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A VIGNETTE OF WHEELING DURING THE EARLY REPUBLIC

by

Kenneth Robert Nodyne

The six decades following the last siege of Fort Henry in 1782 saw Wheeling grow from a pre-industrial village hugging the banks of the Ohio to an emerging city at the gateway of the Mid West. Barometers of this growth are provided by records of what life in Wheeling was like and statistical measurements of the material culture.

Four years after the last Battle of Fort Henry in 1782, the Congress of the young republic gave lands in Ohio to Ebenezer Zane, Noah Zane, and Jonathan Zane in exchange for the building of a road from Wheeling to Maysville, Kentucky. The frontier settlement of Wheeling was set on the road to becoming the future “Friendly City” when the plat of the town was laid and patterned after Philadelphia. Ten additions were made to the original plat bringing the number of lots to 1270 by 1839. Of this number, 856 were laid off north of Wheeling Creek and 414 on the south side. By 1839 the plan of the city followed an orderly pattern with numbered houses commencing at the creek northward, and from the river eastward.

The second census in 1800 indicated that Ohio county had 4468 white residents of both sexes and 257 slaves with 15 "other persons." The History of the Northern Panhandle gives a striking pen sketch of the rustic Wheeling of 1800: the town was confined to the area between the present Eighth and Eleventh streets and Market Street and the river where a dozen log cabins were scattered about. Col. Ebenezer Zane’s house stood on the southeast corner of the present Eleventh and Main streets. Pasture lands surrounded the old Fort Henry, decaying symbol of an earlier harsher time. Nearby was an orchard and cornfields. At the mouth of Wheeling Creek was an old garrison. Wheeling was now the county seat, a distinction the village had wrested from West Liberty in 1797.

By 1807 the town had acquired some of the appurtenances of an established settlement including a newspaper, stores, a school, and a library. Other indicators of permanent settlement were doctors, theatrical performances, civic controversies and social problems.

Wheeling’s first newspaper and one of West Virginia’s earliest was the Wheeling Repository published every Thursday by Alexander Armstrong. The newspaper experienced the perennial problems of newspapers in the early national period: delinquent subscriptions and paper shortages. Lack of paper led to a brief suspension of publication of the Wheeling Repository. Delinquent subscriptions killed the paper after a two year span (1807-1808) of publication. The newspaper advertisements give a peak at a bustling young town: land sales, horse races, food stores, drygoods stores, book ads, the Wheeling Seminary, “A School for the Education of Boys” and the Wheeling Library Company.

A gruesome crime reported in the Repository in 1807 pointed up Wheeling’s frontier status. Under the heading “Something Uncommon” the paper reported that a large box containing dismembered human remains was washed ashore on the Virginia side of the Ohio River. George Knox reported that the remains had been stolen from a grave and hacked to pieces “by the midnight butchers of Dr. Forsythe’s shop”, young medical students who snatched the body of a black woman from her fresh grave.

The pages of the Repository present a controversy which reveals an informative view of the relations between the sexes. The paper reported that a man was tarred and feathered and run around town for beating his wife. The newspaper account was followed by a letter from “An Husband” justifying the beating of wives. The author argued that the Bible justified the chastising of “those we love.” He argued that

By the principles of nature, by the laws both of God and man, the husband is made the head of the family; his wife, like other serials, is required to be in subjection to him.

This was followed by a spirited reply from “A Widow” who commented that

If the women of Wheeling were all of my opinion, they would call upon you in a body, and demand the author of that scurrilous essay published in your last, signed AN HUSBAND; and if you did not disclose his name, they would demolish your printing-office. I wonder that you, who are a young man, and have your connections among the girls yet to form, should give currency to such abominable sentiments. Do you think any young woman will suffer you to approach her, after you have permitted this ragamuffin to call wives mentials and inferior domestics? If I was a girl, or you should attempt to come near me, I would soon teach you the policy of publishing such sentiments. I would not suffer even a female servant of mine to wash your shirt.

The newspaper aired the most dangerous threat to the future importance of Wheeling with articles about the controversial proposal to move the county seat to Grave Creek, then part of Ohio county. An editorial in
the *Repository* on January 7, 1808 warned that the Court House was about to be "Wheeled from Wheeling." A writer from Grave Creek allowed in the next issue that the people of Wheeling were too concerned with "fixing the great portage road from Cumberland to the Ohio" to pay attention to the needs of the county. He gleefully continued the pun on the threatened wheeling of the Court House from Wheeling by noting

Mr. Printer, I am sorry you mention, by way of jest I suppose, a wheel-barrow. Probably some of your people would have been as well pleased, if you had said nothing about that old wheel barrow. For my part, I thought it had been burnt or lost several years ago. Let me see — how long ago was the seat of justice wheeled to your town from West Liberty? It must be seven or eight years.

If Mr. Tomlinson should get his wishes accomplished, and remove the seat of justice from Wheeling to Grave Creek, can any of your people censure him? They certainly ought not. He will have done nothing, but what they would do themselves. The like has been done before now: witness West Liberty which, excepting the appearance of a very few families, may with propriety be called Waste-Liberty.

About this time, Wheeling was incorporated as a town. Twelve freeholders were selected by popular vote. The freeholders selected a mayor, recorder, alderman and common council. The common council which met at the home of George Beymer elected George Miller mayor and Charles Hammond recorder. George Parnell was appointed town sergeant. The mayors of the town of Wheeling until it became a city in 1836 were

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<th>Mayors</th>
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<td>George Miller</td>
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<td>Moses W. Chapline</td>
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<td>Z. Jacobs</td>
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Wheelingites patriotism during the War of 1812 gave rise to a tragic incident. The nationality of an English cabinet maker in Wheeling offended the local jingoes. After the victory of Perry on Lake Erie some of them gave him a mock serenade and placed a cannon in front of his house. They fired the cannon at his house and broke all the windows. The humiliated Burckett later committed suicide.

Growth — that key word which characterizes the history of Wheeling during the Early Republic — was manifest during the war years. A frame bridge was built over Wheeling Creek by Peter Yarnall, Noah Zane and a man named Shreve, after whom Shreveport was named. 1814 saw the construction of the famous river steamer *Washington* which weighed 400 tons and was built and partly owned by Capt. Henry M. Shreve. This was the first steamer with boilers on the deck rather than in the hold.

The significant years of post-war expansion also foreshadowed the later future importance of Wheeling when an editorial in the *Virginia North-Western Gazette*, published by T. Toner, noted that

It has been a stigma cast upon the people of the southern states, and more particularly Virginia, that whilst they held one hand extended exhibiting the declaration of independence they with the other were brandishing the lash of despotism.

Though the editorial defended the reputation of Virginia by claiming that the state was responsible for the no slavery clause in the North West Ordinance, the overall anti-slavery sentiment was clear.

The prosperity which gripped the nation during the boom years following the War of 1812 was intensified in Wheeling by the approach of the National Road and the future prosperity foretold by that national improvement. The ground work for the pre-eminence of Wheeling during the middle third of the nineteenth century was laid when the stage coaches of the Stephen Hill and Simms & Pemberton lines rolled into Wheeling from Brownsville, Pennsylvania in 1818 marking the connection of Baltimore and Wheeling. For the next thirty-five years the stage coach was the principal means of transportation between the East and the Ohio River and Wheeling vied with her old rival Pittsburgh for commercial domination of the upper Ohio Valley.

Although Wheeling was verging on commercial importance, there were few churches in the heart of Wheeling immediately after the close of the second war with Great Britain. The souls of Wheelingites were attended by a log Quaker church, occasional Presbyterian services in the court house, and a Methodist meeting.

