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**THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY**
by
Dr. William F. Trimble

Lecture delivered before the Wheeling Area Historical Society, October 4, 1979

America is a conglomerate of small towns, neighborhoods, and larger municipalities, and many aspects of the histories of these localities have been ignored or not examined as thoroughly as they could be. This shortcoming in itself should be enough to warrant their attention by the serious amateur or professional historian. But local history is more important than this. The story of the history of Wheeling or any other locality can be especially revealing about changes and the process of change in America as a whole.

The study of local history allows the researcher to test theories and assumptions about American society, and to do so on a manageable scale. In essence, the study of local history provides a microcosmic view of American social history; much of what we can learn from local communities and their history can be applied to the United States as a whole.

Further, the study of local history permits the examination and, often, the dispelling of myths about American history and society. Ideally, the aim of all history is to arrive at some higher, transcendentinal truth. However, histories written by or about some social class or ethnic group often abound in myth. In popular studies of Pittsburgh history, one frequently reads about the “good old days” in the Hill District or Homewood sections before the arrival of the blacks, or of the glorious years of the Civil war when all Pittsburghers rallied around Lincoln to oppose the South and slavery. There were no good old days. These and other myths have been largely done away with by more serious work in local history.

Another appeal of local history is that it is more approachable, somehow more real, than national or state history. It is part of us, and part of the communities in which we live. Therefore, it seems more relevant and less remote than other categories of history. And, local history preserves distinctive features of our heritage that otherwise might be lost.

Despite what should be the obvious significance of local history, the experience of many professional historians, including myself, in graduate school led me to the dismissal of local history as not important. In the past five years I have asked myself why this should be so. I suspect that national history, the great sweep of events and personalities, seemed always more exciting. Local history was also considered the realm of the amateur historian, and to pursue its study was deemed somehow unprofessional. After all, professionals consider themselves to be an elite. Thankfully, my attitudes, and those of many others in history, have
changed dramatically. As editor of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, I have, of course, had to read more and learn more about local and state history. Though I would still not classify myself an expert, I can now at least relate intelligently to Generals Braddock and Forbes, Andrew Carnegie, urbanization, industrialization, and ethnicity.

In another way, professional historians have had to reevaluate local history. College and university history departments, faced with declining enrollments and appropriations, have had to become more community-oriented. California State College, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Carnegie-Mellon University, and West Liberty State College in the Pittsburgh and Wheeling areas have been forced to be more active in local history.

Let us look at local history more closely and try to assess it and evaluate it. In a sense, all history is local history. Events simply do not occur in a vacuum; they are tied in one way or another to a locality. Prominent figures are in many ways products of their environment. Andrew Carnegie, a Scot and both a national and world figure, was molded by industrializing Pittsburgh of the mid- and late nineteenth century. In Wheeling, Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s delivered a speech in which he threatened to name (but did not) a large number of Communists in the American government. This touched off one of America’s worst periods of red-baiting. Though McCarthy was from Wisconsin, the Wheeling speech, for better or worse, has become a part of our national history.

But what I really want to emphasize here is what the study of local history can tell us about American social history.

Through the use of social science techniques and the assembly and analysis of statistical data on local communities, the historian can learn much about America and its people. Here, the process of localization reduces the historian’s data base to manageable levels. At the same time, the resulting facts and figures are for the most part typical and, within certain bounds, can be considered representative of America as a whole. It is simply impossible to glean much of anything important from aggregate census data for the entire nation. But the historian can isolate one community, examine the detailed manuscript census schedules and come up with all kinds of fascinating insight about the community and its people.

The use of statistical data is extremely useful because it tells us about people who, for various reasons, did not record their thoughts and actions. By exclusive reliance on traditional data — letters, documents, manuscripts, diaries — one cannot get the complete picture, and one thereby misses important information about the inarticulate masses. Relying on statistical data, that is, manuscript censuses, tax records, land-office records, and insurance company records and maps can tell us about the people who did not leave their own records. We can learn, for example, about people’s lifespans, occupations, living conditions, and marriages, with the result being a clearer picture of the general social makeup of a particular area.

Another nontraditional source for local history is oral history. The ideas and thoughts of older residents of the community are useful for putting together the history puzzle. Nevertheless, oral history must be used with care, and the techniques for its successful execution are highly specialized. Without it, though, we would lose a significant part of our community’s past.

What can local history tell us about changes and the process of change in American history, and what are some of the myths that have been thereby dispelled over the years?

American society, many of us have been taught, rested on the presumption that if one worked hard and lived a virtuous life, one could get ahead without too much trouble. This is known as the myth of the self-made man or the Horatio Alger myth in American history. The study of local history has shown that in the United States, social and occupational mobility is far more circumscribed than we have been led to believe. Those born to lower classes tended to remain in those classes. Those in lower-paying jobs, or who had fathers in those jobs, tended to remain in those jobs. The Andrew Carnegie “rags to riches” story is unusual and largely unique.

John N. Ingham, in his recent book, *The Iron Barons: A Social Analysis of an American Urban Elite*, has closely examined Pittsburgh’s urban industrial leaders in the late nineteenth century. He found, for example, that 53 percent came from families of upper-class background, (97 percent were Protestant.) Only 1.5 percent came, like Carnegie, from poor immigrant stock. By reading Carnegie’s writings, however, one would get the impression that he was the norm rather than the exception.

Wheeling is one of the cities that Ingham uses in his comparative study of industrial elites. And here, he produces some interesting results. The urban industrial leaders of Wheeling — the elite — far more than other cities Ingham examined, came from a more heterogeneous background. Many rose from lower-class or working-class backgrounds to the top. In contrast to Pittsburgh, 27 percent of Wheeling’s elite had working-class backgrounds. This leads Ingham to the conclusion that generally Wheeling had a more open and more fluid society in the late nineteenth century. Still, Ingham finds that only two of the iron and steel elite in Wheeling came from truly poor immigrant families, and that the elite was 93 percent Protestant. Catholics had little chance to move up socially or economically. Perhaps the key to the greater incidence of mobility in Wheeling, Ingham speculates, is the fact that the LaBelle Iron Company and the Belmont Nail Company were both formed by iron workers who pooled their resources.2

We have also learned from many history textbooks that the reform process in the early twentieth century was noteworthy for eliminating the corrupt urban bosses and curbing the powers of the industrial robber barons. The study of urban history on the local level has forced us to reevaluate this. Samuel P. Hays, for instance, has studied the political reform process in connection with reform of Pittsburgh’s public school.
board in 1911. Prior to 1911, the board consisted of elected representatives chosen on a ward basis. There were frequent charges of corruption, influence, and other abuses. The “reform” substituted an appointed board, largely consisting of middle-class and upper-class businessmen and professionals, who sought to strengthen their own role in municipal affairs. We have also learned that corrupt political machines performed essential public services for city residents. Studies of Pittsburgh and other cities have shown that the machine was both useful and efficient. In return for votes, people got police protection, garbage pickup, water, light, heat, and sewage disposal. Recently arrived immigrants obtained employment in return for their votes, and graft was a necessary “lubricant” allowing things to get done more smoothly.

