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Eleventh Publication
of the
Oswego Historical Society



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FALL AND WINTER PROGRAM

1947

October 21—Tea Marking Formal Opening of Society's Headquarters House to Society's Membership.

November 18—"Oswego's Streets—How They Got Their Names".—Frederick W. Barnes, Vice-President of the Society.

November 30—Public "House-Open" Reception at Headquarters House.

December 16—Christ Church an Old Oswego Parish—Ralph M. Faust, Vice-President of the Society.

1948

January 13—"A Folklorist Joins the Historians", Dr. Louis C. Jones, Director of New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, N. Y.

February 17—"George Washington Looks at the Present", Dr. Harvey M. Rice, President of Oswego State Teachers College.

March 16—"Very Rev. Michael J. Barry, Dean of the Diocese of Syracuse, His Life and Work in Oswego", Miss Jane McGrath of Oswego, formerly of the Faculty of the Indiana, Pa., State Teachers' College, former Oxford student and holder of Columbia and Chicago degrees.

April 20—"The History of the New York and Oswego Midland Railroad." Peter Dugan of the Faculty of the Massena, N. Y. High School.

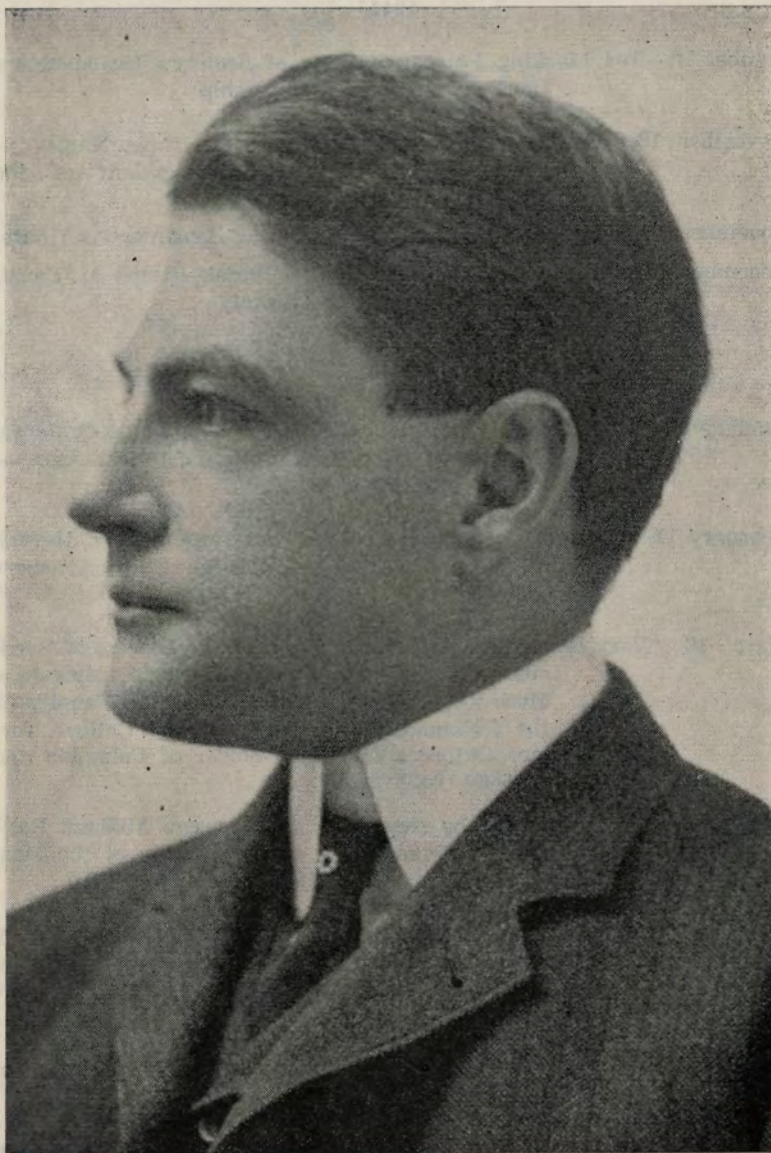
May 18—"Amherst's Expedition Through the Oswego River Valley Against Montreal". Fred Winn of the Social Studies Department of Oswego State Teachers College.

September 21—"Dead Man's Hollow" Mrs. Arthur V. DeLong of Lacona, N. Y.

October 19—"Redfield—One of Oswego County's Oldest Towns"—Mrs. E. M. Allen, formerly of the Faculty of Oswego State Teachers College.

November 16—"South Shore Lake Ontario Traffic 1610-1759"—Alexander M. Stewart of Rochester, N. Y.

===== "Lest We Forget" =====



NORMAN LAWRENCE BATES

A life-long resident of Oswego, having been born in Oswego June 22, 1865 as the son of Mr. and Mrs. Byron Bates, Norman Lawrence Bates, during the span of his active life made important contributions to the causes of local history in our county and to the causes of Oswego Historical Society of which he was secretary

at the time of his death May 19, 1923, an office in which he had served with devotion for the preceding decade.

When Oswego Historical Society was organized in 1896, Mr. Bates, who had then but comparatively recently completed his college work and returned from an extended tour of Europe did not become one of the 30 charter members of the society, although the uncle, Max B. Richardson with whom he made his home, had been one of the early members of the organization. Mr. Bates became a member, however, a few years after the organization of the society. He was its secretary when the Oswego Society entertained the New York State Historical Association in 1913 during the presidency of Dr. James B. Riggs. From that time forward Mr. Bates served continuously as a member of the society's Board of Managers until the time of his death.

During a large part of his adult life Mr. Bates was engaged as a collector of rare items related to the early history of Oswego county and city. He gave especial attention to the expansion of the private collection of Indian relics which had been started by his uncle, Max B. Richardson, and to which Mr. Bates made many important additions during his life time. Our society has now come into possession of this collection through the generosity of Mr. Bates's surviving children. A part of the Bates Collection was exhibited at the Fortnightly Club at the time the State Historical Association met here in 1913. Some items of it were presented to the State Armory at Oswego and added to its collection of objects of military interest. Most of the latter, however, have since come into the possession of the Historical Society.

Mr. Bates was also an active member of the New York State Historical Association during his adult life. One of his classmates at Union College from which they had been graduated in 1888 was Frederick B. Richards, of Glens Falls, N. Y., who at the time of Mr. Richardson's death was secretary of the society. Later Mr. Richards served the State Association as treasurer for many years and is yet a trustee and officer of the State Association.

While members of our society will recall Mr. Bates best, perhaps, as the result of his great interest in historical matters, his activities in the Oswego community were many and diverse. He had associated himself, upon the completion of his college course, with his uncles, Max B. Richardson and Lawrence Richardson, in their real estate and insurance business which had been established in Oswego in 1860. Upon the death of Max B. Richardson Mr. Bates succeeded to that business. He was a director of the Second National Bank of Oswego, a trustee of the Oswego County Savings bank, and inherited the Richardson Theatre of Oswego from his uncle, Max B. Richardson who had built that theatre. He served for several years as president of the Oswego Country Club, and was a member of the City Club, Fortnightly and Yacht Clubs of Oswego. He served as a director of the Oswego Chamber of Commerce for many years and as a member of the Board of Managers of the Oswego Development Bureau. He was also a vestryman of Christ Church.

About a year after Mr. Bates's death, the Oswego Historical Society amended its by-laws so as to admit women to membership for the first time. One of the new members admitted was Mrs. Florence (Morley) Bates, the widow of Norman L. Bates, who thereafter continued as an active member of the society until her death in December 1945.

In December 1946, the surviving children of Mr. and Mrs. Norman L. Bates—Elizabeth M. Bates who married John Cowles, now of Minneapolis, Minn.; Sarah Richardson Bates, now the wife of Calvin Tomkins of Palisades, N. Y., and Maxwell R. Bates of Grosse Point, Mich.—presented to the Oswego County Historical Society in trust for the people of Oswego city and county, the former Bates residence at 135 East Third Street, Oswego, which we are today enjoying as our Headquarters House and as the location of our Museum of Local and County History. In view of the long and sustained interest of Mr. and Mrs. Bates in the causes of local history in this community, the gift of their children made in their memory, seems to have been peculiarly fitting as a memorial to their parents.

In recognition of Norman L. Bates's long and distinguished services to this Society and to the cause of New York State and Local History, Oswego Historical Society, through formal action by its Board of managers appreciatively dedicates this volume to his memory.

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Looking Forward

The year 1948 will witness the observance of a number of centennial anniversaries in Oswego County, some of purely local interest, but others of county or state-wide interest. Oswego will become 100 years old as a municipality during the late spring months, although the public observances planned to mark the event will probably not take place until some months later.

In November will come the centennial of the arrival in Oswego of the first regular passenger train to travel across the county from Syracuse to Oswego on the Oswego & Syracuse railroad, the first railroad to be built in the county, then finally completed after nearly a decade of effort. The railroad, after a long period in which it was leased, is now owned by the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad. The latter has made known its willingness to participate with the City of Oswego and other groups, in a common centennial celebration now being planned for the summer months.

Oswego Masonic Lodge No. 127 F. & A. M. also celebrates its centennial in 1948. Other centennials falling in this year which have already been reported and which will undoubtedly be observed in some form include those of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church of Oswego which was organized May 25, 1848; St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church of Oswego, also organized in 1848; the Minetto Methodist Episcopal Church, the first Methodist Church to be organized in Oswego Town the organization meeting having taken place at the Dennis School House November 15, 1848.

In the fall of 1848 the Orphan and Free School Association was organized in Oswego by Edward A. Sheldon and others to provide education for the children of the new city who by reason of poverty had not been able to attend any of the schools previously organized in Oswego for attendance at which fees must be paid. The Association opened its first school in the basement of the old Tabernacle which stood on the site now occupied by the Oswego Theater. When it was opened in the fall it was attended by 120 children most of whom had never before had opportunity to attend any school. This school and the organization which fostered it paved the way for the movement to organize all public schools of the city upon a free basis. It was not until 1853, however, that free public schools became a reality in Oswego. Dr. E. A. Sheldon, first secretary of the Board of Education, became the first superintendent of schools. He it was who was to become the founder of the Oswego State Normal and Training School which came into being a decade later.

Oswego County Historical Society will undoubtedly be called upon and will desire to play some part in some of these centennial observances. We should prepare ourselves to answer those calls as they come.

* * * * *

While the effort will in no sense be a direct contribution of this Society to the observance of Oswego's Centennial, and it is not so in-

tended, it is a matter of much interest to members of our society to learn that Ralph M. Faust, long one of the vice-presidents of our society, is at work upon the preparation of a new and enlarged edition of his excellent work "The Story of Oswego", first published in 1934, but long since out of print. The original edition of this book bore upon its title-page an imprint of the seal of Oswego Historical Society. The new work will be an added contribution to the general interest in matters historical that the observance of so many centennials this year, is cultivating. Mr. Faust plans to have his work on sale by mid-summer.

* * * * *

One of the most important tasks which lies before our society for accomplishment in this new year will be one of the most demanding and the most time-consuming as well. Its successful accomplishment will call for greater sacrifices of private time, energy and devotion than the general membership of our society has ever in the past been called upon to make. I refer, of course, to the task of completing the cataloging, identification and display of the hundreds of items which have been contributed or acquired for its Museum Collection. This major task must have our first attention. The public spirited citizens of our county have met in a period of about ten months the society's request that they subscribe \$5000 to meet the expense of moving our collection items, identifying and displaying them in appropriate backgrounds. Most of the amount subscribed came in from persons making small contributions—some of them as low as twenty-five cents. Collectively, however, the contributors represent hundreds of persons from every nook and corner of our county, who have cheerfully pooled their money to make it possible for this society to open the new museum to the public in this present year. We must and will keep faith with them.

Our appreciative thanks are due at this time not only to Chairman Ralph M. Faust of the Citizen's Committee which organized and prosecuted the campaign for funds with the result that our \$5000 goal was not only reached, but surpassed, but also to the many persons who served as local chairmen in their respective communities, or who aided in any way the furthering of the purposes of the campaign, not forgetting the Junior Historians of the Oswego High School who gave such valued and necessary assistance in inserting in the thousands of envelopes sent out the appeal setting forth the purposes of the campaign.

EDWIN M. WATERBURY,
President Oswego Historical Society

A Century of Public Entertainment in Oswego County---Richardson Theatre Period

(Paper Read Before Oswego County Historical Society at Oswego January 12,
1947 by Dr. Charles F. Wells, Chairman of the English
Department of Oswego State Teachers College)

This is the story of the Richardson Theatre; a story that spans a half century and includes some of the most significant events in the entire history of public entertainment in Oswego County. It is the story of a magnificent playhouse that lived to see the United States engage in three different wars, to witness the gradual decline of legitimate drama outside of large theatrical centers, and to be a part of the spectacular rise of moving pictures as a new form of amusement. The theatre opened just before the Spanish-American war, when drama was at its highest point of development in America; enjoyed huge popularity until road shows and stock companies were forced out of business by changing conditions during and following World War I; served as a moving picture house for many years; and was finally razed shortly after the United States entered World War II.*

Modern drama had come to Oswego with the opening of the Academy of Music** in 1875, and had flourished for eighteen years

* The author wishes to express his grateful appreciation to Robert C. Jones, Frederick W. Barnes, George Herron and Fred Bosworth for advice and materials; to Mrs. John Cowles, Myron Stone, Walter Powers and Harry Connell for use of theatre scrapbooks; and to the Oswego Public Library and the Palladium-Times for use of newspaper files.

** For an account of this playhouse see "The Academy of Music 1875-1893" in the 1946 Yearbook of the Oswego County Historical Society.

until the old theatre was condemned as a menace to public safety in 1893.

After the old Academy of Music was closed, Mr. Max B. Richardson, a prominent real estate operator and patron of the theatre arts in Oswego, opened a temporary playhouse in Fitzhugh Hall, and sometime later started work on a completely modern, well-equipped theatre that was to bear his name.

Mr. Richardson was born in Oswego in 1838, and educated in the public and private schools of the city. After studying for a year with Dr. Edward Austin Sheldon, founder of the Oswego State Teachers College, young Richardson went to Union College where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1858, and later a Master of Arts degree.

Richardson Foremost Citizen

Upon his return to Oswego, Mr. Richardson studied law with John C. Churchill and was admitted to the bar in 1861, after which he practiced his profession for many years. He was elected mayor of the city in 1866 and again in 1883. During his term of office as mayor he cast the deciding vote which resulted in purchase of the city Alms House, and also promoted many other projects for the public welfare. He was actively engaged in the real estate and insurance business, and owned many of the best pieces of property in the city.

He was a member of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, of the Oswego Historical Society, a member of

the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. He was also a member of the Leatherstocking Gun Club which he served as president. When the Oswego Business Men's Association was organized in 1892, he was elected its first president.

One of the best known and most prominent citizens of Oswego, Mr. Richardson always took a deep interest in all matters looking toward the improvement of his city. He was public spirited, possessed a remarkable executive ability, and was highly esteemed for his genial disposition and strict integrity. His great love for the drama, and his concern for the cultural, educational and recreational activities of Oswego prompted him to build a new theatre for the city.

Mr. Richardson was determined to have one of the most beautiful and completely appointed theatres ever erected outside of the larger cities, and spared no time nor expense to the realization of this dream. He selected a site on East First street, at the northwest corner of Oneida, retained E. H. Lempert of Rochester as architect for the building, and awarded contracts for the various phases of its development. Ground was broken for the playhouse on May 17, 1893. Nearly two years were required to lay the foundation, erect the building, install the equipment and complete the interior decoration. Over \$135,000 was invested in the project.

Public Interest Great

Public interest in the new theatre ran high as construction progressed, and nearly everyone in Oswego stopped to inspect the building. So many visited the site that Mr. Richardson was forced to ask people to keep out of the theatre until it was completed. He wrote a letter to the "Oswego Daily Times" in which he said:

"Dear Sir:

"Will you kindly say to your many readers that no permits to

view the interior of the theatre will be issued after this date. A tour through the building now is accompanied with considerable danger, owing to open hatchways, falling planks and weights, live wires, etc.

"The great desire on the part of the public to view the building occasions considerable annoyance and delay of work, and forms another reason why the above course becomes imperative.

"We expect to have the house completed about the 20th of January, and expect to open on the 24th with the opera Robin Hood, when everybody will be welcome.

Respectfully yours,
Max B. Richardson"

A "Times" reporter, however, visited the building the middle of December, 1894, and wrote his observations for the benefit of interested spectators. His comments gave information concerning the magnificent playhouse:

"The Richardson Theatre will next month be opened to the public. It will be one of the finest places of amusement in the state of New York. There are but two theatres in New York City that will possess greater seating capacity and none with finer or more modern equipment.

"The large stage will permit the mounting of any play that is presented in the metropolis, and our amusement lovers will not, as in the past, be deprived the pleasure of witnessing the best shows on the road because of lack of sufficient stage capacity to properly present them.

"The decorations are very handsome and unequalled by any similar place of amusement in the state. No palaces of the ancient kings presented a more dazzling sight than will the inside of this beautiful building. A large number of men are now employed putting on the stereo

relief work which will later be tinted rich colors.

"The stage will be provided with every modern appliance in the way of equipment. Nothing has been omitted in this respect and our theatregoers may congratulate themselves that hereafter companies that require traps and other mechanical arrangements for properly presenting their plays, will not give our city the go-by on account of proper facilities for presenting them."

A few months before the opening of the theatre, Mr. Richardson decided that he could not spare the time to manage the house and accordingly he appointed Mr. Joseph A. Wallace as manager. A news item in the Times stated:

"Richardson Theatre

"Joe Wallace Engaged As Manager"

"The Public Can Therefore Depend on Entertainment of a First-Class Character

"On account of the vast amount of business which Mr. Richardson is forced to do he has concluded to engage a business manager to do the booking and have complete charge of the running of the house, and has engaged Joseph A. Wallace, formerly manager of the Academy of Music, to do the work.

"Mr. Richardson could not have made a better selection both for his own interests and the interests of his patrons. Every showgoer is acquainted with the genial countenance of Joe Wallace and they put full dependence on his judgment of shows, feeling secure that unless a show is first-class, he will not book it. The showmen also know the genial manager and know that full reliance can be put upon anything he says. Managers of shows which are not up to the

standard are afraid to try and book where Joe is interested for they know his refusal to let a show of such standing play will be prompt and final. That was the whole secret of his success during the short time he ran the Academy of Music. If a show was not good he did not want it.

"Every showman is acquainted with John H. Matthews who for years transferred the baggage to the Academy. Mr. Matthews has been named as the official baggage transfer for the new opera house and to keep pace with the beautiful theatre he has had a handsome new baggage wagon of the latest pattern built."

Mr. Wallace, a native Oswegonian, had been associated with the Academy of Music in 1887, when Wallace H. Frisbie was manager; and took over the management of the house in September, 1892. Three months later the Academy was declared unsafe by the Board of Health, and closed December 14, 1892. In its long history the playhouse never had a better list of attractions than under Mr. Wallace's management, thus his selection to manage the Richardson Theatre was hailed as a wise choice. Theatregoers knew that Mr. Wallace could be depended upon to offer the public the best attractions obtainable and at prices within the reach of everyone.*

Other members of the theatre staff at the time of the opening were: Norman L. Bates, treasurer; Daniel P. Hourigan and Charles P. Gilmore, ticket sellers; Judson K. Smith, chief usher; ushers, Eugene Denton, Daniel J. O'Connor, Edward K.

* Joseph A. Wallace later formed a partnership with Charles P. Gilmore of Oswego under the firm name of Wallace and Gilmore to operate a chain of legitimate theatres in several cities located in upstate New York. This firm continued successfully to operate the chain over a period of several years from its headquarters in Oswego.

Doyle, Clarence Mitchell, Lloyd Smith, Eugene Jones and George Lavere.

Sold Seats At Auction

As opening night drew near the demand for seats was so great that Mr. Richardson decided to sell all seats at auction in order to give everyone an equal opportunity. The auction sale was held in Fitzhugh Hall on the evening of January 14, 1895, with lively competition and high bids for choice seats.

Long before 8 o'clock on the night of the auction a large crowd began congregating in Fitzhugh Hall, and there was considerable curiosity as to what the first seat would bring and who would be the highest bidder.

At precisely 8 o'clock Mr. Richardson stepped to the front of the stage and expressed his appreciation of the large number of people assembled.

"For the past two years," he said, "I have been spending thousands of dollars on a place of amusement for our citizens, and tonight I would like to see a dollar taken in." The hearty applause following these remarks showed plainly how fully the feelings of the people were in accord with the speaker.

Two huge diagrams of the main floor and balcony were placed in an upright position on the stage in full view, and an explanation was made as to the manner in which the seats would be auctioned.

Auctioneer Durie then stepped before the crowd and in his well known style of delivery announced, as if he were addressing a million people, that the bidding for the first seat would take place. Someone yelled "three dollars," but after considerable tongue-lashing on the part of the auctioneer the price ran up steadily to twelve dollars. No one else would raise this bid and the first sale went to Martin O'Melia,

who picked out two seats and deposited twenty-four dollars, the first money taken in. Auctioneer Durie assured Mr. O'Melia, that for this act, his name would be known throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

First Night Box Holders

Boxes on the lower floor were then put up for sale. Mr. Neil Gray took box A for \$50; the other three went to H. D. McCaffrey for \$40, to a gentleman who did not wish to have his name published for \$30, and to Washington Henderson for \$20. Loges downstairs in the center of the house went to Theodore Irwin for \$30; Robert Downey, \$25; E. B. Mott, \$22; and J. B. McMurrich, \$16.

Balcony loges were awarded to W. H. Steele, \$17; J. K. Stockwell, \$15; John Dain, Jr., \$16; J. K. Lynch, \$10; and R. H. Jones, \$12. Balcony boxes were sold to Leonard Ames, Jr for \$12; T. H. King, \$11; Dr. J. T. Langan, \$11; and L. W. Baker, \$10.

The auction sale of seats brought in a total of \$1,012.50, and next day the balance of the seats were placed on general sale at the box office. For the opening performance all gallery seats sold for one dollar. Every seat in the theatre was sold and occupied on the opening night.

Concerning seats there is an interesting story told of a certain stout gentleman in Oswego who was very fond of attending the theatre, but because of his size found the seats quite uncomfortable. To accommodate his considerable girth this gentleman asked Mr. Richardson to install an over-sized seat on the main floor and agreed to buy a ticket for every attraction for a period of two years. The offer was accepted, and the seat provided.

The First Night

Formal opening of the new theatre took place on Thursday

evening, January 25, 1895, with Barnabee and MacDonald's Opera Company, commonly known in theatrical circles as "the Bostonians" playing "Robin Hood," a charming comic opera which had recently gained great popularity throughout the United States. It was an opera that appealed to everyone. The cultured musician raved over the exquisite harmony of its concerted pieces, the general public over its delightful tunefulness, and the "gallery gods" revelled in the wealth of comedy centering about the Sheriff and Friar Tuck.

A company of sixty artists, including a chorus of forty and a large orchestra, was headed by Philip Tomes as Robin Hood. Basil Tetson as Little John, caught the audience with his drinking song, and had to respond with three encores; Louis Casavant, as Will Scarlet, had his bass solos applauded and gave encores following each number; Helen Rainsley made a sweet Maid Marian, and her rich soprano voice captivated the spectators; Mary Palmer was a fine Allan-a-Dale and her rich, contralto voice met with such approval that she had to respond with several encores. James Nicholds played Friar Tuck, Ross David appeared as Guy of Gisborne, and Agnes Stone as Dame Durden.

The opera featured the sheriff's introductory song, "I Am The Sheriff of Nottingham," one of the jolliest conceits ever sung; Will Scarlet's song, "It Takes Nine Tailors to Make A Man"; Allan-a-Dale's solo, "O Promise Me"; Robin Hood's moonlight serenade; Friar Tuck's comic round, "O See the Little Lambkins Play"; and "St. Swithin's Bells," and other chorus numbers of surpassing beauty.

Times Story of Opening

The audience for the opening was the largest and most representative ever to gather in a

local theatre. In describing the event the "Times" said:

"Never in the history of Oswego did society don its evening dress and exhibit itself to a better advantage than it did on opening night of the Richardson Theatre. The night was one that would not tend to attract a person from the warmth of a pleasant home, the air being bitter cold and the loose snow which had fallen during the early part of the day was whirled about by a strong northwest wind which made walking very unpleasant as well as difficult.

"Notwithstanding the inclement weather one of the greatest amusement events that ever occurred in Oswego proved as successful as anticipated. The cream of society bundled in warm wraps, entered their private carriages or hired hacks, and were driven to the new playhouse. Hacks were at a premium and many found it impossible to procure one, but not wishing to miss the opening, bravely faced the blinding storm. Their bravery was fully rewarded for never was such a brilliant array of costumes before displayed in this city.

"As the people passed into the theatre and saw the magnificent surroundings, exclamations of admiration were heard on every side, and words could not be found to express the appreciation of the people for the beautiful playhouse. The boxes attracted the greater portion of attention and the splendidly attired ladies were thoroughly scrutinized by the immense audience.

"Every seat was filled and when the curtain went up the first act an assemblage never before equalled here was seated in the house.

Mayor Higgins Speaks

"At the end of the first act Mayor John D. Higgins pushed his way in front of the curtain. His appearance was greeted

with tremendous applause. Addressing the audience he said:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: Your indulgence must be asked for a moment and by the courtesy of the Robin Hood Company I am allowed to address you. The opening of such a theatre, with such an audience, has never before been seen in this city. But with the greater Oswego (applause) we will grow up to learn and appreciate a gift of this kind. (Applause)

"Twenty years ago we gathered under similar circumstances to witness the opening of the remodeled Academy of Music which served us well. But three years ago, old age, aided by the Board of Health, closed its doors to us. But we still cherish its memory. An event of this kind comes but once in twenty years and it needs more than passing attention. The erection of this beautiful theatre is but one in a chain of events which will probably follow in our city. (Applause)

"The Business Men's Association was organized four years ago and elected as its president, Max B. Richardson, (applause) and to his public spirit and efforts, more than to any other man is due the substantial indications which are before us; (applause) and now to add to the other benefits given, we are presented with this magnificent playhouse by the same man. For these reasons, we say the Business Men's Association has the right to show Mr. Richardson our appreciation."

"Mr. Richardson! Mr. Richardson" shouted the audience.

Present Gift To Richardson

The curtain was raised, and out of the first entrance Mr. Richardson walked onto the stage. Standing in the center of the stage was a beautiful life-sized bronze bust of Beethoven, on a pedestal of green Italian marble, which the Business Men's Association had purchased at Tif-

fany's in New York as a gift to the proprietor of the theatre. Continuing his remarks, Mayor Higgins said:

"The Business Men's Association welcomes this opportunity to express in a small degree, the esteem in which the business men hold you and at the same time as a testimonial of this esteem I have the honor to present to their president this bust of Beethoven. May the curtain never go down on the prosperity of the Richardson Theatre and its proprietor." (Deafening applause)

Mr. Richardson was given a great ovation and was interrupted by applause several times during his acceptance speech. He said to the audience:

"This was certainly not on the program of Robin Hood and, therefore, is wholly unexpected and it rather throws me out of my reckoning. I am like a ship in a storm without a rudder.

"I don't know of anything which would have given me more pleasure and satisfaction than the presentation of this beautiful gift. This bronze representation of that wonderful composer, Beethoven, is from the people, unsolicited, and given to one unworthy of the gift.

"It is a gift from the people and I propose to make it a gift to the people and place it in a prominent place within this theatre. I shall cherish it beyond price and shall keep it within these walls as long as this house stands. I want to thank the Business Men's Association and the people of this city for the encouragement they have given me, and while I am here I would like to extend a cordial welcome to all here tonight." (applause)

Conception Of Project

Mr. Richardson continued:

"It might be of interest to you to know how this house came to be here tonight. Two years ago

I was attending the Deep Waterway convention in Washington, and while there, attended the new National Theatre on Pennsylvania Avenue. As I sat there I said to myself, 'Why can't Oswego have such a playhouse?' I was aware of the failure of the different organizations which had taken hold of the matter, and I wondered who would undertake such an enterprise. At last the thought came to me like a flash, 'Why don't you do it yourself?'

"I thought I had a building lot and a little money, but when I returned home I found that I didn't even have the lot. I will not tire you with the many difficulties which have been met with, but only say that the theatre has been built and is here."

One of the difficulties Mr. Richardson referred to in his speech was a bed of quick sand on the west side of the site, a situation which necessitated the erection of a foundation wall along that side costing almost as much as the other three walls combined.

In concluding his remarks to the audience Mr. Richardson said:

"I desire to express my thanks to John T. Mott, Elliot Mott, Henry Lyman and Thomas Bennett for the donation of water used in the construction of this building and which amounts to \$154.82. To Thompson Kingsford I also desire to return thanks for the donation of lime and ashes in deafening the floor.

"The citizens of Oswego are always welcome to this house, and wishing you all a life of prosperity I bid you good evening."

When Mr. Richardson finished speaking the theatre rang with applause for many minutes and then the performance was continued. The comic opera was a great success, but on opening night the theatre itself really stole the show. Among the comments heard afterward were:

"Ain't it a beauty?"

"There is not a seat in the house but what gives a full view of the stage."

"Electricity is a great improvement over the gas system in lighting a theatre."

"Max B. Richardson has just cause to be proud of his opera house."

"Syracuse has got to take a back seat when it comes to an opera house, from now on."

"Oswego is in at last, and there is no show on the road but what can be put on here."

Description Of Theatre

Public enthusiasm for the new place of entertainment was well founded since the building represented the last word in theatre construction, with many new features that added to its comfort, usefulness and attractiveness.