Spiritual concerns were manifest by the creation of the Tract Society at the Methodist Meeting House some ten years after the close of the war. Interest in spreading religious pamphlets reflected a nationwide trend which was given impetus by the creation of the American Bible Society in 1817.
Other Wheelingites were more concerned with the sporty side of life as witnessed by an advertisement in the *Wheeling Gazette* of October 6, 1827. The “Full Blooded Stallion St. Tammany” was up for auction at Beech Bottom on October 11, the second day of races at the well established local race track.\textsuperscript{21}

Schooling could be had in Wheeling, for a price, as offered by the Wheeling Academy. The course of instruction included “Common English”, mathematics, natural philosophy, history, Greek and Latin at $6.25 a quarter with blank books and stationery available for fifty cents.\textsuperscript{22}

The muses also held sway in Wheeling. On Christmas night the play *William Tell* was presented, followed by the ever popular *Tom Thumb*.\textsuperscript{23}

Wheeling’s future was foretold by a writer dubbing himself “No Stickler” in the *Wheeling Gazette* of March 13, 1830. He warned that “The Ides of March are come about the bridge subscription”.\textsuperscript{24} Extreme language, no doubt, but indicative of booster sentiment which would later pay lucrative commercial dividends to the city. Meanwhile, the census showed that Ohio County’s population had climbed to 15,584 with widespread agricultural and industrial prosperity.\textsuperscript{25}

The continued prosperity saw Wheeling transformed into an incorporated city when an election was held on May 4, 1836 for a Board of Commissioners. Those elected were Richard Simm, James S. Wheate, Thomas Sweeney, Wm. T. Selby, John Eoff, Moses W. Chapline, Chas. D. Knox, Daniel Zane, Z. Jacobs, Dana Hubbard, and John Ritchie. The first mayor of the City of Wheeling was Moses W. Chapline (1836-1840). The first city treasurer was Thomas Hughes (1836-1850). The first city clerk, Daniel Lamb, served less than one month and was followed by James S. Wheate (1836-1853).\textsuperscript{26}

The prosperity and industrial importance of Wheeling during these years led an informed traveler, Dr. Frederick Hall, M.D., to comment in his *Letters from the East and from the West* that the city “deserved to be styled one of the Birmingham of the West.” He remarked upon the fact that one million bushels of coal was produced in the Wheeling area at the low price of one to three cents a bushel thus guaranteeing cheap fuel for Wheeling’s varied and flourishing industries. In contrast, coal cost thirty cents a bushel in Washington, D.C.\textsuperscript{27}

Hall remarked that the combination of Wheeling’s location on the National Road and the Ohio River insured that she would ever be one of the great thorough-fares for western travelers, and for western merchandise. Even now, the daily arrivals and departures of stages and boats create no insconsiderable activity and confusion. At the stage-house quiet may be coveted, but is not always easily obtained. The multitude of river voyagers, who stop here, a longer or shorter time, as most of them do, is wonderfully large.\textsuperscript{28}

The chords sounded by these notes on a bustling Wheeling become a crescendo of industrial, mining and commercial activity when the Census of 1840 is opened. Sense the diverse notes of this symphony of activity: A city of 7,885 persons in a county of 13,357 where 1259 were in manufactures and trades, 242 in commerce, 162 in navigation on the rivers, 57 in learned professions and engineers while in the surrounding county 85 engaged in mining and ten hundred and ten tillled the fields and tended the pastures. This active population supported two academies and grammar schools with 999 pupils. Only eight white adults in the entire county were reported to be illiterate.\textsuperscript{29}

The powerful sounds of industrial mining and commercial activity reported by the 1840 census for Wheeling and Ohio county heralds the coming emergence of Wheeling. Listen to this thunderous litany of statistics recording the vigorous activity of a burgeoning community: Four cast iron furnaces producing 1,090 tons of iron. Bituminous coal mined amounted to 1,178,000 bushels. Six lumber yards existed with a capital investment of $24,000 employing 210 men. Value of hats and caps produced was $10,290. Seven tanneries produced 3,135 sides of sole leather, 6400 sides of upper leather employing 17 men and a capital investment of $25,950. Thirty three other manufactures of leather saddles with manufactured goods valued at $85,000 and a capital investment of $29,570 existed. Fifty two thousand pounds of soap was produced and 130,000 pounds of tallow candles. One distillery produced 15,000 gallons of liquor. Three breweries produced 11,000 gallons of liquor. The value of medicinal drugs, paints, and dyes was $16,600 in an industry employing eight men and capitalized at $10,700. Three glass houses and one glass cutting establishment employed 140 men with a value of manufactured articles including looking glasses of $134,000 and a capital investment of $102,000. Two potteries manufactured goods valued at $800 employing four men with a capital investment of $400. The products of four paper mills were valued at $128,745. There were three weekly newspapers, two tri-weekly publications and one periodical. The capital investment of these publications was $16,000.\textsuperscript{30}

The county flourished. The statistics are 2,383 horses and mules, 4,252 meat cattle, 26,689 sheep, 9,561 swine and 4,709 poultry of all kinds.\textsuperscript{31}

These word pictures and statistical compilations make clear that Wheeling was on the threshold of the important place she was to hold at mid-century when the coming of the Baltimore and Ohio further increased her commercial importance. The building of the great Suspension Bridge, the world’s longest at the time, added even more to her significance. From her rank as one of the leading cities of Virginia in the 1840’s and 1850’s she was catapulted to the leadership of the new state of West Virginia in the 1860’s.


4. *Return of the Whole Number of Persons Within the Several Districts of the United States* (Washington: Duane, 1801)


17. *Virginia North-Western Gazette*, December 3, 1818.


TODAY'S NEWS IS TOMORROW'S HISTORY

Newspapers in Ohio County — by Joseph E. Hoffmann

In the 169 years since the first newspaper was published in Ohio County, two names dominate the history of the press — Archibald Campbell, who edited the Wheeling Intelligencer from 1853 to about 1883; and H. C. Ogden, who laid the groundwork for what is today one of the larger newspaper chains in the nation.

Both men were in their early twenties when they assumed management of their newspapers. Campbell sensed the spirit of the Virginians living west of the Alleghenies and editorially led the movement for a separate state loyal to the Union. H. C. Ogden possessed a rare combination of news savvy and amazing economic acuity.

If one were to categorize the stages that the local newspapers passed through the first step would be the clip and paste period, then the telegraph era, and finally the period of emphasis on complete local coverage. The press in Ohio County got off to a slow and inauspicious start — in 1808 — about a generation after Ohio County was settled.

The first effort, was more of a literary magazine than a newspaper. The Wheeling Repository was launched by Alexander Armstrong as an eight page affair with a page size of about eight by twelve inches.

There was a meager occasional notice of some local happenings. The events of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, of the Aaron Burr conspiracy, the proceedings of the National Congress and the Virginia legislature, all printed many days or even months after their occurrence, occupied a prominent place in what might be called the news columns.

Letters from residents in Virginia and Ohio were given liberal space, but the usual topic of discussion was state or national politics. It would be a hopeless wish to expect enlightenment on the news of Wheeling from reading such letters.

Among the objectives set forth by Editor Armstrong in his first issue was “selections will occasionally be made of pieces which may recommend themselves by their tendency to entertain the vacant hour, to reform the heart, or instruct the mind.”

Subscription price was two dollars a year and, judging from the urgent appeals for subscribers to pay up, the two dollars were hard to collect. An almost complete file of the Wheeling Repository has been bound and is in the Mansion-Museum of Oglebay Institute at Oglebay Park.

The first half of the 1800s saw many papers come and go. In the History of the Panhandle, compiled in 1879 by Nichols, Newton and Sprankle, the authors comment:

“Perusing old copies of old-time papers, which we collected with much trouble, consisting of the Repository, Times, Gazette, Telegraph, Virginian, Young America, Advertising, Union, Argus, Press and News, all of them at one time or another published here — there was a singular uniformity in the troubles experienced by their proprietors from the first to the last of them. The most conspicuous feature through them were promptings to delinquent subscribers, political bickerings and commercial disappointments.”

The files of old newspapers are more complete and available today and a student of Ohio County newspapers would have far less trouble than the editors of the Panhandle history in assembling representative specimens.

The late Delf Norona and Charles Shetler made an exhaustive listing of newspapers, pamphlets and broadsides published from 1790 to 1863 in the area that is now West Virginia. A copy of this work is in the Oglebay Mansion-Museum.

Microfilm has greatly facilitated the access of researchers to the early newspapers. The West Virginia University library lists 46 different newspapers published in Wheeling for which they have either files or microfilm. These newspapers range from the Abetter Freund, Virginia North Western Gazette, Daily Argus, Daily Drummer Boy, Daily Wheeling Times and Gazette, Morning Call, Greased—ad Lightning, Deutsche Zeitung, and many others.

The Ohio County Public Library and the Wheeling College Library have excellent collections. Microfilm at the Ohio County Library ranges from the first editions of the Repository to last month’s editions of the News-Register.

However, the researcher who sees in these early newspapers a trove of information is apt to be disappointed. One of the editors in the 1830s actually apologized for carrying local news. The newspapers from the East, he said, had not arrived and the editor was forced to use some local notes.

Apparently these newspapers functioned on the assumption that the town was small enough that if something happened everyone in town would know about it before the item could be set up in type.

It was in this period that the editor functioned with paste pot and scissors. The stage or the packet would bring recent copies of the New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans papers and the text of entire stories would be lifted from these papers. A murder case in New
York or a fire in New Orleans would be featured and described in great
detail.