Finally, there has been a persistent belief in America in the “melting pot,” or of a coming together or mixing of diverse ethnic heritages into one American creed. Again, local history has helped to dispel this as a myth. Studies of Pittsburgh’s and other cities’ ethnic communities have shown ethnicity to persist over many generations, with no real assimilation until at least the third generation. Italian groups, for instance, through at least one generation, have even retained a village identity, reflecting attachment to specific communities in their homeland. Language illustrates this well. Walk through an ethnic community in Wheeling, and listen to the older residents. Many still use their native tongues, and most would be considered second generation immigrants. Far from weakening America, such ethnic diversity has strengthened it.

In Wheeling, and many other communities, a great deal remains to be done in local history. One should look into, for example, the relationship of Wheeling to the larger Pittsburgh metropolitan area. Can one follow up on Ingham and examine Wheeling’s elites to see just how much mobility there was in the city? What about ethnic groups? Where were the concentrations in Wheeling? Where did these people come from, what were their jobs, and did they exhibit any significant mobility? What impact did transportation innovation have on Wheeling? The railroad and the streetcar transformed nineteenth-century American cities. In Wheeling, what effect did they have on suburbanization and the decline of the central city as early as the early 1900s?

One of the true joys of local history is that there is so much to do and so much to be learned that is important for our understanding of the complete picture of American social history.

NOTES

2. Ibid., pp. 69-78, 210-18.
THE END OF URBANIZATION: A CRITICAL ESSAY

by

Richard T. Geruson

Ten percent of all Americans believe that this country would be better off with no cities at all. Another twenty percent believe that it would not make much difference whether or not we had them in the first place. Perhaps reflecting this unease Americans continue to be very mobile. Thirty percent intend to move during the next two years. Of these, four of ten plan to settle in a small town or rural area outside a metropolis. These intentions mirror preferences. The fact is that almost one-half of our citizens express a desire for living in a rural area, small town or village not in the suburbs. Is this the end of urbanization — at least as we have known it? If so what will the new era be like?

The process of urbanization as a transformation of society will draw to a close in the United States during the last quarter of this century. The completion of this momentous shift is foreshadowed at the empirical level with the integration of almost all that remains of the rural population into vast urban fields and of almost all work patterns into the industrial mosaic of metropolitan-service economies. The future will continue to see social change but the redistribution of opportunity and people will be between and within these urban realms rather than from the farm to the city. Much of the current urban dilemma originates because the forces generating the period of what can be called the “urban transformation” are coming to an end and simultaneously a new set of forces have been emerging to usher in the era of “urban maintenance.”

While the characteristics of urban transformation from a rural agricultural to an industrial land of cities are well-known (but by no means completely understood) those of urban maintenance are perceived only dimly and their effects largely unknown. Low fertility, high geographic mobility for new social groups with new motivations; different attitudes toward family, occupation, job and traditional institutions; the rapidly rising prices of fossil fuels and other natural resources; the information explosion; the new awareness of the limits of our biosphere to sustain life; the deterioration of many political and social control mechanisms; the international shifts at work including the urban transformation in the Third World and global rising expectations are but a few of its characteristics. A new urban era is at hand. The question is how do we come to grips with it?

This new epoch shows shifts in the population, environmental, technical and organizational variables which interact to create social change within the metropolitan-service system. The conflicting viewpoints of neighborhood activists, middle Americans, businessmen, policy-makers and other interest groups reveal confusion over the goals, direction and pace of urban change in the era of urban maintenance.

In the last few years scholars have written a large number of works which try to assess this new direction that urbanization has taken. This essay will look critically at a cross-section of such books and in so doing examine how the new patterns and paths of urbanization are rooted in historical trends. It will also suggest the opportunities and problems that urbanization continues to present to planners, policy-makers, and all persons interested in raising the quality of life in the next generation.

The books to be examined are No Growth: Impacts on Metropolitan Areas by Edgar Rust, The Mature Metropolis by Charles Leven, The Rise of the Sun Belt Cities by David Perry and Alfred Watkins and two by George Sternlieb and James Hughes, Post-Industrial America: Metropolitan Decline and Inter-Regional Job Shifts, and Revitalizing the Northeast: Prelude to an Agenda.

These five works vary in their viewpoints but all center on the theme of urban maintenance. Edgar Rust’s study lends a needed historical perspective stressing the effect of population growth slowdown on long-run metropolitan health. Charles Leven on the other hand presents a wide ranging series of up-to-date reviews by a cross-section of eminent social scientists on the state-of-the-problem existing in the full-grown metropolis of the Seventies. The Perry and Watkins work provides a clear counterpoint. It seems the rural city phenomenon as the normal expansion of capitalism within a more radical framework — one that frequently has Marxist overtones. This is in contrast to the works of Sternlieb and Hughes which analyze the problem of “old age” in the northeastern megalopolis in a more classic economic style. However, they also stress some creative policy options. They focus on and make reasonable recommendations for reforming the urban renewal process in line with the long-run historical forces at work.

Edgar Rust takes a comparative historical view of the relationships between a lack of population growth and general economic standard of living for a large number of metropolitan areas. He makes the interesting observation that non-growing populations exist in poor areas or in areas that are not growing economically as well as the nation as a whole. He then tries to analyze whether non-growing places are not growing because they are poor or whether they are poor because they have not been growing in population. The difference has very important ethical and policy implications. Rust’s approach is straightforward. Three chapters introduce an historical overview. Ten case studies, for the period 1940-70, of change without growth follow. He then draws his evidence together in four chapters. One is on the dynamics of not growing and a second is on the comparison of all fifty-eight non-growing metropolitan areas with twenty-nine similarly structured but continuously growing locales. The last two chapters present the essence of the study and the policy recommendations.

One concludes from his work that the migration process is “distilling” the more mobile and economically rational persons into the faster growing places while the less mobile persons are remaining behind in the slower
growing ones. Thus, the theoretical classic model of economic balance between differently endowed regions and metropolitan areas is no longer coming about. While it may have worked when the country was being transformed from a rural to urban nation it no longer applies. Imbalances seem to have increased since World War II due to the differential spread of non-growth symptoms.

The author suggests that three factors have dominated the history of the slow-growth areas. One was “boom” growth. Hasty building to exploit short-run economic advantages led many developers to choose locations which were subject to natural disasters of major proportions. This is illustrated in the case of Johnstown, Fort Smith, Saint Joseph, Pueblo and Wilkes-Barre. A second repeated theme was the abandonment of technologies or resources which lose their competitive edge over time. Examples of this would be the decline of Altoona and Terre Haute with the eclipse of the railroad or the Duluth-Superior, Johnstown or Scranton with shifts in the mining of fossil fuels or the by-passing of the old steel and iron gateway cities of Wheeling and Pittsburgh by the new market-dominated locations of post World War II steelmaking. A third theme was the differential impact of changes in military spending. Examples of vulnerable areas were Amarillo, Montgomery, Wichita, Seattle, and Cape Kennedy.

