with the National Park Service. His interest in the material culture of the 18th and 19th Century goes beyond research. Dowd practices historic tailoring, leatherworking, shoemaking, and horning with his reproductions being used by living historians, museums, and historic sites throughout the country. Dowd studied history and environmental science at the University of Toledo and has been with the National Park Service in multiple capacities since 2018, currently serving as Lead Park Guide at River Raisin National Battlefield Park in Monroe, Michigan.

Mackenzie Kaverman graduated in 2021 with an MA in Japanese history from the University of Toledo. She currently lives in Japan and teaches English. She is interested in women's history and the legality and traditions surrounding marriage.

History Preserved: The Schauffler College Archives

The Schauffler College of Religious and Social Work was founded by Henry A. Schauffler (1837-1905) on Jan 23, 1886 as a women's college serving the immigrant populations of Cleveland, Ohio. The student body was diverse, and the women who attended received a rare opportunity for education and career advancement. The history of these women and this unique institution lies within the archives held in the Pilgrim Library at Defiance College. In the summer of 2024 Dr. Kate Davis secured internal funding and support for the first non-STEM summer research project at Defiance College, wherein she worked with student researchers to begin digitizing the thousands of files and artifacts in the Schauffler College Archives. During this initial six-week project, her research team was able to digitize over a thousand items from the collection. This was the first project of its kind at Defiance College and through it Dr. Davis and her research team uncovered the stories of women from around the world such as Mrs. Asayne Sato who attended the college from 1908-1909 before returning to Japan to work in diplomatic relations, or Ms. Annette Goltscher who graduated in 1925, spoke eight languages, and became one of the first policewomen in Cleveland. Dr. Davis and her research team received funding through The Council for Independent Colleges and the Humanities Research for the Public Good Grant and continued the project in the Spring of 2025. They digitized additional Schauffler College documents such as pamphlets, financial records, and faculty meeting minutes. Additionally, a set of about 665 glass lantern slides depicting Schauffler's work with immigrants was partially digitized. The slides are particularly valuable to scholars as they depict the college's involvement with marginalized groups and provide a visual connection to its history. Students worked closely with faculty in a mentored environment, learning to safely handle, digitize, and catalog archival materials. This valuable training and research experience has been immeasurably positive. Students were able to learn not only about the archival process but also conducted research regarding Schauffler College's work with students, which had a positive impact on them as well. Opportunities for students to work closely with faculty for research is extremely important and has a great impact on their futures. Recognizing this, Defiance College has attempted to add more of these types of opportunities within the Humanities. The CIC HRPG Grant allowed the institution to expand these opportunities for students and has enabled them to succeed and make lasting contributions to the preservation of the Schauffler College Archives and Defiance College's history.

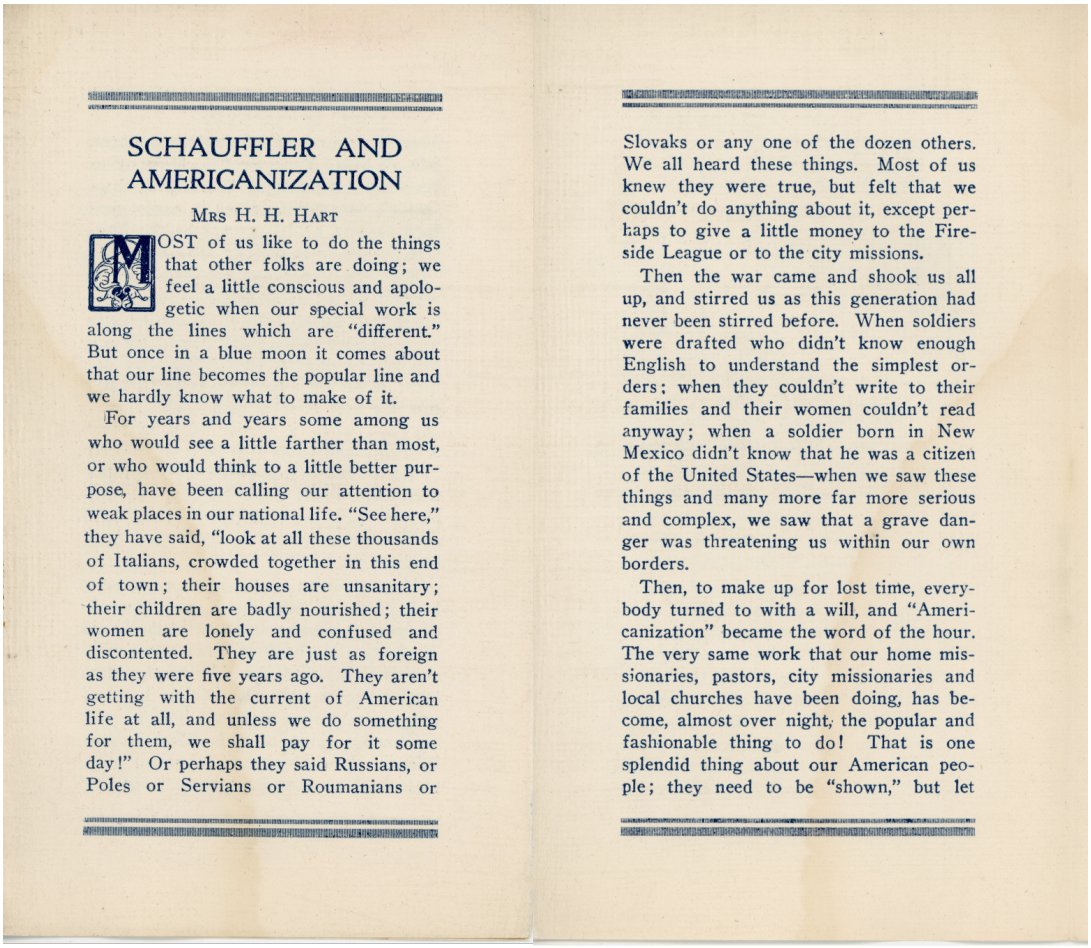
This project is of great significance for multiple academic fields as well as for lay scholars or those interested in public history or genealogy. The archive contains valuable context for understanding the history of higher education in Ohio, the immigrant experience in America, and the challenges, and successes, of American women in the 19th and 20th centuries. The College has received inquiries about the Schauffler College Archives and the associated materials from scholars and researchers. These materials have been made available for use on Defiance College's section of the Ohio Memory Project

https://ohiomemory.org/digital/collection/p16007coll127.

Herein lies a small portion of Defiance College's archiving initiative, a tract entitled "Schauffler and Americanization." Authored in 1923 by H.H. Hart, principle of Schauffler College, it is a work of social commentary on the immigration-related beliefs sweeping the country and provides a unique lens on social- religious services. In her work, Hart suggests that Eastern-European immigrants

should assimilate through a process of "Christian Americanization" and posits that Schauffler College graduates were uniquely equipped to carry out this mission given their cultural and religious diversity. She envisioned that the reach of Schauffler College would extend well-beyond the United States, as her commentary on the causes of the Great War as a push-factor for immigration and its far-reaching economic impact positioned graduates to address international issues of immigration, assimilation, and economic uncertainty. This piece provides historical context for assimilationist tendencies and the role of private social- religious services in addressing the needs of immigrants.

Kate Davis, Ph.D.
Krieger Scholar in Religious Studies
Defiance College



SCHAUFFLER AND AMERICANIZATION

MRS H. H. HART

MOST of us like to do the things that other folks are doing; we feel a little conscious and apologetic when our special work is along the lines which are "different." But once in a blue moon it comes about that our line becomes the popular line and we hardly know what to make of it.

For years and years some among us who would see a little farther than most, or who would think to a little better purpose, have been calling our attention to weak places in our national life. "See here," they have said, "look at all these thousands of Italians, crowded together in this end of town; their houses are unsanitary; their children are badly nourished; their women are lonely and confused and discontented. They are just as foreign as they were five years ago. They aren't getting with the current of American life at all, and unless we do something for them, we shall pay for it some day!" Or perhaps they said Russians, or Poles or Servians or Roumanians or Slovaks or any one of the dozen others. We all heard these things. Most of us knew they were true, but felt that we couldn't do anything about it, except perhaps to give a little money to the Fireside League or to the city missions.