Before the telegraph came to town the only sources of news were
these exchanges, or by letter from interested persons. A considerable
portion of the newspaper space was devoted to fiction, usually tender, mushy
and trite and to essays from readers.

Letter writers would compete with one another in their use of poly-
syllabic words and soaring rhetoric.

Editors would not hesitate to pick up items from other newspapers
in the city or in nearby counties. This often resulted in bickering between
editors, particularly if the story that had been plagiarized proved to be
erroneous.

Many of the early newspapers were published primarily as a political
organ — the fortunes of the publisher rising and falling with those of the
party. Politics was hot and heavy and the editors made no effort to be
subtle or refined in calling the opposition to heel.

When the Virginia North Western Gazette started publishing in July
of 1822, the equipment of a paper about to go defunct was purchased.
“We purchased the establishment,” the editor wrote, “and with the
materials the proprietor surrendered his right of publishing a paper in the
place, and engaged that he would not interfere with our interest, but
promote it as far as possible. For this stipulation he received the sum of two
hundred dollars, in addition to the price of the printing materials.”

In 1835, when Samuel H. Davis published the first issue of the
Wheeling Daily Gazette, he promised to make every effort in “laying the
contents of the mails before our readers.”

Davis went on to promise — “The vituperative abuse, which distin-
guishes a large portion of the newspapers, we leave to others — to those
conduits which serve as the common sewers of the party.”

Early newspapers devoted a greater percentage of space to advertise-
ments. When the poetry, essays, and exchange clippings were added, the
small amount of space for locally written copy was probably written by
one person, the editor, and there was little differentiation between
news and editorial comment. There was, of course, a section for editorial
comment, mostly of a partisan political nature, but the editor put his two
cents worth into most of the stories.

Two examples:

“We were very much pleased to observe the workmen engaged
yesterday in repairing the wall on the east side of Main street, referred to
in our last. It is better late than never.” Wheeling Argus, 1847.

“CITY COUNCIL. — a meeting of city council was held last
evening. The proceedings were not of much interest to the public. A num-
ber of the usual reports were read and adopted. Monotonous debates took
place relative to certain minor subjects, upon which no final action was
taken.” Wheeling Intelligencer, 1859.

The telegraph came to Wheeling in 1847 when Philadelphia and New
Orleans were joined by way of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis
and cities along the Mississippi. This was the line by which Wheeling first
came into telegraphic communication with the world. The line at this
point was on the Ohio side of the river and a tap wire was brought across
the river to an office on Front Street. As there was no bridge at the time
the wire had to be suspended for a distance of a thousand feet from the
Island to the Wheeling side. A steamboat broke the wire on one occasion
and several times during the winter of 1848 communication was broken
and the telegraph operators had to move to temporary quarters on the
Island. The editor of the Wheeling Daily Times complained that the
Pittsburgh operators gave Cincinnati the preference over Wheeling thus
delaying dispatches so that they could not be given to the readers in the
morning issue.

The new form of communication was also expensive. A publisher
stated that the President’s message cost fifty dollars to receive, so he could
not afford to print it free with the paper, but it could be bought from the
carrier or at the office.

Once the telegraphic communication was established the editor no
longer needed to depend on the clippings from the exchanges and letters
from correspondents. Columns were added to the format of the newspa-
per headed “Telegraph News.”

The Wheeling Intelligencer, which continues publishing today,
appeared with No. 1, Vol. 1, on August 24, 1852. Eli Bennett Swearingen
and Oliver T. Taylor were the first proprietors of the Intelligencer, which
was a successor of the Wheeling Gazette and founded to promote the
success of the Whig party. Taylor, it is said, was a very concise and often
elegant writer.

In the fall of 1856, 23 year old Archibald W. Campbell, a nephew of
Alexander Campbell, founder of Bethany College and the Disciples of
Christ church, and recently come from law school, joined with John F.
McDermot and bought the Intelligencer. Campbell, who had already been
in the employ of the paper, took the editorial management and his partner
looked after the mechanical and business department.

Coincident with this change in the paper’s control was the first
general campaign of the new Republican party and the Intelligencer was
the first newspaper in Virginia to espouse the cause of this party.

For many years Campbell was not only the vigorous editor of a
newspaper whose influence in civic and political affairs was increasing
every year, but was also one of the dominant and forceful citizens of
Wheeling and western Virginia.

John Frew, who had been connected with the Intelligencer since
1853, took McDermot’s place at the beginning of 1866, and contributed
constantly to its success until his death in 1901. Among the old news-
papermen of Wheeling, he was esteemed as one of the strongest managers.
In 1868 when Campbell retired for five years, G. D. Hall and L. A. Hagans, who had already been associated with the business, came into more active connection. Hall took over the editorial department with Hagans in charge of the business end. Campbell resumed his place as editor in 1873 and continued for about ten years when he was succeeded by Charles F. Hart, an accomplished newspaperman from Philadelphia.

In 1892, the business was incorporated as the Intelligencer Publishing Company. After the death of Frew in 1901, George A. Laughlin bought the interests of his heirs and a firm was formed with George A. Laughlin, F. P. McNeill, S. C. Smith, Mrs. George Wise and H. C. Ogden.

Established ten years later than the Intelligencer, The Wheeling Register was the opposition newspaper to the Intelligencer. In the times preceding and during the first year or so of the Civil War, the opposition paper to the Intelligencer and the organ of the old Democracy was first the Wheeling Union and then the Wheeling Press. The Union was conducted with more than the ordinary accompaniments of invective and partisanship and was suppressed by the dominant forces then in control of the city.

In the fall of 1863, the Press was succeeded by the Wheeling Register, of which Lewis Baker and O. S. Long were the proprietors. Baker was an able manager and after the Civil War placed the Register on a firm foundation. He continued as principal owner until 1884. It was then that J. B. and C. H. Taney bought the Register. James B. Taney was the business manager of the paper until 1893 when he went to Belfast as United States consul and was succeeded as general manager by his brother, Charles H. Taney.

Besides the Wheeling Register and the Intelligencer, the Wheeling press at the turn of the century included a paper of which we shall hear more – The Wheeling Evening and Sunday News, – and also the Evening Telegraph, The Wheeling Majority (a labor party publication), The Saturday Review and the Deutsche Zeitung.

There had been a German language newspaper in the city since 1849 when the Virginia States Zeitung was started by Conrad Strobel and Elias Stifel. The paper was later suspended and then The Patriot, in German, was started with the support of Augustus Pollack and Anton Reyman. At the close of the Civil War this paper was absorbed by the Arbeiter Freund, established in 1865 by Lewis Baker, publisher of the Register. World War I effectively ended all German publishing in Ohio County.

The present era of newspapering in Wheeling started in 1890 when the first Ogden newspaper got its start. It was then that a group of young men got together to establish a newspaper. Led by an ambitious youngster of 21, Herschel Coombs Ogden, three years out of West Virginia University, they pooled their resources and opened shop by buying the equipment of the Wheeling News-Letter.

The plant was a small affair as most new businesses are. It was located on the second floor of a building at Fourteenth and Main streets. The capital was $12,000, of which one-third was subscribed by the youthful organizer and his brother, Dr. W. C. Ogden. Other backers of the enterprise were Will W. Whitmeyer, W. P. Robinson, Frank P. McNeill, Col. Sam Harrison, J. Harvey Long, S. G. Smith and J. B. Somerville.

Herschel Ogden came to Wheeling from Fairmont as a reporter for the Wheeling Register in June of 1887. He had been recommended by W. P. Willey, professor of history at West Virginia University, a former editor of the Register, as an “exceptionally able and progressive young man.”

Ogden started as a reporter, he then graduated to telegraph editor, and then to night editor of the Register. He developed rapidly as a political and editorial writer and distinguished himself through his coverage of the 1889 session of the West Virginia legislature.

Robert L. Plummer, writing in a 50th anniversary edition of the Wheeling News in 1940, described Ogden’s reportorial ability:

“No so many years ago a utility rate case hearing was being held here in which there was great public interest. The writer, along with reporters from Pittsburgh and other cities, was covering the story for an opposition newspaper. On the second day of the hearing Mr. Ogden appeared at the press table, producing a stack of paper, and started in to work. For more than a week, day after day, he steadily scribbled away in longhand, producing column after column of copy that several times filled an entire newspaper page. He missed scarcely a line of important testimony, disdaining to use the transcripts which were prepared by relays of stenographers and handed out to other newspaper workers. Visiting reporters declared they had never seen anything to equal Mr. Ogden’s work.”

Young as he was, Ogden had foresight, too, about the possibilities of the evening newspaper field.