The main importance of Rust’s book is that it establishes that, throughout the twentieth century, there have been slow-growing metropolitan areas. However, a slow-down in population growth does not necessarily mean a prolonged or pronounced decline in the urban standard of living if adjustments can be made in the social and political modes of life. He stresses that the slow growing cities exhibited positive characteristics. Church, family, and ethnic ties were strong and the incidence of stereotype disease was low. They were relatively safe from crime, housing was relatively cheap, and tended to be owned rather than rented. These strengths then must be incorporated into plans and programs for the new urban era.

Charles Leven’s work explores the general picture in different terms. He looks at the origins and extent of maturity in urbanized areas in general, at how such mature metropolises operate, how they are organized and how the emergence of new factors since World War II have changed them. Here Leven, in common with Sternlieb and Hughes, pose causal stridence should be given to technological and government policy changes as opposed to Rust who views demographic changes as paramount.

From a long-run viewpoint the more important technical changes that ended the urban transformation and ushered in the era of urban maintenance were auto and truck transport, loosening the ties of people and goods to central city, and air transport, linking the business elites of various larger cities in closer contact than ever before. In a complementary fashion continued increases in agricultural productivity and increased world demands for food completed the mechanization of and hastened the flight from rural America. The government’s road-building and house-

building subsidy programs of the Fifties and Sixties complemented the above and fed to the “firestorm” sprawl originally identified in a volume entitled, The Exploding Metropolis. This was the nationwide suburban boom. This has been partly responsible for the impacted financial crisis of our central cities. Unable to expand geographically, old in capital structure, filled with service needs — the difficulties seem immense. However, even this movement had deep historical roots, as Sam Bass Warner’s classic Streetcar Suburbs described the significant suburban expansion of Boston in the nineteenth century. Will we be as ready for the emerging forms and functions of our metropolis as we were unprepared to deal with suburbanization?

Leven carries the argument toward the future. He notes that the 1970’s were different from the Fifties and Sixties. Not only did almost all central cities stop growing but entire large urban areas had now joined the no-growth smaller and mid-sized ones of Rust’s analysis. However, he could have specified these changes precisely. What we have seen is a sharp reversal of many characteristic migration patterns of the 1950’s and 1960’s. The movement from north to south has reversed for both whites and blacks. New growth centers in the west and south have appeared and some traditional ones such as Atlanta, Los Angeles, Miami, and Denver have slowed down. The movement from center city to suburbs continues but it is now joined by two distinctly new shifts. Movement to the outside rural fringe of metropolitan areas grew dramatically for the first time in almost one hundred years and a significant group of middle income and upper income individuals are now settling in selected central cities again. In short migration in the era of urban maintenance is more complex, diverse, and harder to predict.

Perry and Watkins place the maturity question in a different light. They look at the rapid growth of the economy of the sunbelt cities as quite complementary to the decline of the northeast regions in terms of the evolution of capitalism. They see a need to recast the very definition of metropolitan health so that economic measures and their pursuit does not lead to social ills.

However, this work is not as satisfying, as the conflict between workers and capitalists is not the basic reason behind the changes taking place; sufficient consideration is not given to some major historical shifts which led to the sunbelt’s recent metropolitan growth. These urban centers were born in the era of instant, low cost, communication and information processing. They had the added ability to design free-flowing cities tuned to the aircraft, automobiles and climate control — without super highways and air-conditioning the Houston type complex could not exist. Since World War II the new urban south and west have captured large amounts of the growth industries, synthetic fibers, photo equipment, petrochemicals, aerospace, and so forth. Simultaneously, they were not hindered by an extensive obsolete capital plant typical of older industries such as metal working, machinery, automobiles, railroading, and food-processing of the north central and northeastern urban quadrants. They were also favored.
dramatically by world increases in demands for energy and foodstuffs in which the southern and western states had inherently great natural advantages.

Though this work is uneven in quality, two pieces stand out as most stimulating. One is the contribution by W.W. Rostow’s “Regional Change in the Fifth Kondratieff Upswing;” the second is Robert B. Cohen’s “Multinational Corporations, International Finance.” Each of these pieces treats a distinct and important aspect of the rise of the sunbelt question.

Rostow makes the point that the relatively rapid growth of the south in the post World War II epoch has been due to three factors. One, latecomers to modern economic growth can catch up quickly based on the ease of transfer of technical and human skills in the highly mobile world of today. Two, there has been completely inadequate national economic policy in the fast two decades. The federal government has simply not conceived of its job in a way which considers regional equity and security within the metropolitan network. It has only tried to promote growth and efficiency and has largely been inept at that. Three, Rostow claims (and here is the origin of the title) that we are in a fifty-year upswing of natural resource prices that started in the late 1930’s. This upswing aids regions which have such a resource base with favorable terms of trade. The sunbelt cities being in such regions end up profiting at the expense of other areas of the nation.

Robert Cohen presents some very interesting research results and comes to the conclusion that while the sunbelt is a booming and revitalized region the total picture is not all rosy. Corporations are rarely headquartered in this area and the rapidly expanding overseas segment of American industry does not favor the southern rim. Nor do members of the financial community or the major research and development spenders locate much of their activity in this region. When combined with the fact that there remain significant poverty pockets and growing environmental threats (such as water shortages and air pollution), this leads us toward the idea that such rapid urbanization is not complete and may have high human and social costs attached.

The two collections of Sternlieb and Hughes have parallel structures. They move from background on trends and regional evolution through analysis of problems to policy recommendations. The earlier work, Post Industrial America (1975) complements the Leven book most directly in its discussions of underlying urban processes and problems. Fine chapters on the fiscal, housing and employment problems add topical interest.

Especially good is the easily available description of the patterns of economic and social changes among the northeastern metropolitan areas. Detailed attention is given to the case of New York’s crisis with two chapters on the region and the state.

Another mark of this work is the extensive amount of solid economic and social data presented in dozens of clear tables and charts. These present graphically the sharp decline in the northeast has been at an accelerated pace in the period since 1955. They also indicate that a turn-around in the complex of factors underlying such decline will not happen easily. Patterns of resource use, technological, demographic, and industrial change are very strong counter-trends to an upturn. But where can we look for hope? The answer would be public policy.

Unfortunately, the weakest parts of this book are the very statements on policy and planning processes. These are unimaginative and almost despairing in tone. In contrast, the second work, Revitalizing the Northeast, written three years later is decidedly more positive in approach and much more detailed in policy. While it, too, recognizes the new economic geography of both old and new metropolitan areas and the problems associated with maintaining service productivity in a post-industrial world - these authors do not despair. To illustrate, Wilbur Thompson in a short piece entitled “Aging Industries and Cities: Time and Tides in the Northeast,” ties the decline of certain metropolitan areas to long-swings in economic activity. He notes that weak policy cannot combat strong market forces. What is needed are rearrangements of reward structures including relocation allowances for migrants as well as adaptation of government service mixes to declining population. The purely industrial approach to revitalization is unjustified and largely used less if it does not take into consideration occupational changes. For example, suppose a region’s decision-makers pick out those occupations which offer the best opportunities for upwardly mobile and skilled women and then find the industries (service and non-service) which employ them and aim at those industries. This tends to solve a severe long-run equity question and attract and keep top male talent in any area where the female talent finds good opportunity and a personal growth environment. Recent indications of corporate male mobility patterns strongly support this view, as data suggest that the women’s choice in jobs modifies dramatically the man’s choice pattern.