Then the war came and shook us all up, and stirred us as this generation had never been stirred before. When soldiers were drafted who didn't know enough English to understand the simplest orders; when they couldn't write to their families and their women couldn't read anyway; when a soldier born in New Mexico didn't know that he was a citizen of the United States—when we saw these things and many more far more serious and complex, we saw that a grave danger was threatening us within our own borders.

Then, to make up for lost time, everybody turned to with a will, and "Americanization" became the word of the hour. The very same work that our home missionaries, pastors, city missionaries and local churches have been doing, has become, almost over night, the popular and fashionable thing to do! That is one splendid thing about our American people; they need to be "shown," but let

them once be convinced that a thing needs to be done, and they go at it with energy. The best part of it is that one hears more and more frequently the words "Christian Americanization." The Americanization that leads to a decent standard of living, a better job, a working knowledge of English and American institutions, is all right, but it doesn't go far enough. The principles embodied in the Christian religion—knowledge of fundamental truth—must be woven with the very warp and woof of our national life.

Here we see justified the wisdom and vision of the man who founded Schauffler. He might have established a social settlement; but instead he established a training school for Christian leaders, who should learn how to make not only American citizens, but citizens of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The work done by the Schauffler graduates is Americanization work in its simplest and yet its truest form. In their work the spiritual and practical go hand in hand. Our Master was always mindful of bodily needs, always ready to relieve embarrassment and sickness and trouble in the homes He entered. So today, lessons in cooking and sewing and nursing have their heavenly side. Any movement for the betterment of the weaker and more ignorant and backward, to bring about permanent results, must have a spiritual foundation.

We shall look to Schauffler more and more in the immediate future for leadership in this fundamental work. More students must be found who can take the training course and give themselves to this ministry. Their field is unlimited. Such work as theirs would be of unspeakable value in the countries abroad which have such problems of reconstruction to face. Perhaps within a few years we shall see young women from Poland and Bohemia and Belgium and Turkey and Serbia gathering under the Schauffler roof-tree, learning how to best help their own countrymen.

Since Schauffler is so perfectly adapted to the meeting of this particular need, it must be the wish of all her friends and supporters that she should make no changes in her methods or general character, except such as naturally take place in a progressive and present-minded school. And we must not become vain and puffed up because this line of work, hitherto so inconspicuous and unapplauded, has become the popular and impressive enterprise it is today. We must just apply ourselves with the utmost diligence to our established task, and grow in spirit to meet its needs.

The Worthington Project: A Work of Public History
by Allie Bevins

Societies have long commemorated significant social and cultural contributions by altering their spatial environments. As Peter Burke notes, this often takes the form of erecting commemorative structures, such as monuments and memorials, to those who embody the identity of a social group.[1] Cultural memory is a vital component of social identity as it informs the foundational fabric of a society and affects the built environment. The Worthington Project is an exemplary instance of social identity formation and its impact on commemorative spaces. Throughout its five-year tenure, memory stakeholders of the Defiance community and scholars at Defiance College researched little-known historic inhabitants of Defiance County, reshaping their sense of communal identity and commemorative spaces as a result. The Worthington Project began in 2020 with an inquiry into the history of local cemeteries by the Defiance Public Library. In partnership with the McMaster School of Defiance College, they began research on an unmarked African American cemetery, known as the Worthington Cemetery, in Ayersville, Ohio in 2021. The partners collaborated on an application for an Ohio Historical marker for the cemetery, as it was believed that the site richly contributed to the history and identity of the state. As a site relevant to local and national history, Worthington Cemetery was a unique location for a historical marker. Research relating to the genealogy of the Worthington family, historical significance and evolving use of the cemetery, and the African American experience during the Civil War Era was conducted to determine the historical significance of the cemetery. A historical narrative and statement of significance for use in the marker application process was crafted by Defiance College. Additionally, researchers from the University of Pennsylvania conducted several archeological surveys on the contemporary site of Worthington Cemetery, now a farm field, to determine if burial markers or human remains were extant. Data collected from their site surveys was used to support the marker application. The historical marker application was submitted in April 2023 and accepted July of the same year. What follows is a brief overview of the historical significance of Worthington Cemetery, compilation of resources relating to the project including newspaper articles, Civil War draft cards, and summaries of several noninvasive surveys conducted by the University of Pennsylvania. Though the marker application has been completed, the Worthington Project continues through dedicated public history endeavors within and beyond the academy. Defiance College hosts events related to the Worthington Project and members of the McMaster Learning Community are frequently sought after to speak about their research. Additionally, the Defiance Public Library continues to promote the Worthington Project through the creation of a charitable organization that will maintain the historical marker after it is placed at the site in 2025. Worthington Cemetery has become a significant element in the local social and cultural lexicon of the community's diverse history. The community's dedication to its commemoration suggests that it has a strong desire to preserve and align itself with the past.

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[1] Peter Burke The Collective Memory Reader.

Worthington Cemetery is nestled in Highland Township, east of State Route 15 as the plat map below indicates. The land in the 1800s, similar to today, was primarily used for agricultural production. Private residential structures were likely erected to house the Worthington family and those associated with them. Highland Township was a rural community as The Defiance Democrat, one of Defiance's newspapers, noted that in 1874 "it has about 1,000 inhabitants of which about twenty-five are colored Americans of African descent".[i] Agriculture was the main form of economic activity as the newspaper indicates that "the soil is generally rich and farming is carried on quite extensively. Grain of all kinds is raised in great abundance."[ii] In addition, segregated schoolhouses were extant, and Worthington was involved in the maintenance of the schoolhouse for African Americans.

Ownership of the land on which Worthington Cemetery is located evolved after Worthington relocated to Wilmington, Ohio and passed away. Newspaper accounts describe the various phases of ownership and their corresponding uses of the land. As early as 1888, Worthington's land was disbursed to various individuals as the Defiance County Republican and Express notes that "Mr. Myers moved on the Worthington farm a few days ago." A 1939 article by the Defiance Crescent News records the transition from cemetery to farmland by noting that "a colored cemetery, the Worthington, where at least one veteran is buried, has been plowed and turned into farmland, markers being removed." Additional records indicate that the land was sold to various individuals, and in 1985 it was available for purchase. While newspaper archives provide essential context for understanding the evolution of Worthington's property, the most detailed assessment of the land originates from the following 1936 Works Progress Adminstration Survey. It presents a pertinent temporal snapshot of the cemetery's appearance, dimensions, and historic background and is significant to understanding how the property and its owner were perceived. Little archival evidence remains to detail Worthington's early life as a slave; however, probate records indicate that he was married to his first wife, Eliza Jane, "according to the usual custom of slave marriages."[iii] They had two children together, Sarah Jane and Henry Worthington. Census records indicate that they were manumitted sometime before 1850 and traveled north, from what is today West Virginia to Ohio. Eliza Jane died between 1849 and 1852. Worthington continued travelling north and arrived in Highland Township by 1860. Census records indicate that he found an occupation in agricultural production and boarded several freed slaves, likely assisting them as they adjusted to an unexpected phase in their lives. Worthington was remarried to Elizabeth Grimes during this time, and they had several children together including James and Matilda Worthington. Census records indicate that he was uncommonly prosperous and generated and maintained considerable personal wealth as his real estate and personal estate were valued at $4,800 in 1860 and were assessed at $16,100 by 1870. He was engaged in agriculture and employed several individuals. Civil dockets and chattel mortgages provide a more detailed account of how his wealth was distributed as they record that he possessed apple orchards, livestock, and several hundred acres of land. He was one of the initial settlers of rural Highland Township and paved the way for others to follow by constructing the township roads and maintaining an African American schoolhouse. Township records indicate he was involved in the upkeep of a "colored" schoolhouse as he was paid "for repairing the colored schoolhouse" in April 1866 and provided firewood for it.[iv] Worthington's second wife, Elizabeth, died March 17, 1883 in Defiance, Ohio. Her death is recorded in the Defiance Democrat. Worthington remarried in June 1883 to Mary Susan Brown, his housekeeper, and they had two children together, Charles Garfield and Edna. Archibald Worthington sold his property in Defiance County, including the land on

on which Worthington Cemetery was erected, and moved to Wilmington, Ohio, becoming a proprietor of a store in Clarktown, Ohio. Several newspapers record his death in January 1895 including a newspaper in Wilmington, Ohio and the Defiance Republican Daily Express. He was buried in a pauper's grave in section two of Wilmington, Ohio's Sugar Grove Cemetery.