Newspapers had been coming and going in Wheeling for nearly a century before Ogden appeared. Only two, the Intelligencer and Register – had stood the test of time. Both were published in the morning, leaving the evening field wide open for a new publication.

This situation resulted, no doubt, from the established idea that a newspaper going to press around midnight afforded better opportunity for widespread circulation. Railroads provided the only means of transportation in those days and the time spread between midnight and dawn did give advantages over an afternoon paper which necessarily reached out of town readers a day later.

By 1890 Wheeling had grown to a city of near forty thousand population. But, it appears no one had awakened to the fact that there was a
real opening for an evening paper. The situation was not peculiar to Wheeling. All over the country the leading newspapers were morning publications.

Ogden, however, had some ideas all his own about circulation. Within a short time after he had entered business for himself, he was printing an extra pre-dated edition which went into the mails about midnight, reaching points as far away as Fairmont and Grafton by morning. It was a step that brought good results in circulation.

When the deal was closed in 1890 for the News-Letter equipment, Ogden and two fellow workers on the Register, Will W. Whitmyer and W. P. Robinson, quit their positions and embarked on their attempt to win a place against the formidable opposition of the two other older local papers.

The trio of resignations took effect on September 15, and one week later, the first issue of the News appeared. It consisted of four pages of six columns each. On the following Sunday the first Sunday edition was published.

Ogden was editor and general manager. Robinson circulation manager and Whitmyer city editor. Joseph Crouch was the one reporter and Harry Faris the one advertising salesman. They were hired from the News-Letter staff. Richard Robertson, one of the former owners of the News-Letter became printing foreman.

The equipment consisted of an ancient press, a lean assortment of hand type, some make-up stones and a few desks and chairs. The press was a two-revolution Campbell Country model driven by a water motor that functioned with greater or less speed as the pressure fluctuated.

The fledgling newspaper received its national news by telegraph limited to about 500 words. The morning newspapers, aiming to discourage the upstart News, had bought up the rights to the only national news services, the United Press and the Associated Press.

Faced with this monopoly, the News could only arrange a system through a private correspondent in New York who sent by telegraph brief summaries of stories in the early editions of the New York publications.

It was from these news flashes that the editors prepared their complete accounts of national events. It was nothing for a bulletin of a few words to be enlarged upon to the extent of a half column. Ogden or Whitmyer, drawing upon their own knowledge or whatever other sources of information that were available, would expand these meager items and thus fill the columns of their paper. It was four years until an reorganization of the United Press made that service available to the News.

It was the News that realized the importance of local events and news. It was Ogden's aim from the beginning to have the News excel in informing its readers on community happenings and public affairs through West Virginia and in the neighboring sections of Ohio. A mix-up on Market Street, Ogden said, is more important than a battle in Mexico. The early News was the first to report outstanding court trials about verbatim. Another innovation were surveys and forecasts on political contests.

In the first year the paper's circulation grew to 2,000 and that was too much for the Campbell press where each paper had to be run separately and folded by hand. A deal was made with Sam Goss, inventor of the press that prints a complete newspaper in one passage, delivering it cut, folded and ready for distribution. This press, which was the first to be installed in West Virginia, was ready for operation in July 1891. The News was also the first to bring the linotypes into the state when the new Mergenthaler machines were installed in 1896.

This spirit of expansion brought about a new seven story building that was occupied in 1903. The same building is still in use, albeit with extensive remodeling as the organization continued to keep pace with newspaper technology.

A remarkable coincidence occurred in 1905. Negotiations were completed for the purchase of the Wheeling Intelligencer by the News organization. A few days after the deal was consummated the seven story building was gutted by fire. However, not an edition was missed; the News being printed on the newly acquired Intelligencer press.

The traditionally Republican Intelligencer was in line with H. C. Ogden's political interests and the editorial columns of the Intelligencer gave strong support to candidates of the Grand Old Party, thus generating a warm and vigorous feud with the editors of the Democratic Wheeling Register. During the 1920s the Register regularly ran editorial cartoons in which H. C. Ogden was caricatured as "Hard Cash Ogden."

However, in 1935, the Register, unable to compete with the strong morning and evening papers of its competition, was merged with the News, which then became the Wheeling News-Register, an independent Democratic newspaper, while the Intelligencer remained the Republican spokesman.

Among the community campaigns spearheaded by the News during the time H. C. Ogden was actively setting its editorial policy was a drive in 1895 for a public high school which led to the establishment of the city's first at Twenty-first and Market streets.

The paper's interest in education was instrumental, too, in the establishment of McKinley Trade School and the start of the public library.

Shortly after Ogden had taken over the reins of the Intelligencer, he joined that paper and the News in a campaign that brought about tax reform measures in 1904. This interest continued and in 1932 another campaign carried the tax limitation amendment to adoption.

The News made its influence felt in the adoption of the Workmen's Compensation Act, bringing all its support into action behind Governor H. D. Hatfield, sponsor of the measure, and standing firm with him through two sessions of the legislature in advocating adoption of the act.
Practically every cub reporter at the News was broken in on the neighborhood columns. These included beats in South Wheeling, Bethlehem, Mozart, Benwood, McMachen, Woodrow, Bellaire, Bridgeport, Martins Ferry, St. Clairsville, etc. Ogden’s philosophy of names-make-news caused him to keep a close watch on the number of names carried in these columns. When the number was not up to snuff, a note would come down from Mr. Ogden.

As a result, many graduates of the “Ogden School of Journalism” made names for themselves as reporters and editors of newspapers in Cincinnati, New York, Pittsburgh, Charleston, and in the public relations departments of the larger corporations. One of the cub reporters, Harry Hamm, who started in the 1930s is now editor-in-chief of the Ogden Newspapers with headquarters in the editor’s chair of the News-Register.

Acquisition of the Register in 1935 didn’t end the growth of what was then the News Publishing Company.

During the active management of H. C. Ogden the firm acquired newspapers in Fairmont, Parkersburg, Weirton, Martinsburg, Welch, Williamson, Elkins and Point Pleasant.

When H. C. Ogden died in 1943, Austin V. Wood, Ogden’s lawyer, became publisher and his daughters, first Frances Ogden Stubblefield and later Margaret Ogden Nutting became president of the company.

In 1969 the News Publishing Company became Ogden Newspapers, Inc., with G. Ogden Nutting as president and John R. Williams, vice president. Several of the West Virginia newspapers were sold during the 50s and 60s to allow a diversification.

The Ogden Newspapers, Inc., group now includes 12 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of over 200,000. These papers are located in Wheeling, Parkersburg, Martinsburg, and Elkins, West Virginia, and in Jamestown and Peekskill, New York; Fort Dodge and Webster City, Iowa; St. Charles, Missouri; and Coral Beach, Florida.

Joseph E. Hoffmann became a cub reporter on the Wheeling News in 1937. He was absent from 1940 during which time he was with Oglebay Institute, Bethany College, the United States Army, Morris Harvey College and the Charleston Gazette. He returned in 1948, took a recess in 1952 in the public relations department of Monongahela Power Company, Fairmont, and returned in 1973.

Material for this resume has been obtained from the microfilm files of the actual newspapers at the Ohio County Public Library.


From sources at the Oglebay Institute Mansion Museum at Oglebay Park, where a bound copy of the Wheeling Repository is available and from the compilation by Delf Norona and Charles Shetler on broadsides, newspaper and pamphlets public in western Virginia, 1790 to 1863.

From the History of Greater Wheeling and Vicinity by Charles A. Wingerter, published in 1912.

From the Wheeling News-Register Fiftieth Anniversary Edition of September 22, 1940.
WHEELING'S GREAT PRIMITIVE ARTIST:
PATRICK J. SULLIVAN

by

James W. Morris

with an introduction by

Janis H. Stein

An impressionistic landscape painting captures the scene out of a window on Carmel Road in Wheeling, West Virginia; an oil of the interior of Westminster Abbey shows the stately Abbey with sun slanting through the high arched windows; "The Last Battle of the Revolution" records the siege of Fort Henry; fifty-five portraits memorialize Potentates of Shrine Lodges in the United States.

What do these works of art have in common? They are all the creations of talented Wheeling Artists of the Past. Our beautiful Ohio Valley was an inspiration for them. Wherever they looked and saw they marveled at the grandeur of nature through the season — artists, poets, musicians have been inspired to record the history of the mountain people and their heritage.

Some of these artists left the area and traveled around the world to look and see other peoples and other places. They carried with them a sensitivity derived from the beauty of our area and the people who have been a part of it.

It has been an artistic revelation and learning experience to research and present this series of biographical sketches of Wheeling Artists of the Past to the Upper Ohio Valley community. I hope it will serve as an inspiration to our present artists and art lovers.