These creative policy options complement the best pieces in the Leven book; namely those concerned with projecting how the emergence of a post-industrial era might be grasped and understood by regional leadership. In two pieces “The Central City in the Postindustrial Age” by Harvey Perloff and “Tomorrow’s Agglomeration Economies” by Norman Macrae, ideas complementing Thompson’s can be discovered. These authors see that new industry in the widest sense is the key to revitalization. These include head office, knowledge and technology activities, recreation and tourism, arts and cultural services, health, learning, and other personal services and neighborhood preservation and rehabilitation. These industries as now organized do not fit in too well with many important features of the corporate-big government world in which we live. Public partnerships are required to promote substantial reorganization of the ways of producing, distributing, and consuming these services. As a first step, investment in human beings and appropriate social incentives have to be agreed upon and politically augmented.

Whenever the five works are rooted deeply in good historical explanations their points are made most convincingly. Whenever they try to in-
interpret the present from the present, or forecast a future without looking adequately at historical trends, they are most unconvincing. Murray Bookchin in a brief, almost philosophical essay entitled, “Toward an Urban Future,” explains it this way:

...by removing the city from the history books
and placing it in the account books
...it has ceased to become a human creation.

Bookchin continually grounds his concept of the city in the Greek polis, where civic man reigns supreme. An active body politic, a socially involved citizenry is the very life force of the city. He hopes for a municipal, reawakening. A democratic rebirth marked by an

all new conception of the city that fulfills our most advanced concepts of humanity's potentialities: freedom and self-consciousness, the two terms that form the historic message of Western civilization.

He sees “decentralization and human scale as the bases for a new civic arena...A city landscaped into the countryside promoting a new land ethic.”

Can the rebirth of neighborhood and block associations, the questioning of centralized government, the growth of ecological, consumer and local reform groups provide the social basis for creating a more beneficial, just, and secure man-environment system for the future? Will Bookchin's dream become a reality? Will the end of the old urban ways lead to the development of a new quality in urban life? Such questions are at present unanswerable. But in posing them we uncover small possibilities. In perceiving even small indications we can learn how to benefit from the new historical patterns and take balanced policy paths to shape an uncertain future. We can discover new and more humane 'ends' for the urbanization process. This may give us sufficient edge to improve our choices and raise our chances to thrive rather than merely survive, in the coming era of urban maintenance.

NOTES


5. On any of these topics the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (Glencoe, Ill. Free Press, 1968) is an invaluable starting place.


8. The equilibrium concept is straightforward. With perfect mobility and information, resources (land, labor, capital and management) flow toward locales with highest rates of return. Business firms tend to go toward locales where the costs of these factors are the least for them and hence profits highest. For a succinct exposition see Harry W. Richardson, Regional Economics, Location Theory, Urban Structure and Regional Change (New York, Praeger, 1969).


14. For a good view of these problems in the older metropolises see: Edwin S. Mill, Daniel Feeenberg, and Randall Zisler, "Environmental Problems in the Mature Metropolis" in Leven pp. 169-186; Marcus Alexis, "The Economically Disadvantaged in the Mature Metropolis" in Leven pp. 281-302.


A SURVEY OF CHILDREN'S AND ADOLESCENTS' HISTORICAL FICTION ABOUT THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

by

Dr. Maryann Ehle

History has revealed very little to us about the role of children and adolescents in the dramas of changing events. As F.N. Mongo, an editor and author of historical fiction and biography, wrote, "History can often be most unobliging... It will tell us precisely what Mrs. Lincoln wrote to her bonnetmaker about the shade of lavender ribbon she wanted on her hat. But it will not tell us one word about whether or not Lincoln's young son, Tad, ever talked with his father about the Emancipation Proclamation..." No, history goes its wayward, uncooperative way, dumping its jumble of facts at our feet... (1976, p. 258)

In this, the International Year of the Child, it is appropriate that we consider the position of the child and the adolescent in the formation of Upper Ohio Valley history. One approach is through historical fiction.

In historical fiction, the author deliberately strives to reconstruct the thought and life of a period of time other than the present. Characters, settings, situations and language are drawn from the past. Real persons, true events and actual places are frequently introduced into the historical novel along with fictional characters, actions and plot. But always good historical fiction must be accurate and authentic. However, all research should appear as an essential aspect of the narrative, not laminated as an interesting detail. Works of historical fiction are not freed from the requisites of narrating good stories. They must not simply dress up history, but relate tales which are fascinating in themselves. A plot may be created and characters developed, but historical fiction must present an accurate and authentic presentation of the fundamental record of the period. There must be neither distortion of values nor distortion of facts. Tales must precisely reflect both spirit and action of the period. Authenticity of the language used in historical fiction is also important. Language must reflect the flavor of the period but archaic words should be explained.

The following are a series of works of historical fiction which reflect the role of the child and the adolescent in the development of the Upper Ohio Valley.


Robinson's Trace through the Forest both reflects the criteria for good historical fiction and reveals much about the historical role of the child in the Upper Ohio Valley. Her book is an exciting account of the Zane Expedition from Wheeling, West Virginia, to Maysville, Kentucky. Jim Fraley, fourteen years of age, was the only boy to accompany Colonel Zane and his eleven men to blaze the Ohio Trail in 1796. Jim was permitted to accompany the expedition in order to search for his father and older brother, Jeb, who had been gone for more than a year searching for land to settle in the Ohio Territory. The party of men encounter a lone Indian, Wapanucket, who becomes their scout and Jim's good friend. After many conflicts and adventures, Jim eventually locates his father, captive of a warring tribe. He discovers that his brother has died of a fever. Jim rescues his father, who then plans to bring his remaining family members to farm the land he selected. Farming is not Jim's forte, so he joins forces with his friend, Wapanucket, to trap and live in the woods. Woven into the many intriguing adventures of this tale is the graphic presentation of what the opening of the new territory meant to both Indians and Whites.