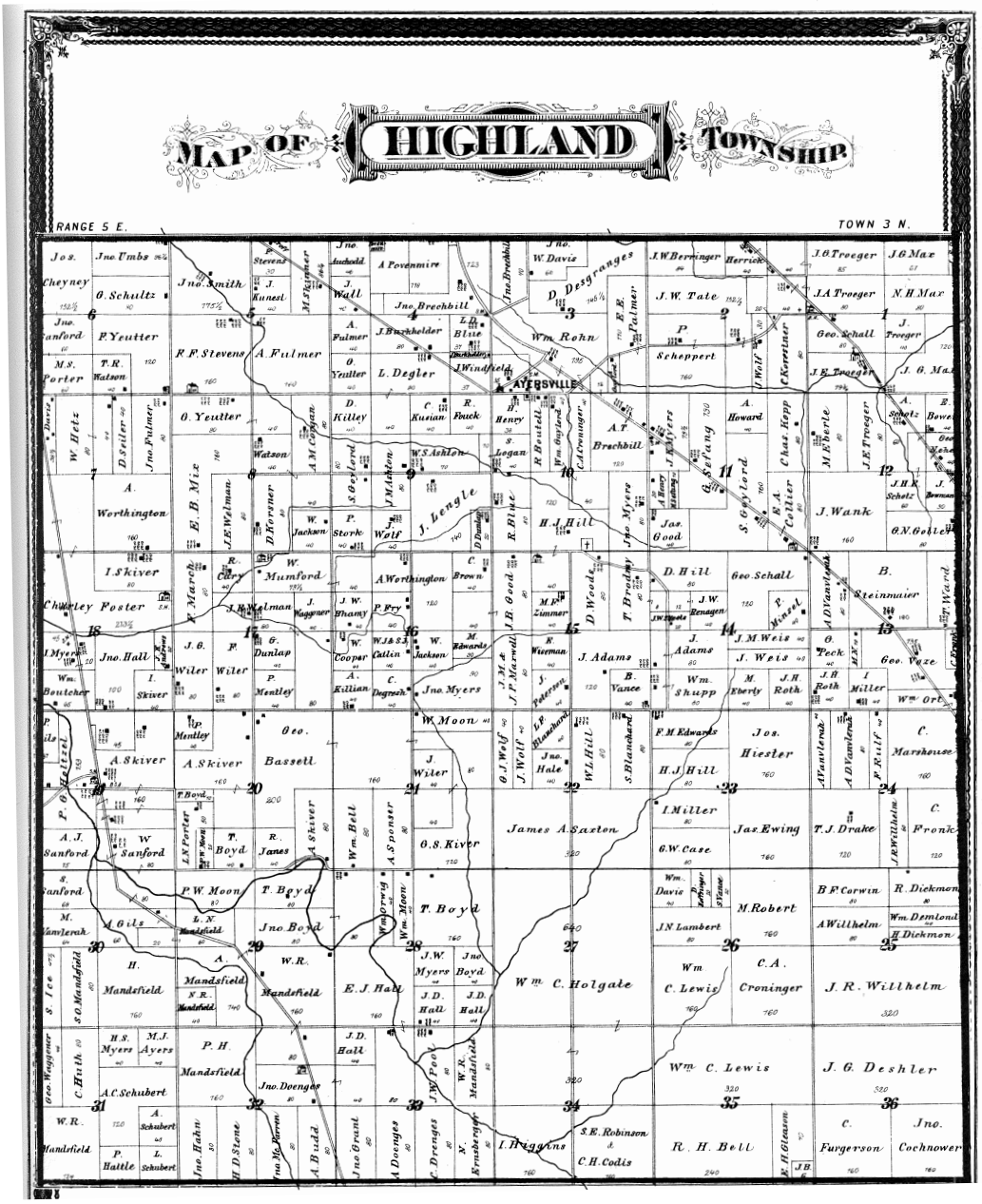
Worthington's experience is a microcosm of the African American experience during the Civil War era. As a former slave, his relationship to the conflict and treatment as a member of the Ohio 163rd Infantry Regiment is of particular interest to historians. The United States military was not integrated until World War II; thus, Worthington encountered barriers and stigma as he attempted to join an all-white regiment. There is some ambiguity and discrepancy in his civil service records. The Ohio Roster of Soldiers indicates that he held the rank of private and entered service on May 2, 1864, for a period of service lasting one hundred days.[v] His draft card, depicted below, indicates that he resided in Highland Township during this time and was drafted into a predominantly white regiment. However, in a description of the Ohio 163rd, the History of Henry and Fulton Counties Ohio 1888 records "Archibald Worthington" as "deserted."[vi] He likely experienced prejudice as "racial discrimination was prevalent even in the North."[vii] Worthington's negative racial-charged encounters and the discrepancy in his service records highlight the complexity of the African American experience in attempting to bring forth a new birth of freedom for a fractured nation that did not yet acknowledge his complete personhood. The Emancipation Proclamation established military service alternatives for African Americans, such as the 54th Massachusetts Regiment, which Archibald's son, Henry Worthington, joined. His draft registration indicates that he enlisted in Company H as a private for a period of service lasting three years beginning May 12, 1863.[viii] He died of typhoid in a prisoner-of-war camp and is interred at Salisbury National Cemetery in North Carolina. Archibald Worthington was uniquely invested in the Civil War as an African American veteran and father of a member of the 54th Massachusetts. He had a unique perspective on the new birth of freedom and represented a historical actor with a marginalized narrative. Following the Civil War, Worthington returned to Highland Township and continued farming.

Archeological Surveys

Several surveys were conducted on the Worthington Cemetery property to corroborate archival materials. In November 2022, K9KY human remains detections dogs conducted a survey to locate possible burial positions and the results are depicted below. Graduate researchers from the University of Pennsylvania conducted a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey in November 2022 to locate grave-related anomalies and the results are visualized below.

Conclusion

The Worthington cemetery narrative provides unique insight into the post-Civil War United States as it illuminates how rural areas such as Defiance, Ohio redefined their relationship to African Americans and people of color practically asserted newly acquired freedoms. Worthington challenges traditional understandings of race relations in the post-Civil War United States as he possessed remarkable economic and communal power, acquiring considerable land and resources. While his personal narrative was likely the exception, as many African Americans in the North encountered racist prejudices and social stigma and were ostracized from their communities, it is indicative of the diverse experiences which comprise the historical narrative. It certainly merits study and memorialization as the Worthington family uniquely contributed to the development of Highland Township and were instrumental in establishing spaces for the African American community.



Highland Township [Atlas of Defiance County, Ohio], 1890, Defiance Public Library Ohioana Collection, page 7.

56 acres section 7, Highland Township, Bowman Road, ½ mile long, surface drainage, soil tested, limed & fertilized. Development possibilities. Best offer. Ph. 419-653-4711.

"Real Estate for Sale," Defiance Crescent News, classified section, July 13, 1985.

C. Cadwallader.
C. Gish.
Reporters.

Topic #624.
Defiance County.
District #13.
Cemeteries.

1. Name of cemetery:

Worthington Colored Cemetery.