The structure was 132 feet long, 118 feet wide, and four stories high. A severely plain red brick exterior was relieved by heavy oak doors set with beveled French plate glass. Over the main entrance three panels of Mosaic and onyx glass contained symbols of the drama, a dagger, a comic and tragic mask. A separate entrance to the gallery was located south of the main entrance, and just inside the door was a separate gallery ticket office. With this arrangement there was no need for connection between the gallery and the balance of the auditorium. However, there were occasions when it seemed desirable to sell gallery tickets at the main box office, and to allow purchasers to pass up the stairs from the main entrance. This was done on opening night since the gallery was occupied by ladies and their escorts, and on various other occasions when certain high-priced attractions appeared at the theatre. Over the gallery entrance the same beautiful onyx glass contained a scroll and lyre, symbols of music.

Vestibule doors and wainscoating were of quartered oak, and the floor was white marble tile. Doors were fitted with handsomely designed mosaic glass, with side panels of cathedral glass. Large chandeliers furnished light to both the vestibule and rotunda. Attendants in evening dress stood just inside the foyer entrance to take tickets and to direct patrons to the balcony and lower floor seats.

Carpet Specially Woven

The interior of the theatre was lavishly decorated and furnished for the pleasure and comfort of the spectators. A heavy velvet carpet of dark maroon color, woven especially for the theatre, covered the foyer and entire floor of the auditorium, except between seats. Two wide stairways leading to the balcony, the promenade, the aisles and balcony loges were also covered with velvet carpet of the same rich quality and design.

Side walls of the foyer and auditorium were decorated in salmon-color, relieved by lavender and robin's egg blue; ceilings were finished in the same blue and lavender, trimmed with old ivory and gold. Stereo-relief work was painted old ivory, picked out with gold.

Theatre boxes, built in artistic design and extending nearly to the ceiling, were faced with stereo-relief work, as were the fronts of balcony loges, gallery and proscenium arch. Decoration of the boxes was exceptionally rich and artistic; the lambrequins at the arches were brocaded satin of a Nile green tint, and the draperies, falling from under the lambrequins, were heavy old rose plush.

The entire front of the proscenium arch and the proscenium columns were decorated in the same colors and tints as the side walls. Under the rays of the gas and electric lights the effect was very beautiful, the gold work

standing out in bold relief from the old ivory, lavender and blue. Mr. Lempert, the architect, described the style of interior decoration as "composite Colonial."

Seating Capacity 1400

The theatre had a seating capacity of about 1400 people, and unlike many metropolitan theatres the seats at the Richardson were large and roomy. Many of the chairs were twenty-two inches wide, and none of them less than the standard width of eighteen inches. Seats in the balcony had iron standards and wooden frames, and were upholstered in maroon colored leather and equipped with hat racks beneath. Balcony and loges combined had a seating capacity of 314. There was sufficient pitch in the floor of the balcony to afford all spectators an unobstructed view of the stage. There were seven loges, and seats in them were all desirable since they gave a fine view of the stage.

Seats on the lower floor, like those in the balcony, had iron standards and were upholstered in crimson plush. The seats were commodious, and the space between rows was sufficient to allow persons to pass to or from their seats without crowding occupants of other seats. There were four passage-ways, one on each side and two in the main part of the floor. The lower floor, aside from the boxes, had a seating capacity of 480. There were six boxes on each side, twelve in all. Capacity of downstairs boxes was eight people, upstairs boxes, four people each.

Plain, hard, uncomfortable wooden seats accommodated about 500 spectators in the gallery high up in back of the auditorium.

Large Ceiling Dome

The building was lighted throughout by gas and electricity, fixtures for both being installed to meet any emergency that

might arise from failure of one system or the other. The main part of the house was highlighted from ceiling dome and from side fixtures. The dome, forty feet in diameter, was equipped with thirty-six electric lights and a sun light consisting of fifty gas jets arranged in a circle. All lights were controlled from an electric switchboard and gas table back stage. The gas fixtures could be lighted by an electric friction machine.

Steam heat for the theatre was supplied from a boiler-room under the stage. For safety this boiler-room was lined with iron, and looked more like a bank vault than a heating-plant. All of the steam piping was encased in boxes filled with cement; the radiators were arranged under the floor, and the heat came up through registers in the aisles.

Stage Was Large

The stage of the Richardson was one of the largest in the state and was supplied with every appliance necessary for the presentation of any type of entertainment. Backstage area measured 50 by 68 feet, and 60 feet from the floor of the stage to the top of the gridiron. Fifty sets of lines, containing a total of seven miles of rope, for raising and lowering scenery hung from the pulleys high about the stage. With such equipment local stagehands were able to hang the most elaborate sets brought here by various road shows.

An excellent assortment of stage settings from the studio of Albert C. Roberts was a part of the permanent stage furnishings. There were twenty-five sets, complete with borders, side pieces and special properties. A wood scene, hung on invisible nets, was so well arranged that the branches could be made to sway and the foliage to flutter as in a storm.

An ancient street scene was copied from a picture of a street

in Nuremburg, Bavaria, one of the oldest cities in Germany. The palace scene, also copied from a picture, consisted of several cut drops with a full palace painted to represent white marble relieved with pink and gold, and represented one of the imperial palaces in Moscow, Russia.

Other scenes represented a colonial kitchen, an interior view of the Bastille, an Italian garden of richness and beauty, ocean views, and all of the regular scenes to be found in theatres of that period.

Painted Asbestos Curtain

An asbestos curtain, 29 feet high and 39 feet wide, hung just inside the proscenium opening ready to be dropped in case fire broke out on the stage. This huge curtain ran in an iron slot and was held rigid by two large wires on each side to prevent it from swaying or moving by any draft caused by a fire. Because of the difficulty of painting on asbestos, the first plan was to leave the fireproof curtain a natural color. Mr. Roberts, the artist, however, was able to overcome the difficulty by adding twelve tubs of alum to the sizing used to prepare a suitable painting surface. He was then able to paint with ease and produced an effect of an old rose plush drapery with a relief design of point Flemish lace caught back in folds at the top. A border, at the bottom, was made to represent buff satin with a heavy Gobelin scroll, picked out in gold. In the center of the border was a medallion with mask in the center, done in white, lavender and gold. The whole curtain was heavily fringed at the bottom in white, blue and gold. In attractive letters of gold across the curtain were the words, "Asbestos Fire-proof Curtain." The finished curtain was believed to be one of the handsomest front drops in the United States.

An act curtain, just back of the asbestos drop and covering

a stage opening of 32 by 40 feet, was a representation of Gobelin tinsel work. There was a field of white satin, relieved alternately by gold griffins, rampant. It was fringed along the bottom with bullion tassels, and heavy gold cords looped back the drapery. The lambrequin was of Nile green satin brocade. At the left of the curtain stood an incense lamp, symbolic of the drama.

Professional Appointments

Few theatres anywhere possessed more elaborate stage accessories, or finer dressing rooms than the new Oswego playhouse. Eighteen dressing rooms backstage were well furnished, lighted, heated and supplied with hot and cold running water for the comfort and convenience of the players. The minstrel room was fitted with a large minstrel make-up trough, the top of which could be used as a make-up shelf when the room was used as a dressing room for chorus girls. The minstrel room also had several marble wash-stands well supplied with hot and cold water for the actors to use in removing the burnt cork make-up.

Rooms for the leading members of acting companies were well furnished with comfortable furniture and large mirrors. Every dressing room had a speaking tube connected with the stage-manager's station on stage, and was used to call performers in ample time for entrance cues.

Elaborate Fire Protectives

Every precaution was taken to guard against fire, and most of the patrons had no idea of the care with which Mr. Richardson had fitted the theatre with the latest type of fire protection equipment. There were 450 automatic sprinkler heads in the building; fifteen chemical fire extinguishers back of the scenes and in the halls leading to the dressing rooms; 125 glass hand-

grenades filled with fire-smothering liquid; 100 pails of water; a dozen barrels of water standing at convenient locations; six hose connections with hose and nozzles attached, one on each floor of the theatre, the balance on and under the stage and among the scenery; one four-inch stand-pipe from ground to roof with Siamese connections at top and bottom; and gate valves on each floor. The basement under the floor was protected by ten Brennan nozzles fitted to a four inch pipe. Water pressure of sixty pounds to the inch was kept constantly on the main.

A 5,000 gallon water tank on the roof served as an auxiliary source of water for the sprinkling system. A special electric alarm system sounded a large gong outside the theatre whenever a sprinkler head was opened. Four pairs of powerful shears were placed backstage for cutting ropes of scenery in case of fire in the loft. One dozen fire axes, ten fire bars, and six hooks of various lengths to be used in pulling down scenery were also close at hand. The building was also equipped with fifteen devices for giving fire alarms by breaking glass discs.

All the passageways and exits were plastered on brick or steel lath for added safety. The steel lath had been given an award of merit at the World's Fair in 1893, and placed on the market just in time to be used in construction of the new building. An iron fire escape connected with all floors of the theatre, and numerous exits placed at strategic points were more than enough to accommodate crowds attending a performance.

Orchestra Fire Drill

To be prepared for any emergency that might start a panic in the audience, the theatre orchestra was always ready to play a stirring march designed to calm and inspire confidence in the

crowd. In 1902, Professor Neary Schilling, leader of the orchestra, wrote a letter to Mr. Richardson outlining the duties of the orchestra in an emergency. Mr. Schilling wrote, "The orchestra has decided that in case of fire we are to remain in place, keep cool and play until the last possible moment." He also suggested in his letter that music for the march should be tacked or glued to the music stands where it would always be ready in case of fire, and could then be played without delay.

Threat of fire was an ever present worry to the owner and manager of the theatre. The gas lights with their automatic spark ignition, and the newly-invented electric lights were a constant fire hazard in the theatre with its flimsy costumes, and wood and canvas scenery. Everywhere backstage signs reminded the actors and stage crew that smoking was prohibited, and the old-fashioned bottle fire extinguishers rested in racks ready for use in an emergency. High up over the stage, on a platform where stagehands raised and lowered the scenery, a sign printed in letters six inches high instructed the stage crew how to act at the first sign of fire.

"When Fire Occurs Do Not Get Excited.

KEEP COOL

Send in alarm by breaking glass dial.

Lower Asbestos curtain at once. Use hose and extinguishers.

If drops are on fire lower to stage.

Do Not Desert Your Post."

Fire did strike the theatre twice in later years, but never during a presentation, and so well was the building protected that damage then was slight.

On the west wall of the stage there also appeared in large printed letters the following

legend concerning the building and its opening:

"RICHARDSON THEATRE

Opened January 24, 1895
with

Robin Hood Opera Co.

Leon H. Lempert
Architect

Frank E. Jones
Master Builder

Albert C. Roberts
Scenic Arts and Decorator

Bronson Garrett
Assistant

George B. Fayette
Master Plumber and Steamfitter

Roe B. Jones
Stage Carpenter

Norman Smith
Carpenter

Joseph E. Rourke
Fresco Painter

William H. Kelley
Plumber

Daniel McCarthy"
Janitor

Shakespeare Cafe

A restaurant, sometimes known as the "Shakespeare Cafe," was located on the ground floor of the theatre building just north of the main entrance. In comfortable and ornate surroundings of the cafe, playgoers were able to enjoy all kinds of refreshments and to admire the beautiful paintings that adorned the walls. A news item announcing the opening of the restaurant under management of J. E. Bonner, gave a detailed description of the lavish furnishings. A few of the details are interesting as a part of the theatre's history. The account stated:

"Mr. Bonner's new place of business is probably the handsomest in the state. As one enters the massive portals of quartered oak and plate glass a

most magnificent effect is produced by the surroundings. The walls are covered by beautiful oil paintings and plate-glass mirrors.

"On the right of the entrance is a small wine-room. It contains one or two large tables and several chairs. On the north wall of the room is a large oil painting, 'At Heaven's Gate.' The subject is a lovely maiden leaning on the golden gate awaiting an entrance.

"The bar-room is reached through lightly swinging doors and there is found another entrance leading to the lobby of the theatre. The bar is an attractive piece of work. It is of Italian marble and rests on marble standards. Both top and rail are of marble. The sideboard is handsomely arranged with the largest plate-glass mirror in the city. The carving is all by hand and particularly beautiful.

"In the rear of the bar-room are two handsome paintings; a large one of Mobie, a mythological subject, and another, Cupid and Psyche. Both are mounted in massive gilt frames. In the southeast corner of the room, near the entrance, is a painting of a bust of Shakespeare. A mate to this picture, and one made by the same artist, is the room where Shakespeare was born, in his house at Stratford-on-Avon. Mr. Richardson purchased the picture in London, and it is entitled 'The Lundy Shakespeare.'

"In the wine room at the right of the bar are several beautiful paintings, the most noticeable being 'The Hall of Illiad,' at Pitti palace in Florence. It is an original painting by Gallie, the eminent Italian artist, and is one of his masterpieces."

Mr. Richardson was proud of his new theatre and happy over the enthusiastic response from the public. True to his promise he shared the bust of Beethoven with theatregoers, throughout the life of the theatre the bronze statue stood in the lobby, inside a brass rail, for the public to

view. When the building was finally closed the statue was moved to the home of the late Mrs. Norman L. Bates, where it now stands.*

First Play Draws Huge Crowd

The first play to be given at the Richardson, presented the night following the grand opening, was Jacob Hitt's elaborate and realistic production of "In Old Kentucky." For this performance a huge crowd thronged the theatre; nearly everyone in Oswego who had not seen the building on opening night clamored to get in the next evening.

Every seat was taken, and standing room was at a premium when the curtain went up on the play. Hours before the doors opened a great many people without tickets and those seeking admission to the gallery began to arrive. Long before the doors opened East First street contained over one thousand persons pushing and shoving to be first at the box office.

Several policemen were in attendance, but their efforts to keep the crowd under control were in vain. When the gallery door opened the crowd surged forward and rushed up the two flights of stairs to secure seats. Over six hundred tickets were sold for that part of the house when the doors were finally locked and the gallery box office closed.

At 8 o'clock the crowd of people holding tickets for the balcony and downstairs was nearly as large, and it took over a quarter of an hour for a spectator to pass through the lobby to the ticket-taker. It was later estimated that between sixteen and seventeen hundred people turned away because they were unable to gain admission.

The play, "In Old Kentucky," with Paul Gilmore, Lulu Tabor,

* New Headquarters House of the Oswego County Historical Society.

H. P. Bradley and Charlotte Winnett as leading players, was full of action and startling scenes which thrilled the huge audience. Dancing by the pickaninnies, and music by a pickaninny band were high points of the entertainment.

Theatre Proved Profitable

The faith which Mr. Richardson had in public support of his new theatre was well founded, and from the very first profits began to accumulate on the investment. Largest gross return from a single performance was \$1884.20, taken in on the opening night. Of this amount \$1204.65 was cleared. A detailed account of receipts and disbursements for several of the first attractions is interesting since it indicates the sums paid to road shows, and the expense of operating a theatre in 1895:

Robin Hood

January 24, 1895

Gross Receipts \$1884.25
Disbursements:

Paid to Robin Hood
company \$600.00

Salaries to theatre
staff 14.55

Palladium for adver-
tising 13.50

Daily Times for ad-
vertising 27.90

Bill posting 23.60

Total expenses \$679.55

To balance account . . \$1204.65

In Old Kentucky

January 25, 1895

Gross Receipts \$1037.08

Disbursements:

Paid to acting com-
pany \$764.63

Salaries to staff ... 29.55

Bill posting 15.48

Palladium advertising 5.00

Times advertising 5.00

\$819.66

To balance account \$217.42

Chauncey Olcutt's appearance in "Irish Hearts," on January 31, 1895, brought in gross receipts of \$733.75, of which the acting com-

pany received \$513.62. "Sport McAllister," with Robert Gaylord, on February 1, 1895, grossed \$801.22 with the company receiving \$566.12; and "Old Jed Prouty" on the 4th of that month brought in \$440.44 at the box office, of which \$286.48 went to pay for the actors. Otis Skinner's first appearance in the Richardson on February 11, brought in \$581, with \$433.68 going to Skinner.

Total of 5360 Performances

Opening of the Richardson Theatre made possible a continuation of the rich and varied entertainment program which had started years before at the old Academy of Music. Public interest in drama continued uninterrupted, and for many years the new playhouse served as a center for the social, cultural and recreational activities of the community. From January 24, 1895, the date of opening, until December 31, 1931, the theatre was in almost constant use for plays, concerts, lectures, vaudeville shows, home-talent performances, moving pictures, and many other types of entertainment. During this period of 36 years, 11 months and 7 days, the theatre was open for 3,985 evening performances and 1,375 matinees, or a total of 5,360 performances. Legitimate drama, with a total of 4,031 performances, was by far the most popular form of entertainment at the Richardson Theatre. Vaudeville and moving pictures were second in popularity with a total of 733 performances. A detailed analysis of the various performances will indicate the wide variety of attractions presented to Oswegoians.

Evening Performances*

Plays presented by road companies, not including stock companies 1,791

* Statistics from "Do You Remember?" by Jay Knox, Oswego Palladium-Times, July 30, 1945.

Stock companies playing a total of 173 weeks	1,038
Vaudeville and moving pictures	733
Burlesque attractions	161
Amateur productions, sixty-seven groups	82
Political meetings	27
Hypnotic performances and seances	27
Lectures, other than political	18
YMCA Lyceum courses ...	28
Concerts, bands and orchestras	28
High School graduations ..	23

Total number of evening performances 3,985

Matinee Performances

Regular attractions	487
Stock company matinees ..	715
Burlesque matinees	151
Amateur matinees	22

Total matinees 1,375

Famous Players and Plays

Playgoing Oswegonians of the nineties gave appreciation to several varieties of drama, including the very best. The opening season of 1895, brought to the Richardson such outstanding attractions as Otis Skinner in "The Merchant of Venice," and "Villon, the Vagabond"; Lillian Lewis in "Cleopatra"; James A. Herne in "Shore Acres"; Denman Thompson in "The Old Homestead"; Kate Claxton in "The Two Orphans"; and Roland Reed in "The Politician."

In 1896 Charles Hanford, Elihu Spencer and Nora O'Brien appeared in "Julius Caesar"; Thomas Keene, who had played many times at the Academy of Music, returned in "Cardinal Richelieu"; James O'Neill presented his most famous role, "The Count of Monte Cristo"; James Young gave his interpretation of "Hamlet"; and Madame Jauschek played in "Mrs. Ponderbury's Past."

Otis Skinner returned to the Richardson in January, 1897, in Shakespeare's "Richard III"; followed a few months later by Thomas W. Keene and Charles B. Hanford in "Othello"; and two weeks later by Frederick Ward and Ellen Rowland in "The Merchant of Venice." That same season Oswego audiences saw Lewis Morrison in "Fuast"; James Young and Ellen Rowland in "David Garrick"; and Madame Rhea in "The Empress of France."

William Gillette, a distinguished author and actor who created many detective roles on the stage, played at the Richardson, February 11, 1898, in his best known play, "Secret Service," a melodrama of uncommonly expert construction. In this play the author also achieved his greatest triumph as an actor in the role of Captain Thorne, a spy who devotedly served the cause of the Union. Gillette possessed great skill as a dramatic technician, and his major characters were marked by a cool restraint, a polish, and a charm that were delightfully evident in his own acting. Though he never again played in Oswego, he was remembered for many years afterwards when his plays, "The Professor," "Sherlock Holmes," "Too Much Johnson," "The Private Secretary," and "Esmeralda" were presented by other actors.

March 14, 1898, brought Otis Skinner to Oswego again in the romantic comedy, "Prince Rudolph," for his fourth appearance at the Richardson Theatre. Skinner, a Frohman star who had played at various times in support of Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, and Mojeska, and co-starred with Ada Rehan, played eight different engagements at the Richardson. The last four were "Francesca da Rimini," a tragedy by Gabriele D'Annunzio in 1902; "Lazzare," 1903; "The Honor of the Family,"

1908; and "Sire," 1911. The actor's style had originally been moulded and guided by that of the conscientious and severe Lawrence Barrett, to whom acting was not only an art, but a religion. Thus in earlier times Mr. Skinner preferred tragedy, but on his later Oswego appearances inclined toward comedy which was tinged with romance, and the type of character which was buoyant and picturesque. He was long remembered for his acting at various times of a vagabond, adventurer, buffoon and soldier of fortune; a queer admixture but one that required an actor of Skinner's ability to portray. In commenting on one performance, the Oswego Times said, "It was another of those rare delights which come no more frequently than once a season, hardly that."

Julia Marlowe's First Visit

The nineteenth century closed with one of the best seasons ever enjoyed by the Richardson Theatre; many of the finest players of the period appeared for Oswego audiences. Julia Marlowe, who played with equal success in both Shakespeare and modern plays, appeared in "Colinette," on April 6, 1899. This first and only Oswego appearance by the celebrated actress came about six months before she opened in Clyde Fitch's "Barbara Frietchie," a role which brought her great success. After her marriage to E. M. Sothorn a few years later, the actress gained great fame as a Shakespearean player.

Miss Marlowe was described as having "every requisite for success in star parts that a girl could need—youth and health; facial and physical beauty; stature, poise, carriage, voice, diction, proper pronunciation, mobile expression, definite and graceful gesture, and competent, well-shaped responsive hands." Her voice was said to be the best

woman's speaking voice on the American or English stage.

"Flowering Age of Drama"

The period of the eighties and nineties was the flowering time of American drama, the most productive it had ever known. Bronson Howard, author of "Saratoga" and other plays, carried forward the historical drama and combined it with the play of manners. During the nineties Howard was joined by many other authors, among them William Gillette, James A. Herne, Clyde Fitch, Augustus Thomas and David Belasco.

The vogue for romantic types of drama was beginning to wane, and just as the new realism was edging in, the old romance was going out in a blaze of glory. "The Count of Monte Cristo," "The Prisoner of Zenda," and "The Three Musketeers" continued in favor along with the realistic plays of Howard, Fitch and Belasco. The year of 1899 also brought the famous Joseph Jefferson, Sr. in "The Rivals"; Joseph Jefferson, Jr., together with William and Thomas Jefferson, in "Rip Van Winkle"; Belle Archer in "The Little Minister"; Alice Neilson in "The Fortune Teller"; and Alma Kruger in David Belasco's romantic and realistic drama, "The Heart of Maryland," under the personal direction of the author. This play is still remembered by many Oswegonians for one big scene in which the heroine, Maryland Calvert, swung from the iron clapper of a church bell to silence it, for the clang of the bell would have revealed to Confederate sentries the escape of a Northern prisoner, who was her sweetheart.

In the early years of the Richardson Theatre, there were many rural plays that delighted local audiences: "Old Jed Prouty," with Richard Golden; "Peaceful Valley," with Sol Smith Russell; "Shore Acres,"

with James A. Herne; "The Old Homestead," with Denman Thompson; and "Way Down East," written by an Oswego author, Lottie Blair Parker.*

Parker Not Here in Own Plays

"Way Down East," with the delightful characters of Squire Bartlett, Mrs. Bartlett, Anna Moore, the girl with the past, Martha Perkins, the village gossip, and the family guest, played in Oswego nine times, first on October 23, 1899, and the last on December 1, 1920. The play was also made into a moving picture and presented at the Richardson for four days in 1921. Other plays by the Oswego author to be given at the Richardson were "Under Southern Skies," six times, and "David Carson," but once, on October 1, 1906.

While Mrs. Parker never appeared as an actress on the Richardson stage, she did appear at the old Academy of Music with a travelling company on April 6, 1892, in a drama "A Royal Pass."

The last attraction of the nineteenth century at the Richardson Theatre was James A. Herne in his own popular rural drama, "Shore Acres," on the evening of December 27, 1899. This drama of New England rustic life, with real farm people, accurate settings and simple action, was the author's greatest play and had a significant influence on dramatic literature. Mr. Herne was very serious about his writing and acting, and believed that a play should improve an audience and send them away better than they had come into the theatre. His importance as a playwright rested on his distaste for melodrama and for every sort of artificiality. As a pioneer American realist, he led a defi-

nite trend toward realism. In comparison with the writings of sophisticated and cynical authors today, Herne's realism was of a mild sort since the realism lay in presentation of characters, but it was prophetic that his play should be the final presentation of the old century since the new century was to witness the rapid growth of realistic dramas.

Theatre Staff in 1899

At the end of the century the theatre staff consisted of Max B. Richardson, proprietor and manager; Joe A. Wallace, business manager; E. E. Favreau, musical director; Joe A. Wallace and Charles P. Gilmore, ticket sellers; E. W. Edwards, stage carpenter; Ward Simmons, J. J. Murphy, John Donovan, and W. Edwards, assistant stage carpenters; Frank Raby, C. Meeker, John Schaffer, electricians; C. Morgan, property man; and W. Keunly, assistant property man.

A program of the period also listed: Judson K. Smith, head usher; George Lavere, first assistant; Joe R. Perrott, second assistant, J. Carroll Smith, John C. Snyder, Karl Beckstedt, Henry Cavanaugh, Henry Colvin, Neil Wheeler, Charles Marsden, David Russell, and Nora Benz, ushers.

J. F. Griggs, Harry Lund, water boys; Charles Durie, water boy for the gallery; Louis Lavere, balcony doorkeeper; Mr. and Mrs. James Benton, check room; Mrs. Charles Palmer, flower stand; Matt Lynch, opera glasses; William Crimmons, James Mack, special policemen; James Mack and Joseph Porter, in charge of doors; and Daniel Emerson McCarthy, heat inspector.

Ethel Barrymore's Local Debut

The twentieth century, which was to bring about many important changes in the history of drama in Oswego, was ushered in at the Richardson Theatre on January 1, 1900, with a production of "The Three Musketeers,"

* For an account of this Oswego author see "Charlotte Blair Parker, Actor, Author, Playwright" by Dr. Lida S. Penfield, in 1945 Yearbook of the Oswego Historical Society, pages 43-51.

with Thomas B. Findlay as Porthos.

Ethel Barrymore, a member of the noted American actor family, who had served an apprenticeship in minor roles in the company of her uncle, John Drew, appeared in "His Excellency, the Governor," on January 5, 1900, as the second attraction of the new century.

Other events during the month of January, 1900, were: "Toll Gate Inn," a comedy on the 12th; the world famous magician, "Herman, the Great," on the 16th; a pantomime play, "Eight Bells," presented by Byrne Brothers on the 18th; a comedy, "The Female Drummer," with Johnstone Bennett, Nellie O'Neill and Harry Ladell on the 22nd; with a comedy, "A Hot Old Time," on the 24th to complete the list of events for the first month of the new era.

From then on until the closing of the Richardson, entertainments of one kind or another came in such numbers that space does not permit a complete listing of plays or actors. A few highlights must be given, however, to indicate the rich and varied entertainment fare served on the Oswego stage.

The plays of Shakespeare were presented occasionally at the Richardson, though not as frequently as during the earlier period of the Academy of Music. A total of twenty-nine Shakespearean plays were given at the Richardson during the thirty years the playhouse was open, as compared with twenty-two presentations in eighteen years at the Academy. "The Merchant of Venice" was presented three times by various companies, the most outstanding being one headed by Otis Skinner, who also played in "Richard the Third." "Othello" was presented twice, once by Thomas W. Keene and later by the Kirke Brown Stock Company. Loretta Keene and Daniel Vinton appeared in

"Romeo and Juliet," on January 11, 1906, and were followed by Jane Cowl and Rollo Peter on March 19, 1925, in the same play. Kathryne Kidder and Louis James brought "Midsummer Night's Dream" to Oswego in 1900; and Charles Hanford and Marie Drofman presented "The Taming of the Shrew" in 1903. Madame Helena Modjeska appeared in "Macbeth" in 1900, and again in 1906.

Viola Allen's Company

Viola Allen, a great stage favorite who had played in Oswego at the Academy of Music with John McCullough in "Virginius," "Othello," and "Richard the Third," appeared at the Richardson three times at the head of her own company. She was well known for her work in Shakespearean parts, and presented "A Winter's Tale," on May 23, 1905; "Cymbeline," on January 27, 1907; and returned November 15, 1911 in a romance entitled "The Lady of Coventry," by Louis N. Parker.

A regular visitor to the old Academy of Music, Robert B. Mantell, last of the great Shakespearean actors in the old tradition, played three times at the Richardson: "The Dagger and the Cross" in 1903, "The Merchant of Venice" in 1907, and "Hamlet" in 1911. When it was announced in January of 1911, that the famous actor was to play "Macbeth," the Oswego Daily Times made a strong plea for him to appear in "Hamlet." The newspaper said,

"It is not that Mantell in Macbeth would not prove a splendid attraction but rather that Oswego has had too frequent doses of Macbeth, and too little of the other Shakespearean masterpieces. Macbeth has been played here at least three times in the past twenty years, twice by Modjeska, and once by the Ben Greet Players. The present generation has not seen Hamlet

and it is believed that as presented by Mr. Mantell it would draw a large audience. If the Mantell management consults the wishes of the Oswego public, it is believed that Hamlet will be the offering here Monday night."

W. J. Eccleson, then manager of the Richardson Theatre, seconded the Times' suggestion and at once discussed the matter with Manager Smith of the Mantell Company, then playing in Syracuse. Mantell readily consented to the change, and "Hamlet" was presented by the distinguished actor before local audiences on Monday, January 30, 1911.

Oswego theatre-goers needed no introduction to Mr. Mantell; they remembered him in "Monbars," "The Corsican Brothers," and other plays at the Academy of Music, and had seen him twice before at the Richardson Theatre. Mantell was then at the height of his career, and brought Oswegonians one of the best and most entertaining plays ever presented on a local stage. In a newspaper interview Mantell gave a very adept explanation of the popularity of Shakespeare's plays. The actor said:

"When someone undertakes to tell you that the Shakespearean drama is not a vital, active force in our theatrical affairs, tell him kindly but firmly that he doesn't know what he is talking about. And you can close the argument by nailing him to a spar with the proof that Shakespeare, when given proper stage presentation, is financially profitable. This has been one of the most successful seasons I have ever had, both financially and from the standpoint of intelligent appreciation.

"The plays of Shakespeare appeal to everybody who has a particle of intelligence and is not hopelessly vitiated. Their plots are in the main simple and direct, they abound with action and the language is plain. The boy who sits in the gallery can

follow them quite as readily as the scholar in the pit. Therein lies Shakespeare's surpassing genius."