This series will include personal information and the artistic talents of artists such as Florence Arbenz, Jeanie Caldwell Daugherty, Joseph A. Faris, Texana Jordan, Virginia Maxwell, John Joseph Owens, A. Knight Smith, Jay T. McCamic, Patrick Sullivan and others.

I am proud to present, in this issue, a very personal and detailed tribute to Patrick Sullivan by James W. Morris.

My first contact with Patrick J. Sullivan was in the early spring of 1937. I was nineteen and he was forty-two years of age. His wife and my mother had met at church, and Mrs. Sullivan mentioned that Pat had finished a painting on which he wanted my opinion. I was in my first year as an art student at Ohio State University, and he wanted me to look at his work. I lived at 514 North Main Street, and Pat lived about a block away at 619 North Main.

I went to his home one afternoon to see the picture with the idea that I was just going to see the work of another dabbler. I was speechless when I saw the strength and feeling that permeated the canvas. The handling of the figures and the trees was distinctly the work of a powerfully creative artist. The painting was called "Man's Procrastinating Pastime," his first serious work which was enforced with a written theme that accompanied all of his paintings. His way with words was as straightforward and creative as his painting, and the theme was a means to explain the underlying symbolism enveloped in his picture.

Pat asked me if I thought his painting was good enough to enter in the Independent Artists' Show at the Grand Central Palace in New York. (This show offers no prizes. It has no jury, but it is always frequented by visiting collectors, art critics, and writers.) I emphatically told him that he should send his painting to the show. He built a wooden shipping carton and sent the painting to New York. This is how our lifelong friendship began.

One evening about a week later, Pat came to my home with a letter in his hand. He was very excited because it was a letter from a man named Sidney Janis, an art collector and writer who was affiliated with the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Mr. Janis was also the owner of a large shirt manufacturing company which was his means of becoming a millionaire.

Mr. Janis had seen Pat's picture in the Independent show and had become obsessed with the idea of owning it. He did buy it after several exchanges of letters, and Pat agreed to sign a contract to give Mr. Janis an opportunity to buy everything he painted.

From this time on, Sullivan had the chore of earning a living and also finding time to paint pictures. He was paid a fair price at the time for his work, but it was not enough to support a family of four. His output was usually one or two pictures a year to which he gave much thought and love while producing.

I spent many hours with him discussing his philosophy of art and what he thought of other artists. He liked the work of Henri Rousseau and especially Salvador Dali. John Kane was a contemporary of Sullivan's, but he resented being compared with John Kane who was also a "primitive" and a house painter. (Incidentally, the term "primitive painter" irritated Sullivan, and he insisted he had not been a "primitive" but a self-taught artist. To him the term "primitive" denoted "inferior."
Our talks were frequent and long when I was not away at school. Sometimes they would begin at 8 p.m. in the evening and last till 2 a.m. in the morning while his ever-helping wife, Martha, would serve us hot coffee and other refreshments. Martha was the source of much of Pat’s strength. Without her, I sometimes wonder what would have become of him. He depended on her so much as a helpmate.

I was around to see the progress of most of his paintings and to listen to his explanation of the story involved. It was fascinating to me as a young art student to have such a colorful and sincere artist friend. His knowledge of pigments was astounding, but as a house painter, he learned much about them. He used white lead and oil colors in the one pound can which is in the paste form. The brushes he used were two inch house painters’ brushes for priming pure duck canvas and very small sized camel’s hair brushes that he bought at the dime store. He sometimes would use them down to the last few remaining hairs. His palette, for the most part, was ordinary newspaper which he said would absorb some of the oil from the paint as he mixed it with turpentine and a drop of Japan drier. He insisted that it was all right to use a siccative such as Japan drier if you used it very sparingly. His experience as a house painter taught him just how much to use.

He always laughed about his studio. It was in one corner of his bedroom. He used the back of a chair for his easel, another chair to hold his palette and paint, and a third chair upon which he sat. A small bridge lamp provided adequate light. His studio and his entire modestly furnished home always gave me a feeling of comfort and intellectual stimulation when I visited with him. It was unbelievable that one could live so meagerly yet exude the feeling of such comfort.

He was a man of many interests, one of which was incessant reading. He read about politics and government, world affairs, religion, art, mathematics, and philosophy. (Spinoza and Pascal fascinated him.) He had a very analytical mind which he put to good use when reading or debating. Being a very loquacious man at times would make Pat unpopular with certain individuals, but I personally hung on to every word he said. I thought of him as sort of the “old master.” I learned about many problems of the artist that I had not learned in our numerous school discussions. He had a great knowledge of aerial perspective, and color and value relationships. (His color was restrained, and he liked to use the earth colors in his palette. He said they were more permanent.) Many times he would mix the yolk of an egg with his linseed oil. This, according to him, would give greater brilliance and richness to the pigment. Black was an important color in his painting, but he used it without getting muddy color harmonies. The surface of the paintings would, in many cases, show modeled or embossed figures built up by successive layers of paint painstakingly applied. His surface textures were always beautiful.

I did not see too much of Pat during the World War years of 1941 to
1945, but I remember that while on leave from the army I served as best man at his daughter Martha’s wedding. Bernard Farley, her groom, was also a member of the armed forces at the time.

During the years 1950 until 1959, Sullivan became quite bitter toward the art world. He could not see how he could have a reasonable amount of fame, but yet not be able to scratch out a living from his paintings alone. Being the strong-minded individual that he was, he decided to quit painting and did until 1959 when he painted “The Gates of Hell Shall Not Prevail.” His last painting was to be a gift to his wife, Martha, which he started in 1964 but was unfinished at the time of his death.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**

Patrick J. Sullivan was born on Saint Patrick’s Day, March 17, 1894, in Braddock, Pennsylvania. His father, Redmond Sullivan, and his mother, Mary (nee) Downing, were both Irish. His father was born in Ireland and his mother in England. His maternal grandfather was an architect. His father was a farmer and later, in this country, a steelworker.

When he was two years old, his father died leaving five children. There were twelve altogether including Patrick, the youngest. After the death of his father, his mother became very ill and had to spend a long time in a Pittsburgh hospital and being without funds, she had to place two year old Pat, the youngest child, in an orphanage. There he later worked in the printing shop. This work gave him the idea of dabbling in painting, but he never gave much time to it other than sketching a little. When he was fifteen, he left the orphanage and went to McKeesport, Pennsylvania, where he secured a job in the sheet-iron mill there, and he and his mother set up housekeeping. A year and a half later they came to Wheeling, West Virginia, where he worked a short time in the mills and later got a job as an assistant playground manager of the Wheeling playgrounds. (Sullivan was quite a strong physical specimen in his youth, and he was very proud of his feats of strength even in his later years.) It was on the playgrounds that he first painted buildings and equipment, which led to his career as a house painter. This enlivened his interest in fine art again and in his spare time, he did paint on heavy paper, cardboard, and old window blinds. Some he destroyed and some were lost, stolen, or burned.

In 1916 he enlisted in the army and served several months on the Mexican border. After the United States entered into war with Mexico, he was made a Cadre instructor and did much in helping to organize the new army. He was a top sergeant and during the closing month of the war was assigned to the Bush-Terminal Docks where they handled the shipping of troops and supplies.

He was discharged from the army in March, 1919. Coming back to Wheeling, he worked another year at the playgrounds and then went to work with the American Railway Express Company. Here he met his future wife, Martha Ritter, who worked in the office. They were married in March, 1920. He took up the house painting trade in earnest and worked his apprenticeship under a Frenchman by the name of De-Shon. His art prowess was discovered in 1936 at the Independent Artists’ Show in New York by collector Sidney Janis, a wealthy New York shirt manufacturer who also was affiliated with the Museum of Modern Art.

Patrick J. Sullivan died of emphysema August 31, 1967, at the North Wheeling Hospital, Wheeling, West Virginia. He was seventy-three years old and one of the most unforgettable men I have ever known.

**Surviving Works**


12) "Mural" — 1943 — Sacred Heart Church, Wheeling, West Virginia.

13) "Trinity" — 1947 — owned by Oglebay Institute, Wheeling, West Virginia.

14) "Oglebay Mansion" — 1948 — owned by Oglebay Institute, Wheeling, West Virginia.


A Selected Bibliography


"Exhibit of the Self-Taught." Newsweek, XVIII (August 18, 1941), 52.


"Folk Art." Cue, VI (May 7, 1938), 10-11.


"They Taught Themselves." Art News, XI (September 1941), 14-19.