The old Negro cemetery, also in olden times called The Worthington cemetery, after an old pioneer colored man who even before the Civil War owned a section of land in this township. The cemetery was built on his land for his people, no one but colored persons were ever buried here. Most of them were freed negroes before the war. It is the only colored cemetery in Defiance County.

2. Location; how reached:

Located on the Jennie Watson farm, one quarter mile east of state route #15 on a mud road, two miles south of the city limits of Defiance, Ohio and in section seven Highland Township. It is forty rods back off this mud road to the north almost in the center of a wheat field.

3. Name and address of caretaker:

None, nor has there been any for forty years.

4. General description, size, appearance, etc:

This graveyard should have a historical value at least to the Negroid people, as it is one of the first negro cemeteries in the north. It was started in 1855, before the Civil War and was abandoned in 1883 after the death of Worthington the negro man on whose farm it rested. The land is now owned by Jennie Watson and the field last year was in wheat, part of the graves are covered the field last year was in wheat, part of the graves are covered with a straw stack and most of the markers are buried in the ground. We had to dig some of them out to get any names and possibly we did not get the oldest, at one time there were supposed to be fifty or more graves, however we found only about a dozen stones. All of these but one were old white slab markers, one was a pedestal type

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himself. There is no fence around the place and nothing to mark it, we found it only through the courtesy of Mr. Al. Logan of Ayresville, Highland Township and L.E. Myres, R.R. #8, Defiance, Ohio, who told us to be sure and get it.

5. Name and date of first burialrecorded:

Anney Champ, born in 1781 and died in 1855, was the oldest marker we fould fine and we dug this one up from under the ground.

6. Names of important people buried there:

The Worthingtons, early negro settlers in Defiance County, present living relatives unknown are the most important people. Mr. Myres the authority on this article can remember him, he died in around 1890, his wife in 1883, his wife's name was Lizzie but no one can remember his given name, and it was not marked on his stone, he always went by the name of "Old Darkey Worthington." At one time he was very wealthy, he had several childred, but where abouts of the are unknown.

7. Markers of unusual appearance:

White stone slabs, one pedestal marker, none unusual.

8. Unusual Epitaphs:

None.

9. Is cemetery used for new burials?

This graveyard has not been used since 1890 and is almost forgotten except by old timers of this beighborhood. There is only one colored man in Highland Township today and he is not related to anyone buried in Worthington Cemetery.

Consultants:

L.E. Myres, R.R. #8, Defiance, Ohio.

Al. Logan, Ayresville Village, Defiance County.

farm. Do not follow 15 around the curve but keep straight on for one mile. Cemetery, 220 yards off highway, is visible from road. Started in 1875 and used for the burial of county farm residents.

SPINDLE CEMETERY,(Jericho Graveyard) Mark Township, is reached from Mark Center on gravel road going south of town to second crossroads. Turn right for two miles then left for a quarter of a mile. Caretaker: B. F. Spindler, R.F.D.#3, Mark Center. The first burial was that of James Hobbs, an old sailor, born in Cornwall, England, in 1777, who settled in Defiance county about 1840 and died in 1854. Cemetery still in use.

TAYLOR CEMETERY is on Ohio-66, two miles south of Defiance on west side of the road at the bridge over Powels Creek. First burial Mordica Hall, 1852. Pioneer families buried here include Sprouls, Halls, Nicolys, Kleinhens and Carpenters. Is still in use.

WORTHINGTON COLORED CEMETERY, named after a pioneer Negro on whose land it was laid out, was the county's only exclusively Negro cemetery. It is on the Jennie Watson farm, a quarter of a mile east of Ohio-15 on a mud road, two miles south of the city limits of Defiance.

This was one of the first Negro cemeteries in the North and was started in 1855 and abandoned in 1890 following the death of Worthington. Federal Guide reporters found part of the cemetery planted in wheat, some of the graves mouldering beneath a strawstack. The oldest grave found by investigators was that of Amney Champ, 1855.

No one now recalls Worthington's first name. He was known locally as "Old Darkey Worthington." His wife, Lizzie, died in 1883.

Clinton County, Probate Court.

Susan Worthington, Admx. Pltff. vs. Matilda Munford et al. Dfdts. } Answer of Sarah Jackson. Mch 4/96.

Now comes the said Defendant, Sarah Jackson, and for answer & cross-petition by leave of Court being first duly sworn, states that she is the legitimate daughter of the said Archibald Worthington, deceased, and as such is entitled by descent & distribution, to a share of the estate of the said Archibald Worthington, or to so much thereof as remains after the payment of his debts and the costs of his administration. She says that she is not fully advised as to her interest in the estate but believes, and so alleges that it is one fourth part, subject to the vested right of dower of his widow, the said Susan Worthington, the Plaintiff herein.

Defendant further answering, says that she was born on the 4th day of July, 1877, in Hampshire county, Virginia, that her parents were Archibald Worthington & Eliza Worthington who had been lawfully married prior thereto, that at the time of the marriage of her father & mother they were both slaves and that they were married according to the usual custom of slave marriages; that they continued to live together as husband and wife and were so living together at the time of the Defendants birth, and that they continued to live together for many years and until after they came to the State of Ohio to reside and until the death of the Defendants mother. Defendant further answering, says, That at a time subsequent to her birth, and prior to the time that her father & mother came

SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in Union Township in the County of Fayette State of Ohio enumerated by me, on the 16th day of July 1850. William Smith Ass't. Marshal.

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Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.	DESCRIPTION. Age.	Sex.	Color, (white, black, or mulatto.)	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	Place of Birth. Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Persons over 20 yrs of age who cannot read & write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
120	120	Bliss Robinson	27	M				O					1
		Martha "	10	F				"		1			2
		Margaret "	8	"				"		1			3
		Kate "	6	"				"					4
		Henry Hubby	15	M		Carder & Spinner		"		1			5
121	121	Daniel McKean	44	"		Farmer	2800	"					6
		Isaac N. Marks	24	"		Meth. Minister		"					7
		Elizabeth "	19	F				"	1				8
		John McKean	17	M		Farmer		"		1			9
		Duncan "	13	"				"		1			10
		Sarah C. "	11	F				"		1			11
		Jo. M. "	6	M				"		1			12
		Wilina A. Marks	3/12	F				"					13
		Duncan Conley	20	"				"					14
122	122	Silas Mont	50	"	B			NC			1		15
		Mary Ann Jackson	10	"	"			O					16
		Delenum "	2	M	"			"					17
123	123	Daniel Cain	33	"		Farmer	1000	Va					18
		Catharine "	46	F				O					19
		Catharine "	21	"				"		1			20
		William "	20	M		Farmer		"		1			21
		David "	18	"		"		"		1			22
		Elizabeth "	16	F				"		1			23
		Margaret J. "	13	"				"		1			24
		Isaac J. "	9	M				"		1			25
		Henry W. "	4	"				"		1			26
124	124	Charles Morris	31	M	B	Farmer		Va					27
		Caroline "	21	F	"			NC					28
		Sarah C. "	3	"	"			O					29
125	125	Robert Cissna	56	M		Farmer		Va					30
		Eleanor "	55	F				O					31
		Elizabeth G. "	14	"				"		1			32
		Jannie "	10	M				"		1			33
		Marion A. "	8	F				"		1			34
		Susan Mc "	[illegible]	"				"					35
126	126	Archibald Worthington	33	M	B	Farmer		Va			1		36
		Elizabeth "	30	F	"			"			1		37
		Henry W. "	3	M	"			"					38
		Margaret Mc "	3/12	F	"			O					39
		Ann Champ	70	F	"			Va			1		40
		Isaac Thornton	16	M	"			"					41
127	127	Henry Osdon	25	"		Farmer		Ohio					42

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SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in Defiance Township **in the County of** Defiance **State of** Ohio **enumerated by me, on the** 2d **day of** July **1860.** John H Risser **Ass't Marshal**