The actor's portrayal of Hamlet was given glowing newspaper reviews. A story in the Oswego Times said, "Mr. Mantell put new meanings into the lines, reading them with that wonderful voice which would carry their full import even if delivered in the dark, so perfect is its control even to the faintest whisper. When to this is added facial expression and gesture as he is master of them, the effect is vivid and the impression lasting. The soliloquy and the instructions to the players stood out prominently in a flawless performance and held the mind of the hearer tense. The value of every word was carried, and no shade of their sense lost."

In this presentation of "Hamlet," Mr. Mantell was supported by Marie Booth Russell as Ophelia, Alfred Hastings as Polonius, and Fritz Lieber as Laertes.

What was known as the combination system, that is a travelling company made up of a star and a supporting company, developed during the early part of the twentieth century and led to the destruction of nearly all stock companies in the United States. Capable business managers such as Augustin Daly, James W. Wallack and Charles Frohman took over the theatre "lock, stock and barrel" to build it up on a firm artistic and financial foundation. The theatre was no longer a haphazard thing, living from day to day on uncertainty. Under the New York managers, plays were carefully prepared and sent on nation-wide tour during the entertainment season. The advantage of the system was that playgoers everywhere were furnished with well-trained and perfectly equipped companies, appearing in plays which had been tried and found

worthy. Local theatre managers were then free from all worries of play directing and stage work, and were able to devote their time to the comfort of the audience and the business of their own particular theatres. The result was a well regulated theatre with good order in the business department, and excellent dramatic offerings imported from the nation's theatre capital. Oswego was fortunately located on the route followed by most of the travelling troupes, and was therefore able to witness nearly all of the plays sent on national tour.

Soon after the turn of the century many outstanding actresses began to appear in Oswego to take the place of the distinguished women stars of the previous decade, and with them came a new style in acting techniques.

May Robson, who was to enjoy a long and successful career on the American stage, appeared in "Self and Lady," in 1900, and in her most famous vehicle, "The Rejuvenation Of Aunt Mary," in 1907 and again in 1910.

Mrs. Dion Boucicault, wife of the famous Irish-American playwright, appeared in "Richard Savage" on January 3, 1901. The beauty and simplicity of this Scottish woman won her a devoted following, and she was long remembered as one of the most charming players, in ingenu parts and in light comedy, that ever appeared before local audiences. Her personal charm and delicate acting gained for her the name of "the fairy star."

Mrs. Fiske Returns

Minnie Maddern Fiske, who had played in Oswego many times at the Academy of Music, appeared twice at the Richardson, on May 1, 1903, in "Mary of Magdala," and on May 15, 1922 in "Wake Up Jonathan." At this point in her career, Mrs. Fiske was a much better actress than earlier, and was doing plays

of greater import than any with which she had previously beguiled her public. During the early 1900's Mrs. Fiske said she was in her second incarnation, so different was her entire approach to acting roles. She referred to her work as merely "natural, true acting."

One critic said, "Mrs. Fiske could, if she chose, project no more than the profile of her nose and chin beyond the edge of the wings and direct as much personality out upon the audience, and excite as much emotion as some other actors using all their resources. No actress ever did more with the concentration of a fine, strong mentality into a richly vibrant voice than Mrs. Fiske in a single sentence."

Henrietta Crossman Charms

Henrietta Crossman, who had played with Ada Rehan in Shakespearean dramas before launching out as a star in contemporary plays, appeared in Oswego five times in different roles, "Sweet Kitty Belairs," "Nance Oldfield," "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary," "The New Mrs. Loring," and "The Real Thing."

It was in the comedy, "The Real Thing," that Miss Crossman spoke her famous observation concerning matrimony, "Wives are like wine, they must keep on effervescing for once let them become flat, and husbands, the monsters, order another bottle."

Mrs. Leslie Carter's Visits

A prominent young Chicago society woman, Mrs. Leslie Carter, who had received much unenviable publicity when she and her husband were divorced, enjoyed a highly successful career under the direction of David Belasco. Her first success in Belasco's "The Heart of Maryland," was followed by "Zaza," the role she played at the Richardson on June 30, 1906, shortly before she broke away from Belasco. Her next Oswego appearance, May 15, 1911, in "The Two

Women," was made under her own management. This play, by Rupert Hughes, required the actress to assume a dual personality, first as the wife of a young artist, and second a ballet dancer who bore a striking physical resemblance to the wife. Critics hailed "her command of the enticing wiles of coquetry and the soft allurements of sensuous grace," and admired the clarity and purity of her English speech. One newspaper review devoted considerable space to the lovely gowns worn by Mrs. Carter, and praised her gift of pantomime. The reviewer said: "It is an evening's pleasure and time well spent to watch her arm movements. Tragic, coquettish, emotional, whatever the mood portrayed or the situation, her arms and hands express that absolute freedom that is grace personified, and that shows a wonderful poise."

Queen of Vivacity

The Queen of Vivacity, Eva Tanguay, appeared twice during 1906, first in "My Sambo Girl," and later in "A Good Fellow." Her singing of the song "I Don't Care" endeared her forever in the affections of the enthusiastic audience.*

Vivid, flamboyant, beautiful Lillian Russell, famous for her Gibson girl face and figure, appeared in Oswego, June 2, 1908, in "Wildfire." She was at the time a toast of the nation, and surrounded by flowers, jewels, money and admirers. Her looks, personality and singing voice were superior to her acting ability, but she was very well received in Oswego as the leading celebrity of the time.

Maude Adams, famous for her charming delineation of Peter Pan in James M. Barrie's play by the same name, made her only Oswego appearance on December 14, 1910, in another Barrie

play, "What Every Woman Knows." The actress occupied a unique position on the American stage, and made her greatest successes as an interpreter of the Barrie plays. As Maggie Wylie, in "What Every Woman Knows," the actress played a character far removed from Peter Pan, Juliet, Joan of Arc, or the Chanticleer of her other successes.

Maude Adams Came Once

Miss Adams' visit to Oswego, under the management of Charles Frohman, was such an important theatrical event that the editor of the "Palladium" congratulated Manager Burgess on his success in bringing such an extraordinary attraction to the Richardson. Since the actress was at that time the greatest attraction on the stage, and usually played only in large cities, her appearance in Oswego was an outstanding event. The theatre was filled, seats on the lower floor sold for \$2.00, the first five rows of the balcony, \$1.50, the balance of the balcony, \$1.00, and the gallery fifty cents. A reviewer said, "It is safe to say that she so charmed the people that if she should appear here again this winter in the same play they would all turn out again to greet her."

The newspaper review also continued: "In her introduction to the people of Oswego, Maude Adams more than lived up to the reputation of her metropolitan triumphs of the past few years. Her every word and every gesture were effective and every little movement struck home to the audience. One thing which kept the audience alert was her delicious Scotch accent. It was up to every one to keep both ears open lest they miss something.

"The company came to Oswego from a Canadian tour which has been a sort of triumphal procession. Miss Adams enjoyed her little visit to Oswego and took

* Miss Tanguay's death occurred only a few days before this paper was read before the Society.

advantage of the fine weather yesterday to take a little sleigh-ride around the city."

Other famous actresses deserving mention were the comedienne, Grace George, who appeared here at various times in "Under Southern Skies," "Divorcons," and "Just to Get Married"; Mary Boland in "The Lion and the Mouse," and "Smith"; Mary Mannering in "Glorious Betsy"; and Marguerite Clark, of later moving picture fame, in the "Mr. Pickwick," "Happyland," and "Wang" companies headed by DeWolf Hopper.

DeWolf Hopper, a Favorite

DeWolf Hopper, American singer and comedian best remembered for his recitation of the great baseball epic, "Casey At the Bat," played five different engagements at the Richardson Theatre. The first in 1895 in "Wang," the next in "Mr. Pickwick" in 1903, "Happyland" in 1906, "Wang" in 1907, and finally the title role of "Kempy" in 1923. On his fourth appearance in 1907, Mr. Hopper was accompanied by his third wife, Edna Wallace Hopper, an American actress long popular in musical comedy, and more recently known as vice-president of the Edna Wallace Hopper Beauty Products Corporation and for her youthful appearance despite her advanced years.

The popular American comedian, writer and director William Collier, Sr., made four personal appearances in plays on the stage of the Richardson, and several screen appearances in Triangle Film productions under the direction of Mack Sennett. Mr. Collier came to Oswego in 1897 in "Miss Philadelphia," in 1901 in "On the Quiet," 1910 in "I'll Be Hanged If I Do;" and late in 1912 in the comedy "Never Say Die," with Mrs. Collier and William Collier, Jr., as member of the cast.

Coghlan In Father's Role

Charles Coghlan, son of the

famous English actor, Charles Coghlan, Sr., carried on the family stage tradition by playing "The Royal Box," a play in which his father had made a tremendous hit in America. The young actor presented "The Royal Box" to Oswegonians on March 1, 1900, and returned on November 26, 1917 to star in the popular play, "Princess Pat."

The first decade of the twentieth century also brought James J. Jefferies in "A Man From the West," Ian Robertson in "The Passing of the Third Floor Back," and Cyril Scott in "The Prince Chap," and "The Lottery Man."

Jolly May Irwin

May Irwin, often described as "the jolliest comedienne on the American stage", played eleven different engagements at the Richardson Theatre before the year 1920, beginning on November 5, 1897, in "The Real Widow Brown," and concluding on April 8, 1919, in "The Water's Fine." Among the other plays she presented were "Sister Mary" (1900); "Madge Smith, Attorney" (1901); "The Widow Jones" (1902); "Mrs. Black Is Back" (1905); "Mrs. Wilson Andres" and "Mrs. Peckham's Carouse" a double bill in 1907; and in 1911, "Getting A Polish," a comedy by Booth Tarkington and Harry Leon Wilson.

This mistress of comedy had a regular habit of building up, developing and strengthening her part in a play by adding lines, jokes, and bits of stage business, no matter who the authors of the play may have been. So there was considerable speculation as to whether Miss Irwin would dare change the lines written by the two distinguished authors, Tarkington & Wilson. To put an end to the discussion, Mr. Tarkington wrote an interesting comment concerning the actress:

"In writing this play, Mr. Wilson and I have merely played the part of jewellers endeavoring to

furnish the setting in which a jewel of matchless lusture would sparkle to the best advtange. When the Almighty bottled up half the fun in the world in the person of May Irwin, he made the generous provision that the surplus should at all times be leaking from every pore, for the benefit of others. I would be a villian did I seek to plug the leaks. Booth Tarkington."

Irwin's Humor

Following the appearance of the celebrated actress in the Tarkington play, a local reviewer commented: "May Irwin furnished two and a half hours of elegant nonsense last night in "Getting A Polish," as the boarding-house keeper of Yellow Dog, Montana, whose early ambition to have a cast iron moose in the front dooryard faded before the perplexities and realizations of fashionable life in Paris after a sudden rise in her fortunes. May Irwin fitted into the character perfectly. No comedian knows better the value of expression, facial, lingual or pedal, for her comedy is from the ground up, and no word that she utters, speaking or singing is lost."

Oswego's taste in humor included appreciation of a type that went out of style with the times. Many of the farces were good-humored, witty, frank and sometimes vulgar, but with something common to many and agreeable to share. In one of May Irwin's plays this dialogue was both new and amusing:

"Your life-line shows you are going to die of starvation among strangers."

"Shipwreck?"

"No; boarding-house."

In another of her plays, Miss Irwin spoke of a married couple so poor that "They hired a room over a restaurant and inhaled their meals."

Jokes, sayings, phrases, now utterly trite, were, in the early farces of the nineties, received

with boisterous laughter, for weeks afterward providing the materials for glad conversations which began with "Have you heard the latest?"

The stories that had once started with "Once there were two Irishmen," soon gave way to stories of "once there were two Jews." Pat and Mike were forced to retire when "Potash and Perlmutter," the most famous cloak and suit laugh-makers in the world, appeared on the scene. This quaint comedy, dramatized about the characters and incidents in Montague Glass' Saturday Evening Post stories, was advertised as an "up-to-date garment in three pieces, trimmed with a thousand laughs to fit all sizes and ages," direct from New York where nearly a million people had seen the remarkable combination of laughter and tears, of comedy and heart-interest.

Religious Plays

During the period of 1910-1914, just before World War I, a number of plays presenting scenes dominated by some great religious incident or thought became immensely popular with the theatre-going public. In October, 1911, "The Confession," by James Halleck Reid, came to Oswego highly recommended by the Vicar General of St. Mary's Cathedral, Trenton, New Jersey, as "a laudable effort to elevate the stage and make it the hand-maid of religion." The play was a four act drama that interpreted the confessional of the Roman Catholic church, and portrayed a priest's love and devotion to his church versus his duty to his brother and the State.

"The Rosary," a stirring play built upon a thoroughly modern theme of the influence of thought upon the lives and well-being of men and women, virtually broke new ground in the field of dramatic literature. It was hailed as being an answer to the grow-

ing unrest and irreligion of the times. Many Oswegonians, who saw the first showing at the Richardson Theatre on November 18, 1911, still remember the exceptional acting of Harrison Reynolds as the genial parish priest, Father Kelly.

Mr. Reynolds also appeared at a later date (1912) in "The Angelus," a play founded on the famous painting of Jean Francois Millet, and written by Neil Twomey. The drama dealt with a subject new to the stage, and included the singing of the Angelus as a part of the action as a means of arresting an evil action or impulse. Reynolds, who had gained years of valuable stage experience as leading support with Margaret Anglin, and as leading man with Nat C. Goodwin, played the central figure, Father O'Brien, a whole-souled, kindly parish priest. A local reviewer reported an excellent performance before large audiences, but criticized the play. "The action," he wrote, "frequently halts while disquisitions are made on the well known policy of the church in regard to marriage and divorce, and the play becomes preachy. These same things could be more crisply said without their sense being lost."

Probably no play of a semi-religious nature presented in Oswego received the patronage awarded to "Ben Hur," a dramatization by William Young made from General Lew Wallace's novel of the same name. The play was sumptuously staged, with a chariot race and many other exciting incidents to punctuate the plot, and with a chorus of singers and many extra actors to augment the large cast. "The White Sister," and "The Garden of Allah" were also elaborate spectacles that met with pronounced success.

Sociological Dramas

In contrast with plays of a religious and ethical nature, the

second decade of the twentieth century also saw many sociological dramas that stimulated considerable public discussion and controversy. One of the most disturbing and bitterly attacked plays of this type was Eugene Walter's "The Easiest Way," produced by David Belasco with Frances Starr in the leading role. When the play was presented here in May, 1911, it was considered to be one of the notable events of the theatrical season since scarcely a play had been so much discussed in the previous decade, and because Miss Starr had played the leading role before crowded houses for over a year at the Belasco Theatre in New York. Mr. Belasco was quoted as saying, "It is impossible to cure evil by being silent about the conditions which produce evil," as his explanation for producing the play which discussed a phase of city life in so direct, forceful and sincere manner. The work of the actress was outstanding in the play. She was known for her pantomime and use of facial expression which was so remarkable that she could hold an audience for several minutes at a time.

During 1912, the Richardson housed three more controversial plays: "Bought and Paid For," written by George Broadhurst and produced by William A. Brady; "The Common Law," by Robert W. Chambers; and "The Sins of the Fathers," a play based on Thomas Dixon's novel.

The following year, Richard Bennett and company appeared in "Damaged Goods," a great sociological drama written by Eugene Brieux. This play was presented with the endorsement of Dr. C. S. Albertson, president of the Oswego Academy of Medicine.

"The Lure," billed as "the play that awakens the conscience of America," and reported to be the most sensational drama ever

staged, more daring than "The Easiest Way," and more thrilling than "Within the Law," played in Oswego several times. It was the first and most famous of the many white slave plays that were so popular during the period. Others that followed were "Little Lost Sister," by Pegler and Rose; "Girl of the Underworld"; "Souls in Bondage," and a moving picture, "Traffic in Souls," based on the Rockefeller White-Slavery Report and on the investigation of the Vice Trust by District Attorney Charles Whitman. A later film was entitled, "Smashing the Vice Trust."

Adventure Plays

Reflecting public interest in adventure stories, the theatre began to present many plays of the west and far north. "The Wolf," a drama of the frozen north, and "Where the Trail Divides," an Indian play of the West were presented in 1910, to be followed later by "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine," with Isabelle Lowe in the role of June; "The White Squaw," "Jesse James," "Billy, the Kid," "The Great Divide," "The Stampede," "The Girl of the Golden West," and "Arizona."

Homespun, rustic and sentimental plays were ever popular with local audiences, and many came to the Richardson. "The Old Homestead," a familiar old pastoral play by Denman Thompson, featuring the stage character of Uncle Josh, and showing the humorous and pathetic incidents of New England country life, was a perennial favorite. Other favorites were "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm"; "Freckles," a dramatization of Gene Stratton Porter's popular novel; Alma Chester and Dorothy Mackay in "Peg O' My Heart" and "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch."

Featured Real Jurors

When "Madame X," the supreme drama of mother-love,

played in Oswego, spectators had the pleasure of watching a real jury on the stage during the trial scene. Manager Burgess had arranged with a number of the jurymen of the current Supreme Court trial term then convened in Oswego to appear on the stage and to act as jury for the play. A news item concerning this novel event reported that "being all men of standing and ability they made an imposing addition to the picture." In addition to the jury, two hundred Oswegonians appeared as "supers" in the crowd scenes. The role of the son in the play was acted by Ralph Morgan, who later became famous as a motion picture player.

Modern sophistication and realism were well represented in the many comedy-dramas presented by touring companies. "Three Weeks," by Elinor Glyn; "The Blue Mouse," by Clyde Fitch; "The Ne'er-Do-Well," by Rex Beach; "The Gamblers," and "The Lion and the Mouse," by Charles Klein brought to Oswego the last word in smart Broadway successes. Most of the plays of George M. Cohan, famous actor, dramatist and producer, were played here many times. Best known were "Forty-five Minutes from Broadway," "Seven Keys to Baldpate," "Get Rich Quick Wallingsford," "The Miracle Man," and "Broadway Jones."

Popular Comedys

"The Fortune Hunter," Winchell Smith's comedy gem, came here directly from a two year run in New York; and George Barr McCutcheon's comedy of frenzied finance, "Brewster's Millions," was presented on New Year's Day, 1914. More fun was supplied by Carlyle Moore's "Stop Thief," Norman Lee Swarthout's "The Arrival of Kitty," Fred Jackson's "A Full House," and "A Pair of Sixes." Other comedy hits were "Officer 666," "Twin Beds," "It Pays To Advertise," "Excuse Me," "Seven Days," and "The

Girl in the Taxi," one of the merriest shows of the time.

More quiet, but none the less entertaining, plays of the second decade were "Kindling," by Charles Kenyon; "Bunty Pulls The Strings," by Graham Moffat; "Mother," by Jules Goodman; and "Polly of the Circus," by Fred Thompson and featuring a three-ring circus with a sermon thrown in.

Uncle Tom's Cabin

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," which had been seen in Oswego many times since before the Civil War, continued to hold sway as one of the most popular and greatest money-making plays of all time. Eliza crossed the ice, the bloodhounds bayed at the runaway slave, Topsy just grew, Simon Legree cracked his whip, little Eva died amidst floods of tears, and poor old Uncle Tom went on his tragic way.

Less than a month after the Richardson opened the first "Tom" show appeared in the new theatre, and continued to appear for a total of twenty-eight different engagements during the long life of the playhouse. Stetson's big double company, featuring two brass bands, two funny Topsy's, two eccentric Marks, also Jubilee singers, cake walkers, buck dancers, cotton pickers, floats and tableaux, came to Oswego eleven times between 1895 and 1911, to establish a record for repeat engagements. Other road companies to play the old favorite were Webber's, Stowe's, Kennedy's, Martin's, Washburn's Sterling's and Kibble's. Soon after the World War, interest in the plight of Uncle Tom began to wane, and by the early twenties "Tom" shows all but disappeared from the theatrical scene. Between 1917 and 1923, a period of six years, the old melodrama was not played at the Richardson. Then on January 24, 1923, Stowe's Uncle Tom Cabin Company pre-

sented the play for the last time on the Richardson stage.

The second decade of the twentieth century brought many outstanding players to Oswego in the latest Broadway successes.

John Drew Returns

A robust actor in Shakespearian comedy and suave interpreter of society drama, John Drew, who had played several times in the old Academy of Music, returned to Oswego on February 27, 1911, in Somerset Maugham's comedy "Smith." He was supported by the complete original company which had played the piece for three months at the Empire Theatre in New York before going on the road. A newspaper reported, "A better company, it may safely be said has never been seen in this city in support of a star." The company, under the management of Charles Frohman, included Mary Boland, Sybil Thorndike, Isabel Irving, Jane Laurel, Morton Selten, Hassard Short and Lewis Casson.

Raymond Hitchcock, the comedian, played three different engagements at the Richardson. The first, April 28, 1911, in a Cohan and Harris musical comedy, "The Man Who Owns Broadway," and next in "The Red Widow," the following year. Flora Zabello, the actor's wife, and Martin Enwright, an Oswego boy, were members of the supporting casts. Hitchcock's final appearance in 1923 was in the title role of "The Old Soak," one of his most famous characterizations.

Snowshoe Club Failed

Tyrone Power, grandson of the famous Irish actor, appeared in Oswego, February 9, 1912, in Charles Rann Kennedy's widely-discussed play, "The Servant In the House." The actor had created the drain man role in the play, and was especially adept at the comedy and tender pathos required for the part. He had cre-

ated many impressive characters on the American stage: Judas Iscariot in Mrs. Fiske's "Mary of Magdala," Ingomar in Julia Marlowe's revival of that famous classic, "Ingomar, the Barbarian"; and the Spirit of Evil in Henrietta Crossman's "The Christian Pilgrim." Power had also supported Henry Irving and Beer-bohm Tree in London.

An amusing side light on Tyronce Power's visit to Oswego is the story told of his encounter with the weather. The train bringing Power and his troupe to Oswego was stalled in a snow bank near New Haven, and Manager Ecclesson of the Richardson called for help in bringing the stranded players into the city. M. T. Crimmons, Professor F. Neary Schilling and other athletic members of the Snowshoe Club volunteered to go to the rescue of the actors, but since it was not known how many of the thespians could use snowshoes the proposed trip was abandoned, and the entire company was delayed.

Major Bowes' Wife Comes

Edward J. Bowes, of later radio fame, presented Margaret Illington in "Kindling," a dramatic sensation written by Charles Kenyon, on September 23, 1912. As Maggie, Miss Illington "by every movement, attitude and intonation gave a perfect representation of the character, and the realism of her acting was so convincing that she repeatedly carried her audience completely out of themselves." At the climax of the second act she and the entire company were recalled many times "with an appreciation and enthusiasm that was hard to gratify. The interest throughout was intense, and the art was of the kind that made one forget it was acting." Mr. Bowes had married the actress in 1910, a few days after she had obtained a divorce from the producer, Daniel Frohman. With Bowes'

guidance and direction, Miss Illington enjoyed continued success as a dramatic star until her death in 1934. Major Bowes was active in the theatre and radio until his passing in June of 1946.

Nazimova In Bella Donna

Madame Alla Nazimova, famous as an actress in emotional roles, appeared at the Richardson in a dramatization of Robert Hichens' novel, "Bella Donna," on October 7, 1913, under the management of Charles Frohman. The performance of this talented Russian actress was likened to "a beautiful reptile that, when the opportune moment arrives, sinks its fangs into its victim." Poison and passion were the basic properties of the play, and a reviewer noted, "For sustained nerve tension and emotional climaxes, it would be difficult to find two acts of a production more serious in intensity.

Toward the end of a long and successful career on the stage, Nat Goodwin, most famous for the number of his wives, came to the Richardson on March 23, 1914, in "Never Say Die." Goodwin, who had played at the Academy of Music with his first wife during the 1880's, now appeared with his fifth wife, Margaret Moreland, reputed to be the best dressed actress on the stage at the time.

George Arliss In Disraeli

George Arliss, an English actor noted for his character parts, presented one of his most outstanding roles, "Disraeli," in Oswego on September 16, 1914. This was the first and only appearance of the star in Oswego, and came at the end of a one year run in New York. In the all-English cast were Florence Arliss, Dudley Diggs, Ernita Lascelles, Margaret Dale, Lilla Campbell, Henry Carvill and Charles Harbury. Arliss also made a film of the same play and was seen here many years later when the pic-

ture was shown at the Richardson.

The original production of America's reigning success "Daddy Long Legs," direct from forty weeks in New York, brought Ruth Chatterton to Oswego in 1915. Miss Chatterton was supported by the complete original cast under the management of Henry Miller. In later years the actress appeared many times on the silver screen of the Richardson, as moving pictures became increasingly popular.

Ian Robertson, brother of Forbes Robertson, appeared at the Richardson as "the stranger" in "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" by Jerome K. Jerome, a part the actor had played 200 times in England. Robertson had appeared in the United States many years previously in the companies of Madame Modjeska, Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, Sir Henry Irving, and Charles Frohman. A review of the play stated, "Mr. Robertson was slightly deficient in enunciation, but his acting was none the less excellent and his interpretation pleasing. He was well supported. Boys in the gallery annoyed the audience."

Mrs. Campbell In Pygmalion

An outstanding English actress, Mrs. Patrick Campbell appeared at the Richardson on February 10, 1916, as Eliza Doolittle in Shaw's amusing play "Pygmalion." Long associated with Forbes-Robertson in London in Shakespearian roles, the actress had made her American debut in Sunderman's "Magda," and subsequently made several tours of the country. It was during the 1914-1916 tour that she came to Oswego and delighted local audiences with her brilliant performance.

A review of the play stated: "The remarkable talents of Mrs. Patrick Campbell as a comedienne were shown to great ad-

vantage in this brilliant masterpiece of Shavian humor. Her impersonation was in the highest vein of comedy and had its direct appeal to the audience. Mrs. Campbell was suffering from severe hoarseness, and her voice showed it. The actress has never before favored Oswego with a visit and she should have been greeted by a capacity house. It is regrettable that a larger audience did not attend, for the occasion and production deserved it."

Margaret Anglin, a Frohman star who had attained considerable success in "Cyrano de Bergerac," "Electra," and "As You Like It," before turning to more popular plays, made two appearances in Oswego. She is well remembered for the sparkling humor and intelligence of her acting in "Green Stockings" (1917), and "The Woman In Bronze" (1919).

English-born Marie Tempest, who first won great popularity in comic opera and later in comedy, made one Oswego appearance, January 2, 1917, in the delightful comedy "Her Husband's Wife." She was heralded as one of the most polished and brilliant actresses on the English-speaking stage. In the cast were Miss Tempest was another distinguished actress, Laura Hope Crews, who later became a star in several Broadway plays.

Lunt and Coburn Here

Arthur Byron played in "What Every Woman Knows"; Holbrook Blinn appeared in a great political drama, "The Boss"; and Alfred Lunt, who later became a leading actor with the New York Theatre Guild, acted in the farce, "Green Stockings."

The distinguished American actors and managers, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Coburn, long popular in stock and touring companies, presented "The Better 'Ole," on May 13, 1919. Mr. Coburn played Old Bill, a role he

performed constantly from 1918 to 1920 in all parts of the United States.

Eugene O'Neill's daring experimental play, "The Emperor Jones," which depicted merely a state of mind, brought the talented Negro actor, Charles Gilpin to Oswego in February, 1922. The work of the actor is still remembered by all who saw the play for its strange and thrilling power.

Jane Cowl in "Smilin' Thru"

One of America's most distinguished players, Jane Cowl, made two Oswego appearances, the first in "Smilin' Thru," on March 22, 1922, and the other in "Romeo and Juliet," on March 19, 1925. These were the two outstanding plays acted by Miss Cowl, who under the direction of David Belasco enriched the Shakespearean tradition by her beautiful performance of Juliet.

Other prominent performers who played at the Richardson and who deserve brief mention were Irene Castle in a dance program; Ruth St. Dennis and Ted Shawn in the "Ziegfield Follies of 1928"; Cyril Scott in "The Lottery Man"; Tully Marshall in "The City"; Sidney Drew in "Billy"; and Bertha Kalich in "Kreutzer Sonata."

Mrs. Tom Thumb

The Countess Magri, better known to the world for a score of years as Mrs. Tom Thumb, wife of General Tom Thumb, made several appearances at the Richardson Theatre. The little actress had married Count Magri, a midget Italian nobleman, in 1885, two years after the General's death, and had continued her stage career with her second husband and his brother, Baron Magri.

At the time of her last Oswego appearance during Thanksgiving week, 1912, Mrs. Thumb was seventy-one years old, and had been on the stage for fifty-four years.

She owned a farm in Middleboro, Mass., and planned to live there as soon as she completed the farewell tour of America.

An amusing story is told concerning the manager of the Pontiac hotel and the company of Lilliputians. Manager Louis Kuhnreich, of the Pontiac, was greatly surprised one day when a man ordered three suites of rooms, each of which was to be equipped with children's chairs and tables, and the telephones to be lowered to two and a half feet from the floor.

"Some wealthy people spoil their children, all right," the hotel manager remarked to the strange gentleman.

"Well, rest assured these reservations are not for children," the man replied, "They are for people ranging from thirty to seventy-two years of age."

Mr. Kuhnreich was puzzled until the man explained that he was advance agent for the troupe of Lilliputians which included Mrs. Thumb, Major Lioble, Viena Botton, and Count and Baron Magri. The hotel proprietor then consented to the change in his best suites, and made preparations for the reception of his midget guests.

Doll tables and chairs were also placed for their accommodation in the hotel's grill room, and a special reception was held at the hotel on Thanksgiving night following the performance at the Richardson. Since this was the farewell tour of Mrs. Thumb, many Oswegonians took advantage of the opportunity to bid her goodbye.