Chronology

1894—Born in Braddock, Pennsylvania on March 17th to father Redmond Sullivan and mother Mary (nee) Downing, both Irish.

1896—Father dies leaving eleven children and a wife without funds. Patrick, the youngest, was placed in an orphanage until age fifteen.

1909—Patrick leaves orphanage, goes to McKeesport, Pennsylvania. Secures a job in the sheet-iron mill, and he and mother set up housekeeping.

1911—Patrick and mother come to Wheeling, West Virginia, where he worked in the mills and later secured a job as assistant playground manager of the Wheeling playgrounds.

1916—Enlisted in the Army. Served a few months on the Mexican border. Was made Cadre instructor, reaching the rank of top sergeant in the regular army.

1919—Discharged from the army and returned to playground job in Wheeling. Later secured a job with American Railway Express Company where he met his future wife, Martha.

1920—Married Martha in March and took up house painting as a full time job. Worked as an apprentice under a Frenchman by the name of James De-Shon.


1939—Completed “Haunts in the Totalitarian Woods” in February. It anticipated the Triple Axis Pact by twenty months.


1941—Received write-up in February issue of Art News in connection with Sidney Janis’ forthcoming book, “They Taught Themselves.”

1942—“They Taught Themselves” by Sidney Janis is published by the Dial Press. Sullivan receives space in this book.

1943—Worked at Continental Foundry as a guard in the Auxiliary Military Police of the United States Army during World War II.

1945—Repainted the mural in Sacred Heart Church in his own style. First painted by a man named Kaufman for Father O’Connell.

1950—Becomes disgusted with the art world because he had fame but could not earn a living as an artist. Stopped painting until about 1959.


1964—Began “Unfinished Landscape” as a gift to his wife, Martha.

1967—Died of emphysema on August 31 at North Wheeling Hospital, Wheeling, West Virginia.

FRONTIER WARFARE
AND CULTURAL CONFLICT

Richard S. Klein
and
Alan H. Cooper

The incursion of a new population onto land held by relatively aboriginal inhabitants often produces conflict, whether physical or mental or both. Warfare, an overt reaction to the infiltration of new people or ideas, carries with it a stigma which tends to obscure the genuine issues in conflict, and thus researchers into conflicts attempting to determine the causes of war are faced with accounts from all concerned which are contradictory or otherwise misleading.

Another aspect of new arrivals is the conflict of culture. New technology, new modes of existence, new ideas cause imbalance in an existing social order, while the new order may be shaken by the concepts of the old. Population movement breeds reactions on all sides, and the effects of such reactions may continue far beyond the lifetimes of the original antagonists.

With the criteria mentioned, ambiguity in the causes of warfare, and the deeper current of cultural conflict, the subjects to be noted here may be given a proper perspective when viewed in terms of a wide spread and often illogical, insane meeting of two groups. The points to be examined are the attitudes towards trade, massacres and other killing, long-lasting hatreds, and frontiersmen, especially accounts of their characters. The documents presented and some interpretations may not be pleasant reading, but they give a view of life and conflict rarely glimpsed. They may tell us more than we care to know, but they are first-hand opinions and descriptions, and as such deserve our consideration and speculation, especially if we believe that advanced technology carries with it a higher form of ethical behavior.

Before actual hostilities, the most common initial signs of contact between groups is trade. This may manifest itself in small ornaments or other items which do not change the lifestyle of those receiving them. However, increasing contact and concurrent influx of tools deemed more useful can and do have a staggering effect. Use produces dependence, and when the supply is withheld or is gone, major upheavals may result since there seems to be an avoidance of reverting to a former way of life. Thus, Native Americans began exchanging their bows and arrows for rifles, and dependence upon them was duly utilized.
Itinerent traders strageling into white settlements reported the
savages were sullen at Detroit and exchanging their peltry for pow-
der and balls and iron tomahawks.¹

Native Americans could easily see the value of the merchandise
which they bought. It is, then, not surprising that this same merchandise
would be considered valuable for taking and then for reselling to traders.
Lord Dunmore wrote to Lord Dartmouth

Williamsburg
Dec. 24, 1774

We know that these men have bought the Plunder which the Indians
have carried off in their incursions — If the Indians took skins they
could sell cheaper than those who themselves by hunting. If horses,
they knew nothing of their value and anything would purchase
them. It was a lucrative trade to these people and the means of it
which was the disturbance between the Indians and the Virginians
were encouraged by them.²

It was easier to steal than hunt, and more profitable. Further
evidence of this practice is given again by Lord Dunmore, who wrote
in 1770

Michel Cressap a Md. trader with a party of 15 men attacked five
canoes containing 14 Indians a skirmish ensued one Indian killed
and one white man. 16 kegs of rum some saddles and bridles were
taken from them.³

Rum will be discussed below, but the significance of the equipment
for horses, considering the previous document concerning them, is
noteworthy. The cultures of the settlers and Native Americans are shown
in conflict, with actual attacks and with exchange of ideas, here in value.

Use of trade for the buying of loyalty is evident. Colonel Brodhead
wrote on May 14, 1780

Poverty of Delawares may endanger their loyalty — a few goods
will do wonders.⁴

And, in making terms for peace, the Delawares wanted ten gills of rum per
man, a repairman for their muskets, and a maker of shot.

Concerning rum, we have noted its appearance in plunder and
treaty. The incidents of excessive use must have been large. William Penn,
in a letter to the “Free Society of Traders”, says

The red man himself charged that the vice of intoxication among
them was not only originated but wilfully fostered by Europeans in
order they might be able more easily to overreach them in trade.⁵

This state of affairs, in which men were made drunk and then asked to do
business, is hardly laudatory, but reflects what seems to be a common
practice.

Trade affected lifestyle, value, and behavior in the references given,
but can be extended to include much else in the relations of these people.
The primary emphasis must lie on the influx of a more advanced
technology and its acceptance by the native population.

The hostilities extant between the settlers and Native Americans are
well known and documented. Fighting to gain territory or seek protection,
and to retain land used for millennia or to support the local population
didn't need additional impetus, but they were given. Lord Dunmore caused
the war which bears his name in attempts to gain money and land. Native
Americans sided with the British or Colonists and were given rewards for
services. Colonel Brodhead wrote to the Delawares

HQ Fort Pitt

The reward offered for scalps and prisoners will encourage many
of your brothers of the Island to form themselves into parties to
pursue and waylay the enemies.

and he continues,

You must show your friendship by actions and now you have an
excellent opportunity. The English must soon leave this Island
and you will be well rewarded for their scalps and prisoners.

Makingwegecsuch⁶

(Brodhead’s Delaware Name)

With incentives such as these, the Native Americans fought on the
side of whoever was closest to their purposes, and whoever paid well.
They became pawns for the two battling powers, neither of whom seemed
to have much genuine concern for them or their land. The fighting was
ferocious, as incidents recorded at the time will verify.

In 1774, Colonel William Christian wrote to Colonel William Preston
Smithfield
Tuesday, Nov. 8, 1774

Tuesday night he (Captain Russell) detached 250 men who reached
a Mingo town the following night killed 5 and took 14 prisoners
chiefly women and children the rest escaping under cover of night.
The Plunder to a considerable amount was brought away and the
town burned.⁷

Plunder was always a good incentive for either side. George Rogers
Clark wrote to Colonel David Shepherd at Fort Henry

Crossings
Mar. 18, 1781

The advantages of plunder and the fair prospect of routing the
savages must be so pleasing to every person I have no doubt of a
number of volunteers.⁸
The following accounts of attacks present details and emotions associated with their occurrence. The language is often salty, and the descriptions violent, but they do give an interesting portrayal of life and death, and the circumstances under which the participants operated. Noteworthy is the practice of taking prisoners, who would be kept alive if they did not impede the escape of the attackers. However, at the slightest sign of complaint or tardiness, they would be killed.

Our first incident took place at Burkes Garden in Tazewell County, and was recorded in a letter from James Robertson to Colonel William Preston.

Culbersons
12th August 1774

Sir – This morning our scouts met with a couple of Poor Little Boys between this and Blue Stone one a Son of John Mcgriffs the other a Son of Widow Snydoes at Burks fort, that they made their Escapes from the Indians Last Tuesday night about midnight away up towards the Clover Bottoms on Blue Stone or Between that and the lower war road on Blue Stone. They were taken from Palser Lybrooks Sunday Last there was two Indians and a White man Only that did the mischief. They Emediately set off from there with the greatest Caution the Boys Says Walking on Stoney Hills the worst way Imaginable they have five or six small scups (scalps) which I Imagine is Poor Lybrooks Children as they were in a Canoe and the Boys Say they see the Indns. Sculpting the Childn. in the Canoe, they were three poor Sons of Bitches Intirely naked without either Blankets or Match Coats and the Boys Says they were dividing their powder with Each Other and They are Sure they had not Ten Loads.