In her book The Valley of the Shadow Ohio writer Janet Hickman has portrayed the grim tale of a group of peaceful and loving Moravian missionaries and their Indian converts, who in 1781 were trapped in the center of the tragic conflict between the Colonists and the British. In all the Moravian towns of the Ohio country of 1781 missionaries and converts alike strive to maintain peaceful neutrality. But they discover that neutrality is an impossibility and the violence and hatred of war inundate them. The story is related from the narrative point of view of Tobias, whose father is the stern Indian assistant to Brother Heckwelder. Lonely, small and feeling that he can never fulfill his father's high expectations, Tobias eludes total misery through his friendship with Thomas and his family. Tobias fears the truth of his father's complaints that he is less brave than his Indian ancestors and not as full of faith as his Christian brethren. Night after night Tobias is tormented by dreams of screams and singing, of white men with long knives, of evil and terror. The Delaware chief later comes to warn them that if they stay in their villages the Long Knives will devour them. But among the basic tenets of the Moravian faith are nonviolence and compassion, so the congregation elects to remain as neutral nonparticipants in the conflict. The Long Knives do arrive and deceive the Indians into relinquishing their knives and guns. The Indians are then herded together, put into two buildings, then systematically massacred. Because Tobias is small, he is able to crawl through a celloar window and escape certain death. In the woods he meets Thomas, who had been scalped and left for dead.

This story is true, based upon authentic records and little known diaries of Moravian missionaries of old Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhutten, Lichtenau and Salem. Thoroughly researched, the novel reveals one of the Revolutionary War's best-kept secrets. Two boys did escape from the massacre as outlined in the story. Tragic and horrible as the facts are, the narration provides them with meaning and feeling. All the characters are completely developed. The conflict between Tobias and his father is credible. The language significantly reflects the lives and environs of the
Indians. Though devastatingly tragic, the story is not one of total despair. For just as old Tobias held high hopes for his son, we, the readers, are left with hope for the desperate band of surviving Indians who had truthfully passed through their “valley of the shadow of death.”


Hickman moves to a later period in Zoor Blue. This historical novel depicts our nation in the dire turmoil of the Civil War and describes the impact of civil war on the remote pacifist community of Zoor, Ohio. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Zoor, an isolated but prosperous farming community founded by German Separatists, is disconcerted by threats of war without and by changes within. Zoor’s inhabitants begin to question the stringent Separatist principles that govern their lives and Zoor’s wall of protective isolation collapses. Adolescents in Zoor — specifically thirteen-year-old Barbara Hoff and seventeen-year-old John Keffer — are particularly affected by the war’s turbulence. An orphan, Barbara, escapes to search for a little known relative in Pennsylvania. John enlists in the Union Army, rejecting Separatist edicts, and finds himself jolting across Ohio in a railroad car to defend Covington, Kentucky. Both are torn physically and emotionally by their experiences and interactions in the shattered country “outside” Zoor. They return home with much revised self-perceptions and with different visions of their niches in the world. Zoor Blue presents a unique aspect of Civil War history within the context of the adolescent’s search for freedom, responsibility and identity.


In The Year of the Bloody Sevens William Steele depicts the tragedy and terror frontier living represented for some children and adolescents. Kelsey Bond, eleven years of age, decides to journey west to Kentucky to join his father at Logan’s Fort. He joins forces with two “woodseys” for safety and companionship, but one day they are ambushed by Indians. Kelsey knows he should aid them but his legs just won’t respond to his mind’s commands. When he returns to the campsite, he finds both “woodseys” dead. Kelsey runs away from this grim scene, branding himself a coward. Even after he reaches the Fort and locates his father his feelings of cowardice continue to overwhelm him. His father reassures Kelsey that the long difficult journey to Kentucky required great courage. Kel finally decides: “Maybe the bravest things were the things you did without knowing you were being brave, without expecting other people to know you were brave.” Steele’s writing is characterized by much similar backwoods wisdom, expression, realism and conflict.


M.C. Higgins, the Great, a novel by Virginia Hamilton, describes three days in the life of a black boy in the mountains near the Ohio River. Thirteen-year-old M.C. experiences his first love during this brief span, philosophizes a lot and decides to create his life on the mountains. He ignores his father’s simple folk superstitions and learns to think for himself. When a treacherous path to the wilderness, M.C. outlines a solution to the impending doom. The book is as leisurely and unburdened as the mountain people depicted. However, a more authentic picture of mountain life might have been presented through greater attention to mountain and Negro dialect and to the social and historical backgrounds of the characters.


Duffy’s Rocks is the setting of a small town outside of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Here Timothy Brennan grew up under black mill smoke during the Great Depression. Because his mother had died when he was quite young and his father had deserted the family, Timothy lives with his iron-willed Irish grandmother. Once when Timothy was about seven his father stopped briefly at home and promised to take him to the circus in the morning, but disappeared before Timothy awakened. The Depression provides historical background for the plot while the action focuses on Timothy’s search for his father and his own identity. In New York he finds his father’s second wife and learns that his father has left for Mexico; perhaps for Guatemala. Timothy at last confronts the truth: “It was as though he was forever running away, and the world was full of people who has loved him and whom he had left behind.” The story is a moving, emotional, provocative one, speaking not only to the condition of many of the alienated adolescents of today but to the youth of yesterday as well.

Relatively little historical literature about the role of the child and the adolescent in the development of the Upper Ohio Valley is being published. Well-written and thoroughly-researched works of historical fiction describing the role of child and adolescent in the changing dramas of this area are needed. Good historical fiction can help a child to understand the continuity of life and his niche in history. It might broaden his horizon to encompass the events of the past and arouse his curiosity about the future. Through such books he might view history not as a sterile subject to memorize but as an intriguing encounter with the past.

Fine historical fiction may provide him with a perspective for making decisions. Today’s events are tomorrow’s history.
Author's note: In the autumn-winter 1979 edition of the Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review, the writer of the following commentary presented the Fox account of the earthquakes of 1811-1812 as they affected Wheeling and other parts of North America. To acquire background on Fox himself, he sought the guidance of a Fox descendant, H. Howard Cusic, who is associated with Rybeck Studios, a Wheeling firm in interior decorating on the National Road. With Cusic he visited the Quaker meeting house near Colerain and the graves at the side of the meetinghouse where Fox and his wife, who became a Friend in 1807, are buried. A commemorative plaque dedicated in 1976 was placed at the foot of Josiah's stone. They then visited the house which Fox built at Colerain, across U.S. 250 a short distance from the meeting house. It is owned by Cusic and his sister, Mrs. Theodora Weneke, who lives there with her husband, Arthur, and daughter, Lisa. It was at this home, in his 83rd year, that Fox wrote the following letter to Thomas Ellicot, son of Andrew Ellicot, surveyor-general of the United States, who was second cousin to Josiah Fox. This typed copy of Fox's letter is reproduced exactly as it was found in the National Archives, Washington, DC.

Colerain, Belmont Co., Ohio, 1846.

Respected Friend, Thomas Ellicot, Esq: Thy letter without date of neither month nor year was received by me through the medium of the Colerain Post-office. I was pleased in reading a letter from thee and will endeavor to give you such information as I may possess relative to thy enquiries.

In the latter part of the summer of the year 1793, I came from Plymouth, the County Devon, in the Kingdom of G.B. (although I am a native of Falmouth in Cornwall). I think it was about the 9th of October, 1793, that I arrived at Dumfries in Virginia, from whence I went to Alexandria and after staying there a few days went to Baltimore and from thence to New York by water, where I arrived during the prevalence of yellow fever at Philadelphia; as soon as it had subsided to which place I was going, an opportunity offering of going to that city by a vessel found there I embraced it.