Famed Organizations Give Concerts

Music, always popular with Oswego theatregoers, continued to be an important part of the entertainments scheduled at the Richardson Theatre, and many of the outstanding musical organizations of the early twentieth cen-

tury appeared before local audiences. The Harvard University Orchestra came here in 1908; the New York Philharmonic Orchestra with ninety-four artists and Francis MacMillan, violin soloist, gave a concert in 1915; the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra with Emil Oberhoffer, conductor, Richard Czerwensky, violinist, and eighty-five artists, appeared on February 22, 1916; The Russian Symphony Orchestra, with Modest Altschuler, conductor, on October 30, 1916; and the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra, with Richard Hageman, conductor, on April 29, 1918.

Grand opera was presented occasionally by touring companies from New York and Boston. Joseph P. Sheehan and company appeared in "El Trovatore"; Anthony Andre played Mephisto in Goethe's opera, "Faust"; the Grand Opera Singers from the Boston Opera House presented "Cavalleria Rusticana," November 13, 1913; a year later, the New York Grand Opera Company presented "Carmen" in English, with Yvonne Darle as Carmen, and Salvatore Giordano as Don Jose. Early in 1915, the Royal Grand Opera Company presented "Aida" and "Rigoletto," followed a few months later by the Aborn Opera Company in "The Bohemian Girl" and "Il Trovatore."

An operatic version of "Salome," in four acts and seven scenes of oriental splendor, on November 25, 1913, prompted a "Palladium" reviewer to comment: "A remarkable dance in the second act by Mlle. Sophia Benucci was a revelation to the audience. For grace, sinuosity and contortionlike muscular control, nothing like Mlle. Benucci has ever been seen here. There were some misgivings about the dance of Salome but there should not have been."

"The Merry Widow" Came

Light opera played in Oswego frequently and enjoyed great suc-

cess. Charles Frohman presented "The Arcadians," direct from a two year engagement in New York, with a cast of one hundred people including an international beauty chorus. Lew Fields production of "The Midnight Sons" was so spectacular as to defy all of the usual stage classifications, and was called "a musical moving picture in eight films." Franz Lehár's famous operetta, "The Merry Widow," was given much praise for the allure of the waltz, the charm of the composer's music, and the whimsical appeal of the humor. The cast, which played here during a coast to coast tour, was headed by George Danerek as Prince Danilo, and Gertrude Hutcheson as Sonia. Grace Van Studdiford was given great acclaim when she appeared at the Richardson in the comic opera, "A Bridal Trip."

Victor Herbert's operettas, "Naughty Marietta," "Sweet Sixteen," "The Princess Pat" and others were played regularly by various groups, the most important being the Oscar Hammerstein Company. Oscar Straus' "The Chocolate Soldier," and DeKoven's "Robin Hood" never failed to draw a full house every time they were played in Oswego. Other popular musicals included "The Cat and the Fiddle," "Jumping Jupiter," "A Stubborn Cinderella," "The Quaker Girl," "Madame Sherry," and "The Girl of My Dreams." Other musicals were based on various cartoon strips, particularly "Mutt and Jeff," "The Newlyweds and their Baby," and "The Katzenjammer Kids."

Famous Bands Came

Concerts by famous bands were a popular form of entertainment for Oswegonians, and during the first two decades of the new century many outstanding organizations played at the Richardson. John Phillip Sousa, the March King, appeared here in 1896 and in 1899 at the head

of his world famous United States Marine Band. Sousa probably did more than any other single person to popularize band music, and the huge success of many other groups was largely due to his pioneer efforts and to his musical compositions. Some of the better known Sousa marches were: "The Washington Post," "Liberty Bell," "High School Cadets," "King Cotton," "El Capitan," and the incomparable "Stars and Stripes Forever," for which the composer received the small sum of \$90 for his rights.

Following Sousa came Conterno's Military Band in 1898; Brooke and his Chicago Marine Band, and the Hungarian Boy's Band in 1900; Hawson's 20th Century Band in 1901; the Canadian Military Band, "The Kilties," in 1902 and 1903; Lapham's Grand Concert Band in 1904. Arthur Pryor, a competitor of Sousa, brought his excellent organization to Oswego in 1906. In 1909 a group known as the Onondaga Indian Reservation Band presented a program. The early twenties brought two other military bands: the United States Marine Band in 1920, and the Famous Irish Regiment Band in 1922. Victor Herbert's band also played at the Richardson on several occasions.

Chauncey Olcott's Record

Musical comedies and concerts brought to Oswego many famous singers, some of them for a single engagement and others for annual engagements over a long period of years. Chauncey Olcott, a popular romantic Irish tenor, played Oswego almost every year between 1895 and 1920, for a total of twenty-one different engagements which gave him the record of appearing at the Richardson more times than any other artist. He first appeared in "Irish Hearts" on January 31, 1895, as the third attraction in the new theatre following the

grand opening. He returned in 1896 to play "Mauvorean"; in 1897 to sing "Minstrel of Clare"; 1898 in "Sweet Innesarra"; 1899 "A Romance of Athlone"; and again in the same piece in 1900. He was seen here twice in "Macushla," his best known Irish musical; and twice in Rachel Crother's famous comedy, "The Heart of Paddy Whack," under the direction of Henry Miller. The singing Irish comedian is still remembered for his own compositions, "My Beautiful Irish Maid," "Look in My Heart," "Katy Malone," and for his singing of Tom Moore's "Believe Me, If All Those Endearing Charms."

Fiske O'Hara, another famous Irish tenor, played many times in Oswego between 1910 and 1919, in "The Wearing of the Green," "In Old Dublin," "The Rose of Kildare," "Kilkenney," "Jack's Revenge," and "Marry In Haste." As the character of Philip Fitzgerald in "The Wearing of the Green," O'Hara played with an easy manner, and sang with a clear, high tenor voice of unusual range, flexibility and distinctness. Among the many songs he sang the favorites with the audience were "Eyes of Irish Blue," "My Queen is a Colleen," and "An Irishman's Toast."

Following the appearance of this celebrated Irish tenor, a letter to the editor of the "Times" from a member of the audience requested, "For the land's sake ask Professor F. Neary Schilling to prepare a little Irish music to go with 'The Wearing of the Green.' Polish Mazurkas, Spanish Fandangoes and Dutch Blatheroes are not in proper cadence with the Irish drama. Surely the entrancing melodies of Thomas Moore would furnish a better accompaniment."

Many More Famous Names

The popular Scotch comedian, Harry Lauder, made two appearances in Oswego, once in person and once in talking pictures.

Jefferson DeAngelis, a popular star of comic opera, appeared in Oswego many times at the head of his own company. "The Jolly Musketeers," a two act comic opera, brought him here early in 1899, and again in 1900. He returned every three or four years thereafter until his final engagement in 1922 to sing the leading roles in such old favorites as "The Toreador," "Fantana," "The Beauty Spot," and "The Merry Widow."

Eddie Foy, hero of the Chicago Iroquois Theatre fire in 1903, appeared at the Richardson in a comic musical, "The Orchid," on April 9, 1908.

Susie Kirwin played in musical stock for several years; Fritz Scheff appeared in "The Prima Donna" in 1909; and Julia Sanderson sang in "Fantana."

Schumann-Heink and Farrar

Outstanding among the many women singers to appear in Oswego were Madame Schumann-Heink, who gave a concert on March 19, 1919; Freda Hempel, who appeared in May of 1919; and Geraldine Farrar, who presented a concert in 1924, and returned in 1925 to sing "Carmen."

Other musical organizations to find favor with local audiences were the Syracuse University Boy's Glee Club with banjo, mandolin and guitar (1896); Amy Murray in a Scotch concert (1905); the Hibernian Concert Company in "Ballads of Ireland" (1905); the Irish Ladies Choir of Dublin (1906); Colgate University Glee Club (1910); and the Paulist Choir of Chicago with George O'Connell, tenor (1917).

Old Time Melodies

The most characteristic American music of the nineties was the Negro melody, and before 1900 the melodies of Stephen Foster were extremely popular in musical shows. Beginning about 1900 and continuing

through the quarter century following, this older type of music began to be jostled by variations known as "ragtime," "coon songs" and "mammy" songs. A common avenue for the introduction of popular songs was through the Negro minstrels, which were at that time still a popular institution; later through vaudeville acts and musical comedies.

Popular tunes of the period included "A Bicycle Built for Two," "Waltz Me Around Again, Willie," "The Bowery," "Little Annie Rooney," and "There'll Be A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." Some of the songs widely sung in vaudeville and minstrel shows were "Down Went McGinty to the Bottom of the Sea," "On the Banks of the Wabash," "Just Tell Them That You Saw Me," "The Sidewalks of New York," "After the Ball," and "Only A Bird in the Gilded Cage."

Field's Minstrels

Minstrel shows, with their blackface comedians, boisterous humor, gay melodies, musical specialties, colorful costumes, and street parades, continued to enjoy the same popularity as during the half century previously. For many years the opening attraction at the Richardson was a minstrel, and from 1912 to 1927, the famous A. G. Field's troupe opened the local theatrical season each year early in August. The Field company, which had no equal, first appeared in 1895 and played nineteen engagements between that date and the final appearance in 1927. A noonday street parade, with blaring brass band, performers in costume, and bright banners, was a regular feature of every engagement and enjoyed by young and old alike.

James J. Corbett, former champion heavyweight boxer of the world, bank clerk, monologist, and raconteur appeared twice in 1911, as the dignified interlocutor with "Honey Boy" Evans and his minstrels. As a publicity item,

the local press speculated as to what "Gentleman Jim," who had lost his heavyweight title to the Negro fighter, Jack Johnson, thought of acting with a troupe of black-faced minstrels. The gay, rollicking performances of the entire company, lead by Jim and "Honey Boy," gave all the answer needed.

Lew Dockstader's Twentieth Century Minstrels changed the traditional form to the guise of a minstrel-musical comedy. The traditional end men were abolished, and the blackface comedians walked on as actors. Instead of the usual minstrel circle, the first part took place on the lawn of the Possum Hunt Club. Reviewing this innovation, a local newspaper said, "the entire production was a classic illustration of minstrelsy up to date."

Fulton Girl Dancer

"The Ham Tree," McIntyre and Heath's minstrel-musical comedy, presented Katherine Foster, a Fulton girl, as a featured dancer. Katherine was born in Fulton, and when she was five years old, her parents had moved to Providence, R. I., where her father, J. H. Foster, was an automobile dealer.

Other minstrels to sing and dance their merry way across the Richardson stage were Primrose and West, Hi Henry, Vogel and Deming, George B. Thatcher, Gus Sun's Rising Minstrels, James H. Whitney's San Francisco Minstrels, Guy Brothers, Quinlan and Wall, Brotherton's famous WWW Minstrels, and Cohan and Harris. Primrose and Dockstader featured the "Six Brown Brothers Saxophone Band," a musical organization that enjoyed huge popularity and did much to introduce the saxophone to the American public. The last minstrel troupe to play at the Richardson was the Famous Georgia Minstrel Company on October 16, 1927. This once popular form of amusement was

by then losing favor with the atreagoers and, with the exception of occasional amateur performances, was soon to pass from the scene as public entertainment. "Mr. Bones" and "Mr. Tambo," with their banjos and tambourines, left the spotlight to make way for vaudeville and moving pictures.

Magicians

The theatrical art of magic was always a great favorite with Oswego audiences, and the feats of sleight of hand, legerdemain and conjuring presented by some of the world's best magicians and illusionists never failed to pack the theatre.

"Herman, the Great" played at the Richardson in 1895, and returned in 1896 for a second engagement. A few days after this second appearance in Oswego, the "Palladium" printed a story announcing the death of the celebrated magician. "So Herman, the Great, is dead! How shocking. And only the other night he mystified and pleased an audience that filled every part of the Richardson, and seemed in perfect health and the best of spirits. One of Herman's fascinating tricks was to burn up a handkerchief before the audience, then with a wave of his wand produce a lemon, cut it open and inside find the burned handkerchief. Another one which he did not give in Oswego was to borrow three rings from three young ladies in the audience and put them into a frying pan. Then he would break a number of eggs into the frying pan, pour in some alcohol and put the whole mess on fire. Then a cone was placed in the pan and after a touch by the magic wand, the cone was pulled off and out would fly three white pigeons, one with a ribbon around its neck to which are fastened the three rings."

Because of the fame attached to the name "Herman," other magicians used it freely. In 1899,

another magician, advertising himself as "Herman, the Supreme Magician," presented a program of breath-taking feats of skill. In September of 1921, a lady magician billed herself "Madame Adelaide Herman."

The greatest magician, however, was probably "Kellar, the Peerless Magician," who played in Oswego in 1898, and again in 1901, to almost completely overshadow the lesser figures who came before and after him.

Other illusionists to appear here were "Bancroft, the Magician"; "The Great Brindamour" and "The Great Manough, King of Mystery." The last magic show at the Richardson was given in 1916 by the Leroy Talmo Bosco Company, European magicians.

Vaudeville

Vaudeville, which included such acts as comedy cartoonists, sensational aerialists, comedians of all descriptions, jugglers, plate spinners, singers and yodlers, whistlers, violinists, animal acts, magicians and illusionists, reached its highest point of popularity during the time of the Richardson Theatre. Scarcely a week passed that did not see one or more variety programs presented before packed houses. Eventually vaudeville and moving pictures were practically the only forms of entertainment to be booked at the theatre.

The program of a "quality vaudeville" show presented here in 1912 will illustrate the type of acts that found public favor for many years. Listed on the bill were: Nortlock and Niles, singers direct from musical comedy triumphs; Hazel and Hazel, scintillating comedy and melody of the highest sort; Luken's Dog and Pony Circus; Pierce and Knoll, rollicking funsters; two reels of new photoplays; and as sensation of the evening, "Mermaida, the beautiful diving Venus," performing in tank installed on the stage of the theatre.

Tony Stock Was "Game"

As an added attraction for this particular vaudeville show, Mermaida, "the diving Venus," offered \$100 to anyone who could equal or surpass her diving stunts. Anthony Stock, 134 East Oneida street, accepted the challenge for a diving contest; and a special committee of Oswegonians was selected to act as judges. The event attracted a large audience, and a newspaper item reported that young Stock followed Mermaida in all her stunts except the high dive into a shallow tank. The account stated, "Stock's stunts were not done with the skill and grace exhibited by the professional swimmer, though he did perform in a way to receive favorable comment but not the \$100."

An Indoor Circus and Trained Animal Show, the winter of 1915, included ten big acts; the star act being given by six bears that indulged in roller skating, drinking bounts and numerous other antics. Riding acts, wire walking, and the usual band of clowns that go to make up a circus were on hand. There were also equestriennes direct from the Barnum and Bailey Circus; wonderful feats on the tight wire; and an act with six ponies, ten dogs, two monkeys, and a talking pony, "known the world over as the pony with the human brain." Also a double trapeze act; a comedy revolving ladder act; and the youngest wild animal trainer in the world with her performing lions, bears, leopards and panthers. This dog, pony and monkey show held a big street parade at noon, and offered free rides on the ponies after the afternoon performance.

Richardson Prize Fight

Prize fights were frequently staged at the Richardson, and on one occasion a fight of national importance was held in Oswego. In March 1911, the directors of

the Oswego City Athletic Club engaged the Richardson for a match between Packey McFarland and Billy Ryan of Syracuse. At that time the world was without a lightweight champion, "Battling" Nelson having passed from the arena in 1910. Packey McFarland was a contender for the title, and was believed by many to be the king of the lightweights. The Oswego bout was not a title fight but attracted so much attention in Central New York that special trains were scheduled from Syracuse and Watertown. The fight was a huge success, with the contender an easy victor. McFarland never won the world title, but Oswegonians at least boasted of having seen a leading contender of the time.

Burlesque Shows Popularity

Burlesque shows, which had come into popularity during the days of the Academy of Music, developed into a large and profitable part of the entertainment business during the time of the Richardson. In contrast with the thirty burlesque shows that had played at the Academy, three hundred and twelve performances were given at the Richardson.

Joe Ott, a famous burlesque player, presented "The Dazzler" early in 1895, and returned later the same year in "The Star Gazer." Lottie Burke played "The Star Gazer" in 1896, and was followed by two different presentations of "The Black Crook," an outstanding musical extravaganza which had set a new style in sensational entertainment.

Jolly Nellie McHenry appeared in "A Night in New York;" Fanny Rice played in "The French Coon;" and Black Patti's Troubadours came to Oswego as the nineteenth century came to a close.

The first decade of the new century brought "Two Married

Men," "Foxy Grandpa," "Happy Hoolligan," "Ma's New Husband," "Zig Zag Alley," "Looping the Loop," and others.

During World War I, burlesque reached an all time high in popularity. Twenty different companies played at the Richardson in 1917: "The Ginger Girls," "The Gayety Girls," "Grown up Babies," "The Speedway Girls," "The Girls From the Follies," "Some Babies," "The Innocent Maids," and "The Broadway Belles." The year 1918 brought twenty-nine companies, including "The Army and Navy Girls," "The Charming Widows," "The Jolly Girls," "The 40 Thieves," and "The Girls From Joyland."

Burlesque finally ended in a blaze of glory in 1928. That year the Richardson housed only thirty legitimate attractions, twenty-nine of them being burlesque. "The Moonlight Maids," on the Mutual Burlesque Wheel, a booking agency, appeared here November 13, 1928, after which the franchise was transferred to the Temple Theatre at Syracuse and burlesque came no more to Oswego.

Gallery Gods Held Forth

The gallery, or "pit" as it was frequently called, was usually a masculine paradise at the Richardson Theatre. The cheaper seats in that part of the house attracted a boisterous crowd of men and boys, who came to enjoy the evening as both spectators and participants. They showed their appreciation with loud stomping and whistling, and disapproval with boos and catcalls. Occasionally such behavior in the gallery was cause for complaint, and in 1912 Manager Fred Bosworth was forced to offer a public reward of five dollars for the identification and conviction of "the person who thinks he has a funny laugh and who is the cause of much annoyance to the patrons and players of the theatre."

Spectators in the gallery brought their own refreshments in the form of bottled goods, peanuts and chewing tobacco, and at the end of an evening the place was a shambles. Such a situation prevented ladies from going to the gallery even when the theatre was packed, but eventually ladies invaded this male haven, and in time brought peace and quiet.

In February of 1912, a group of 60 students from the State Normal School sat in the gallery for Verdi's opera "Il Trovatore," sung by the Sheehan English Grand Opera Company. The courageous venture of the young ladies was quite successful, and the newspaper next day commented:

"Student's Night in the Gallery"

"One of the pleasing features of the performance at the Richardson last evening was the conduct of the occupants of the upper gallery, commonly known as the 'pit.' It was noticeable that there was not the slightest sign of any disturbance there, and that the occasional noises which emanate from that section of the house were not heard last evening.

"The truth of the matter is that the pit was entertaining ladies last evening and behaved accordingly. A party of some 60 or more Normal girls under the supervision of Professor (Chester H.) Tether got around early and took possession of the front rows of the gallery and apparently thoroughly enjoyed the opera.

"Practices which have been regarded as one of the privileges of this section of the house were discontinued and discarded last night. It is too bad that this effect could not be conveyed in the same effective way during performances of every first class production in the Richardson."

With such a satisfactory result from the experiment, it was in-

evitable that ladies should continue to use the gallery. A month later many ladies who were disappointed in securing seats in any other part of the theatre for the musical "Madame Sherry," asked the management of the Richardson to open the gallery to them. The manager agreed, and the gallery was thoroughly cleaned and scrubbed in preparation for their use. A news story announcing the new policy said, "The experiment proved so successful on the occasion of a recent attraction that the management has no hesitation in repeating it, and any who are so disposed need have no hesitation in going to that part of the house. Efficient help and protection will be placed on the stairways to prevent the usual crowding, and to enable patrons to pass quickly to their seats. There will be special officers at the gallery door to see that first come will be first served, as a line will be formed and the best of order maintained."

More Theatre "Don'ts"

Most actors complained bitterly about the behavior of audiences, but were usually unable to do anything to improve the situation. One actor, however, did do something. Francis Wilson, who appeared in his own comedy success, "The Bachelor's Baby," gave an "Oswego Times" reporter nine "don'ts" to theatregoers:

"1. Don't arrive at the theatre late. You would not begin your dinner with the entree.

"2. Don't keep your theatre bonnet on until the very last minute before removing it and thus give the person back of you a conniption fit. You know you have to take it off, he doesn't know you will.

"3. Don't secure aisle seats and then glare at the people who have inside ones and pass you on their way out to 'see some man' between every act. Maybe

you've done the same thing yourself.

"4. Don't chatter during the play. The actors are paid to speak their lines for your entertainment.

"5. Don't find fault with the part the actor is playing. He reads the author's lines.

"6. Don't be afraid to applaud. Actors like enthusiasm.

"7. Don't explain the story of the play to your companion. The man on the other side might want to hear it for himself.

"8. Don't lose your temper if some one comes in late and you have to stand up to allow them to pass and thus drop your hat, coat, handbag, opera glasses, umbrella and program.

"9. Don't leave the theatre before the play is over, it's very rude to walk away when someone is talking to you."

Benefit For Tornado Victims

Though audience decorum was not always commendable, Oswegonians were always ready to aid worthy causes and to attend benefit theatre performances. When a tornado swept over the northern part of Onondaga county in September of 1912, the first to offer public assistance to those who lost their property was Fred B. Bosworth, manager of the Richardson Theatre. Mr. Bosworth immediately announced a special benefit performance of the Gus Edwards' musical comedy, "School Days," for the storm victims.

Mrs. John D. Higgins and a local committee took charge of arrangements, and decided to make the affair a special benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Bennett, of Liverpool, former residents of Oswego, who were among the heaviest hit of anyone in the path of the cyclone. To give official dignity to the occasion, Oswego's Mayor David D. Long consented to take tickets at the

door and to handle the box office receipts. The Board of Education voted to close schools at three o'clock to permit pupils to attend the matinee performance.

In spite of cold, rainy weather, the benefit performance drew a good crowd, and a profit of \$120.45 was turned over to Mayor Long for the sufferers. Mr. H. H. Karpinski had meanwhile collected private donations for the Bennett fund, and with theatre benefit money was able to raise a total of \$700. Mrs. George B. Sloan and Mrs. Sloan Danenhower were reported to have "contributed handsomely" to the relief fund. A few days later, in a letter to the "Palladium," Mr. Bennett expressed his deepest gratitude to all of those who had so generously contributed in his hour of need.

Stock Companies

The most significant event of the era which ended with the Richardson Theatre was the decline of stock companies, and the rise of motion pictures to take their place. Stock companies, with their versatile actors and varied repertoire of plays, first came to Oswego as early as July, 1851, when the Syracuse Theatre Company presented six plays in three days. From then on, other troupes came regularly to play for one week or longer, in Market Hall, Doolittle Hall, the Academy of Music, and finally the Richardson. The stock system of entertainment continued to grow in public favor and reached its highest point of development during the first decade of the twentieth century, to be followed soon after by a rapid decline and virtual extinction.

During a forty-five year period, 1895-1930, the Richardson housed a total of 148 stock companies, which played 1008 evening performances and 732 matinees. The Kirk Brown, considered to be one of the best of its time, played in Oswego almost

every year. Other frequent visitors were Corse Payton and Company; Daniel R. Ryan Stock Company; the John J. Kennedy Players; the Klark-Scoville Company; Bennett - Moulton Company; Myrkle-Harder Stock Company; and the Charles K. Champlain Company.

Musical stock was presented frequently by The Wilbur Opera Company; the Wilbur - Kirwin Opera Company, starring Susie Kirwin; May Fiske and her company; the Billy Allen Musical Comedy Company; the Gorman Musical Comedy Company; Bob Ott Musical Comedy Company; and the Hinky Dee Musical Comedy Company. These organizations often remained in Oswego for two weeks playing a variety of musical plays.

Plays with a strong popular appeal were always featured by stock companies; audiences could always be sure of many hearty laughs, a few tears, and plenty of excitement. Usually the plays were old Broadway favorites, occasionally a new play, and now and then a Shakespearean drama. The Arnold Wolford Stock Company, during a three day engagement, January 6-8, 1897, presented "Mystic Mountain," a four act southern comedy-drama;; "Storm Beaten," a four act drama; "The Little Scout," a comedy-drama; and "The Streets of New York," an old time melodrama in five acts.

Stock Company Repertoires

As time passed, new, and sometimes better, plays were given by the stock actors. In 1911, for instance, the Kirke Brown Company played "The Iron Master," "The Liars," "The Two Orphans," "An Enemy of the King," "Michael Strogoff," "Othello," and Romeo and Juliet." The Myrkle-Harder Stock Company presented "Elevating a Husband," "The Girl of the Golden West," "Stop Thief," "What

Happened to Mary," "The Escape," and "Under Southern Skies."

Early in 1912, Charles K. Champlin and Company appeared in "The Crisis," by James K. Hackett; "The Mills of the Gods," by George Broadhurst; "Shores Acres," by James A. Herne; "The Call of the Wild," by Jack London; "The Reformer," and "The Runaway Wife." Shortly after Champlin finished his engagement, the Chicago Stock Company moved into the Richardson to present "A Woman's Way," "Strongheart," "The Only Son," "Hearts Aflame," "Stampede," "Seven Days," and "Going Some."

Most stock companies kept the same plays in their repertoire permanently once a success had been discovered. Thus, when the Chicago Stock Company returned in 1914 their program included the same plays as in 1911, with "The Cub," and "The Charity Ball" added. Evidently Oswegonians did not mind seeing the same plays many times, and filled the house for every bill. Low admission price explained some of the popularity of stock shows, the standard price was always ten cents for the gallery, twenty cents for the balcony, and thirty cents for the lower floor, hence the term "ten-twenty-thirty" came to be synonymous with stock plays. At first, stock groups played every evening, and one matinee a week on Saturdays. As their popularity increased the troupes gave matinees on Wednesdays and Saturdays; later four afternoon performances, excluding only Mondays and Fridays; then five each week; and at the very peak of their popularity, six matinees each week.

To advertise their plays at the Richardson, stock companies used many novel techniques, including stunts and contests for free tickets. When the Charles K. Champlain Stock Company open-

ed an engagement here in 1915, people on streets downtown were amazed to see a large kite floating above the roof of the Oswego Plumbing Company, and hanging from the tail of the kite an object that appeared to be a person, but was only a cloth dummy. This startling sight was just one of the many stunts used by Champlain's press agent.

During this same engagement the "Oswego Times" combined forces with the Champlain company in a novel contest to advertise the play, "The Littlest Rebel." A word contest was held in which all Oswego boys and girls under sixteen years of age were invited to submit lists of adjectives beginning with the letters in Henry Clay's name and in some way describing him. Twelve box seats and twenty orchestra seats were awarded to children sending in the best lists.

Prize Winners of 1915

Hundreds of lists came into the office of the "Times," and the contest editor worked all day Sunday to decide the winners. First prizes of eight box seats went to Kirke M. White; second prize of four box seats went to George Hessler; third prize of two orchestra seats to Gertrude Ingalls; with James Lewis, Margrette Delisle, Charles Rowe, Willard Mullen, Luther Mott, Jr., Helen Quigley, Priscilla Coppernull, Mary Kehoe, Frances O'Connor and Jessie Branchau as winners of other prizes. In announcing the prize winners the "Times" remarked, "There will be a big party and there will be a lot of happy little folks. Over forty little readers of the "Times" will see the greatest of all war dramas, "The Littlest Rebel."

Not to be outdone in promoting a worthy patriotic play, the "Palladium" arranged to give a free ticket to the first boy and girl with blue, black, brown and

grey eyes, to appear at the box office with a copy of that newspaper in hand. The result was a stampede for free admissions. In reporting this event the "Palladium" said, "A crowd of boys and girls thronged the lobby of the Richardson Theatre this afternoon, blue-eyed, brown-eyed, black-eyed and grey-eyed, each with a copy of the "Palladium" in hand, to receive a free ticket for the performance of 'The Littlest Rebel' presented by the Charles K. Champlain stock company. The management was in a quandary, as it was impossible to tell who arrived first, and being generous and not caring to show any favoritism, a ticket was given to every boy and girl. Mr. Champlain has a strong love for the children, and aims always to present such plays as will not bar them from attendance at his entertainments."

Stock Loses Pulling Power

In spite of such novel forms of advertising, public interest in stock plays began to wane, and fewer companies visited Oswego. By 1920 only one or two stock companies played at the Richardson, where eighteen different troupes had appeared in 1907. Between 1923 and 1928, not one troupe came to Oswego to play stock. October, 1929, saw John "Ducky" Rhoads and his Players appearing for a short engagement, and in March, 1930, Jane Hastings and Company played for three weeks to be the last stock company, and the last professional acting group, ever to appear upon the stage of the Richardson Theatre.

Motion Pictures

Toward the end of the nineteenth century a series of experiments by Edison, Lumiere and others resulted in the invention of motion pictures which radically influenced the history of public entertainment in Oswego. An account of this new form of

amusement is an important part of the history of the Richardson Theatre because of the far-reaching effect motion pictures had upon public taste and upon a subsequent decline of legitimate drama.

Thomas Edison's Kinetoscope in 1889 was something of a peep-show device in which fifty feet of film ran with continuous movement between a magnifying lens and a source of light. This machine was first shown to the public in 1894, but was not a commercial success since only a few people could view the pictures at one time. Thomas Armat developed the Vitascope which projected images on a screen, and arranged to have his invention manufactured at Edison's West Orange, New Jersey plant. In a short time films and machines were produced in quantity, and a new industry was born.

First Movies Shown

Moving pictures were first presented in Oswego at Fitzhugh Hall, May 10, 1897, on an evening when the Richardson Theatre was without a scheduled attraction. A program of flickering pictures was shown on what was called an "Edison Projectoscope," a machine which combined the best features of the Kinetoscope and the Vitascope. The pictures were so poor that few people in the audience could possibly imagine motion pictures would soon give rise to an entirely new type of drama, acting, audience and theatre.