Post Office Defiance

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Dwelling-houses—numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family.	Description. Age.	Sex.	Color, (white, black, or mulatto.)	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	Value of Estate Owned. Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Persons over 20 y'rs of age who cannot read & write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1	437	430	Andrew Igenwith	38	m		Farmer	900	300	O				1
2			Jeney	36	f					"				2
3			Joseph	13	m					"		1		3
4			Andrew	12	"					"				4
5	438	431	John J Block	59	m		"	1000	300	Germany				5
6			Maria	52	f					NY				6
7			Charles	15	m					O		1		7
8			Elizabeth	13	f					"		1		8
9			Hannah	"	"					"		1		9
10	439	432	Charles Reemus	32	m		Blacksmith	300	400	Germany				10
11			Eve	20	f					"				11
12			Charles	9	m					O !		1		12
13			Mathias	7	"					"		1		13
14			Frank	5	"					"		1		14
15			Mary A	1	f					"				15
16	440	433	Mathias Risser	35	m		Farmer		300	Germany				16
17			Mary	30	f					"				17
18							End of Defiance Township							18
19														19
20							Highland Township							20
21	441	434	J W Blue	29	m		Farmer	800	500	O				21
22			Semantha "	29	f					"				22
23			Eva J	3	"					"				23
24			Elizabeth L	9/12	"					"				24
25			Helen Seery	18	"		Domestic			"				25
26	442	435	George Sholl	54	m		Farmer	800	300	Germany				26
27			Catharine	45	f					"				27
28			Mary	20	"					O				28
29			George	17	m		Laborer			"		1		29
30			Wm	10	"					"		1		30
31			John	8	"					"		1		31
32			Jacob	4	"					"				32
33	443	436	Archibald Worthington	40	"	B	Farmer	1000	800	Va				33
34			Elizabeth	42	f	"				"				34
35			Henry	13	m	"				"		1		35
36			Matilda	8	f	"				O		1		36
37			James	1	m	"				"		1		37
38			Wm Banks	19	"	"	Laborer		70	Md				38
39	444	437	Abraham Vanlaw	49	"		Farmer	1000	400	NJ				39
40			Jane	43	f					"				40
	57		No. white males, 17 No. colored males, 1 No. foreign born, ____ No. blind, ____				14,500	3,370	No. idiotic, ____				No. convicts, ____	
			No. white females, 14 No. colored females, 2 No. deaf and dumb, ____ No. insane, ____						No. paupers, ____					

Page No. 15

Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as /.

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in Highland Township, in the County of Defiance, State of Ohio, enumerated by me on the 27" day of June, 1870.

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Post Office: Defiance Ohio

D A Gleason, Ass't Marshal.

Dwelling-houses, numbered in the order of visitation.	Families, numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose place of abode on the first day of June, 1870, was in this family.	Description: Age at last birthday: If under 1 year, give months in fractions, thus, 6/12.	Sex—Males (M.); Females (F.)	Color—White (W.), Black (B.), Mulatto (Mu.), Chinese (C.), Indian (I.)	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female.	Value of Real Estate Owned: Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S.; or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Parentage: Father of foreign birth.	Mother of foreign birth.	If born within the year, state month (Jan., Feb., &c.)	If married within the year, state month (Jan., Feb., &c.)	Education: Attended school within the year.	Cannot read.	Cannot write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	Constitutional Relations: Male Citizens of U. S. of 21 years of age and upwards.	Male Citizens of U. S. of 21 years of age and upwards, whose right to vote is denied or abridged on other grounds than rebellion or other crime.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1		Skiver Henry	14	M	W	At Home			Ohio					/					
2		" Josephine	13	F	W	" "			"					/					
3		" Calvin	10	M	W	" "			"					/					
4		" Anna J.	8	F	W	" "			"					/					
5		" Clara	6	F	W	" "			"					/					
6		" Emma	3	F	W	" "			"										
7		" Hannah	10/12	F	W	" "			"			Nov							
8	103	106 Worthington Archibald	57	M	MW	Farmer	10.000	1100	Vat			/						/	/
9		" Elizabeth	58	F	MW	Keeping House			"	/									
10		" James W	17	M	MW	At Home			Ohio	/				/					
11		Biggs Clifford	7	M	MW	" "			"	/				/					
12		Fountain Jane	10	F	MW	" "			"	/				/					
13	103	106 Mix Enos B	43	M	W	Farmer	4.800	800	"									/	
14		" Lovina	38	F	W	Keeping House			N. Y. /										
15		" Clarissa E	20	F	W	Teaching School			Ohio										
16		" Sarah E	18	F	W	" "			"					/					
17		" Allen	15	M	W	At Home			"					/					
18		" Ella	6	F	W	" "			"					/					
19	104	107 Cary David	52	M	W	Farmer	2.500	200	"									/	
20		" Nancy	55	F	W	Keeping House			"										
21		" Laura L	16	F	W	At Home			"					/					
22		" Telitha	14	F	W	" "			"					/					
23		108 Cary Robert	28	M	W	Farming	1500	300	"									/	
24		" Martha	24	F	W	Keeping House			"										
25		" Alice V.	3	F	W	At Home			"										
26		" Eva M	1	F	W	" "			"										
27	105	109 Carmer Daniel	54	M	W	Farmer	3000	258	Penn /									/	
28		" Sarah J.	44	F	W	Keeping House			Ohio										
29		" Agnes	21	F	W	Teaching School			"										
30		" Frank	14	M	W	At Home			"					/					
31		" Webster	11	M	W	" "			"					/					
32		" Isaac	9	M	W	" "			"					/					
33		" Nancy	6	F	W	" "			"					/					
34		" Mary	4	F	W	" "			"										
35		Austin William	17	M	W	Farm Laborer			"										
36		" Martha	15	F	W	At Home			"										
37		Carbin James	29	M	W	Carpenter	250		Penn /									/	
38		" Frances	23	F	W	Keeping House			Ohio										
39		" Carley	2	M	W	At Home			"										
40		" Emma	7/12	F	W	" "			"			Nov							

No. of dwellings, 4 No. of white females, 22 No. of males, foreign born, ____
" " families, 5 " " colored males, 3 " " females, " " ____
" " white males, 13 " " " females, 2 " " blind, ____
No. of insane, ____

ied Sunday afternoon.

We are told that Mrs. Archibold Worthington died last Saturday evening.

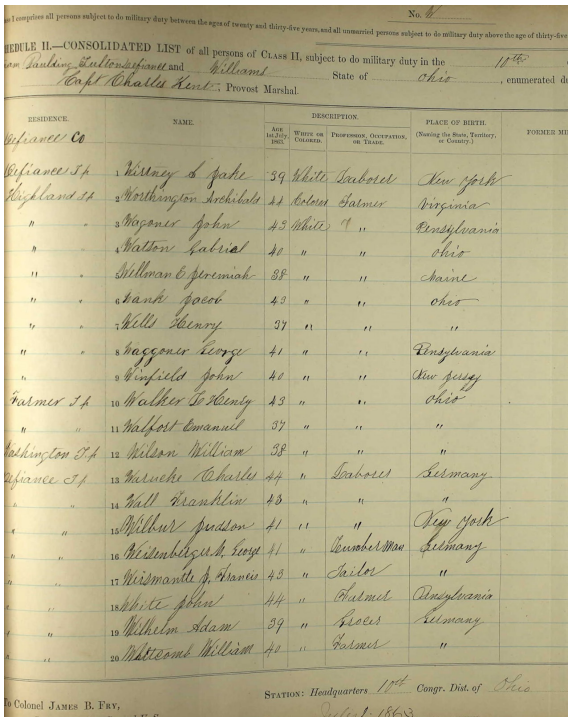
"Obituaries," *Defiance Democrat*, Thursday, March 22, 1883.

THE LAST CALL.