In the latter part of the following April, Viz, in 1794, General Knox, then Secretary of War, hearing from Dr. Rush that I was in the city and about to leave for England, sent for me to have some conversation on the subject then under contemplation of creating a navy to protect merchant vessels that might trade in the Mediterranean from depredation and capture by the cruisers of Algiers, which had previously captured several of the merchant vessels of the U.S. trading to that part of the world and put their crews into slavery. I was instantly employed on that service, to which I was recommended by the late Andrew Ellicot of Philadelphia, Commodore Burtz, Penrose and most of the principal master ship builders of Philadelphia and from that time was employed on that subject. As soon as the necessary draughts were completed and the masts made (the results I leave to judge) when I was promoted to build a frigate at Gosport I was sent there as assistant constructor, where I remained until the yellow fever had made some progress, when I returned to Philadelphia and was placed in the War Office under Timothy Pickering, who had succeeded General Knox in that office.

On the defection of Edmund Randolph and other prominent officers of the Government and Timothy Pickering being translated to the State Department, that gentleman selected me to construct and superintend the building of a frigate to carry thirty-six guns to the Dey of Algiers in the year 1796. I was absent nearly four months in the Eastern States on that mission, When I returned and resumed my station in the War Office, Mr. Walcott, the Secretary of the Treasury, insisted that I should sign my account as Navy Constructor, which was accordingly done by the consent of Mr. McHenry, who was then Secretary of War, and I continued in that Office with all the books, papers etc., relating to the Navy, and Mr. Walcott placed the funds appropriated by Congress for the Navy Office to procure whatever I should consider necessary for that office, where I continued until the year 1798, when the then Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin Stoddard, gave directions to build a frigate at Gosport where I acted as constructor and superintendent, the only yard that ever was or I suppose ever will be placed hereafter under the Constructor alone, without a Captain to superintend, which plainly shows that the Government had full confidence in my attention and capability, and I accomplished it in the time given. Some time after Mr. Jefferson came into office, I was dismissed with several others from my official station, but in the year 1804, was again called into office by the same administration and the whole of the construction and repairs of the Navy committed to my charge. My attention was also appropriated to the Navy Yard of Washington City until the late Paul Hamilton thought proper to dismiss me 1809, and the office remained open five years before his dismissal from office for interemperance when William Jones succeeded him, one of whose acts was to give the situation to a former assistant of mine and they have now placed my late apprentice, C. D. Brodie in the Navy Yard at Washington in my place.

The situation I lately held was a lucrative one as I received $2000 per annum salary and $250 more for house rent, and the
privilege of having five apprentices which last was worth me about $3000 per annum so that my income was about $5000 per annum besides my own property which has become $1000 per annum more.

(Signed) Josiah Fox

There follows an account of “Service of Josiah Fox in American Navy” apparently prepared by him but transcribed in order to better order and without his duplications:

July 16, 1794 — Appointment as Clerk in the Department of War.
May 12, 1795 — Appointment of Temporary Assistant Constructor at Norfolk.
July 12, 1796 — Orders to proceed to the Eastward On Certain Service.
August 1, 1798 — Appointment as Naval Constructor at Norfolk.
October 26, 1801 — Proceeding annulled.
April 13 & 14, 1804 — Letter of Navy Secretary Robert Smith offering appointment as Navy Constructor.
May 4, 1804 — Appointment accepted.
For some reason, Fox does not in this list describe his activities after 1804.

COMMENTS ON THE LETTER AND FOX’S CAREER

(As indicated earlier, the comments on Fox’s letter in the Fall-Winter 1979 issue of this publication were by the present author. There had been no time to do research on whether Fox went down the Ohio to gather information concerning the effects of the 1811-1812 earthquakes west of Wheeling. A recent telephone conversation with Fox, descendant Merle Westlake, affirms that he did. Westlake, by the way, has an imposing collection of Fox’s correspondence.)

To comment thoroughly on each paragraph of Fox’s letter would require a lengthy article or even a book. To avoid this necessity, the treatment here will concentrate most on the Barbary Wars and the Fox part in the building of the Crescent, which Westlake affirms he had. The name “Crescent,” presumably chosen by the dey (i.e., Governor) of Algiers, is the half-moon emblem adopted by the Turkish Empire following the taking of Constantinople in 1453. According to Webster, the half-moon is the symbol of Turkish power “and, by extension, Mohammedanism as a political force.”

Discussion of the Crescent brings up the unpalatable subject of how the United States, under the presidency of George Washington, a heroic military leader earlier against the French and English, could have been induced to bear the cost of building a frigate and three smaller vessels, to deliver them, and to give them free to a much smaller and weaker power. This power, in fairness one might add, had been guilty of the capture, imprisonment, and even enslavement of many American seamen.

The Quakers Fox and Joshua Humphreys were persuaded by Timothy Pickering and others to design the vessels. They insisted on good materials so that the job would not have to be done again in a few years. 22

The American capitulation brought a storm of protest and satire. William Eaton, Navy American consul in Tunis, in his report to the Secretary of State, burst forth with: “This is the price of peace. But if we will have peace at such a price, recall me, and send a slave, accustomed to abseement, to represent the nation. And furnish ships of war, and funds and slaves to his support, and our immortal shame. 23 The foregoing is quoted by Glenn Tucker, in Dawn Like Thunder (Bobbs-Merrill, 1965) pp. 25-26, in his account of the Barbary Wars.

The Secretary of State Pickering, 24 in a July 8, 1797 letter to Secretary of War McHenry, gives the following advice about the gift ship:

The guns, however, ought to be critically examined, and proved: they ought also, I think, to be uniform; and if those we have are not so, they may be best to cast a new set at Cecil furnace, and to have them turned (to take off the most considerable roughness at least) while they are boring. 25

Steiner, in a footnote on page 181, work cited, says that the Cecil furnace was probably that at Principio, in Cecil County, Md. The author is in possession of photographs taken by Frasier Smith, of Oglebay Park, of the Principio Iron Furnace. It has a relation to the Wheeling steel industry, as is suggested by the history of Wheeling written by Earl Chapin May, and entitled Principio to Wheeling (Harper, 1945).

One may ask “What were the Quakers Fox and Humphreys thinking of when they designed ships of war that were to be given to a country that would use these vessels to prey on others’ commerce?” Fox and Humphreys were dismissed from membership by the Philadelphia Quakers, because of association with war-like activities, and Fox for the additional reason of marrying a non-Quaker girl. 26

The problem is all the more difficult in the case of Fox, who was a direct descendant of George Fox, who in the century before, around 1652, had begun the movement in England that eventuated in the founding of the “Religious Society of Friends,” who soon picked up the now acceptable name of “Quakers.” The name is of disputed meaning and origin.