A few months later, October 13 and 14, 1897, the first silent moving pictures were shown at the Richardson Theatre, a Vitascope production of the Corbett-Fitzgibbons prize-fight. From then on "movies," as they came to be called, were presented with increasing frequency until they almost completely took over the public entertainment field.

Most of the early films were one-reel topical novelties, vaudeville acts, travelogues and news pictures. In 1901 Oswegonians saw scenes taken at the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition by Edison's Moving Picture Company; in 1902 Dibble's Latest Moving Pictures brought scenes taken in London at the time of the Coronation of King Edward VII; in 1903 "Davenport's Indoor Circus"; and in 1904 scenes from "The Passion Play," one of the wonders of the age.

Sunday Shows Mooted

By 1904 the question of Sunday shows came up for public consideration, and after much discussion in Oswego newspapers the city council granted permission to Archie L. Shepard for film showing on the Sabbath. Thereafter for many weeks, and at various times for many years, Shepard's silent pictures played in Oswego on Saturdays and Sundays.

One of the first story pictures, a one-reel dramatization of a novel, "The Great Train Robbery," was filmed in 1905 and started a trend which has influenced the film industry ever since. Not long afterwards, "Ben Hur," a one-reel historical drama in sixteen scenes, gave promise of the great spectacles that were to come. By 1910 full length pictures of four, five and six reels were being produced, and the one-reel story picture became a thing of the past, though news and comedy "shorts" have continued.

Soon moving pictures were a part of every vaudeville and variety program, though the films were still considered to be a novelty scarcely worthy of special advertising or critical review. Advance publicity and newspaper reviews commented at length on the vaudeville, but merely mentioned three or four reels of motion pictures. The program at the Richardson Theatre on Octo-

ber 18, 1910, for example, listed an all star bill which included the "Musical Millers," a high class novelty musical act; LaTell Brothers, "Apollos of Vaudeville"; Dunsworth and Valder, real Irish entertainers; Jeans and Allaire, sensational European novelty act of balancing; and Stannon and Rivers, a comedy team. Almost as an after-thought the program announced "four reels of the ever interesting moving pictures and Shilling's orchestra."

Movie Actors Unnamed

For many years the actors also appeared behind a cloak of anonymity, and it was not until about 1911 that titles of films and names of actors began to appear in print. That year the Richardson housed such films as "The Great Commandment," "Comrades," "The Girl Spy Before Vicksburg," "Mammy's Ghost," and "A Tale of Two Cities." This last was a beautiful and elaborate dramatization of Charles Dicken's famous story, produced by the Vitagraph Company with Florence Turner as Lucy, and Maurice Costello as Sydney Carton.

Lyman H. Howe's Lectures and Pictures became a regular part of the entertainment program at the Richardson starting in 1912. In May of that year Mr. Howe presented the first of the series, with an Oswego boy, Stephen C. Healy, as pianist to accompany the silent pictures. The Howe shows, with Mr. Healy at the piano, were regular visitors for many years, and among the subjects covered by the talks and pictures were "Burial of the Maine in Mid-Ocean," "Death-Defying Races in Air and Sea," "Whaling," and "Paris, the City Beautiful."

Not long after the invention of motion pictures, Thomas Edison turned his attention to the problem of a film projector with a phonograph to produce talking

pictures. His efforts were moderately successful and the "Kinetophone," with laughing, singing and talking pictures, became a minor sensation in the entertainment world.

First Sound Movies in 1913

The first program of sound pictures was presented to Oswegonians on July 11 and 12, 1913 at the Richardson Theatre. A crew of electricians and mechanics, sent here from the Orange, New Jersey, laboratories, required a full day to install the intricate and highly sensitized synchronizing equipment of the Kinetophone, and worked almost constantly during the performance to keep the machine in operation. The program provided a complete entertainment, consisting of drama, comedy, tragedy, operatic selections, and speeches by well known men and women. One of the most stupendous undertakings of this early sound film was the staging of a big minstrel number with thirty-five actors. It was a genuine minstrel olio, with black-faced comedians, clog - dancers, quartets, and grand finale of old veterans, showing the spirit of the Civil War.

Other subjects on his first talking picture program were Mayor Gaynor of the City of New York with his cabinet; a group of well-known suffragettes; the miser scene from "The Chimes of Normandy"; a clever skit known as the "Musical Blacksmiths"; and "Nursery Favorites," including Old King Cole, Jack the Giant-Killer, Little Red Riding Hood, and all the old favorites so dear to the hearts of the young.

The event was hailed in the local newspaper as "the sensation of the century," and described as "not the usual moving pictures, but laughing, talking and singing motion pictures, making the actors appear real." One news item stated "The ef-

fect of the Wizard's handicraft is that of adding the missing link to the picture films; it produces the atmosphere of sound, which before was missing from the mute show of action. The Kinetophone is the missing half of the motion picture, it enhances the action and creates living actors of the shadows on the screen." Another reviewer said with enthusiasm, "There is no limitation to talking pictures for every action and every sound of voice or effect is reproduced as naturally as though one were witnessing the genuine exhibition on a regular stage." Sound films, however, were not the great success suggested by the reviewer, and were soon forgotten by the public until August of 1926 when Warner Brothers presented "Don Juan," the first of the synchronized sound films.

Theatre-goers today are apt to forget the time when some members of the audience read the screen titles and dialogue aloud, but such behavior was a great source of annoyance in 1913. An editorial in the "Palladium" commented: "They say the new Edison Talking pictures are very wonderful, but we have known for some time one variety of 'talkies' which some one should try to abolish. I refer to the always present person at the moving picture show who persists in aloud in a clear tone. Also there reading everything on the film is another person, often just in front of you, who kindly explains to his or her neighbor every detail of the picture as it is thrown on the screen. When you attend a picture show, let the labels on the films do the explaining and trust to the intelligence of your neighbor to understand English as it is printed. Now that the new talking pictures are actually shown, maybe they will do away with the present talking in the audience, for everyone has a chance to hear the actors speak. I am sure it is a great improve-

ment and should prove of great interest to all."

Traveling Feature Films

"Quo Vadis," which played a three day engagement at the Richardson in October of 1913, was a superb eight reel photodrama of Henry Sienkiewicz's famous novel, and was one of the first spectacular moving pictures. A local newspaper reported, "there was much wonderment at the magnitude and beauty of some of the scenes, notably the interior and garden scenes. It is said the production of Quo Vadis cost the vast sum of \$250,000 and the results bear out this statement. The attention to detail, the wonderful scenery, the strict adherence to the text of the story, all show the work of a mastermind in dramatic portrayal." This picture also introduced to Oswego the road-show style of presentation whereby a legitimate theatre was leased for the exhibition of pictures, instead of the "nickelodeans" which then prevailed.

The three years between 1912 and 1915 were a period of transition from short films to what are now known as feature pictures, and many outstanding films came from European studios. From Italy came "The Last Days of Pompeii," a photodrama adapted from Bulwer-Lytton's celebrated novel, to challenge American leadership in the moving picture industry. When the film was shown for three days at the Richardson theatre in November, 1913, a Palladium critic wrote, "the picture demonstrated the wonderful artistic qualities of the foreign producers and displayed a marvelous stagecraft. The acting of the principal players was unusually finished and clever, particularly among the women. The film bears the true artistic characteristics of all Italian productions."

November of 1913 saw feature pictures running a full week at

the Richardson, with the result that legitimate plays could not be accommodated as often as before. The bill on Election Night included a special two-reel thriller "While the Starlight Travels;" a great comedy "Extremities," featuring Maurice Costello and Clara Kimball Young; and a travel picture "Scenes in Singapore." Election returns were read from the stage between reels. All seats for the performance cost five cents, an all-time low for admission price to a theatre designed originally for only the best in entertainment.

Later in the same week crowded houses witnessed "The Fatal Legacy," which showed the terrible experience of a girl who was tricked into marrying a man who loved drink; "The Green Eye of the Yellow God," which gave the deep and mysterious workings of the minds of natives of India; with a Pathe comedy "The Doctor Turns the Tables" to complete the program. Next night Lillian Drew and Bryant Washburn were featured in the film "Broken Threads United."

Kellerman as Neptune's Daughter

Many of these early productions overstepped the bounds of good taste in an effort to be sensational entertainment. Among the films presented at the Richardson in 1914 were some with such lurid titles as "The Betrothed, or In the Depths of Sin," a six-reel drama reported to have cost \$20,000 to produce; "The Exposure of the White Slave Traffic," direct from New York where it had been seen by 100,000 persons; "Traffic in Souls;" "The Path Forbidden;" "Trapped in the Great Metropolis;" and Lottie Pickford in "The House of Bondage," advertised as "endorsed by all social workers of the world. The greatest lesson to parents ever known." What was advertised as the "sublime achievement of moving picture

art" came in 1915; Anette Kellerman, "the perfect woman" appeared in a spectacular pictorial triumph, "Neptune's Daughter."

These sensational pictures led to such wide-spread criticism that the moving picture industry was forced to create its own board of censorship or lose public favor. The National Board of Review had been organized in 1909 as a voluntary group acting in an advisory capacity, but did not go far enough in controlling film material, and soon various states started official censorship boards. By 1922, varying state regulations brought so much confusion that the producers organized the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association with Will H. Hays at the head. This organization provided control and self-imposed censorship within the industry, and created a definite code of ethics, as an effective method for eliminating anything that might be of an objectionable nature. For many years Mr. Hays served as a virtual czar of the industry to pass on what was acceptable for photoplay material. The control was effective and moving pictures slowly re-gained a reputation for respectability.

Seven Movie Theatres in 1914

By the end of 1914 moving pictures were already taking over most of the dramatic entertainment; there were seven theatres in Oswego and all of them, except the Richardson, showed a steady program of films. The week the Richardson was showing a dramatization of "Ten Nights in A Barroom," the Orpheum theatre was showing three films, "The Center of the Web," "A Lucky Shot," and "Sherman Was Right"; the Hippodrome was advertising a farce comedy, "Don't Tell My Wife;" the Star theatre was presenting three films, "The Medicine Bag," "Prince Charlie," and "The Pro-

gressive Book Agent"; the Eureka theatre was showing "On Suspicion," and "You Can't Beat Them"; and the Bijou "The Girl From Prosperity," "Love, Loot and Liquor," and the "Song of the Wildwood Flute." The Gem theatre was showing episode four of "The Master Key," an exciting serial drama.

Feature films became a part of the regular program at the Richardson after 1914. That year brought "Othello," a five part dramatization of Shakespeare's play, staged and photographed in Venice, Italy; "East Lynne," a famous old stage play, filmed in seven reels and 117 gorgeous scenes; Dustin and William Farnum in a touching melodrama, "The Littlest Rebel;" and an old favorite, "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch."

There were many films which contained good acting, and many which were skillfully directed. Most of them, however, were shallow, obvious, sentimental, and innocent of artistic value. The films were largely broad comedy and spectacular melodrama. Of the feature films in 1915 which displayed unusual artistic imagination there were Pauline Frederick in "Zaza," a character created on the stage by Mrs. Leslie Carter, and played by her at the Richardson in 1906; Theda Bara, creator of the vamp type, in "Romeo and Juliet," "The Devil's Daughter," and "The Clemenceau Case"; Mary Pickford, America's sweetheart, in "Tess of the Storm Country"; William Farnum in "The Spoilers"; Mrs. Leslie Carter in "Du Barry"; Viola Allen in "The White Sister"; and Alice Brady in "As Ye Sow." The same year also brought to the Richardson Clara Kimball Young in "The Deep Purple," Lyda Borelli in "The Naked Truth," Betty Nansen in "Anna Karenina," Lillian Russell in "Wildfire," Frances X. Bushman in "The Slim Princess,"

and Douglas Fairbanks in two films, "The Lamb" and "Double Trouble."

Harry Lauder, who later made a personal appearance in Oswego, first told his inimitably funny stories and sang his wonderful repertoire of catchy songs to local audiences in 1915 through a program of talking pictures in which films and phonograph records were synchronized. In this program the Scotch comedian sang three of his most popular ballads, "I Love a Lassie," "She's Ma Daisy," and "A Wee Doech-An Doris."

"Birth of the Nation"

D. W. Griffith's mighty spectacle, "The Birth of the Nation," was presented to Oswego audiences on March 16, 1916, exactly as it was shown in New York and other cities for record-breaking runs. The film was perhaps the most widely discussed production ever made in America, and set a new pattern in screen entertainment. The wave of public excitement which followed the showing of the picture indicated in a great measure the far-reaching significance of the film.

It was above all else the greatest achievement ever made by one producer since it condensed the living details of the most strenuous period of American history into an entertainment of less than three hours. It was history revived and shown in the making. Some of the greatest names in our country's fame appeared on the program, and the entire action ranged over three centuries, beginning with the importation of the first African slave and ending with the freedom of the enslaved. But before the end was reached the film showed the nation in the throes of internecine strife and brought out the highlights of the struggle.

The film was presented twice daily for three days, with a symphony orchestra of twenty mu-

sicians providing the sound effects and incidental music. Regular theatre prices of one dollar to two dollars for the lower floor, fifty cents to one dollar for the balcony, and twenty-five cents for the gallery were charged for the performances.

The Oswego Palladium was so enthusiastic about the picture that a reporter devoted a full column to a review. A few excerpts will give the flavor of the comment:

"The Birth of the Nation" is a stupendous conception, the apotheosis of motion pictures. But it reflects truthfully the spirit of the time in which it is laid, the Civil War and after. It is a powerful historical lesson. To the horrors of fratricidal strife in the four years of war are added terrors of reconstruction in the South. The whole is an epitome of the travails and trials from which ultimately a united nation was born. The picture runs the gamut of the emotions from comedy to tragedy.

"Almost every phase of life is touched. The battle scenes are imposed on a magnificent scale, and there is something realistic about the whole presentation.

"One of the great scenes of the plays is the assassination of the Great Liberator, Abraham Lincoln, at Ford's Theatre, Washington, April 14, 1865. The attention to detail in this one scene is admirable and indicates with what care the picturization was made."

Players who became immortal for their acting in the film included Henry B. Walthal, Donald Crisp, Owen Moore, Jack Pickford, Mae Marsh, Lillian and Dorothy Gish. Henry B. Walthal brought to the film an eloquent and delicate nuance of feeling which had been unknown in earlier pictures. From Mae Marsh, Lillian Gish and others the spectators caught glimpses of charm and beauty in acting which in-

fluenced the art of later actors, and lead to a more restrained, subtle and realistic technique.

Moving pictures have been looked upon as an art since about 1916. Until then they were either mechanical toys or a poor reflection of the legitimate stage. Upon the appearance of D. W. Griffith's epoch-making film, "The Birth of the Nation," more thoughtful spectators began to talk about the art of the motion picture. It was realized then that the movies had a technique which was quite distinct from that of the spoken drama. Since then the spectacle drama, with its emphasis on massed movement, has developed wonderfully; progressing through "Intolerance," "The Covered Wagon," and "The Thief of Bagdad," and culminating in "Ben Hur" and "The Big Parade."

"Intolerance in 1917"

When D. W. Griffith's colossal \$2,000,000 spectacle, "Intolerance," was shown at the Richardson in 1917, the picture was advertised as having 125,000 people, 7,500 horses, 1,200 chariots, and 3,000 beautiful slave girls; and a story showing the truth about Babylon's downfall, the humble Nazarene in Judea, and Paris under Catherine de Medici. This film starred Mae Marsh, Constance Talmadge, Lillian Gish, Bessie Love, Seena Owen and Robert Herron.

Other spectacles of the same period were "The Garden of Allah," "Civilization," a mammoth spectacle that cost over one million dollars to produce, "Joseph and His Brethren," "From the Manger to the Cross," and "The Eternal City," starring Pauline Frederick.

Advent of Charlie Chaplin

Another discovery about the same time was that comic pantomime could be recorded effectively on the screen. Charlie Chap-

lin, child of the London music halls, began to delight Oswego-nians in 1915 with his early films, "A Mix Up," "By the Sea," and "A Jitney Elopment," which were almost pure slapstick. His later pictures, "The Circus," "The Gold Rush," and "The Kid," with Jackie Coogan, combined popular appeal and subtle artistry in an amazing manner. They sent the spectators into an ecstasy of mirth, and established Chaplin as one of the greatest comedians of all times.

Marie Dressler and Charlie Chaplin appeared together in a Keystone comedy, "Tillie's Punctured Romance," that was said to be the funniest story ever screened. Miss Dressler was given feature billing when the picture was shown at the Richardson, February 5 and 6, 1915. A news item stated: "There are more than a thousand laughs in Marie Dressler's film. You laugh when Miss Dressler makes her first screen appearance with her dog. You laugh, too, when she seizes big blocks of wood and begins to throw them at a distance for her dog to retrieve, and when one of the blocks strikes a young city chap in the face you laugh again. The stranger is dragged by Tillie to her home. He revives and sees that Tillie's father has a bank roll which he makes efforts to annex. He takes Tillie to a cabaret, and Tillie has her first drink. And you are keeping it up when Tillie becomes for a little time the supposed possessor of several million dollars. And so you continue through the whole series of screen scenes that follow."

Mack Sennett Productions

It was at this stage of cinema history that Mack Sennett, who had been making numerous one-reel comedies, upset screen tradition by producing the multi-reel comedy, "Tillie's Punctured Romance." Sennett, a successful director for the Keystone Com-

pany, also specialized in comic films which were characterized by a troupe of ridiculous-looking clumsy policemen. The climax of these slapstick comedies always consisted of a heated pursuit, involving Keystone Cops, children, dogs, and all manner of living creatures all chasing each other. At every opportunity, Sennett made his actors throw custard pies, eggs, dough, and other sticky substances at each other. This crude comedy awoke in spectators a lively delight and a hearty laugh for many years.

One of the surest comedy effects was attained by unusual physical peculiarities; the cross-eyes of Ben Turpin, and the corpulence of John Bunny and Roscoe Arbuckle.

When slapstick finally outlived its effectiveness, Mack Sennett devised the "Bathing Beauties" films which achieved fame and popularity in Oswego for many years.

Harold Lloyd, with horn-rimmed spectacles and worried expression, became famous with his breath-taking comic adventures; Buster Keaton developed a "deadpan" expression for comic effect in all situations; and Harry Langdon created the bewildered little man in an ill-fitting suit.

World War I in Movies

During World War I many films showing vivid scenes of the conflict were shown to local audiences. Early in 1915 the "Oswego Palladium," in cooperation with the New York Sun, presented a program of 7000 feet of awe-inspiring action pictures taken by war correspondents showing many thrilling scenes of actual battle, glimpses of the huge war machines, views of appalling devastation, and refugees trudging painfully along the highways. Later films showed American soldiers entering the conflict, the final events of the struggle, the signing of the Armistice, and the

Paris peace conference. Newsreels of current happenings on the national and international scene soon became a regular part of every moving picture program.

Growth of the moving picture industry was so rapid that a detailed account of films and actors playing at the Richardson Theatre is virtually impossible.

The Biograph, Vitagraph, Selig, Pathe, Essanay, Universal, Kalem, Edison and American companies produced numerous feature films that drew crowds regularly to the Richardson, and to the other Oswego theatres, the Star, Eureka, Bijou, Orpheum, Hippodrome and Gem.

Early Movie Favorites

Many famous players flashed across the silver screen to amuse and thrill Oswego audiences. Outstanding actresses of the early films were: Norma Talmadge, noted for her emotional acting; Lillian Gish, well known for her portrayal of pathetic, ingenuous characters; Pola Negri, portrayer of exotic, emotional heroines; and Pearl White, popular for her daring deeds in exciting serial dramas. Also remembered by Oswegonians are Anita Stewart, Blanche Sweet, Ruth Roland, Clara Kimball Young, Lillian Walker, Beverly Bayne, Mildred Harris, Mae Marsh and Mabel Normand for their outstanding work as pioneers in the moving picture world.

Prominent male stars of the early period in moving pictures were: Milton Sills,* actor of virile hero parts; William S. Hart, grim-faced player of Western stories; J. Warren Kerrigan, handsome, well-dressed star in many society dramas; Maurice

Costello, long a favorite on both stage and screen; and Tom Mix, popular star in cowboy and western-hero roles such as "No Man's Gold," an old-type western story. Carlyle Blackwell, Charles Ray, Earle Williams, Wallace Reid and Bryant Washburn were also outstanding actors of their time.

Greatest of all romantic players was Douglas Fairbanks, actor of breezy, adventurous, heroes in spectacular costume plays such as "The Iron Mask," "Robin Hood," "The Black Pirate," "The Thief of Bagdad," and "The Taming of the Shrew."

Later Headliners

Moving Picture headliners of a later period were: Emil Jannings, powerful-character actor in "The Sins of Father," "The Last Laugh," and "The Last Command"; Lon Chaney, noted as a portrayer of grotesque characters, in "The Phantom of the Opera," "The Hunchback of Notre Dame," "Laugh, Clown, Laugh," and "The Unholy Three"; Gloria Swanson, popular emotional actress, in "Sadie Thompson," the film version of the stage play "Rain"; Eric von Stroheim, advertised as "the man you love to hate"; Wallace and Noah Berry, well known character actors; Rudolph Valentino, romantic hero in "The Sheik"; Adolph Menjou, portrayer of sophistication; and Colleen Moore, who enjoyed a tremendous vogue during the twenties.

Invented during the closing years of the nineteenth century, the moving pictures became within a short time an extremely popular novelty which soon developed into one of the great commercial enterprises of the world, and is today the most popular form of theatrical entertainment. It has almost eclipsed the legitimate theatre, and has practically killed the road show.

First Talking Pictures in 1926

Just over twenty years ago, on August 6, 1926, in the Warner

*Milton Sills, prior to entering the movies had played at the Richardson Theatre several times as a member of road companies. He married Doris Kenyon, movie actress who was the daughter of the Rev. J. B. Kenyon, a former pastor of Trinity M. E. Church in Oswego.

Theatre on Broadway in New York, there took place an event that was to revolutionize the motion picture industry and most of the show business. It was the world premiere of the Vitaphone picture, "Don Juan," with John Barrymore, the first film ever to be presented with a perfectly synchronized musical score.

Up to that time, the accompaniment of motion pictures had been provided by orchestras or organs in larger theatres, and by a tinkling piano in the smaller houses. Here for the first time was a refinement of Edison's 1913 experiment with talking pictures.

Fourteen months later, on October 6, 1927, came the truly sensational premiere of the "talkie," a motion picture with not only synchronized music but songs and conversation of the actors. This was Al Jolson's "The Jazz Singer," which created a sensation when it was shown at the Richardson.

Even then, many actors and producers scoffed at the innovation as a novelty which could not possibly have serious effect upon the legitimate theatre. Time was to prove, however, that talking pictures were no mere novelty and that the moving pictures were to take over the major portion of the entertainment business in the United States.

Oswego County Actors

Love for the drama prompted many talented young Oswegoians to enter the theatrical profession in one capacity or another. Some enjoyed considerable success as actors in Broadway plays, several appeared in vaudeville and musical comedy, and a few gained prominence as playwrights and producers.

Barry Connors of Fulton, who studied law for five years in Oswego with the law firm of Max B. Richardson and Thomas H. King, attained considerable fame and fortune as playwright for stage and screen. Connors dis-

played an early interest and talent for the stage, and appeared at the Richardson Theatre in a number of amateur productions, including "The County Chairman," and "The Extravagans." The law office where he worked was located in the Richardson Theatre building, and when he was not busy with his work it was natural that his attention should be attracted toward activities in the playhouse.

After being admitted to the practice of law in New York state, young Connors left Oswego for New York city where he pursued a career as actor and author. Among his most successful plays were "The Patsy," "Apple-sauce," and "Politics." It was in the play "Politics," that the author drew on his Oswego experiences for scenes, characters and dramatic material. Oswegoians, who saw the play on Broadway, were astounded to note how faithfully the playwright introduced as characters a number of Oswego men prominent in public life while he was a law student, and to see depicted certain incidents of the Oswego water works political controversy which had taken place only a few years earlier.

Mention has already been made of another Oswego playwright, Lottie Blair Parker, author of the popular rural drama, "Way Down East."

Frederick Lewis, Star

Frederick G. Lewis, son of a former Oswego policeman on the force in the nineties, was an outstanding success in the professional theatre. He had an ambition to be a Shakespearian player like the great actors he had seen on the Richardson stage, and in early manhood left his position as "printer's devil" with the "Oswego Daily Times" and sought his fortune on Broadway. As a supporting player, and later as a star, Fred made five appearances in Oswego: April 14, 1899, with Walter E. Perkins in

"My Friend From India"; November 3, 1900, in "The Heart of Maryland"; April 2, 1903, co-starred with Mary Shaw in "Ghosts"; September 27, 1904, starred in "The Raven"; and on March 2, 1905, in the role of Rubek in "When We Dead Awaken."

For several years Mr. Lewis was one of the leading members of the Sothern-Marlowe organization, and realized his life-long ambition to play Shakespeare in the part of Mercutio in "Romeo and Juliet." Late in 1915, he joined the California Motion Picture Corporation to act before the camera. His first picture to appear in Oswego was "The Lily of Poverty Flat," a story of pioneer days in the Golden State, founded on three of Bret Harte's poems. In this dramatic story of Western mining life Mr. Lewis was co-starred with Beatriz Michelena.

Martin Enwright

Martin E. Enwright, son of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Enwright, 261 West Fourth street, was another Oswego boy to join the ranks of professional actors. "Marty," as his friends called him, had worked at the Diamond match factory, played amateur baseball, and sung in St. John's choir before going to New York City. When Raymond Hitchcock, the famous comedian, was organizing a cast for a musical comedy, "The Man Who Own Broadway," Martin applied for a place. The musical director gave the young man an audition and employed him to play a minor part. Martin stayed with the company and advanced from a modest position in the chorus to a speaking and singing role of a young city sport, a part he was playing at the time of the Oswego engagement on April 28, 1911.

According to Manager Eccleson, the audience that evening was the largest ever present at the Richardson Theatre, a striking tribute to the popularity of both Raymond Hitchcock and the

local boy, Martin Enwright. A newspaper account of the performance mentioned that Hitchcock took Marty into the spotlight with him at the end of the performance and told the audience what a fine boy he was. The actor also referred to Marty's ability as a ball-player, and "kidded" the boy gently to the delight of the audience. The reporter commented, "Evidently Martin is in right, which is cause for congratulation and pleasure on the part of his home friends." After the performance, his many friends gave the Oswego boy a supper to celebrate his successful homecoming.

Fred Cousins

Another Oswegonian to appear professionally at the Richardson was Fred Cousins, son of George Cousins, a resident on Ellen Street. Fred came here twice during 1911, to play one of the leading roles in the comedy "Seven Days." A newspaper review of the performance said, "Fred Cousins of Oswego made a very funny and characteristic burglar. He was given a hearty round of applause on his first appearance and his actions throughout the play showed that he deserved it. His was a pantomime part and more difficult in that his actions had to speak louder than words. He displayed exceeding activity and made good on every appearance and disappearance."

Miss Cherie Coleman

Cherie Coleman, another of the galaxy of Oswegonians to find success on the professional stage, appeared at the Richardson Theatre with William A. Brady's company in the play "Little Women," on March 7, 1914. She was the daughter of Lawrence Coleman, who for a number of years worked in the New York Central freight house and later became a conductor on that railroad.

Cherie, who according to the baptismal records in St. Mary's

Church was christened Caroline, was a student in the practice department of the old Oswego State Normal school when the family lived in West Cayuga street. She attended public and private schools in New York city, and later spent several years studying for the stage. Her creation of Beth in "Little Women" attracted a great deal of favorable attention in the theatrical world during the one year run of the play on Broadway. She was also scheduled to play the role in London soon after her Oswego appearance, though available records do not disclose if the engagement was actually filled. Reviewing the Oswego performance a "Palladium" reporter commented: "Cherie Coleman was excellent. Her acting of Beth, the invalid, caused many handkerchiefs to be used in the third act to wipe away tears."

Thaddeus Wilber

"The Misleading Lady," presented at the Richardson on October 28, 1914, brought to Oswego another local actor, Thaddeus Wilber, son of Mrs. Kate Wilber, 175 East Fourth street. Thaddeus had received his education in the public schools of Oswego and had appeared here many times in amateur productions before going on the stage as a professional. For six years prior to his Oswego engagement he had been identified with many road attractions.

A newspaper review of the play said, "Thad Wilber has a very prominent part in the company, playing first juvenile and showing himself a competent and intelligent actor. His part fits him like a glove, he has good stage presence, exceptionally distinct delivery, and all the elements of success. His friends in the audience made their presence felt and gave Thad a hearty welcome. He was presented with a handsome floral tribute, and at the end of the play the stars

gave way and made him take the center of the stage." The boy also played in vaudeville at the Richardson on December 27, 1917, for his second professional engagement in Oswego.

Johnny Mack

Johnny Mack, another Oswego boy, made a great success in "The Country Boy," under direction of the distinguished manager, Henry B. Harris. Bob Forbes, also from Oswego, worked for Mr. Harris as manager of the Hudson Theatre in New York. When "The Country Boy" played here the local newspaper devoted a column of praise to Mr. Harris for his work in the theatre and for assistance to two Oswegonians.

Other Oswego Stage Folk

Many other Oswego residents made professional appearances at the Richardson. Minnie Milne, a daughter of Dr. James A. Milne of Oswego, played in "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," and later in a farce-comedy, "Old Tom's Ward"; Aurie Dwyer appeared in "A Bunch of Keys;" Roland Gibson performed with Gertrude Coghlan in "Vanity Fair;" Della Stacy was in the cast of "A Bachelor's Honey Moon;" and Jane Taylor appeared as Estrelia in "Arizona," and later with Louis Mann in "Hock, the Consul." Also Henry Cavanaugh with J. W. Carner in "Rip Van Winkle;" James Mullen as Colonel Ned Gray in "For Fair Virginia;" and Margaret Tebeau in "The Fool."