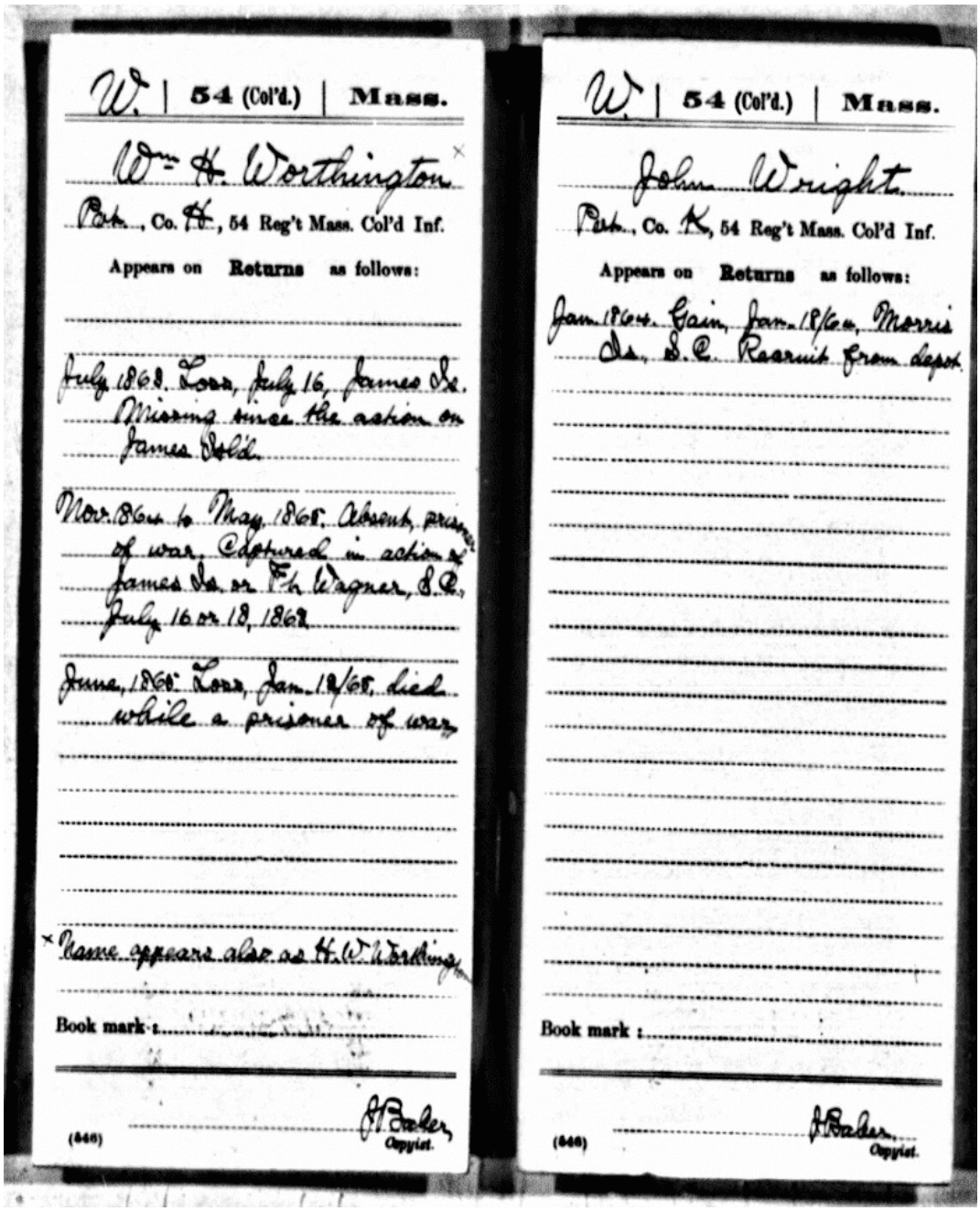
A Former Resident of Highland township Dies at Wilmington.

Uncle Archie Worthington, colored, for many years a resident of Highland township, died in Wilmington, O. Friday afternoon, aged about 75 years. The old man was in good circumstances and owned a farm in Highland township at the time of his death.

"The Last Call" *Defiance Republican Daily Express*, Saturday, January 19, 1895.



U.S. National Archives Records Administration, U.S. Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863-1865: Archibald Worthington, 1863, 395.



W. | 54 (Col'd.) | Mass.

Wm H. Worthington ×

Pvt., Co. K, 54 Reg't Mass. Col'd Inf.

Appears on **Returns** as follows:

July 1863. Loss, July 16, James Is. Missing since the action on James Isld.

Nov. 1863 to May, 1865. Absent, prisoner of war. Captured in action at James Is. or Ft. Wagner, S.C. July 16 or 18, 1863

June, 1865. Loss, Jan. 18/65, died while a prisoner of war

× Name appears also as H. W. Worthington

Book mark:

(646) J. Bader Copyist.

W. | 54 (Col'd.) | Mass.

John Wright

Pvt., Co. K, 54 Reg't Mass. Col'd Inf.

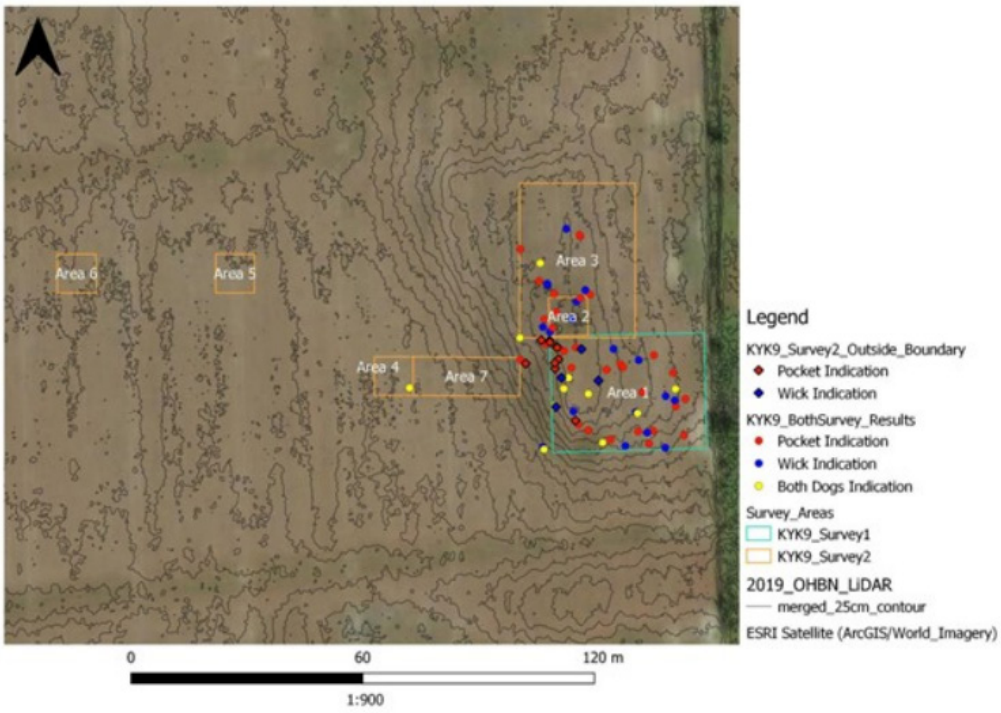
Appears on **Returns** as follows:

Jan. 1864. Gain, Jan. 18/64, Morris Is., S.C. Recruit from depot

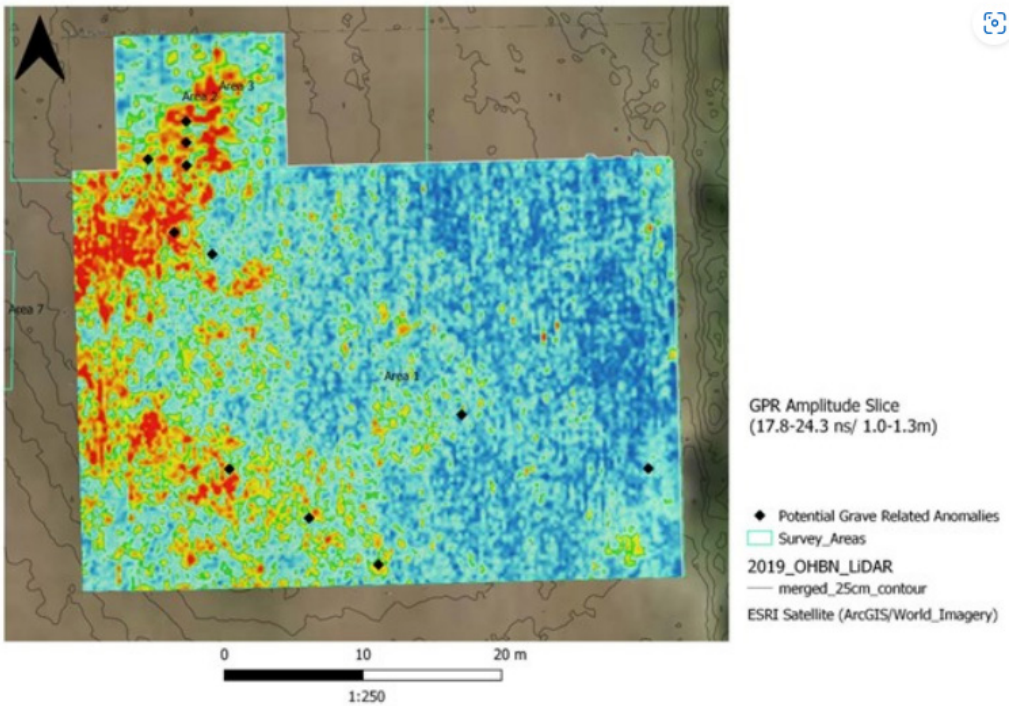
Book mark:

(646) J. Bader Copyist.

U.S. National Archives Records Administration, U.S. Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865: Henry W. Worthington, 1863, 166.



Eric Hubbard, "Worthington Cemetery K9KY Survey," ArcGIS, 2022.



Eric Hubbard, "Worthington Cemetery GPR Survey," ArcGIS, 2022.

Notes

[i] "From Highland Township," *Defiance Democrat*, February 12, 1874.

[ii] Ibid.

[iii] Clinton County Clerk, *Ohio Probate Records 1789-1996 Clinton County Settlements 1895-1900*, vol. 15-16, 25.

[iv] Ayersville Township Treasurer, *Township Treasurer's Account*, 1867, 17.

[v] Ohio Roster Commission, Ohio General Assembly, *Roster of Ohio Soldiers: War of Rebellion Volume IX 141-184th Infantry Regiment*, 1889, 325.

[vi] Lewis Aldrich, History of Henry and Fulton Counties Ohio, 1888, 139.

[vii] "Black Soldiers in the U.S. Military During the Civil War," U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, accessed September 13, 2022, https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/blacks-civil-war.

[viii] U.S. National Archives Records Administration, U.S. Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865: Henry W. Worthington, 1863, 166.

[ix] Works Progress Administration, WPA Survey, 1936: Worthington Colored Cemetery, C. Cadwaller and C. Gish, 1936, 1-2.

[x] U.S. Census Bureau, *1850 United States Federal Census*, 1850, 70.

[xi] U.S. Census Bureau, *1860 United States Federal Census*, 1860, 306.

[xii] U.S. Census Bureau, *1870 United States Federal Census*, 1870, 118.

War, Memory, and the 1913 Gettysburg Reunion
by Thomas R. Flagel
(Kent, Ohio: Kent State University
Press, 2019, Pp. 184, $19.95.)

Thomas R. Flagel's book War, Memory, and the 1913 Gettysburg Reunion seeks to explore the nuances behind the Gettysburg reunion and contribute to dismantling a belief about the reunion that has persisted in the public narrative for decades. Flagel argues that the reunion was not the result of a desire for reconciliation between Union and Confederate soldiers; In fact, hostilites and sectionalism lingered in both the veterans and the civilians who attended. Throughout the book, he utilizes primary sources from veterans to explain that such a perception mostly came from the rhetoric surrounding the event and not the attendees themselves.

Organized chronologically, Flagel takes the reader through the story of the reunion from its conception through travel and arrival of participants, to the event itself. From June 29 to July 4th, over 55,000 official attendees, both Union and Confederate, and thousands of others descended on the town of Gettysburg to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Civil War battle. While much of the contemporary documentation of the event proclaims it to be a grand time of overcoming animosity and reconciliation, for many of those attending it meant returning to the battlefield that caused unfathomable mental and physical trauma. His narrative keeps the veterans at the forefront and humanizes them, something the grandiose tales of the reunion in the past have neglected. Rather than showing these men as paragons of patriotism and heroism, Flagel reminds the reader that these men were just as human as the civilians who attended.

The chapters which discuss the reunion itself are incredibly poignant with firsthand accounts from veterans who attended, discussing survivor guilt, the attraction of tourists to the event from the draw of larger-than-life war heroes, and how photography was used for both the creation of memories and the reunion's mythos, among other things. This section was particularly enjoyable to read because of the photographs included in each chapter, as well as the veterans discussed. Tales of men meeting old comrades they had not seen since the end of the war are interspersed with analysis of the energy of the reunion, supporting Flagel's argument beautifully.

Overall, Flagel's writtng creates a book that is sure to hook any reader. His focus on not only the veterans and civilians who participated but also the wider implications of the event on societal issues like women's rights and segregation paints a broad image for the reader to understand 1913 America and just how complex and important the entire affair was to the nation and the journey of personal growth of the veterans.

Alexandra Eckhart
Department of History
Bowling Green State University

The Turnpike Rivalry: The Pittsburgh Steelers and the Cleveland Browns.
By Richard Peterson and Stephen Peterson.
(Kent, Ohio: Black Squirrel Books, Publishers, 2020, Pp. 192. $24.95, paper.)

Nearly every fanbase in American sports can name one rivalry that drives their passion for their given team. As such, rivalries exist at every level of sport throughout the country; each high school will have its cross-town or cross-county rival, every college or university has its hated adversary, and almost all professional franchises will have one or more rivals. Sports studies scholars and historians have noted that these rivalries are built by numerous factors. For some, they are rooted in history as the teams have grown to hate one another due to any number of events supposed curses, relocations, poor trades of a beloved player, etc.—in their storied pasts that remain ever-present in the collective memory of the fanbase. For other rivalries, the source is competition, as perhaps the teams have met in high-stakes scenarios enough times to breed a culture of animosity between the fanbases. A final common catalyst for rivalry is geographic proximity, as this increases familiarity between the fanbases as well as easing travel for those same fans, allowing them to follow their favored side to away games. In exploring the seven-decade-long history of the rivalry between the NFL's Pittsburgh Steelers and Cleveland Browns, Richard and Stephen Peterson depict a rivalry that captures elements of all three of these major rivalry-inducing factors.

Drawing primarily from newspaper reports, gameday programs and reports, official and unofficial fan websites, and personal testimonies from players, fans, coaches, and others associated with the franchises, the Petersons join a limited historiographical field, largely dominated by sports journalists and fellow football fans, in examining one of the NFL's many divisional rivalries. Throughout the study, this father-son duo reckons with one of rivalry's most prescient questions: why? Why are fans of one team driven to hate the team and fans of another? Though no single answer exists for the multitude of personal experiences fans carry into their support of their favored team, Stephen Peterson offers an even-handed assessment that "bitter rivalries have little to do with logic and more to do with the passion of the fans" (p. xxii). Beyond this, it is contended that the geographical proximity of the franchises—a mere 130 miles separated them—as well as their cities' similar working-class backgrounds drove the rivalry for most of its history. The study further emphasized that the histories of both Cleveland and Pittsburgh as cities, with both being Rustbelt cities heavily affected by the exit of key industries in the 1970s and 1980s, led to fans projecting emotional importance onto the performances of the team that they supported. As such, although neither team was particularly successful at the same time, the fight between two bitter rivals was perpetually important to fanbases that found joy and inspiration in the success of their teams. Thus, the rivalry may not have always been competitive in sporting terms, but it was a constant ritual that these two fanbases attended twice yearly throughout the majority of its history.