George Fox and his followers favored self-reliance in religion, opposition to war, and quietude in meetings, where members tended to speak only as the Spirit moved them. Quakers in the United States met a great deal of opposition as the new nation emerged from the Revolution. Trade with the nations of Europe was necessary for a new country to grow and defend itself against its enemies. Trade itself was difficult, however, with enemies like the Barbary Pirates waiting to pounce on rich prey. Privateers from England and France were doing the same thing to the infant country of America, and of course England had encouraged piracy, at least as far back as the Sixteenth Century. 27 It is not hard to imagine that Fox reflected on all the alternatives for this country and threw himself into his work with the hope that humiliation by the Barbary Pirates would only be a temporary necessity, in the long view of emerging history. 28 During these five years American trade in the Mediterranean at times reached surprising proportions, while her navy, except for a while under Jefferson, grew formidable.

So far Josiah Fox’s American activities had been limited pretty much to the eastern coast. In the previous issue of this publication, Fox describes
his two-week trip to Wheeling with his family, along with the long series of earthquakes of 1811 and 1812.

Merle Westlake, op. cit., thus summarizes the latter days of Josiah Fox:

In 1811, Fox removed to the headwaters of the Ohio River with plans to build boats for trade with the West Indies, a business venture that never materialized. Construction of ships on inland rivers, where timber and labor were more readily available, was then typical, but the Embargo Act of 1807 had taken its toll; the War of 1812 then halted virtually all commerce. In 1833, Fox inherited a sizable family estate and retired, spending the remainder of his life as a gentleman farmer. He was an active and progressive Quaker and a leader in the Hicksite rebellion in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1827. He died at Colerain, Ohio, in 1847.

On August 21, 1976, a public ceremony was held in the quaint Concord Cemetery at Colerain, north of National Highway 250 a little over ten miles from Wheeling. A plaque listing Fox's accomplishments for the United States Navy ship-building program was placed at the foot of his modest little gravestone. The plaque was worded:

Josiah Fox
1763 – 1847
A Quaker, He wielded great influence
in ship design during the
early years of our country

1794
CLERK, UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT

1795-1798
ASSISTANT NAVY CONSTRUCTOR

1799-1801
NAVY CONSTRUCTOR & SUPERINTENDENT OF
BUILDING-GOSPORT, VIRGINIA NAVY YARDS

1804-1809
UNITED STATES NAVY CONSTRUCTOR

DESIGNED:

*U.S.S. CONSTITUTION (“OLD IRONSIDES”) 1797

*U.S.S. UNITED STATES 1797

*U.S.S. CONSTELLATION 1797

U.S.S. CRESCENT 1797

REVENUE CUTTERS PICKERING, EAGLE, DILIGENCE 1797-1798

U.S.S. CHESAPEAKE 1799

U.S.S. JOHN ADAMS 1799

U.S.S. PHILADELPHIA 1799

SCHOoner FERRET 1804

GUNBOATS No. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 1804-1805

BRIG HORNET 1805

SLOOP OF WAR WASP 1806

JOINT EFFORT – FOX/HUMPHREY/DOUGHTY

The writer understood Westlake to say he did not design the plaque.

He would not have misspelled Humphreys. It is doubtful, too, if he would have put “U.S.S.” in front of CRESCENT. On page 320 of his cited article, Westlake says “During Jefferson’s administration, Fox was responsible for designing the sloops Hornet, Wasps, and Ferret. Fox wanted these small boats to be supplemented by larger, and he more or less played them down by saying ‘They will however in a few years furnish our cities with good Oyster boats.’”

The only vessels on the above list Westlake seems not to mention in his Pennsylvania Magazine article are the Pickering, Eagle, and Diligence. Chapelle in his earlier (1935) edition, on 182, says that “It is not known how many of the cutters built in 1797-8 were on his lines, but it is certain that the Pickering and one built in Philadelphia [Eagle or Diligence] were constructed from his plans, as Fox received payment for these draughts according to his papers in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. As the dimensions of at least seven of the new cutters seem to have been the same, it is probable that all of these were built from Fox’s plans.”

At the 1976 plaque presentation, Lieutenant M.M. O’Malley, USN, of the Navy Recruiting District in Pittsburgh, gave an address on “Josiah Fox: His Contributions to Naval Ship Building.” A Quaker historian, author, and teacher in the Olney Friends School, Barnesville, O., William P. Taber, Jr., gave a talk on “Josiah Fox: Unsung Citizen.”

The biographical note on the four-page program says that Fox “moved to the Ohio Valley in 1811 intending to build ships for trade, but because of the Embargo Act of 1807 and the War of 1812 this venture never materialized.”

The note also states: “Josiah Fox directed the building of his home in Colerain, copying the family home in Falmouth, and completed the front wing in 1830. He spent the remainder of his life as a gentleman farmer until his death in 1847.” His home was reproduced on the front cover of the previous issue of this Review.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Irene Ochsenbein, in Bridgeport, Ohio, and Mrs. Helen Knierim, of Wheeling, this writer has had the privilege of examining a copy of the will of Josiah Fox. Its details gives it historical value for persons in various lines of research. It is hoped that someone can study it carefully to give greater insight into the interesting life of one of this area’s least known but yet most famous persons.

NOTES

1. Fox is now recognized for his prominent role in the building of the first U.S. battle fleet. This subject is well covered by Merle T. Westlake, of Lexington, Massachusetts, a Fox descendant, in “Josiah Fox, Gentleman, Quaker, Shipbuilder,” in the July 1964 issue of The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Also see frequent references to Fox in Howard I. Chapelle, The History of the American Sailing Navy (Norton, 1949).

2. As Westlake notes, Andrew, the father of Thomas Ellicott, was a second cousin of Josiah Fox. He was noted for his revision of
L'Enfant's plan for Washington, D.C., and for extensive surveys of the western and southern frontiers of the United States. He died in 1820.

3. The writer is indebted to the National Archives in Washington and particularly to his friend Vincent J. Bosak, an official in the Archives and to an obliging archivist, Mr. Becky Livingston, who quickly located two boxes of Josiah Fox letters. One of the letters was Fox's summary of his work for the Navy at various locations. It is the object of this article. The present writer was working from a typed copy of the letter, which bore on the side of the first page here discussed, the name and address of "Elizabeth Brandon Stanton, P. Box 183., Natchez, Mississippi." In his article in PMHB, p. 325, Westlake cites an article by Mrs. Stanton, great-granddaughter of Josiah Fox, on "Builder of the First American Navy," The Journal of American History, 1908 issue. "Mrs. Stanton," Westlake says, "quoted letters written by Secretary Pickering stating that Fox had prepared the drafts and moulds" of the ships of war. On this same page Westlake says that Fox in 1825 in a signed statement to the Secretary of the Navy takes credit for innovations in building procedures in the American ships of war.

Mrs. Stanton is the author of several works from 1909 to 1939: both fact and fiction related to Aaron Burr in Natchez, a Boston boy's adventures (fictional) in Louisiana, and the history of the Natchez Trace from prehistoric Indian times to U.S. Highway 61. She evidently planned to incorporate the present excerpt on Fox into his biography as indicated by her labeling this letter as "CHAPTER VI" with a running head of "185 YEARS AGO." If she was writing in 1948, it would have been 185 years since Fox's birth in 1763.