Steve Barry, son of John A. Barry, editor of the "Oswego Palladium" for 20 years prior to 1888 made professional appearances in "The Private Secretary" for several months just before his death at the age of twenty-two. Colin Kemper, whose given name was Jamie Hadlock, son of Dr. J. W. Hadlock, became a well known producer of professional dramas.

Stock companies brought three Oswego players to the Richardson for engagements in their home town. In March 1902, Frank Linden appeared for a week with the Bennett-Moulton Stock Company in "Daughter of the South," "Dangers of New York," "The Man Outside," "Monte Cristo," and "The Mask of Life."

Edna Earlie Lindon came to the Richardson with her own stock company during November of 1904, in the stock favorites, "Sea of Ice," "Moths," "At The Old Church," "The Engineer," and "Toll Gate Inn."

During February, 1907, James and Flora Coatta appeared with the Ferdinand Grahame and Lillian Dean Stock Company in "The Convict and the Lady," "From Rags to Riches," "The Burglar," "The Blue and the Grey," and "Wyoming."

Sally Bates Starred In Many Plays

Although she never played the Richardson Theatre, that play house was the source of the inspiration which came to Sarah Richardson Bates for a career before the foot-lights. Familiar with every nook and cranny of the Richardson, built by her great uncle, and later successively owned by Lawrence Richardson, another great uncle, and her father, Norman L. Bates, "Sally", as she was known to her intimates had from her youngest years witnessed many of the traveling attractions which came to the Richardson and at times she had even gone back stage to meet informally some of the many stage celebrities who came to trod its boards. Her imagination fired through her close contact with the theatre and its people, she early reached the conclusion that when she "grew-up" that she would choose the stage as her career. Hence it came about that sometime after she and her sister, Elizabeth,

now the wife of John Cowles, Minneapolis publisher, had been graduated from Rosemary Hall School for young ladies at Greenwich, Conn., that Sally entered the Academy of Dramatic Art in New York City where she completed a six months course. This was in 1924. Her first job came with the then recently organized Theater Guild as assistant stage manager and as an understudy for a maid, who was one of the cast in "The Guardsman" at the Garrick Theater in 35th Street, New York City, a play that was made the more notable by reason of the fact that in it the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Lunt were united for the first time concentrated in the presentation of the same play.

After taking part in the first "Garrick Gaieties" which featured many of the young actors then in New York awaiting the opportunities to be assigned to first speaking parts, and making a trip to Europe, Miss Bates, returned to the New York stage in a speaking part in Theodore Dreiser's "An American Tragedy". Later she played as a member of the company in "The Man-hatters", a musical comedy. For her next engagement she was hired by Arthur Hammerstein to take the part of a Boston grand dame in "Sweet Adeline". In this show her role cast her as the aunt of Charles Butterworth, formerly of Oswego, who made a name for himself both on the legitimate stage and in the movies. Next Miss Bates appeared in 1930 in "Up Pops the Devil" during its metropolitan run.

"In 1930 Miss Bates married Pierre Lorenz, a playwright of much ability. Soon after her marriage she appeared in "Good Bye, Again" at the Masque Theater (now John Golden's Theater) in New York. Miss Bates was featured as the star of the company which she headed, playing opposite to

Osgood Perlman. This piece found instantaneous acceptance in New York by the theater-going public. After its New York run had been completed, Miss Bates appeared on the Pacific coast in a new company in which she was co-starred with Conrad Nagle. Still later she went to England to appear in this play with an otherwise all-English cast. She was the only member of the original New York company to be selected for this distinction by Robert Lynn, the English actor who headed the company of which he was also part owner. After a short run in London, the company played in Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds and most of the other large English cities where it was enthusiastically received. Miss Bates yet speaks of the "wonderful hospitality" that was accorded her by the British people in the cities which the company visited. Invitations to dinner, to parties and teas were awaiting her in nearly every city in which the company played.

After returning to the United States, Sally Bates was cast in the Pacific coast company playing "The Children's Hour" in which she was featured in San Francisco and Hollywood for considerable runs. Returning to New York city she was starred in "Here Today". Her next appearance was with Alfred Hitcock's daughter, Patricia, in "Solitaire" a play by John Van Druten. Miss Bates was appearing with this company in 1941 at the time when Pearl Harbor was attacked. When this show closed, she refused offers for further engagements and retired from the stage, for the time being at least, in order to be free to devote more time to her children. She has since married Calvin Tompkins. They make their home at Palisades on the Hudson.

Was Floradora Girl

Music and vaudeville drew many local performers to the

professional stage, and most of them returned eventually to play at the Richardson. Hattie Brown, 71 Bronson street, was an opera star; Nina Grant appeared as a member of the famous sextette in the musical, "Floradora;" Robert Joy sang in Victor Herbert's "Red Mill;" Mr. and Mrs. Coatta were billed in vaudeville as "The Musical Coattas;" and R. M. DeAngelo appeared as soloist in the play, "Twin Beds."

For many years Thomas O'Neil, 176 Liberty street, was engaged in vaudeville as an acrobatic dancer, and later travelled with the A. G. Field's Minstrels and other well known troupes. Bessie and Harriet Keyes, DeForrest Taylor, Minnie Loudon, and Charley Fonda, "the human pin cushion", were also successful on the professional stage.

Amateur Productions

Oswego amateur players had many opportunities to tread the boards at the Richardson, and scarcely a year went by without one or more "home talent" shows given there. For the most part they were large, spectacular presentations given by various clubs and organizations. In 1895, a few months after the theatre opened, a local group presented Gilbert and Sullivan's "The Pirates of Penzance," and six months later the same group gave "The Mikado," and followed by several years with other operettas.

The Oswego 48th Separate Company presented a minstrel show in 1896, and again in 1897, before enthusiastic audiences. The Elks Club also found the minstrel show to be a popular and profitable type of entertainment in 1900, 1901, 1904, and many years later in 1923. Company C, 24th Infantry, gave a Negro minstrel in 1909.

Frederick G. Lewis, who later appeared as a professional actor, made his debut at the Richardson on June 17, 1897, with Jane

Taylor in a one-act farce-comedy, "A Pair of Lunatics."

The Knights of Pythias minstrel show was presented in 1915; followed in 1916, by the Railroad Y. M. C. A. minstrels; and later by the Masonic Minstrel and Cabaret. The Knights of Columbus minstrels first appeared in 1917, and continued as an annual event for several years. Last of the amateur minstrel shows at the Richardson was the "Grotto Frolic and Minstrels," presented for two day runs in 1927, 1928 and 1929.

Amateur Vaudeville Contests

During the winter of 1911, amateur contests were a pleasant part of the entertainment fare at the Richardson. Between feature pictures local actors presented their acts for the applause of the audience, and for the cash prizes offered by the management. So many hundreds of amateurs appeared on these programs that space does not permit a complete listing of the performers. A review from the "Palladium", however, will suggest the type of entertainment, and, if newspaper space is any indication, the popularity of the local talent.

"Little Johnny Mack, song bird and general comedian, made his stage debut and a big hit when he sang "Silver Bells," at the amateur performance at the Richardson last night. There was nothing to it but applause for Johnny, and when Manager Eccleson presented him with a five spot for his efforts, Johnny had a nice big smile and a neat little bow for the audience.

"This little lad was the only one of the vaudeville stars (?) that would ever have escaped the hook, should such a cruel and embarrassing article have been within reach.

"Spider Raymond, the "Palladium's" white hope, was there with gloves on, accompanied by Henry Cloonan and George Kelly

of the 'Pall's' composing room as advisers and trainers. Spider was clad in black and had his hair nicely curled. His muscles stood out like a Hercules and there was a huge sigh of fear as, with a graceful pose, he stood up to his opponent, Warren Clark of Makin's grocery. Clark was left to the mercy of the cruel Spider. They went right at it with Spider on the defensive. Clark rushed him and after a few wild swings the round ended. Bellows and ice water were used on both lads. Clark had the second round by a shade, but in the third Spider became a trifle nervous leaving several openings. Clark was at him every minute but George Kelly stopped it by throwing Spider's sponge into the ring.

"George Morley, who was down for up-to-date songs, sang with great expression "Where The River Shannon Flows." He did not know what to do with his hands or feet, and did a soft shoe dance unknowingly.

"Frank Lalonde, the strong-jawed boy, juggled dumb-bells, tables, crow bars and canes. He was clever but not smooth enough to get away with his act.

"The real hit of the evening was the Black Face knockabout act by George Arden and John Mars. They were knocked about all right, the audience keeping a constant stream of remarks at them so they could not be heard. This is the one act in which the hook would have been an act of mercy.

"The pictures were good, but they were only secondary to the amateur performance."

Theatre audiences were evidently very critical of home talent vaudeville players, and free with expressions of approval or disapproval. A news item concerning another amateur show reported that when young Joseph Campbell strutted out upon the stage to start yodeling a German song, "I Feed My Wife on

Lager Beer," the crowd started joking loudly, but soon quieted when the singer worked his way through the first verse and started his "u-la, lah-e hooing." The paper said, "He was voted a first class thespian. He had to sing that song at least sixteen times, and well deserved his five spot."

Dance Contests

The Tango dance craze of 1914, was reflected in an amateur contest held on the stage of the Richardson late in December. A news story reported:

"All of the best tango dancers in Oswego reported to Manager Bosworth Sunday for rehearsal and to show that they are classy enough to enter the tournament which is being put on Tuesday night. Each one had a rehearsal with the orchestra, and it is safe to say that the best dancers in Oswego will appear. Each team has different steps and eight dancers will take part. All of the latest dances will be shown, from the Hesitation to the Fox Trot."

A packed house witnessed the contest in which only three couples finally appeared. All were expert dancers and introduced many new steps which were greeted by rounds of applause. Prizes were awarded by decision of the audience to Miss Gruley and Leon Burleigh the winners, with Miss Burns and Mr. Newcomb second, and Miss Stevenson and Mr. Erkhart of Fulton third.

Moving Picture Made in Oswego

"The Man Haters," a short moving picture made in Oswego with Oswegonians as the players, created a brief sensation in the local entertainment world when the film was shown at the Richardson in August, 1916. Miss Greta Burleigh in the leading role of Ruth, and John Otis as leading man, headed the cast composed entirely of local people making their first appearance in

the movies. The film, which had been made under joint sponsorship of the Oswego Times and the Richardson Theatre, was so popular that it ran for a full week along with the regular films. Reviewing the picture, the Times reported:

"Large audiences witnessed the Times-Richardson feature picture 'The Man Haters,' with Greta Burleigh, winner of the 'Who Will Be Ruth' contest, in the leading role. Supported by John Otis and a clever local company the film is the best amateur effort that has been shown in this city. Miss Burleigh is very attractive on the screen and her every action was that of a professional cinema star. As the pictures were thrown on the screen, and familiar faces and places were recognized the enthusiasm of the audience grew, and every clever bit of acting was received with delight. The acting was good and the comedy constant and not overdone. The film would take rank with any of its class which have been seen here. The photography is clear, and the picture is one which is well worth seeing aside from its local interest."

The final amateur presentation at the Richardson was a musical comedy, "The Lass of Limerick Town," presented by the St. Paul's Players under the direction of Professor Clifford Bennett, on May 5-6, 1930. This was also the last production with "live actors" ever to play in the theatre.

Richardson Closes Finally

From May 7 to December 31, 1930, the Richardson theatre was "dark." On Tuesday, December 30, 1930, an advertisement in the "Palladium-Times" announced:

"Richardson Theatre — The Pride of Oswego will open with first run 100 per cent Talking Pictures on Sunday, January 4th, 1931 with 'The Squealer.'"

During all of 1931, Warner Brothers Feature Pictures had

exclusive use of the playhouse, and no legitimate attractions nor amateur shows of any kind occupied the stage. On December 31, 1931, the final attraction was a feature picture entitled "Loose Ends," with Edna Best and Owen Nares co-starred, and also a vaudeville program. This was the end of the story for the once majestic theatre. The depression was at its lowest, and the smaller movie houses were more economical to operate under existing conditions of reduced patronage. Thus the Richardson was closed early in 1932, never to open again for public entertainment. For some years the building continued to house a few offices and a restaurant, but as the center of dramatic activity the curtain was down forever.

When Max B. Richardson died on July 3, 1903, the theatre became the property of Lawrence J. Richardson, his brother. Upon the latter's death, March 12, 1910, ownership of the playhouse passed to Norman L. Bates, nephew of the original owner. Mr. Bates took an active interest in the management of the theatre up to the time of his death on May 19, 1923, after which the property was controlled by the Bates estate.

Evil Days Befall

Unused for many years the building did not receive maintenance attention. During a severe windstorm in 1943 a large part of the metal roof of the main section was carried away, exposing the roof trusses and interior of the house to the elements.

An inspection of the entire building shortly afterwards disclosed how deserted and neglected the beautiful theatre had become. The entrance and lobby were partitioned off to provide storage space for the restaurant next door. The grand lounge was filled with some of the opera seats removed from the auditorium. Plaster of the ceiling dome

had fallen to the floor below, and through the dome rain and snow drifted down to the orchestra below. The carpet and seats had been removed from a section of the main floor in an attempt to protect them from falling plaster and moisture. The red plush seats were faded and moth-eaten; the huge mirror in the main foyer was intact but covered with an accumulation of dust. The draperies and seats had been removed from the boxes. On both side of the proscenium arch were signs listing vaudeville acts that had appeared on the stage the last night the theatre was open. The great asbestos curtain was faded and soiled, but still separated the stage from the auditorium to hold back any fire which might break out.

Backstage everything was left as it had been during the last production. A few pieces of scenery leaned against side walls of the stage, the switchboard stood intact, lighting equipment remained in the side wings and overhead borders. The full set of ropes and pulleys hung from the gridiron high above the floor of the stage. Old-fashioned round bottle fire-extinguishers stood in their racks along the walls.

Scene Of Desolation

The dressing rooms were dark and dusty with plaster and paint which had peeled from the walls. Dressing room number one, always reserved for the star performer, was completely wrecked, but on the wall hung a large mirror which had reflected the great and near-great of the American theatre as they dressed and applied make-up before appearing before their Oswego audiences. A poet might have been moved to speak of the spirits that still walked the boards of the mighty theatre which silently awaited an ignoble end at the hands of a wrecking crew.

The structure went from bad to worse, and in November, 1944, part of a roof truss and a section of the west wall collapsed. Later in the same week additional damage occurred when supports of more than a quarter of the roof gave way entirely, and roof boards and other material fell to the main floor inside the building. Timbers constituting the main support of the dome dropped and carried with them an installation of electric lights which had been the main source of illumination.

City Engineer Charles H. Snyder and Chief Monte Lass, of the fire department, made a survey of the building's condition and filed a formal report with the owners. Myron D. Stone, representative of the Bates estate, announced that because of the prohibitive cost of repairs it would be necessary to raze the entire building. A contract for razing the structure was made with the Pelnik Wrecking company of Yorkville, and during the summer of 1945 the demolition was completed.

The Richardson Theatre had been built during a period of theatre expansion, and served for many years to house legitimate drama, but was probably ten or twenty years too late to be of greatest usefulness. The decline of road shows and the rise of moving pictures brought to an untimely end a theatre which was originally designed to serve for many years as a center of cultural life in Oswego. The building stood for exactly fifty years, but its active career extended over little more than half that period.

Shared In Nation-Wide Decline

Decline of the legitimate drama in Oswego reflected a similar decline throughout the United States, and was not as is sometimes supposed to be a purely local condition. World War I prosperity had given a temporary

stimulus to theatre activity, but the sudden rise in the cost of living, which characterized the second decade of the twentieth century, made it commercially unprofitable to send plays on the road to the extent that had been done in pre-World War days. Cost of transporting companies of actors, scenery and stage equipment, increased salaries paid to the actors, and increased labor costs all added together to make it impossible for managers to present many plays outside of large theatrical centers. As a result "the road" shows gradually died, and many fine theatres which had been built during the 'eighties and 'nineties in small cities all over America were soon housing fewer stage shows.

"Goodwill" Allowed to Lapse

At the same time the moving picture industry was expanding to bring a new form of drama to the people, and many old playhouses were converted to the cinema. Conversion of the Richardson from a legitimate theatre to a moving picture house was well described in the Centennial Edition of the Oswego Palladium-Times, November 20, 1945. The article stated:

"For a time the Richardson was leased to the Schine Theatrical interests under conditions which required the presentation of at least four traveling dramatic offerings there a month during the theatrical season, with movies furnishing the public amusement between plays.

"Later the owners resumed control of the theatre and operated it on their own account as a motion picture house, but not finding the venture financially successful, they leased the theatre once more to the Schine interests, but without the former proviso that roads attractions must be frequently offered ther.

"After a time the Schine company, while continuing its lease of the theatre, ceased to offer

public entertainment there. The house opened occasionally for home-talent performances or other types of public gatherings, but no road attractions or motion pictures were offered. The result was that the 'goodwill' of the house was completely lost by the time Schine's long term lease had expired. After that the theatre stood unused for several years....its physical condition deteriorated rapidly with the result that in 1945 the owners caused the building to be razed."

Today Oswego is without a legitimate theatre. Three comfortable, well-equipped moving picture houses supply the community with screen entertainment. Drama presented by "live actors" is mainly in the hands of amateur actors.

Theater Groups Carry Torch

For some years the Oswego Little Theatre group has given excellent presentations of Broadway plays in the high school

Robinson Auditorium; the College Players of the State Teachers College have produced an interesting variety of experimental dramas; and several church and club organizations have presented minstrels, musicals and plays. Public support of these efforts has been very gratifying, and adequate to keep the amateur drama movement alive.

Drama has always been an important part of the cultural life in Oswego, and will probably continue. One hundred years ago, Market Hall, Doolittle Hall and other public meeting places housed various types of dramatic entertainment; near the end of the last century the Academy of Music presented the finest plays and actors on the American stage; and for over thirty years the Richardson Theatre booked a rich variety of entertainment for theatre goers. These playhouses have crumbled but pleasant memories of the famous actors and great plays will long linger in the minds of all Oswegonians.



Bates Mansion Gift of Heirs to County Historical Society to be Museum and Society Headquarters

President E. M. Waterbury Announces Gift Which Will Be Taken Over
April 1, Without Restrictions On Use By Society in Future
(Oswego Palladium-Times, Jan. 14, 1947).

Gift of the former Norman L. Bates residence at 135 East Third street to the Oswego Historical Society as a location for its permanent headquarters, and for housing its museum and collection of historical relics, announced by surprise to members of the society by E. M. Waterbury, president, at Tuesday evening's annual meeting of the society held at Tanner Memorial, brought a great thrill to members of the society who followed receipt of the news with a prolonged burst of applause. It was announced while the society already holds a deed to the property, actual possession will not be given until April 1. The property and other gifts which will accompany it from Mrs. John Cowles of Minneapolis, Minn.; Mrs. Calvin Tomkins of Palisades, N. Y., and Maxwell R. Bates of Grosse Point, Mich., the surviving children of Mr. and Mrs. Bates, represent financial value of \$25,000 or more.

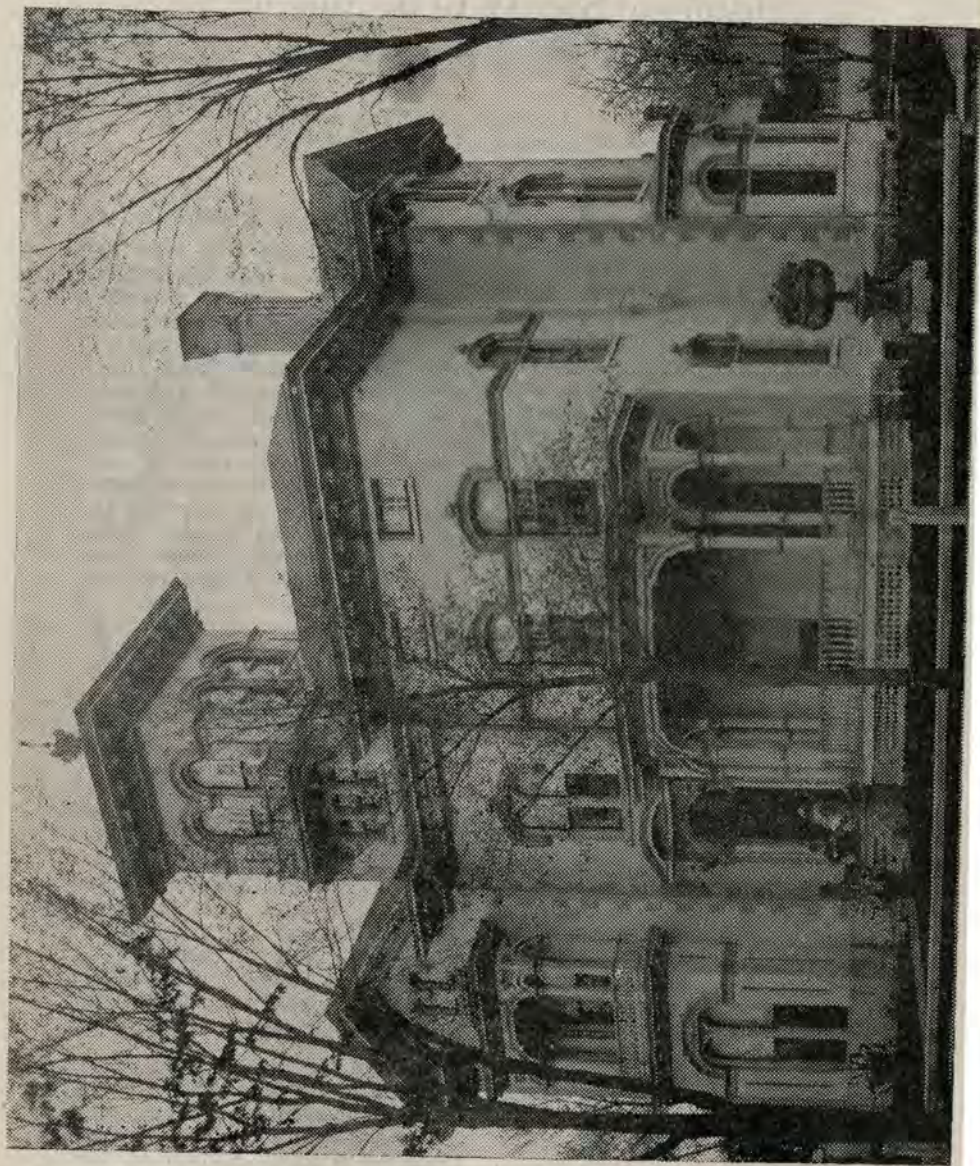
The Bates residence, about a century old, although it has been enlarged and rebuilt since the main portion was first constructed, is one of the last to survive as a private residence of the large group of massive, ornate homesteads which characterized Oswego in the 1850s and 1860s. Five generations of the Richardson and Bates families have made their homes there since Jacob Richardson built the residence in 1850 or possibly a year or two earlier.

Built by Jacob Richardson

Jacob Richardson was born in 1808 and survived until 1854. His death took place while he was absent from home in the west, but his remains were brought to Oswego for interment. Jacob married Naomi Bennett, the daughter of the Bennett family which built the large brick dwelling just east of the Oswego city line on the Hall road. Mrs. Naomi Bennett Richardson continued to reside in the residence built by her husband until her death in 1890. She was the mother of Maxwell B. Richardson, twice mayor of Oswego and builder of Richardson theatre, who continued to reside in the house until his death in 1903, and also mother of Lawrence Bennett Richardson (1840-1910), the second owner of the theatre, and of Harriet Richardson, who married Byron Bates, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Simeon Bates of Oswego, who after her husband's death continued to reside in the Richardson mansion where she made a home for her two brothers and her son, Norman L. Bates, who was an only child. Mrs. Byron Bates (1842-1908) died in the old homestead in which her son, Norman, was born.

Norman L. Bates (1865-1923) was one of Oswego's most active and public-spirited citizens and its largest realty holder. He had inherited a large portion of the real estate acquired and managed during their life times by Maxwell B. Richardson and his

Headquarters House Oswego County Historical Society



Former Richardson—Bates Residence East Third and Mohawk Streets, Oswego.

brother, Lawrence Richardson. Norman L. Bates married Miss Florence M. Morley, who was born at Marine City, Mich., the daughter of Captain and Mrs. Morley. The father rose to prominence at Marine City as a builder of ships that plied the Great Lakes. When Florence M. Morley was a child, her parents removed to Sodus, N. Y., where Florence M. Morley was living at the time of her marriage to Norman L. Bates in 1898. Born to Mr. and Mrs. Norman L. Bates were four children, Elizabeth, born in May, 1900, who married John Cowles of Des Moines, Ia., in 1923, but who now lives at Minneapolis, Minn., where her husband is the publisher of the evening "Times-Tribune" and the morning "Tribune," in addition to being associated with the ownership of the Des Moines "Register" and holding other extensive interests in the magazine and radio fields; Norman L. Bates, born in 1902, whose death occurred in 1943; Sarah, born in Oswego in 1904, who rose to distinction as a star on the American stage, and later married Calvin Tomkins and is now living at Palisades, N. Y., following her retirement from the stage in 1942; Maxwell R. Bates, born in Oswego in 1908, now living at Grosse Point, Mich.

Members of Historical Society

Maxwell B. Richardson, the theatre builder, was in his life time an active member of the Oswego Historical Society which he joined in 1896, as was also his nephew, Norman L. Bates, who served the society as a member of its Board of Managers for a decade following 1913 and who also served as the secretary of the society through this period. Mrs. Bates also joined the society after women became eligible for membership following 1924 and was an active member of the society at the time of her death in December, 1945. Tuesday evening Mrs. Cowles, Mrs. Tomkins and

Maxwell R. Bates, the three surviving Bates children, were also elected to membership in the society.

Negotiations looking to carrying into effect of a thought which the Bates children had had in mind for some time, of presenting the Richardson-Bates mansion to the Historical Society as its permanent home, were opened by the Bates children when they were in Oswego in mid-November, with officers of the Historical Society. Having ascertained the society would be in a position to accept the homestead as a gift and to carry on there in the future, the Bates children entrusted further negotiations on legal details involved to J. P. Morgan & Co., Inc., of New York City, administrators of the estate of Norman L. Bates along with John Cowles of Minneapolis, a son-in-law of Mr. Bates. In order that the Bates children might make the gift to the society, it first was necessary that title to the property should be transferred from the N. L. Bates Estate to them, and that thereafter they should transfer the property to the Historical Society.

The carrying through of these details was entrusted to Atwood H. Miller, personal trust officer, representing Morgan & Company, and Attorney Leyden E. Brown of Oswego looking after matters requiring local attention, and with President E. M. Waterbury representing the Historical Society. Finally under date of Dec. 19 there came a letter from Atwood H. Miller of the Morgan Company containing a formal proffer of the gift of the Richardson-Bates residence to the Historical Society, subject to the meeting of certain conditions by the Historical Society, as a gift from the Bates children.

Board Accepts Gift

The Board of Managers of the Historical Society were called together in special session on Thurs-

day, Dec. 26, at Oswego with nearly the entire membership of the seventeen member board being present, at which time the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

By F. W. Barnes:

Whereas, Elizabeth Bates Cowles, Sara Bates Tomkins and Maxwell R. Bates have offered to give and convey to the Oswego Historical Society the residence, 135 East Third street, Oswego, New York, owned and occupied by their parents, Norman L. Bates and Florence M. Bates in their lifetime on the following terms, viz:

1. They propose to purchase the premises from J. P. Morgan & Co., Incorporated as Administrator, c.t.a., of the estate of Norman L. Bates, Sr., and to convey the premises prior to December 31, 1946, to the Society by a bargain and sale deed.

2. It is their desire that the premises be maintained by the Society as a public historical museum.

3. They propose to furnish the Society with an abstract of title to the premises as soon as possible and to use their best efforts to cure any defect in the title to which the Society may object.

4. They propose to make a gift of many of the contents of the house to the Society, such contents to be selected by them and delivered to the Society between January 1, 1947, and prior to April 30, 1947. We have no specific inventory of the contents which they propose to donate to the Society, but we understand that it is their present intention to donate the carpets exclusive of those in the dining room, a collection of firearms and curios, the kitchen equipment exclusive of the Bendix washer, certain paintings exclusive of family portraits, and certain articles of furniture.

5. They reserve the right to use and occupy the premises until

April 30, 1947 and they will assume all expenses (exclusive of real estate taxes and extraordinary repairs) of maintaining the premises and the contents in their present condition until April 30, 1947, but no longer; and,

Whereas, said premises are well suited for the Society's use as a permanent home as well as an historical museum; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Board of Managers of the Oswego Historical Society accept on its behalf the offer and gift aforesaid with the thanks and the deep appreciation of the Society, its members and officers to the donors, former residents of the City and County of Oswego, who through this generous action give evidence of their continued interest in their native community and their love and affection therefore; and,

Resolved further that the President and Secretary of the Society be and they hereby are authorized and empowered to execute and deliver any and all necessary papers and documents required to effectuate the acceptance and conveyance of the gift aforesaid to the Oswego Historical Society.

Seconded by John M. Gill.

Adopted unanimously.

Property Eventually Tax Exempt

In discussion which preceded the adoption of the resolution, Harry C. Mizen who was acting as counsel for the board in this matter, reported if the gift of the residence was accepted by the board, the Historical society would have to pay during the year 1947 about \$1,000 in city and county taxes for the relief from which, there seemed to be no legal means of escape. However after that year, the property would be exempt from taxation under the provisions of State Law. The board determined if the gift were accepted a special drive would have to be put on to raise the money to

meet the taxes not only among the membership but among the general public. This is planned for the near future. Frederick W. Barnes, as vice-president of the society, offered to pay the final \$100 of the amount estimated to be necessary to pay the taxes falling due in 1947 or early 1948.