The Petersons dedicate their study of the rivalry—which came to be known as the "Turnpike Rivalry" after turnpikes were finished in the 1950s, easing travel between the two cities for the fans—to the sons who watched their first Browns-Steelers games with their fathers (p. ix). While this is clearly a nod to the relationship between the two authors, it also reflects the deeply personal relationship these authors share with the rivalry itself, as they are both, admittedly, die-hard Steelers fans. As such, the study begins with an introduction in which the authors describe their personal introductions to the rivalry itself. Both authors create a tone that would lead the reader to believe this study will be driven by their life experiences in the context of this rivalry, however, what follows is more of a chronicle of the rivalry. At a minimum, with the emphasis being placed on fan

experience in both the quotes that make up the prologue and the two sections of the introduction, the reader could logically expect the study to focus primarily on the fan experience of the rivalry; however, this theme is largely relegated to concluding sentences at the end of the chapters. The authors follow the introduction with eight chapters and an epilogue in which they trace the results, season by season, of the rivalry matchups and the results of each franchise's season. There is relatively little analysis added to the descriptions of each season; however, the reader can derive from these descriptions the development of each franchise over the long, seven-decade rivalry. Each season's description includes explanations of coaching changes or major player trades, but what is largely missing is an analysis of the rivalry's effect on any of these events. From the dedication and acknowledgments, the reader could have also anticipated more emphasis being placed on father-son experiences with the rivalry, but beyond the accounts provided by Browns fan Scott Huler—an author of one of the secondary sources—this theme is also relatively absent.

This study provides a strong historical chronicle from the 1940s to the present of both the Cleveland Browns and the Pittsburgh Steelers, as well as a detailed description of every single game in this rivalry; however, the study lacks an analytical edge that would provide a deeper understanding of the context of this rivalry. In many ways, this aspect of the study reflects one of Stephen Peterson's early points that perhaps the best way to understand a rivalry is by acknowledging its deepest roots in the passion of fans. In all, this study is a refreshing read, especially for those who are generally interested in the history of American football, and as such, this would be a welcome addition to any football fan's library. However, for those seeking to analyze that same history or the roots of American sports rivalries, this study may not be a good fit.

Garrett Lewis
Bowling Green State University & Paris Lodron Universität Salzburg

Jonathan Engel. *More Important Than Good Generals: Junior Officers in the Army of the Tennessee.* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2025). Paperback, Pp. 296, $39.95.

The Union Civil War General William Tecumseh Sherman is famously quoted as having said "We have good corporals and good sergeants and some good lieutenants and captains, and those are far more important than good generals". Drawing inspiration from this quote, Jonathan Engel's newly published book, More Important Than Good Generals: Junior Officers in the Army of the Tennessee, explores the motivations, minds, and morale of the junior officers that severed in the Union's Army of the Tennessee. Furthermore, it provides a glimpse into the lived experiences of these men who made up the Army's "middle management" during the Civil War (pg.1).

The purpose of Engel's book is threefold. There are numerous studies and books devoted to the generals of the Civil War, as well as those focusing on the experience of the common soldier. Very few, however, have been devoted to what the war was like for the lower and mid-ranking officers who lead companies and regiments day to day. Likewise, the Army of the Tennessee, despite being one of the most successful armies of the war, has been the subject of significantly fewer scholarly works than its eastern counterparts have been. Combining these two overlapping areas of neglected Civil War history, Engel examines his third area of focus: the morals and motivations that drove these men to volunteer and whether those convictions endured the grueling realities of four years of war—a topic of some debate amongst historians.

To conduct his research, Engel utilized several reliable primary sources, using mostly first-hand accounts taken from diaries, memoirs, and personal letters belonging to the men of the Army of the Tennessee. He then compared those with the existing military documents he could find pertaining to the men such as muster and pay rolls, as well as the Union order of battle for various campaigns. Engel acknowledges that the inconsistent nature of military records during this era, coupled with the problem of some records being lost to time, affected his ability to produce exact statistical information. Though, this is a common obstacle in the field of historical research. When deciphering who exactly was included in "the Army of the Tennessee's junior officers" he generally stuck to line officers (officers in command of a company or regiment) who were attached to the army for at least one campaign (pg. 5).

The main arguments that Engel makes throughout his book are as follows. First, junior officers during the Civil War were more than just a bridge between the senior leadership and their foot soldiers; their role encompassed a wide range of duties, including some that we would not necessarily associate with junior officers today. Everything from recruiting their own men, taking financial responsibility for their charges' equipment, to skilled and physical labor, as well as being responsible for their men's training along with their physical and emotional well-being, making their wartime experiences and views a unique and important area for Civil War scholars to examine. Secondly, that these union men were overwhelmingly inspired to volunteer by deep moral and political convictions. Through their own words, Engel shows these men's patriotism, religious piety, and sense of morality, honor, and self-sacrifice, in a powerful way. Finally, Engel concludes that, aside from a slight dip in morale during the winter of 1862-1863, the men of the Army of the Tennessee did not become disillusioned with the Union cause, nor their ideological convictions. On the contrary, Engel found that many of the men's convictions grew to encompass feelings of empathy for those who had been enslaved, as well as disgust at the slavery they had encountered, whereas before most men had only expressed apathy or distaste for the institution of slavery.

In his own estimation, Engel finds his work more in agreement with the positions of scholars such as Gary W. Gallagher, Earl J. Hess, and James McPherson, where the morality and motivations

motivations of Union soldiers over the course of the war are concerned. On the other hand, he finds himself in opposition to the views of scholars such as Bell Wiley who concluded that Union soldiers were less motivated than their Confederate counterparts, and Gerald F. Linderman who felt that Union soldiers had become disillusioned with their values during the war. While Engel shares a common understanding with scholar Andrew S. Bledsoe in the importance of examining junior officers, Engel does not agree with Bledsoe's assessment of them as "morally coarsened soldiers" (pg. 2).

More Important Than Good Generals is well written and organized, making it easy to follow. Engel makes solid arguments that are thoroughly researched and supported with compelling first-hand accounts in the soldiers' own words. The content is divided in a way that makes referencing specific topics for research easy. Engel's study on the junior officers of the Army of the Tennessee is both an interesting and original contribution to the study of the Union Army in the Civil War. I would undoubtedly recommend this book, particularly to military and history scholars, students, researchers, as well as Civil War history buffs.

Kylie LaLumia
Defiance College

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Guidelines for Submissions to the Northwest Ohio History

- Article submissions relating to the themes outlined in our mission statement are accepted. Our preferred length of submission is 20-25 pages of text excluding references and double spaced in Times New Roman font size twelve. We suggest submitting your work as a Word document, however, PDF files are accepted.
- We welcome submissions incorporating visual media such as maps, photographs, works of art, advertisements and newspapers. Any supporting illustrative material should be submitted as a separate file with the name of your work accompanying the text "Supporting Visual Materials." All visual materials should be cited and have accompanying textual descriptions.
- We require that all submissions are formatted in the most recently published edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and require the use of endnotes for all citations.
- Prospective authors are encouraged to contact our editorial team to discuss submission deadlines, formatting preferences, useful content, or other questions they may have.
- Once an article submission has been accepted, the author will be contacted for a brief biography outlining their current position, academic background, research interests and projects, and other recent publications.
- If you are interested in becoming a book reviewer, please contact a member of the editorial team with a brief description of your academic and professional background.
- The *Northwest Ohio History* includes a selection of primary sources relating to the themes outlined in our mission statement in each publication. If you are interested in having a selection from your archive, library, or collection published in a future edition, please contact a member of our editorial team with a description of the materials and statement on how their inclusion advances scholarships in the history of the Northwest Ohio region.

Northwest Ohio History

This is made possible through a partnership between the Maumee Valley Historical Society and Defiance College.