Next is a letter from Colonel John Gibson to General Edward Hand Fort Pitt
Oct. 22nd, 1777

Dear General – Just after the express left this on the 21st October James Shirley came in here with an account of his being attacked by Indians, between Capt. Cisneys place and Sam. Newells on the road to Logstown. They killed one Smith and his daughter, and tomohawked his son, a boy about 6 years old, and after scalping him, left him the boy is still alive but I am afraid will not recover.

An Indian gave an account to Peter Wagoner many years after a group had killed his family
He declared it had been their intention to take the mother and all three children captive; and that killing the boy was accidental.

The warrior struck to render him senseless to prevent him from making an outcry but the blow was too heavy, killing him instead.

Mrs. Wagoner and the two smaller children were slain because it was learned they were being pursued and these captives could not travel fast enough as was necessary to escape.

Finally, this amazing story of two boys, ages eleven and twelve, attests to the perspicacity of even young people during this time. John and Henry Johnson age 11 and 12 were captured by Indians a short distance from their home. They were well aware that their lives depended on their attitude while being conveyed to the Indian camp. The slightest sign of whimpering would have meant instant death. John, the eldest, in an attempt to pacify the Indian expressed a cheerful attitude and told the Indian he was pleased of being captured and that his father was a hard master and he wanted to live in the woods to become a hunter.

Educated in frontier ways and fearful of being recaptured John decided that the only way to insure not being followed was to eliminate their prospective pursuers.

'Henry,' he said, 'we must kill these Indians.'

Taking a loaded rifle he placed his brother at a vantage point not inches from one of the sleeping Indians placing the muzzle directly at his head. He then instructed his younger brother to pull the trigger the instant he saw him move.

John then took a tomohawk and straddling the other began beating the skull of the other Indian as he slept.

The first blows only stunned him but John only swung the weapon harder and faster until not a sign of life was left. At the same instant little Henry pulled the trigger of his rifle which John had placed against a log and blew away the lower portion of his jaw.

After the wars a friend of the murdered Indians inquired of the boys. When told they still lived at the blockhouse, he declared they should be made kings for their bravery.

These stories are no doubt duplicated in many details and in many places. They give such a vivid picture of life, of bravery, of death that they cannot be overlooked. Their information is not the type to figure in large histories, but it is so human that we may all learn much of human behavior and attitudes from them. We may not like all the details, but we cannot ignore them.
Hatred caused by hostility does not disappear easily. The frontier was no exception. We hear stories of Lewis Wetzel, Samuel Brady, Simon Girty and many others who continued fighting long after the wars were over. Reasons for this are evident and understandable. A truce between nations does not balance a murdered family or a slur on character. Nor does it make bad men good. There are those who will not be restrained, and who will continue their own private war long after the initial causes are no more. In this light, we may read what Christopher Cutright said of his father, who was about ninety at the time of the incident:

Many years after the last Indian depredation, a solitary Indian passed through the settlement and was seen by my father. Despite the fact that the old scout was so aged and infirm he could only walk with a cane his old time hatred was aroused to the degree that he hobbled to the gun rack and took down his ancient flintlock and would have shot the Indian had not his family restrained him. The old man was closely guarded until the Indian disappeared from the neighborhood.\(^\text{13}\)

Finally, there are several character sketches of frontiersmen. These include men who fought for the Colonies, for the British, and for and with the Indians. They are presented without comment.

The militiaman of the Virginia border was a unique figure, proud, arrogant, and wholly self-reliant. These wild, deadly riflemen chafed at restraint and discipline. Like the Indian whose warfare he emulated he could not at all times be relied upon in battle.


Detroit
Dec. 4, 1775

The Virginians are haughty Violent and bloody. The savages have a high opinion of them as Warriors but are jealous of their encroachments and very suspicious of their faith in treaties.

In the inroads of the Virginians upon the savages, the former have plundered burnt and murdered without mercy.\(^\text{14}\)

John Cutright interviewed by Hon. W.C. Carper, 1838

He told me he once stopped under a walnut tree to crack walnuts and ‘a god damned Injun shot me’. He showed me where the ball had entered under the arm and glanced around the ribs and came out under the arm on the other side.

Cutright added, ‘I stuck a chaw terbacker in the bullet hole’.

My father came up and began to talk to Cutright on the subject of religion. The old Indian fighter seemed averse to this topic and abruptly said, ‘Ad quit talkin about religion, it is all damned nonsense.’

Timothy Pickering wrote to General Washington (National Archives, Vol. V)

The inhabitants appear many of them to be a wild ungovernable little less savage than their tawny neighbors race by similar barbarities have in fact provoked them to revenge.

The disaffected (Tory) inhabitants are a terror to their neighbors and that some of them mingle with the Indians in committing these horrid calamities.

Told to L. C. Draper by Lewis Bonnet, 1848

After the family was murdered by Indians and several of his brothers and sisters and himself were taken captive, Peter (Spicer) lived with the Indians so many years that he finally turned against the whites and joined the Indians in their raids and murders into the white settlements.

Other prisoners returning claimed that Spicer was a cruel tyrant to white prisoners.

On the raids he was often seen riding a fine white horse he had stolen from the whites. After the Wayne treaty he tried to gain possession of his fathers estate but failed. He died on Sandusky in 1815.

George Rogers Clark wrote to Colonel Morgan of the events at ‘Welunk’ in 1774 at the outbreak of Dunmore’s War. (Pennsylvania Archives Vol. VI, pp. 261-2).

The war post was planted and the men tossed a collection of scalps taken into a common pile Some in breach cloths dancing wildly waving tomahawks.\(^\text{16}\)

The picture we have indicates the ruggedness needed to survive in a new frontier. Civilization and its concurrent use of law did not spring up quickly. It needed precursors, the frontiersmen. The individuality and self-reliance they exhibited, their seeming disregard for the amenities of
civilized life, and their passions were vital in the spread of new ideas. They had a place in the development of a territory, but their place was taken as the more genteel forces of social organization moved, somewhat more slowly, westward. The fact that the frontiersmen likewise moved would show the call of that type of life.

We must consider whether this new civilization had more than the original one. The Native Americans had a civilization, with all the complexities of the Colonists, but didn't have the technology, and this, to a large extent, brought them down. Were it otherwise, the spread of Europeans over this continent would have been slowed tremendously. The Native Americans would have to be treated more fairly, and some of the difficulties we have today might have been avoided. But might have been does not help when we see the grizzly aftermath of the Marovian massacre, or the stories of frontier families destroyed. Nor can it alleviate our feelings when we consider the estimated thirty million Native Americans who died of smallpox. It would have been nice, what might have been, but as it is we must view the life of the frontier, an amalgam of Native and settler, an often tenuous union of two cultures, as a conflict between divergent lifestyles, and see the reflection of ourselves in those who wrested territory, better or worse, from its original peoples.

NOTES


2. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 15J4-48.

3. Ibid., 2SS47.


6. Wisconsin Historical Collections 1SS203.

7. Ibid., 3QQ130.

8. Ibid., 2SS7.

9. Ibid., 3QQ74.


15. Ibid., 101.

John Alexander Williams WEST VIRGINIA A BICENTENNIAL HISTORY (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976)

This charming bicentennial history of the Mountain State is written in a fashion befitting the state's best living historian. Each chapter covers a sequence of West Virginia history and is pegged to an important event described by its geographic and historical significance: Point Pleasant, Harpers Ferry, Droop Mountain, Tug Fork, Paint Creek, Hawks Nest, and Buffalo Creek. In each chapter, Williams describes the event, then goes into a historical survey of the time period and returns to the topic of the chapter.

Williams argues that in so much as the history of West Virginia has a central theme it may be found in the phrase used by the first explorers: a "pleasing tho' dreadful" land. In its pleasing aspects West Virginia's mountainous terrain resembles Vermont. But, unlike Vermont, the mountainous terrain lies on top of rich natural resources which characterize West Virginia's history. The presence of coal constitutes a second theme, one which "has been a curse upon the land that yielded it." Williams concludes that

In its repetitive cycle of boom and bust, its savage exploitation of men and nature, in its seemingly endless series of disasters, the coal industry has brought grief and hardship to all but a small proportion of the people whose lives it touched.

Much of the reason for coal being a curse on the land has been the control of that mineral by out of state interests whose exploitation of the natural resource has proceeded with a callous disregard of the best interests of West Virginians. Absentee owners control at least two thirds of the land of West Virginia.