President Waterbury reported the Bates property is assessed for \$15,000 by the City of Oswego; that insurance was carried thereon in the amount of \$16,000. He also said in discussing the matter with representatives of the Bates children in the early period of the negotiations he had been assured carpets, drapes, oil paintings, except family portraits, bric-a-brac, kitchen equipment, some chinaware, and many of the pieces of furniture in the Bates residence, and especially the larger pieces, would be left in the house and would be included with its gift. The grand piano which had been belonged to Mrs. Norman L. Bates, the family portraits, the dining room furniture and various antiques and other items which the Bates children desire for their own use, however, will naturally be removed. Included with the gifts, however, will be the bust of Beethoven which was presented to Maxwell B. Richardson by the Oswego Business Men's Association on the night upon which the Richardson Theatre was opened will also be included among the gifts to the society.

Since their recent arrival in Oswego the Bates children have stated that it is not their intention to sell any of the articles contained in the home, and that whatever they do not desire to remove for their own use and by reasons of sentiment, will be left for the use of the Historical society.

Surprise Announcement

Following announcement of receipt of the deed to the Bates property which came into the

possession of the society on December 30, and which was filed at the Oswego County Clerk's office December 31, but announcement of which was withheld at the request of the Historical Society's Board until Tuesday night's meeting as it was the desire, announcement of the gift should come as a pleasurable surprise to the membership on the occasion of their annual gathering, President Waterbury stated a special committee had been named by him at the direction of the Board of Managers to investigate the need of changes in the society's by-laws to enable it to manage more readily the control of the property coming to it through the gift, and that this committee would report at the February meeting of the society. He warned that in accepting the gift that the society had assumed a very much larger financial burden than it had ever confronted it in the past and that every member of the society would have to expect that he or she would be called up for a larger measure of work and financial co-operation than in the past. Various plans for raising needed extra money to finance the operation of the house in the early stages of the society's ownership will be discussed at an early meeting of the society, he stated.

As the Bates residence will not be vacated before April 1, the Historical society will continue to hold its Oswego meetings at Tanner Memorial during the remaining portion of the winter season. Removal of the society's museum collection, its display cases, the John S. Parson marine collection and others of its effects will not be carried through until settled weather arrives.

Endowment Fund Gift

The president also announced receipt of a gift of \$100 from Mrs. Frederick Leighton to be added to the society's endowment fund which started in October

with a gift of identical amount which came to the society through the expressed wish of Daniel A. Williams, for a decade a member of the board of the society, expressed to Mrs. Williams and his son, Daniel T. Williams before his death that this be done. Mrs. Leighton who served for 20 years on the society's board until she began spending her winters in Florida, read of the Williams gift, and sent her check on to be added to it in the endowment fund, accompanied by a letter which gave her full approbation to the Endowment Fund. Effort will be made in the future to increase to sizeable proportions the Endowment Fund.

Treasurer John H. Hourigan reported a balance in the Society's treasury as of December 31 of \$76 with all bills paid, and exclusive of the Endowment Funds. The president's report said the membership of the society of 342 is the largest in the history of the Society.

Nineteen new members were elected to the Society last evening, as follows: Mrs. Elizabeth Bates Cowles, Minneapolis, Minn.; Sarah Richardson Bates Tomkins of Palisades, N. Y.; Maxwell R. Bates of Grosse Point, Mich., the librarian of St. Lawrence University; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph D. O'Dell, Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Birdlebough, Mrs. Neva Carney, Mrs. Charles W. Richards, Dr. Emerson J. Dillon, Richard S. Keller of Phoenix; Rodney E. Johnson of Fulton R. D. 3; Mrs. Jessie H. Benson, R. D., Oswego; Mrs. Francis M. Johnson, Miss Virginia C. Simons and Harry H. Armstrong, Jr., of Oswego.

Gifts for the Society's collection of Historical objects were announced by the president as follows:

From George Chesbro of Phoenix, an historical account of the Pennellville Methodist church issued in its Golden Anniversary

Year, 1940, upon the celebration May 4-5 of the 50th anniversary of its founding; list of subscribers served through Oswego Telephone Exchange in 1881. There were all-told 107 of them. J. R. Pierce was manager of the telephone company which had a rule that none but subscribers could use its telephones "except to call a physician"; Letter written by C. L. Sniffen to George B. Sloan, president of Second National Bank of Oswego to explain why a copy of The New Era, an American magazine, was not reaching promptly Mr. Sloan's daughter, Mrs. Danenhower. Letter dated August 12, 1899; bill of Western Union Telegraph Company's Oswego office rendered to H. L. Danenhower of Oswego for series of several telegrams passing between Oswego and Washington.

From Richard E. Glynn of Oswego, bound copy of the proceedings of the Oswego Common Council between 1848 and 1853.

From Alfred Conner of 7 Dorcas street, Fulton, copy of an ancient map of Oswego prepared by Peabody; this map shows the location of Forts Oswego and Ontario, the Public Square (West Park) on the west side but no park or public square on the East Side. Many of the streets yet bore the striking Latin names early applied to them. Market Hall (first City Hall) is located on the map, but the exception of Liberty, Ontario and Montcalm streets names do not appear on the map for any of the streets running north and south except that a street is designated as VanBuren which parallels and lies between Montcalm and Ontario streets.

From Mrs. Dorothy Delahunt of 233 East First street, Oswego, copies of a number of Oswego newspapers of ancient dates.

From Mrs. Justin Morrill and Elmer E. Morrill of Fulton group picture taken on the steps of Old Falley Seminary at Fulton June

1, 1922, on the occasion of the final reunion of the alumni of the school held just before the building was razed to make room for the new Fulton High school.

From James R. Jackson of Oswego, painting of the Old First Presbyterian Church as it stood in West Park prior to 1840 when it was destroyed by fire.

Officers Chosen

Upon the recommendation of the nominating committee of which Robert L. Allison was chairman, the following were elected as officers of the Society to serve for the new year: President, E. M. Waterbury; vice presidents, Ralph M. Faust of Oswego, Frederick W. Barnes, Oswego, Grove A. Gilbert, Fulton, Merritt A. Switzer, Pulaski, Miss Ruth Thomas, Mexico, Clark E. Jackson, Constantia, George Chesbro, Phoenix; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Karl Kellogg; recording secretary, Thomas A. Cloutier; treasurer, John H. Hourigan; curator, Elliott B. Mott.

Members of the Board of Managers: Dr. Lida S. Penfield, Mrs. Frank Elliott, Miss Anna Post, James Moreland, John M. Gill.

During the discussion of Dr. Wells paper which followed its presentation it was brought out Robert J. Oliphant of Oswego was the only person in the audience who was present in the Richardson Theatre in January 1895 on the occasion of the opening night of the Richardson Theatre.

For the social hour which followed the adjournment of the meeting refreshments were served in the dining room which was decorated with holiday greens, red berries and red candles for the occasion. Mrs. Charles F. Wells and Miss Frieda Schuelke poured. The committee of hostesses in charge was the following: Mrs. Harold D. Alford, Mrs. George M. Penney, Mrs. E. M. Waterbury, Mrs. James Lally, Mrs. Donald Snygg, Mrs. Joseph M. Riley, Miss Juanita Kersey.



Ballads of Old Oswego

(Paper Read Before Oswego County Historical Society at Oswego February 18,
1947 by James Moreland of the English Department of Oswego
State Teachers College)

When I assumed the responsibility of reporting to the Oswego Historical Society on ballads and verse by Oswegonians and about Oswego, I hoped that the completed effort would represent a rather exhaustive coverage of all verse written from 1845 to the present, with particular emphasis on the ballad form which is the seed from which literature grows. The preliminary survey, however, showed too many poetic effusions for inclusion in one paper, or even a book, so the result I am presenting to you represents a selective group of the verse found to indicate the cultural interests of Oswegonians over the period of the years.

This presentation is not a chronological one, but rather one of subject matter, suggested by the various poems that have come to my attention, either through my own efforts, or through the work of a group of my students at the Oswego State Teachers' College who have assisted me in the matter.

Logically, therefore, the first grouping represents ballads and verse dealing with the subject of Oswego, the territory immediately surrounding it, the lake on which it is located, and institutions peculiar to Oswego. The first of the poems which I should like to present was written by J. T. Broderick, and appeared in the issue of the "Oswego Daily Times" for August 23, 1887:

The City On The Lake

Though proud ambition make you
leave
Oswego's healthy shore,

To strive for wealth and wordly
fame,
To hunt for wider lore;
Though new attachments you
may form
And other friendships make,
You never, never can forget
The City on the Lake.
Though discontented with your
lot
You seek another home,
And wander forth with hopeful
heart
In other climes to roam;
Though you may travel round
the globe
And many pleasures take
You never, never can forget
The City on the Lake.
Should riches come within your
grasp
And cheer you for a while;
Should fortune haply visit you
And bless you with her smile:
E'en then the links that hold
fast
You'll find you cannot break,
For memory'll bring back home to
The City on the Lake.
When cold misfortune marks
your course
And want before you lies,
You sink beneath life's many
cares
And lack the strength to rise;
'Tis then you're filled with added
hope,
At least for mother's sake,
For there is one that loves you,
in
The City of the Lake.

The next selection came in the same year and was dedicated to the Oswego Yacht Club. It appeared in "Oswego Daily Times" for June 25, 1887:

The Dream Yacht

by

William Hosea Ballou

In the summer sings the Thrasher

By the Empire's inland sea,
Where the woodthrush 'mid the larches

Warbles love songs full of glee;
Where the green groved maple arches

Blend in Northland's symphony.
There are other migrants flitting

Past the sand dunes' shift and gleam,

And the white wings, spreading flying,

E'er the laughing echoes teem;
And the tall pines, roaring, sighing,

Full with wane's rage ever seem,

Is it sky, or mount, or water
That reflects the other's blue?

Birds or sands or leaflets surging
That I ever dream that you

On the wide Ontario winging
Of my love forever knew?

The "Oswego Daily Palladium" for November 15, 1873, carried a song by "J. F." which was rather nostalgic for the departing warm days and the approaching Oswego winter.

The Shores of Ontario—A Song J. F.

(Written for the Palladium)

Departed are the summer days,
November winds blow keen;

A brilliant sun no more displays
The beauties of the scene;

Yet, still the prospect cheers the soul,

With a beautiful, pleasing glow,
Where the deep and heavy waters roll

On the shores of Ontario.
Let those who seek the pretty

grace
That decks some rural spot,

Avoid this wild and solemn place,
For here they find it not.

Nor warbler carols here his lay,

But Nature's sterner traits array

The shores of Ontario.
Here man can calmly contemplate

God's pow'r and skill divine,
His wondrous deeds investigate,

Admire His wise designs,
For here no worldly thought impedes

His soul's aspiring flow,
The works of God alone he reads

On the shores of Ontario.
Here should the toiler, when distressed

By all his daily care,
To seize an hour of needed rest,

At evening's close repair,
When fanned by Autumn's bracing breeze,

His brow will cooler grow
Repose his aching heart will ease

On the shores of Ontario.
Here, changeless, shall the lake remain

Till Time shall be no more,
While generations heaven gain

O'er Death's mysterious shore,
While nations sink into the grave,

And to oblivion go,
The rippling wave shall gently lave,

The shores of Ontario.

Quite a few poems appeared over a period of years from the pen of H. L. Dinsmore, evidently a minister of the gospel, and I have selected one from the "Oswego Daily Times of November 3, 1857, as an example of his work and of his thinking.

Across the River

Thoughts, walking to Minetto.

By H. L. Dinsmore

Mournfully, I a week ago,
Sad and grief-stricken, traveled

slow;
Laid one to rest, from trouble

free!
Where we then laid her, now I see

Across the river.
Wearily slow my present course—

Nor pretty flowers grow,
Drawn to the road side as by
force,
Roadside, Riverside, both I see;
Messengers also come to me
Across the river.

Earnestly call they me across;
Gain to exchange for earthly loss,
Lost ones beloved again to greet
Ne'er to be sever'd when we meet
Across the river.

Angrily rush the waters by;
All hope crossing they defy—
Steep are the banks on either
side;;
How shall I pass them to abide
Across the river.

Steadily on, where duty calls;
Down where the river hath no
falls;
Easy to reach, the river side;
There may I launch, and smooth-
ly glide
Across the river.

—
The residents of the middle
nineteenth century were evident-
ly given to moralizing on life's
qualities as the following poem
from "The Daily Journal of Oc-
tober 22, 1853, would indicate:

Thoughts for the Season

by E. W. Rossiter

The chilly autumn breezes
O'er old Ontario's wave,
Tells us another Summer
Has sunk into its grave;
And as the bleak winds whistle,
And leaves are falling fast,
And colder, colder grows the
breath

Of each succeeding blast—
It tells a tale so true to us,
A tale we all must learn
That contact with this chilling
world,

Will chill us in return.
And should we not remember—
Remember too with fear,
That our life is as the seasons
That divide the current year,
First youth, with Spring's fair
flowers,
But they quickly fade and die;

Then the Summer of our man-
hood,

With ever changing sky,
Passes off into eternity,
With the record of our life—
Whether spent in joy or gladness
Or a scene of hate and strife.
Then Autumn quickly follows—
The Autumn of our years,
The season of life's peaceful
fruits

Or harbinger of fears;
And Winter—dreary Winter
The closing scene to man,
E're his little bark sets sail,
And his final work is done,
Oh may our voy'ge be pleasant!
When we shall hence depart.
Our conscience be the compass
The word of God our chart.

—
Lake Ontario was not the only
waterway that fired the poetic
enthusiasm of Oswegonians of
the nineteenth century—the Riv-
er Oswego came in for its due
share as the following poem
which appeared in the "Oswego
Palladium" for Saturday, Oc-
tober 11, 1884 shows:

OSWEGO RIVER

by Bessie G. Hart

By daisied fields and village
spices,

To thy blue waves, Ontario
Thou flowest fair; the dearest
stream

I ever have, or ever shall know.
How darkly green thy waters
glide

By grass grown bank and hang-
ing tree,

With lilled waves, sun dimpled,
bright

How fair, how dear thou art
to me.

How blue the skies above thee
bend

Not bluer than thy waves be-
low—

What fragrant pines upon thy
banks

Green hedging in the quiet
flow

My childhood's fancies bud by
thee

And blossom into fruitage fair,

Bright girlhood's dreams, and
woman's hopes,
And precious mem'ries garnered
there.

Then let them sing who will the
Rhine

The "Danube blue" or Guad-
alquiver,
I still will say, and hold it true,
Best to me—Oswego River.

There was a hominess then as
now in Oswego that made residents
regret leaving its streets
and waterfront. The following
poem, which appeared in the
"Oswego Daily Commercial" Oc-
tober 23, 1850 is expressive of
these sentiments:

Inpromptu Lines On Leaving Oswego

by R. Johnson

Yes, farewell Oswego, farewell
for a while,

Stern duty demands it, and I
must away,

Farewell to each face that has
shone with a smile,

'Tis Time hastens our parting,
and we must obey.

I'll remember the voice of thy
dark rolling lake,

I'll remember the mirror-like
calm of its deep,

I'll remember the tempest that
caus'd it to wake,

And the soft winged zephyr,
that loll'd it to sleep.

Nor, will I forget those green
shady bowers,

Which gave that kind welcome
so grateful to me,

Nor yet will I cease to remember
those hours,

When the month of Autumn,
encircled each tree.

I have seen here the light foot of
Spring pass in haste,

And the blossoms of Summer
fade swiftly away,

But the smile of true Friendship
no Time has defac'd,

For it lives in the heart and
can never decay.

Farewell dearest friends, we part
it is true,

Yet, the chain that has bound
us shall hold in its place,
While the Friendship we've cher-
ished shall pass in review,
Nor diminish by absence, or
change in its trace.

A similar poem of regret at
leaving the shores of Lake On-
tario was expressed in the issue
of the "Daily Commercial Adver-
tiser and Times" of June 14,
1866.

Farewell to Old Ontario

by Ida Varian

That spirit's quietude was glad,
Which sought thy friendship long
ago;

But oh, the lonely heart is sad,
That seeks thee now, Ontario!
I come to give my last goodbye,
And oh, to forms in which may
dwell

But Nature's soul of sympathy,
'Tis hard to say the word, fare-
well.

That oft-repeated, soft caress
Upon those broad old rocks be-
low,

Seems now the gush of tender-
ness,

From out thy heart, Ontario.
Your bright and slowly sinking
sun

The sky in liquid glory laves;
And, ere his silent task is done,
A farewell flashes o'er the waves.
They gently-rolling billows break
In rhythmic cadence, sweet and
low;

While I their kindly parting take,
As once their greeting, long ago.
I've seen the rush upon the
shore,

In maddest might of angry hour;
And boldly leap yon barrier o'er,
In grand usurp of pride and
power.

Wild human wish, impassioned
prayer,

Which often Fate's firm barrier
braves,

Seemed finding fittest emblem
there

In thine own dark and daring
waves.

With clear bright eye you sentinel!
 Upon thy stormy night looked down;
 Its kindly calm vigil o'er life's frown.
 Ah, best for me thy milder moods,
 When passions hushed to rest appear,
 And some reposeful spirit broods
 Upon thine azure beauty here.
 I've trusted golden dreams to thee;—
 Dark thoughts, unshared of human heart;
 Bright hopes, so beautiful to me,
 Now seeming of thyself a part.
 "We'll keep them safely, every one,"
 I've seen thy murmuring waters say:
 "Unsparkled in summer's sun,
 Ungloomed in dark of winter's day."
 Behind me, in the busy mart,
 Are those my spirit holds most dear;
 Some names, sweet-voiced within my heart,
 Are mingling with the music here.
 I bid those friends a fond farewell;
 Unbroken be the sacred ties;
 The love my lips refuse to tell,
 Those silent depths shall symbolize.
 Returns my thought to thee once more,
 Sole witness of my lonely pain;
 Say, shall I stand upon this shore,
 And list thy low, sweet psalm again.
 No? Never? Must it then be so?
 Didn't speak sadd'ning prophecy?
 But, ah, e'en Nature may not know
 The secrets of futurity.
 Where'er that Future bid me be,
 Soft lovelight of the past shall fall
 On pictures fair I'll keep of thee,
 Forever hung on Memory's wall.
 This scene within my soul shall live;
 This sunset sky; calm, calm below;

One last, long, lingering look I give;
 Farwell — dear old Ontario!

The residents of the gay ninety period evidently had more time to relax and think than we have today as the following reverie from the "Oswego Daily Times of April 29, 1895 proves:

A Reverie of Oswego

by Miss Fannie Crosley.

Sitting in the pastor's study,
 From the busy world apart,
 What a host of sacred memories
 Now are thronging 'round my heart.

And my thoughts their flight are winging

In the golden sunlight's glow
 To Oswego as I saw it
 In my girlhood, long ago.
 Then Ontario's crested billows
 Heaved their foam and 'lashed the shore

And I listened to the music
 Of their wild, tempestuous roar.
 Now the waves are calm and peaceful,

While in tender, plaintive strain
 They are telling of the dear ones
 That I ne'er shall meet again.
 Till the voyage of life is over
 And I clasp each loving hand,
 Far beyond the vale and shadow
 In the blessed Eden land.

Sitting in the pastor's study
 I can hear their voices now,
 I can feel their snowy pinions
 Resting lightly on my brow.

And they whisper like the echoes
 Of mountain streams that flow,
 That they love as once they loved me

In Oswego long ago.
 Sitting in the pastor's study,
 What a holy joy is mine
 Past and present are before me
 Other hearts around me twine.
 Though the hours are quickly flying;

Though but brief must be my stay;

Christian love a chain has woven
 Time can never break away.
 Sitting in the pastor's study

I would lift my soul in prayer
 For the treasured church and
 people
 Still confided to His care;
 For the dear association
 Of our noble railroad men,
 For the earnest, faithful workers
 That I may not see again;
 'Till the grand old ship of Zion
 Brings us safe to yonder shore,
 There to dwell with our Re-
 deemer
 Singing praise forever more.

Similar poems, dealing with the location, history, view and what not of Oswego, the lake, the river and the surrounding country could be added to fill the space and time allotment of this paper. These, however, indicate the trend of many of the poems appearing in the newspapers of the nineteenth century.

Let us move now from observation on the land to the strategic importance of the water and the all-embracing fascination for ships that has always been a part of the culture of the community. The following poem which appeared in the "Oswego Daily Palladium" of June 28, 1855, was without title except for the editorial comment that these were "Impromptu lines suggested by the arrival of the magnificent steamers "Canada" and "America." The author was B. E. Osborn:

Freedom's chain has bound in one
 Many States of vast domain,
 And the glorious rays of its brilliant sun,
 Radiates each with light sublime.
 Those somber days are past and gone,
 When hero Fathers who taught
 in prayers,
 Thought not their child at another dawn
 Would with mightier realms compare.
 Those links of love forged so strong,

Have clasped two nations strong, indeed;
 And Briton's sons in mighty throng,
 Are welcomed with a hasty brother's speed.
 We are friends with every clime and name—
 That is our glorious guiding star,
 Whose rays have won immortal fame—
 From Nations, Empires, and Clans afar.
 The Child—by God's All-wise decree—
 Has met the Parent in equal pride;
 And the stars-and-stripes to the breezes free,
 Wave now harmonious at her side.
 Their kiss, 'mid music, and cannon's roar,
 As they echoed o'er Ontario's wave,
 Seemed to say Fraternity for ever more!
 " 'Tween Peoples free," and the home of the Brave.

The poetic impulse was always stirred to its depths by the loss on the lake of some vessel well known in this port. The destruction of the "I. G. Jenkins" inspired many poets with the sad fate of that vessel and two of these poems are included in this paper as indicative of the ballads of this time which appeared frequently in the local press. The first was written by Thomas B. Finn who was listed in the 1873 census as a carpenter by trade who lived at 101 East Tenth Street, Oswego. The ballad appeared in the "Oswego Daily Times" of December 9, 1875, and is given in its entirety below:

The Fate of the I. G. Jenkins by Thomes B. Finn

Wild and dark was the stormy night,
 And fierce was the billow's roar

As cheerily the Jenkins stood
 Out from the rock bound shore.
 O'er Ontario's wild foaming
 breast
 Alone the Jenkins did sail,
 Her groaning timbers bravely
 defied
 The terrific death-dealing gale.
 Captain Brown gave his orders,
 and said,
 (As he buttoned his coat up
 tight,)
 "My men we'll be in Oswego
 soon,
 For yonder is the beacon
 light."
 Little thought each light-hearted
 man,
 As the storm king did howl and
 rave,
 That instead of arriving safe at
 home,
 He would sleep in a watery
 grave.
 Visions of goblins they saw in the
 lake,
 Which set them all a-thinking,
 The pumps they tried, but found,
 horrificd,
 That the vessel was quickly
 sinking.
 After a fervent prayer was said
 At work o'er the deck they
 hurried,
 But in vain! Ye desperate, fear-
 less men,
 In the lake you'll soon be
 buried.
 The frequent oath and the lewd
 jest
 Insulted no doomed man's ear,
 For the moan of the ill-fated
 sinking ship
 Told them that death was
 near.
 Like a cat playing with a mouse
 The storm would rage and then
 relent,
 But tired of its sport with a
 headlong plunge
 The vessel downward went.
 A moment a vortex marked the
 spot,
 Then the angry waters shut
 out the air,
 Those brave tars will sleep in the
 lake,

Till judgement trumpet's blare.
 Morning dawned, all that day
 Could be heard the deafening
 roar,
 The next with fragments of the
 wreck
 The wild waves strewed the
 shore.
 Suspicion roused, rumors were
 spread,
 All hope died when they found,
 Washed ashore and frozen to
 death
 The captain's faithful hound.
 Such was the fate of that brave
 crew,
 God have mercy on their souls
 That met death in the stormy
 lake
 Near those haunted reefs, Ford
 Shoals.

Another poem on the loss of
 the "I. G. Jenkins," was penned
 by Shandy McGuire for the "Os-
 wego Palladium" in late Novem-
 ber of 1875. The signature of
 Shandy McGuire was an assumed
 one, the writer's real name being
 Patrick Fennell who resided at
 80 Erie Street, Oswego, and was
 listed in the records of the time
 as a railway engineer or engine
 dispatcher. He was a frequent
 contributor of verse to the local
 newspaper and evidently spent
 most of his time away from his
 work in writing verse. A volume
 of his poems was later published.
 His version of the sinking of the
 "Jenkins" follows:

Loss Of The Schooner I. G. Jenkins

Oswego in garments of mourning
 is clad,
 She weeps for her gallant and
 brave,
 Who were summoned away to the
 ranks of the dead,
 'Neath Ontario's foam crested
 wave,
 All as brave as ere trod fore and
 aft on the deck;
 We have known them from in-
 fancy's years;

And their doom we can tell by
the fragments of wreck
That are washed by the seas
to our piers.

Oh, hark to the news which pre-
vails on each street,
Through highways and by-ways
'tis tossed,

In a grief-laden tone, from each
person we meet,
All proclaiming the Jenkins is
lost!

"She went down with all hands,"
is the pitiful cry.

Sent from hearts unaccustom-
ed to weep,

With the tears in a flood rolling
free from each eye,

As a tribute to those in the
deep.

All her sailors were brave as
each climbed up a spar.

And her mates they were made
to command;

Captain Brown was as noble and
skillful a tar

As ever sailed off from the
land.

Such were the men whom her
owners could boast,

But clouds wore a dark, angry
frown,

Which obscured all the land
marks surrounding our
coast,

On the morning the Jenkins
went down.

A merciless gale o'er Ontario's
breast

Was driving with terrible force,
It had a full sweep from the
stormy nor'west,

And drove her away from her
course.

All human exertions to save her,
we know,

Were made by her captain and
crew;

Alas! all in vain, for the gale
driven snow

Our lighthouse shut out from
their view.

Hear the cries of widows and
orphans arise

To-night on the cold biting air,
Oh! how hard is the heart that's
unmoved by the sighs

And the symbols of deepest
despair;

The husbands and fathers who
labored for bread,

Are rolling in watery graves,
Never more to arise till the
trumpet of the dead

Shall call them from under the
waves.

All you who are blessed with
affluence and wealth,

Who bask in prosperity's ray,
Whose lives are a round of con-
tentment and health,

To you for assistance we pray.
Oh! pity the wives of the ill-fated
tars,

Give freely from plentiful
stores,

Their husbands, perhaps, may
be lashed to the spars,

And come washed by the seas
to our doors.

A tug boat aroused the en-
thusiasm of the Reverend Din-
more in the year 1857 and
brought forth a long recital of
its glorious accomplishments in
a verse form copied carefully
from that of Hiawatha. The verse
appeared in the issue of the "Os-
wego Daily Times" for July 30,
1857, and is given in full below,
along with the introductory edi-
torial note that preceded it:

Minnehaha And Ontario

The following lines, written on
the trip to Smith's Cove in the
cabin of the Minnehaha, by Rev.
H. L. Dinmore in response to the
toast or sentiment, were loudly
cheered during the delivery, and
a vote by acclamation requested
their publication.

Should you ask me whence
this vessel,

Whence this clipper Minnehaha,
With the gaily flowing streamers,
With the masts, and booms, and
bowsprit,

With the yards, and sheets, and
canvas;

Canvas spread for passing
breezes,

When the clipper with a burden,

For the merchant, skims the water
 East or Westward o'er Ontario?
 I should answer, I should
 tell you,
 From the yard of James A.
 Baker,
 Where he builds the brigs and
 schooners
 Sailing from the pleasant harbor,
 And the river of Oswego,
 Up and down the lake and river,
 Thro' the Welland and the Erie,
 And the other lakes and waters,
 Stretching far from west to east-
 ward,
 Where the bread-corn for the
 eaters,
 Growing richly on the prairies,
 Garnered by the careful farmers,
 By these noble brigs and
 schooners
 Borne to mills and elevators—
 From whose owners' lips the
 praises
 I repeat you as I've heard them
 Praise of Baker, the ship builder.
 If still further you should
 ask me
 Saying "Who is James A.
 Baker?"
 I should answer your inquiries,
 Straightway in such words as
 follows:
 In the City of Oswego,
 You may see the man I mention,
 Always active, in a hurry,
 Like a man intent on labor;
 Yet amid his crowd of business,
 In the streets or on a schooner,
 Or at home, in the Sabbath
 School-room,
 Always you will find him smiling.
 But the clipper, not the
 builder,
 Claims our merry song and
 laughter.
 Of the clipper Minnehaha—
 Minnehaha—laughing water—
 Let us now a passing moment
 Talk, and sing, and laugh and
 wonder,
 This fine clipper Minnehaha,
 Towed along by steam—tug Mor-
 gan—
 A Morgan good enough, will
 roster

Standing on the forward wheel-
 house;
 Puffing, wheezing, steaming,
 smoking,
 Oddly acting, useful steam-tug;—
 Minnehaha, steam-tug Morgan,
 Ever since she walked the wa-
 ters,
 Has been towing out to Sodus,
 With the crowd of pleasure
 seekers,
 From both East and West
 Oswego,
 Sabbath scholars and their teach-
 ers.
 Yesterday the steam-tug
 Morgan
 Left the clipper Minnehaha;
 And the clipper Minnehaha,
 With the Maple Leaf beside her,
 Towed by two strange crafts or
 tow boats,
 Took a crowd of Syracusans,
 And a few folks from Oswego
 On the Maple Leaf beside her.
 Maple Leaf and Minnehaha
 By the Ontario and the Bloore
 towed
 Side by side, went off to Sodus.
 Then above the Minnehaha
 And the Maple Leaf and steam-
 tugs
 Dark clouds gathered, weeping
 waters,
 And they fell upon the schooner,
 And kept falling, oh so moistly!
 On the men, and on the maidens,
 On the children, on the teachers,
 On the silken robes, and muslins,
 On the blouses of the wearers
 On the shakers, on the bonnets,
 On mustaches, on clean faces,
 On the things like those the
 coopers
 Bind round the casks and barrels!
 And the men laughed at the
 ladies,
 Ladies laughed to see men
 drenching
 In the falling rain around them!
 On the clipper, on the schooner,
 All the folks said Minnehaha!
 Gave them truly laughing water.
 But the after, homeward
 journey,
 Like the olden story told us,
 of Hiawatha and Nokomis,

Minnehaha's sorry story!
When the fever with it's burning,
Spoiled her song, and all her
laughing,

Minnehaha too, the clipper,
Bore the pale, faces, white with
terror,

Eyes up-turned, and oh! such
yearning

For the harbor of Oswego!
Wishing that they ne'er for
Sodus

Started forth on Minnehaha:
Soon they came to old Oswego,
And their troubles quickly van-
ished,

Lighter hearted now, and easy,
Laughed they all at troubles
ended

Laughing-waters! Minnehaha!