4. The Yellow Fever is commonly thought to have originated in Africa. It was brought to the United States by slaves. Philadelphia was said to have lost one out of six people in this epidemic.

5. This is doubtless Dr. Benjamin Rush, ratifier of the Constitution, who in 1793 was battling yellow fever with a new bleeding treatment: "the more bleeding, the more deaths" was one observer's comment.

6. The American "slaves" were apparently well-treated.

7. Ellicott is sometimes said to have completed the survey of the Mason-Dixon Line from its original terminus to the Ohio River not far below present Wheeling, i.e., from a little north of Littleton, then Va., to a spot just north of Proctor on the Ohio. This is very doubtful.

8. Commodore John Barry commanded the United States, launched in 1797.


10. The sentence seems not to have been completed.

11. Gosport was a port in Virginia, equivalently Norfolk.

12. "assistant" for "assistance."

13. Pickering was Secretary of State succeeding Randolph, in 1798-1800. Timothy Pickering, 1745-1829, a native of Salem, Mass., was a Harvard graduate in law who did little in that field. He was a Revolutionary War veteran, newspaper controversialist, post-war mercantile businessman, a farmer in the Wyoming Valley in Northeastern Pennsylvania, where he showed skill in crop rotation and animal husbandry. He was a Federalist and a friend of Alexander Hamilton, served as both Secretary of War and Secretary of State, but was dismissed from the State Department in 1800. He later was a United States Senator, 1803-1811. He was the father of ten children. Pickering succeeded the well-known Henry Knox as Secretary of War. Knox's background included ship-building.

14. Edmund Jennings Randolph, 1753-1813, was Secretary of State but forced to resign his office in Dec., 1795, because of political turmoil resulting from his rapport with the French minister and his conciliatory policy toward England. Randolph gave the country good service as delegate from 1781 in the Continental Congress and, after some hesitation, in the ratification of the Constitution. He was associated with James Madison in working for union.

15. For Walcott read Wolcott, i.e., Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury 1795-1800 in succession to Alexander Hamilton. He was the son of the Revolutionary War commander of the same name. He was governor of Connecticut, 1818-1827.

16. James McHenry (1753-1816) Secretary of War under Washington from 1796 to 1800, when he resigned at Adams' request. During the Revolution he had been secretary to Washington, 1778, and a member of Lafayette's staff, 1780. He was a Maryland Senator for five years and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. See Bernhard Christian Steiner, The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry (Burrows, 1907), pp. 180-183, for Fox's and Joshua Humphreys' roles in designing a battleship for the pirates!

17. This name is spelled Benjamin Stoddert. He lived 1751-1813. He was the first Secretary of the Navy. He was a grandson of the James Stoddert who emigrated from Scotland to La Plata, Md. His son served in the Maryland military during the French and Indian War and his grandson Benjamin served in the Revolution, surviving grave wounds in the Battle of Brandywine. He served as Secretary of the Board of War and later was appointed Secretary of the Navy by President Adams. He was before and after this time in a mercantile career in Georgetown but died deeply in debt.
18. Paul Hamilton (1762-1816), was Governor of South Carolina in 1804-1806. He became Secretary of the Navy under Madison but "resigned" because of Republican opposition in 1812.

19. William Jones, (1760-1831), was Acting Secretary of the Navy under Madison, president of the 2d U.S. Bank, collector of customs in Philadelphia, and acting Secretary of the Treasury after Gallatin.

20. Robert Smith (1759-1842) was born at Lancaster, Pa. He served briefly as a private during the Revolutionary War. He had law experience before being appointed Secretary of the Navy by Jefferson. Although a member of the Republican party, he did not see eye-to-eye with Jefferson on some matters, including the Embargo, though he tried to enforce it. He was not popular with Madison, who rewrote some of his communications. A pleasant man, he nevertheless felt constrained to write in defense of his record.

21. The head of the Algerian regency, elected by fellow Janissary officers (from 1689), was titled dey, and though his family life was restricted to prevent succession claims and he was confined to Algiers, he had virtually absolute power; 30 such deys ruled Algiers in succession between 1671 and 1830. Ency. Brit. (1974).

22. The names of both Fox and Humphreys are mentioned by Pickering to McHenry in letters of July 8, 1796, where their designs are described. Cf. Steiner, note 16.

23. Tucker, op. cit., p. 364, describes Eaton thus: "Among his striking features were his large, expressive, penetrating blue eyes that reflected authority, or as quickly, when that was the mood, impatience."

24. Pickering, whose biography has been given in Note 13, was the ancestor of several residents of the Wheeling area. The family apparently stems from the Yorkshireman, John Pickering, who settled in Salem, Mass., in 1637. One of his descendants, Clyde W. Pickering, age 88, heard about Fox's article on earthquakes and initiated telephone conversations with the writer. He disclosed that he is not only a descendant of Pickering but of Fox, whose daughter Rebecca married Clyde's ancestor Elijah Pickering. Clyde Pickering lives just west of St. Clairsville.

25. The writer has made some effort, whether successful he does not know, to have the Principio furnace put on the National Register of Historic Places.

26. Cf. Westlake article, pp. 318 and 319. Anna Miller Fox became a Quaker, as we have noted, in 1807.

27. E.g., in the time of Queen Elizabeth, piracy was knighted in the persons of Francis Drake, John Hawkins, and Walter Raleigh.
BOOK REVIEW


It appears that Angie Debo has written the book to end all books on the colorful career of this famous chieftain and corrected the stereotypes which have blemished his reputation. Much of the outline of the work is based on an autobiographical account written down by S.M. Barrett as dictated by Geronimo in the last years of his life. Debo's book has a definitely western flavor to it with the repeated narrations of the U.S. cavalry's chases of the Apaches across the West frequently into Mexico. Geronimo's wild dashes and manoeuvres were designed to put distance between the U.S. forces and the Mexican army. The raiding and marauding, while not thoroughly justified, is explained by the Apaches' need for simple survival in a semi-desert region. The western flavor of the work is authentic but the author warns us that its verifiability must be modified by conjectural statements: it is thought that, and an endless number of probablys, etc.

The writer's sympathy for the fabled chieftain is not strained by maudlin sentimentalism or a do-goodism for Indians. Geronimo comes through as a full four-dimensional personality who is warrior, a person capable of deep compassion and adaptability, and as a man who possessed amazing business acumen. When he died on the Fort Sill reservation he had amassed a sizable bank account through his various ventures. Debo's writing proves that history can be both accurate and lively at the same time.

Finally, in a day when sex-role differentiation is being continually blurred and women are entering into an increasing number of "new" fields, we see a writer with over a generation of experience in western writing who is as much at home in that medium as Billington, Clark, Webb in formal history, and Harte, Clemens, Grey in fictional literature. We hope that with Geronimo she hasn't wound up her noted career.

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