The struggle over control of the resources of the state might be called yet another theme, though Williams stops short of saying so. During the state's first century the struggle was over land; later it shifted to a conflict over control and exploitation of natural resources. Williams projects a major environmental struggle in the next quarter of a century which will pit "weak and poorly organized coalitions of local reformers and interest groups" against powerful and well-disciplined combinations of absentee owners and middlemen. He sees this as a re-run of the unequal tax and labor struggles of the past.

Williams' history is characterized by probity of scholarship, skillful writing, and careful analysis of historic events with a sharp eye towards the human element. The reader senses his concern for people as they are affected by events, rather than a pedestrian facts for facts sake approach. One never doubts that Williams' sympathy is with the people of his native state rather than the special interests or outside economic colonial forces.

The strength of Williams' scholarship is illustrated by his treatment of the Hatfield-McCoy feud in his chapter on Tug Fork where he insightfully comments that powerful social forces were at work. He comments that "it is no coincidence that the feud broke out at the turning point from preindustrial to industrial society". Williams notes that the central events took place in the 1880's which were years of critical political and economic change in southern West Virginia.

Williams' skill in synthesizing the factors which account for the major trends in West Virginia mark him as a superior scholar. He is the preeminent historian of West Virginia, a worthy successor to the mantle of Charles H. Ambler.

The book contains an attractive photographic essay on the state by Joe Clark. The pictures are a useful capsule over-view of diverse characteristics of the state.

Reviewed by
Dr. Kenneth Robert Nodyne
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Richard Beach. **TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF SHEEP RAISING IN THE UPPER OHIO AREA** (Washington, Pennsylvania, 1976)

Upon seeing the title of this publication, *Two Hundred Years of Sheep Raising in the Upper Ohio Area*, this reviewer expected to read about sheep raising in the "northern" portion of the state of Ohio. However, after opening the cover, a map showing the settlement and transportation systems of the study area revealed that the author meant the Upper Ohio Valley not the Upper Ohio Area! More specifically, Dr. Beach really focuses on the contiguous counties of Harrison and Jefferson in Ohio, Brooke and Ohio in West Virginia, and Washington in Pennsylvania.

Despite this somewhat misleading title, this book is highly informative, well researched and focuses on an economic activity that was at one time, extremely important to this area and country. Under the sponsorship of the Bicentennial Commission of Washington County, Pennsylvania, this study explores in sizeable detail the various aspects of the sheep raising industry that waxed and waned within the five county area. Great care is given to the economic and land use changes that result with sheep raising during these two centuries.

Dr. Beach approaches his subject by properly introducing the reader to the basic characteristics of these five counties; e.g., domination of sheep raising as an agricultural pursuit, the major periods of change, and the overall political, economic and physical factors that helped to explain this way of life. After a general introduction, the reader is exposed to a detailed examination of the four major periods of sheep raising within the study area. According to the author, the four periods are: The Growth Period of the Sheep Industry, 1770-1850; The Hayday of Sheep Raising, 1850-1880; The Decline of Sheep Raising after 1880; and The Residual Condition: Sheep Raising in the Early 1970s. Special care is taken to explore the multitude of factors that led to the numerous changes within each of these time periods. In fact, this amount of detail may be of interest to scholars only.

Examples of this detailed research can be found in the following topics: why various breeds are raised during specific time periods; the merino in the middle and latter 1800s, and the dual purpose and mutton varieties in the latter 1800s and early 1900s. Attention is also given to the changing landscape that results from sheep raising. Things such as sheep barns, sheep sheds, fences, fulling and carding mills, and even the physical appearance of the fields are properly noted and described. Assessment of numerous United States tariffs on woolens and worsteds is provided to further explain the local sheep raising pattern. Even the problems resulting from dogs, competition from other agricultural activities, mining, industrialization and suburban sprawl are all considered.

The publication is an outgrowth of the author's Ph.D. Dissertation from the University of Pittsburgh. One expects, therefore, a well written documented product and this is the case here. The author employs an excellent array of maps, photographs, and graphs to illustrate his major themes. On occasion, however, it is difficult to justify a particular map being used (a good example is the map on the inside front cover which shows interstate systems but no highway servicing West Liberty).

Over all, this study provides a good general history of the area with special and detailed reference to the sheep raising industry. Not only does this publication provide detailed insight to the development of the local industry but it provides an insight to the national sheep raising industry. The book, then, can be of great service for local research into the five counties and a guide to the sheep raising industry overall.

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BOOK REVIEW


Professor Nye has written an excellent companion piece to his CULTURAL LIFE OF THE NEW NATION, 1776-1830 and maintained the high standards set by previous volumes of the New American Nation series. These two works tie together a solid and broad coverage of American civilization during the first eighty years of our national cultural history. As a literary and cultural historian with prizes and awards for other works he has long experience and substantial achievement equipping him in taking on the very large order of the reform movements, literature and history, natural and physical science, the fine arts, education, thought and religion, all without neglecting the social man. It has not been done before in this framework quite so well and he accomplishes a near miracle even as he leaves out of his work the ordinary life of farmers, workers, businessmen, and the family; the man who gave his name to the Age of the Common Man, Andrew Jackson; the intensification of the industrial revolution in its economic setting; and the turmoil of the slavery controversy. In omitting certain subject areas he has left himself open to some legitimate criticism. However, choices in subject matter had to be made and we wonder with the quality of his presentation not on what he has left out but rather on what he has set out to do.

As a literary historian Nye gives the arts, letters, humanities, science, religion, and thought their just due in one volume, though social affairs are covered more in breadth. Historians have traditionally dealt gingerly and apologetically with some of the subjects which he deals with energetically and skillfully. This subject used to be referred to as the "Flowering of New England" but now in Mr. Nye's deft hands has come to be treated as the flowering of most of the United States. This has been a needed corrective. American culture developed fully in young adulthood on the strength of the infusion of many ideas from Europe modified by and adapted to the needs, talents and native organizations which used them. Emerson, the towering cultural figure of the period was influenced by currents of thought under the rubric Transcendentalism, yet remains essentially American. Some of our leading scientists were molded by scientific developments from Western Europe Joseph Henry our first Director of the Smithsonian Institution, Asa Gray, who got Darwinism a decent hearing, and Louis Agassiz himself a native Swiss and Professor of Natural History at Harvard University for twenty-five years. The effect of this is that Emerson no longer occupies the center of the ante-bellum cultural stage. Other giants now command our attention.

Most of the topics discussed in his book can be found in more detail in monographs by specialists but the crisp and often elegant turn of phrase keeps a familiar subject moving and the reader thoroughly involved. The book "reads" easily and is designed for both the general reader and professional. He handles his material so well that one almost overlooks those subject areas he has by-passed. However, the areas omitted are not inconsiderable and leave one with the vague feeling that the cultural activities and social movements mentioned were taking place in a vacuum. The phrase, "The year 1861 lies like a sword slash across nineteenth-century America" comes upon us as something of an anticlimax because his presentation of the topic carefully shields us from the holocaust which burst on us. The Civil War seriously curtailed our nation's constructive cultural energies into pursuits which did not enhance the nation's cultural image. Yet the Civil War itself must exist here in a peripheral context to his basic efforts.

The topics Nye has chosen are done well and expertly, especially the fine arts and education. Efforts in the latter field led to America's chief world contribution, the establishment of the institution of state supported public education on the primary and secondary level. Certainly this was linked to the political framework at the grass roots level. The period itself partially parallels that of its European counterpart as "romanticist", although romanticism is probably given too much credit. While the label is generally valid in its original connotation, it was definitely modified within a persistent pragmatic context, modified in turn with continuous improvisation, the eternal American style. What emerges here is a fairly clear picture of homos Americanus (the South excepted). The portrait is essentially northern, with its eastern and western variations, and whose dynamic quality of life was not blighted by the cancer of slavery. The impression is also optimistic, along with that peculiarly American blend of idealism and materialism.

The author accomplishes most of what he sets out to do and apparently does not feel remiss in neglecting those fields he has not mentioned. In his hands culture is the stronger emphasis with gaps in the social history but his achievement comes in the blending of cultural with social phenomena and this enhances the quality of both. Nye's strength comes not as a sociologist but as a scholar whose forte is in the humane arts and letters, American style. This is what "makes it." He will be criticized as was Turner and Beard for his omissions, both in subject and interpretation but in my judgment the strongest portions of the book cannot be made very much stronger and the so-called weak sections are not that weak.
Nye's work will be the model from which further work has to be done, and this is the highest tribute I can pay him.

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