Once again on Minnehaha
We have ventured on the water
Bound, not to the Bay of Sodus;
But our journey takes we down-
ward,

Seeking for a friendly harbor,
Named by him of wondrous
story,

Whose possessions universal,
And his presence all policemen
Know! Smith's Cove to-day we're
seeking.

By Ontario, Minnehaha
Under brighter skies drawn on-
ward

Bears a happy freight of children
Children, and their friends and
teachers,

And their Pastors, seeking pleas-
ure,

Pleasure with no mingling sor-
rows,

Now we take our Minnehaha,
Laughing — water — drink we
deeply!

Deeply drinking pure clear water,
And the laugh as clear and ring-
ing;

Ringling o'er Ontario's Waters,
One and all now join we wishing
To the clipper Minnehaha,
To the tug so nobly towing,
To the builder James A. Baker,
To the present crew, and future,
Large supplies of laughing-water!
And the happiness which drink-
ing

Deeply of pure pleasure always
Gives mankind—Now and fore-
ver!

Success to the tug ahead
there,

Success to the Minnehaha!!

The same author, who was evi-
dently more interested in tow
boats than the vessels towed,
wrote another poetic effusion to
the tug Morgan in the issue of
the "Oswego Daily Times" for
September 29, 1857, which read
as follows:

Three Cheers For The Morgan

By H. L. Dinmore

Three cheers for the William
Morgan!

Three hearty cheers aloud;
Oswego may of the Morgan
Assuredly be proud.

Place on record and remember,
Near the closing of September,
Sudden and fierce the wind did
blow.

Loud was the cry—"Away they
go!"

Off on the lake—in such a gale,
What hope to save a craft so
frail!

She's capsized! now

All wonder how.

Help can be sent to the boys,
afloat

On the keel of their ill-fated boat,
See! the Morgan takes them in
tow,

Over the rough Ontario;
Sunshine thro' the cloud is
breaking

Her perilous way

Thro' breakers and spray

Three lives she saves,

From watery graves!!

Another lake tragedy that in-
spired the poets of the time was
the loss of the ship Hastings in
1867. A ballad on the subject ap-
peared in the "Oswego Commer-
cial Advertiser and Times" of
January 24, 1868, which had been
copied from the "Mexico Inde-
pendent" of December 16, 1867.
The ballad follows:

On The Loss Of The Hastings

by T. H. Austin

One cold November night,
No star that shone to give her
light,
A vessel left her port, no one
could tell
How safe, so late the season, yet
it might be well.
The wind it blew, so often before;
They sailed along the northern
shore;
The waves rolled high; though
rough the lake,
Oswego harbor they intended to
make.
No tidings can as yet we hear,
She's lost, all hands aboard, we
fear.
Where can she be? She's not
ashore,
Nor in the harbor where she'd
been before.
But in the bottom of the lake so
clear,
With all her crew to friends most
dear,
The Hastings could her crew have
spoke,
Would say, while on the wave she
broke:
They looked around and o'er her
stern;
No lifeboat could they there dis-
cern
It had broke loose and on the
wave,
Could give no help, their lives to
save.
It came ashore from where it was
bereft,
But gave no tidings of the boat
it left.
She rests in silence where the
beat free.
While to her crew that was a
fatal day.
Could she through the storm
have borne
Safely her crew, although her
sails were torn,
How many a heart would now
fishes play,
But they are gone. We mourn
their sad decree.

A book-length study could be with shipping out of Oswego made of the poems concerned Harbor, and especially with the disasters that overtook many of these vessels during the great storms over the lake, but the few included in this preliminary study will indicate the wealth of material that needs to be collected along this line alone.

Wars always excite the writer to poetic effusions, and the history of Oswego has been no exception. Several war odes, ballads, etc., follow as examples of verse of this type. The first inclusion is one by Dr. Reynolds, a local physician, and assistant surgeon of the 24th New York Volunteers, largely enlisted in Oswego County during the Civil War. This regiment included Oswego companies. The poem appeared in the "Oswego Commercial Times" for July 12, 1861.

The Gallant Twenty-Fourth

by Dr. Reynolds

The stirring times have come, my
boys,

For the soldier's merry life;
We're roused up by the drum, my
boys,

We're wakened by the fife.
To all toils we're resigned, my
boys—

To do our country good.

Then hurrah for Old Os-
wego—

Her sons of truth and
worth;

We'll guard her friends and
crush her foes—

The gallant Twenty-fourth!
In labor we'll not lag, my boys;
We'll wave the battle brand,
'Till again our fathers' flag, my
boys

Shall float o'er all the land,
We love our country much, my
boys;

We'll strike them to the earth.
Then hurrah for Old Os-
wego—

Her sons of truth and
worth;

We'll guard her friends and
crush her foes—

The gallant Twenty-fourth!
Again we may not see, my boys,
The friends whom now we
leave;

If that be Fate's decree, my
boys,

Oh! never for us grieve!
We'll die the glorious death my
boys,

A soldier lives to die:
Shouting with our last breath,
my boys,

For Home and Liberty!
Then hurrah — etc.
But away with thoughts like
those, my boys!

We'll return to you once more,
Victorious o'er your foes, my
boys,

Who'll friends be evermore.
We'll take them by the hand, my
boys,

And from a lasting peace,
And war in this free land, my
boys,

For evermore shall cease.
Then hurrah — etc.

Another poem by the same
author appeared in the local
press several weeks prior to the
one quoted above was evidently
intended as a marching song and
is included here for that purpose.
It appeared in the "Oswego Com-
mercial Times" for April 30,
1861.

The Oswego Quick Step

by Dr. Reynolds

Proudly, boys! step proudly!
With the Stars and Stripes
above,

Loudly, boys! cheer loudly!
For the glorious land we love.
Some fight that fame's bright
story

May tell their honored name,
But we that our land's glory
May never change to shame.

Then proudly, boys, etc.
Gaily boys! move gaily!

To merry music move,
Freely boys! shout freely!
Our loyalty and love.

Down with the base seceder,
Our country none shall part;
Hurrah for Scott our leader,
The hero of our heart.

Then, proudly boys, etc.
Cheerless, boys, how cheerless,
The foe late full of pride;
Fearless boys, how fearless,
Our patriots side by side.
The Union none shall sever,
And none o'er turn our laws,
The Union boys, forever;
God will uphold our cause.
Then, proudly etc...

An interesting poem of the
war was sent to the "Oswego
Commercial Times" from New
Orleans and was printed in the
local paper in the issue of Febru-
ary 14, 1863. It is particularly
important as historical verse
since it includes names of local
persons in the 110th Regiment.

The Oswego Volunteers

by D. S. Helner

(Respectfully dedicated to the
110th Regiment, N. Y. S. V.)

Come listen to my story all,
I'll sing you something new
Made up in rhymes to suit the
times,

You'll all find it is true
'Tis of the brave 110th
Who'll make the foe stand
clear,

Led on by Colonel Littlejohn,
The Oswego Volunteers.

(Repeat last two lines)
His troops are bold and hearty
boys,

No danger do they fear,
We are going down to "Dixie's
Land",

The rebels they must clear
The stars and stripes our own
true flag,

We'll give three hearty cheers,
Likewise for "Sage" and "Little
John",

The Oswego Volunteers.
Our country, boys, we're bound
to save,

We'll prove that we are true,
And all around the rebel shore

Shall float our flag so blue.
We'll plant our flag wher'er we
go,

And do it without fear
And clear the land of rebeldom,
The Oswego Volunteers.

Our Captains and Lieutenants,
too,

They are the men to drill,
And while they are in "Dixie's
Land",

We'll give them a blue-pill.
The Generals of the rebel cause,
They must from us stand clear,
We'll show them what our boys
can do,
The Oswego Volunteers.

Now give three cheers for Os-
wego boys,

And for our country, too,
And for the steamship "Ericson",

Which carried us safe through
If ever we go home again,

And friends they will us cheer,
They'll say, come home, come
home again,

Oswego Volunteers.
Good times, my boys, I know
you'll see,

When'er this war shall end,
Then Father Abe will say, "well
done",

Then all us he'll send home.
Our friends will shake us by the
hand;

I think 't will start a tear;
You're welcome to your firesides,
Oswego Volunteers.

One more example of war
poetry will suffice for the pur-
pose of this paper and it is fit-
ting that the selection made
should have been written by a
non-commissioned officer from
the Oswego home company. The
poem appeared in the "Daily Pal-
ladium" for September 1, 1864,
and was as follows:

The Oswego Boys

by Sergeant Jerry Farrell
Company C, 24th Cavalry

(1)

O, hear I am with you again, for
it is my delight to sing;

I have hit upon a subject now I
think will be the thing.

I have traveled most all over the
United States,

There is none that can compare
with the Gay Oswego Boys!

Chorus-

Then three cheers for Old Oswe-
go and for all her gallient
boys,

For I tell you thair is none can
beat the Sporting Oswego
Boys!

(2)

The Oswego 24th Cavalry and
all the rest of the boys
they say,

O every fight that they have
ben in the rebels thay
would say,

They can whip thair weight in
wild cats thay don't fear
the rebels noise,

And the Jonneys dread to run
against the Gay Oswego
Boys: Chorus.

(3)

Thair is good men South I will
admit, but thairs none that
can excell

The Bold Oswego Boys, for every
time they shoot they tell.

Thair is some of the guns the
rebels use are nothing but
mear toys

Compaired with those used by
the Sires of Old Oswego:
Chorus.

(4)

Those Sharpshooters I suppose
you know are instant death
when shot,

When deadly ame is takin it will
knock them all to pot.

When thay come hoame thay will
relate thair troubel and
thair joys,

And what blood was split by the
Gay Oswego Boys: Chorus.

(5)

The other day I heard it said
thay were fighting all sin,
The rebels are fortified and thay
say thay will win,
O no says one that iis not cor-
rect I have just come from
Washington,
I am awair the South can never
ride the gay Oswego Boys:
Chorus.

(6)

Sapose that thay should kill a
few, thay will never kill
them all,
For they are sure to kill ten reb-
els before one night is
ready to fall,
They will alwais prosper whair
thay go thay dont bloy nor
make no noise,
And if their is everything the
rebels dread it is the Bold
Oswego Boys: Chorus.

(7)

O now my friends fairwell to all
if what I have said aint
right,
O I will give you recompense if
you will agree to not get
mad and fight,
For I love peace and harmony
still I have my troubels
and Joys,
But recollect I am a warm friend
of the Gallient Oswego
Boys: Chorus.

The modern merchant sells his
product by A bomb slogans that
tell us to "Keep that schoolgirl
complexion," "Ask the man who
owns one," and similar brief at-
tention getters. Not so the mer-
chant in the city of Oswego in
the middle and late eighteen
hundreds. Then time was less im-
portant and the muse more vital
to the life of the people, as wit-
ness the half dozen odes, lyrics,
and ballads which follow, and
which give some idea of artistic
advertisements in the last cen-
tury. These were probably the
only poetic effusions for which

the editors were paid. The first
of these appeared in the "Oswego
Daily Journal" July 2, 1853, and
advertised "The New Tea Store"
of M. A. Perkins at 20 West Sen-
eca Street:

What Is Is Wins Success?

The question is applied to all
Throughout the Yankee Na-
tion;

To every rank, to every grade,
To every occupation;
And we with confidence and
truth,

A friendly line address you,
And simply say—the way to win,
Is in the best to (please) you
Now, Perkins has the best in
Teas,

That New York Mart produces;
They're suited for the wide, wide
world,

And for 1000 uses:
Their Coffees are the very best,
And every one confesses
They're sold as cheap as in New
York,

With English Mustard, Fruit
and Spices.

The next sample was an adver-
tisement for Coopers' in Revenue
Block, and appeared in the "Os-
wego Commercial Times," Janu-
ary 1, 1862, and read as follows:

"Santa Claus's Visit To Oswego"

An odd little man, old, wrinkled,
and gray,
Was seen coming into the city
one day,
The dust on his clothes, and the
mud on his shoes,
Betokened that he to hard travel
was used.

To the boys he would give a sly
wink and a nod,
And they thought him an Irish-
man just from the sea;
The pack on his back and the
stick in his hand
Convinced them at once he was
from Paddyland.

As he passed through the streets,
in each shop he would look,
And he seemed to read faces as
well as a book;
Once or twice, he in passing,
seemed ready to stop
As he saw familiar old toys in
some shop.

Then muttering " 'tis not the
place I have sought,"
Resumed his lone journey ne'er
stopping for aught
Till coming to Cooper's he low-
ered his pack,
Saying, "here I will leave all my
toys, and go back."

Then untying his pack, he reveal-
ed I declare!
Such a stock that it even caused
Cooper to stare;
The shelves and the windows
were soon filled with toys,
To be given on Christmas to good
girls and boys.

There were drums, fifes and
whistles, guns, horses and
mules,
Cows, sheep, cats and dogs,
chairs, bedsteads and
stools.
Stoves, pails, tubs, and dishes,
tin, chain, and wood,
In fact there was everything
pretty and good.

Now if you would all see this
beautiful stock,
Just call in at Cooper's, in Rev-
enue Block.

The next ballad resulted from
probable jealousy since it ap-
peared January 2, 1862 in the
"Oswego Commercial Times,"
and ran as follows:

Ballad of Oswego

Oh! have you been to Oswego
city
To see the sights and won-
ders—
To see the many potent rights
And many potent blunders?
Have you been up and down the
street

When the Theater band was
blowing,
And seen the crowds of country
folks,

Their gayest glances throwing?
Have you pondered o'er the fact
That amid all this bother,
One half go to see the rest,
And shop with one another?

The girls go there to see the boys,
The boys to see the girls;
And ladies fair to trap a beau
With houses, land and curls.

But very many quiet folks
Go there to use their eyes,
To see what in Oswego is
That can excite surprise.

They pause before a splendid
Store,
Where Fashion has devices,
Stocked to the full with Clothing
good
At wonderful low prices!

The other dealers stand aghast,
As they view the fine display;
There is some cause for envy
there,
And for their sad dismay;

You travel up and down the
State,
From Albany to Oswego,
You'll find no better work than
here,
Wh'er you please to go.

Garson still will lead the crowd
And rout each envious foe;
He can't be undersold in town,
As those who buy may know!

Then let Garson go ahead,
Fashion's Temple ever more;
If ready-made you wish to buy,
You'll never pass this Store!

One of the cleverest of these
singing advertisements appeared
in the "Oswego Commercial Ad-
vertiser and Times" April 30,
1868. It read:

Dear Father Come Home

Oh Father, dear Father, please
listen to me,
And this once pray do not re-
fuse.

For Dunn, Hart and Company,
are selling so cheap,
You can buy me a new pair of
shoes.

My big toe sticks out like the
head of a clam,
And you of neglect doth accuse,
Because you have failed to do as
you said,
And bring home a new pair of
shoes.

Then hurry, dear Father, do pray
hurry there,
With a very few stamps to use;
For you know it will cost but a
very small sum

To purchase a new pair of
shoes.

Go to 27 East Bridge Street, Os-
wego, New York,
No more of your precious time
lose,

Oh, think of the cold, of your
child and his toes,
And pray hurry up with the
shoes.

Oh how can you bear the soul
thrilling thought,
As you read in the papers the
news,

That Dunn, Hart and Company
are selling so cheap,
Their immense stock of nice
boots and fine shoes.

You know that my toes are
sticking right out,
Exposed to the winds and the
dews,

Then don't forget, when home
you return,
To bring me a new pair of
shoes.

As a last example of this type
of poetical practice in the nine-
teenth century the following
poem from the "Oswego Daily
Times" of September 21, 1875
has been selected!

Bassett's Palace Hat, Cap & Fur Store

Men, women and children of Os-
wego take heed,
And do not forget when this no-
tice you read,

Of Hats, Caps and Furs we've
got a supply,
And if you could see them, we
know you would buy.

My store is now full and I want
them inspected,
And you that are judges, you
need not be told

Better goods for the money there
never were sold,

I have mittens and gloves, um-
brellas and gloves of every
description,

We mean to deal fair without
using deception.

My goods and my prices I cheer-
fully warrant,

We deal with the child as we
deal with the parent;

But we know if we trust, it will
be to our sorrow,

For many have tried it and it
caused them to borrow.

The next group of subjects that
I should like to consider in this
rapid survey of poetic Oswego
deals with accidents, fires, trib-
utes to individuals and so-called
occasional poetry. As the first ex-
ample let us consider a poem
written on the great Neal Block
fire which appeared in the "Os-
wego Palladium" of October 13,
1883.

The Neal Block Fire

by P. M. Reynolds

The frightful flames in raging
columns roar,
And roused in horror all in sleepy
repose,

Whilst those awake rushed to
the frightful sight,

In crowds, whose cries rang
loudly through the night,

The prompt alarm sent by tele-
phone

Called dauntless hearts from the
station and from the home.

To beat the flames each hero
then began

And acted as if something more
than man.

All to the rescue and with light-
 ning speed
 Together bound, fireman and
 steed.
 To this department let just praise
 be sung.
 Death's wanton will they never
 try to shun,
 As when the trumpet ere the
 wish for night
 Calls on the brave to end the
 stubborn fight.
 But now the test for noble life
 was fought,
 Gigantic deeds our modern
 Triams wrought
 Still on the top stood one un-
 known to fear,
 T'was gallant Smith amid the
 blazing air,
 Beat fiendish wrath, and boldly
 led the way,
 The flames he fought as long as
 man could stay,
 Now for the leap full eighty feet
 below,
 Midst cries and groans the
 gallant Smith did go,
 In mindful thought his aerial
 flight he led,
 And struck erect upon the rivers
 bed.
 Unconscious he, and under water
 still,
 Cries of his death re-echoed wild
 and shrill,
 Till one young hero whose years
 are but a score,
 Dove to the bottom and bore him
 safe to shore.
 No greater feat does history
 record
 Than Conners did, and from the
 Second ward.
 Old Boreas yawned and blew his
 wildest wind,
 To reinforce the fierce destruc-
 tive fiend,
 But Neptune heaved and o'er the
 scene he threw
 His ceaseless floods which
 drowned the other two.

Many of my Oswego friends
 have at one time or another men-
 tioned the remarkable character
 of the Reverend Father Barry,

long pastor of St. Paul's church
 of Oswego, and I was particular-
 ly glad to find a tribute to him in
 the "Palladium" of November 8,
 1889 which is given here in its
 entirety:

To Reverend Father Barry

by Shandy McGuire

Worthy father, my head is so
 frenzied tonight,
 From effects of the concert we
 had at St. Paul's
 That I can not resist the tempta-
 tion to write,
 I respond to my muse that im-
 patiently calls.
 "T'was a treat, oh! the grandest
 that ever I heard;
 And the hot Irish blood in my
 veins ran in the fire
 At each note of the songsters,
 their every word
 If for war or love, made me mad
 with desire.

There were times I could march
 like a warrior bold,
 And meet death on the field, with
 the foeman in view,
 As the strains, in such sweet
 liquid harmony rolled
 O'er our heads, when we greeted
 "O'Donnell Aboo".
 And again, a soft cadence pre-
 vailed in my soul,
 Sad and sorrowful memories, void
 of all joy,
 As the singer unconscious, held
 perfect control
 Of my feelings, when giving the
 poor "Crappy Boy".
 Sure, there isn't much music con-
 cealed in my heels,
 And my toes from rheumatics
 are swollen quite big.
 But oh, father, they moved at
 the bagpiper's reels
 And they ached for the floor in
 "The Fox-hunter's Jig".
 Then when "Tatter Jack Walsh"
 on the chanters he played,
 Martin Higgins, who sat by my
 side, got insane:
 Every bar on our hearts necro-
 mantically played,

And we acted like fools who were
drunk with champagne.

"O'er the Hawthorne Hedge",
that enchanting duet,
Made the basement to me a
bright paradise seem;
And, dear father, the pleasures
are lingering yet
That surrounded me hearing
"The Lover's Young
Dream."

"Oh, What Would You Do
Love?" sent fancies afloat
In my head far surpassing my
skill to define;

Samuel Lover ne'er dreamt as
that lyric he wrote
Mrs. Mullin would render im-
mortal each line!

Don't you think when she sang
stirring "Rory O'More"

That a fellow like me with a
heartbeating human,

Wouldn't err, kicking marital
vows on the floor,

For a kiss on the lips of that
soulthrilling woman?

In the Vale of Avoca forever I'd
dwell

With the charming Miss Layton,
delightful, unshriven,

And, dear father, I'd scorn all
your sermons on hell,

For I'd list to her singing and
think it was heaven.

You're immense! "Heaven bless
you!" I honestly say,

For the good you are doing right
here in this town.

All our citizens love and respect
you today;

For untarnished you stand in
your clerical gown.

If my poor erring heart, full of
impulses wrong,

Has been swayed from its moor-
age in mid age serene,

Please forgive and attribute my
follies to song,

And my love for the land, that
worships the green.

One, James A. McCarthy of Os-
wego, was killed in a train acci-
dent in the year 1883, and

Shandy McGuire was moved to
write a rather long poem in his
honor which appeared in the
"Oswego Palladium" for Septem-
ber 1, 1883. The poem follows:

In Memoriam

by Shandy McGuire

'Mid the terrible booming of
thunder,

Sharp lightning and deluge of
rain,

Came the tidings of death and
disaster

To Carlton's ill-fated train;
Where the wind's sudden rise in
its fury,

Soon blew in a merciless gale,
And sent flying along the siding
A car to spread death on the
rail.

'Twas a night when the bravest
might falter

With heartstricken fear and
dispair,

For it seems legions of demons,
Were out and at war in the
air;

But the tide of humanity flowing,
O'er came every feeling of
fright,

In the rescuing party who
labored

So bravely that terrible night.

'Twas a sight that n'er shall be
forgotten

While reason presides in the
brain,

To behold all the dead and the
dying,

Who rode on that ill-fated
train;

Heaven pity them all! Here's one
other,

Whose equals on earth were
but few;

He's my noble professional broth-
er,

Who proved what a brave man
can do.

All the newspapers called him a
hero,

Who bravely met death at his
post;

Ah, yes! he remained on his engine

To liter'ly broil and roast.
Not a selfish thought entered his bosom,

He stood on the foot-board resigned,
With the lever reversed in the quadrant,

To save the three hundred behind.

His poor fireman was pulled out dismembered,

From under the wreck where it lay,

And he, too, played the part of the hero—

In fragments they bore him away.

They were there like true comrades together,

There life tides besprinkled the sod,

And within a few hours of each other,

Both spirits ascended to God.
Hurry, fame, with your greatest of laurels

To deck poor McCarthy's last bed;

He is gone beyond all earthly assistance,

And he's with the heroic dead;
He is one of the army of victims,
Whom duty requires every year,

To be foremost when danger lies thickest,

And die like a brave engineer.
Hear the multitude wail as we bear him,

All covered with flowers, to the grave,

Note the grief of his kindred who'd tear him

Away from the ranks of the brave.

See his five little fatherless children,

Who huddle up close at the bear,

Hear the sobs of his heart-broken widow,

Who weeps for the dead engineer.

He is now laid at rest, and forever,

He sleeps his last sleep 'neath the sod;

All the wails of his loved ones shall never

Recall his free spirit from God.
When on duty he never did falter—

Although he loved children and wife—

But laid down his all on its altar,
And, mind you, that all was his life.

Oh! I know glorious deeds are recorded

Above with a merciful pen;

And I know that all these are rewarded

Who act as the savers of men.
When the archangel's trumpet gives warning,

To call up the heroic dead
For review on eternity's morning,
Brave "Jimmie" will march at the head.

The return of Dr. L. Reynolds to Oswego brought forth a poem by a person with the same last name which was printed by the "Oswego Palladium" in its issue of March 31, 1883. Since a welcome home may have historical significance the poem is given here:

Oswego's Welcome Home to

Dr. L. Reynolds

by P. M. Reynolds

Welcome, welcome, hale old man,
Our welcome waves for you;

We loved you, as life's seasons ran,

Aged patriot, ever true.

Sixty summers rolled along,

Since you to manhood grew;

On Wicklow's hills you were among

"Great patriot, ever true!"

And here, as Freedom's sons fought on

Yes, you were fighting too,

Thundering forth in Freedom's throng.

Time, in all its spans agree

But yours unheeded flew;

Still on your tomb, will written
be
"Great patriot, ever true."

Weddings have always inspired
the muse and nineteenth century
Oswego was not without this feel
for the romantic as the following
poem in the issue of the "Oswego
Daily Palladium" for September
18, 1873 proves:

Stanzas

by J. B.

(Inscribed to Mrs. James Dowdle,
on the occasion of her Nuptials.)

On this auspicious day, when
Love

His garland weaves to deck thy
brow

And hope and joy, which Heaven
above

Inspires, to bless thy nuptial
vow.

Which marks the pause in thy
career

When maid and matron sweetly
blend;

Tis meet that loving prayers
should cheer

And light their pathway to an
end.

No sudden jar doth rend the ties
Of sacred filial tenderness;

A father's love will sacrifice

His own unto thy happiness.

Those charms, which virtue doth
encase

As gems, to bless thy partner's
life—

Heaven wills thou'dst yield, his
home to grace,

And bear the honored name of
wife.

How blest the home where Love
abides,

Where peace and harmony doth
dwell;

Where mild religion gently guides,
And virtue is the sentinel.

May such be thine, affection fond.

Its influence shed o'er thee and
thine,

And firmly knit the silken bond
Until thy peaceful life's decline.

And hap'ly (which may Heaven
forfend)

If trials should disturb thy
peace,

May God, His white-winged
seraph send,

And kindly bid thy sorrows
cease.

By struggle brave the goal is
won,

And day will triumph over
night,

As clouds that flit athwart the
sun

But seem to make his beams
more bright.

May peace and plenty be thy
store,

And angels guard thee to life's
even;

Then waft, unto the golden shore,
Thy spirit to the joys of

Heaven.

A rather unique verse appeared
in the "Times and Express" for
April 4, 1885. An editorial note
indicated that it was read at the
closing exercises at the local high
school, and since it shows close
observation on the vanities of the
day it is included here:

Queries

by Miss Sarah Brewster

I wonder, I wonder what makes
people stare

At church, or at school, and in
fact everywhere?

They stare at their neighbor's
new shawl and pink bonnet,

And all the fine bows that may
chance to be on it.

I wonder if men will ever stop
smoking,

Carousing and swearing, and
fashionable joking;

And if they always intend to
keep drinking,

While their wives and children
are in poverty sinking?

I wonder if women will always
take snuff,

Use powder and paint, and all
that sort of stuff;

Wear all their bonnets so fashion-
ably small,

They might as well wear no bonnets at all?

I wonder, I wonder what makes ladies blush,

Look frightened and seem to be all in a flush?

They always look strangely and act queer,

As if they were sure Mr. Somebody's near.

I wonder why gentlemen will wear such boots

As if all their toes were cut off at the roots?

If they have no more wits than you could tuck in each shoe—

I'm sure I don't know what the darlings will do.

I wonder why women desire their rights,

As if they could e're be astonishing lights?

If they only knew it, they're leaving their sphere

And could wield much more power by a smile or a tear.

I wonder who all those Know Nothings are,

That are trying to move the political car?

North, East, South and West, 'twill ride throughout the nation,

Until it has crushed all the Irish creation!

I wonder why ladies will say "not at home,"

When any poor cousin may happen to come?

Should they chance to go in, they would greet them with smiles,

Thus blinding their eyes to their fashionable wiles.

I wonder why women who've stockings to darn,

And so much work at home, should be spinning street-yarn?

I wonder why ladies are so fond of stopping

To see handsome clerks under pretense of shopping?

I wonder why people will dance all night,

Play cards, drink champagne with such great delight,

Go home in the morning, and sleep all the day,

Then murmur because they've a doctor to pay?

I wonder why ladies have got the strange passion

Of wearing long dresses, because it's the fashion?

They do very nicely for sweeping the street,

And also to cover their overgrown feet!

I wonder why singers wait to be teased,

When you know all the while they are very much pleased?

They have a "bad cold", they are sorry to say,

Or else they'd be happy to sing or to play.

I wonder why people are so fond of dancing,

Schooling their feet in fashionable prancing?

If they cared half as much for training the mind,

I'm sure true happiness they'd much sooner find.

I wonder why people will wear gloves that pinch

Their rather large hands to the width of an inch?

They cannot shake hands with friendship's true clasp,

For their gloves if they should, would burst in the grasp.

I wonder, I wonder why men have the notion,

That wearing a moustache creates a commotion?

For if they but knew it, it changes the shape

Of the face of a man, to that of an ape.

I wonder why people vain fashion will follow?

For all of her ways are delusive and hollow;

If they do not beware, she will leave them forlorn,

And they'll find themselves out the wee end of the horn!

Life in the nineteenth century not only offered sufficient leisure for people to enjoy picnics, but inspired the poet to immortalize such recreations as the following poem from the "Oswego Daily Palladium" of July 20, 1880 demonstrates:

A Picnic to Fulton

by P. M. Reynolds

The bells chimed loudly on the air,
With nature's sweetness mingling,
On a lovely morning fair,
The young and old assembling.
As to Fulton we did go,
Our souls were filled with pleasure;
Nature did her gifts bestow,
And overflowed her measure.
On the old but good wind mill
The stars and stripes were planted
As something hopeful to our will
Proclaimed our joys were granted.
And Zephyr o'er the woodbound lake
Around the groves were rambling
As if it would possession take.
Which made the scene enchanting.
And there the rising village stands
In all its nature splendor;
Unnumbered charms it commands,
And heaven's blushes wander.
The picnic groves before me lay,
Their boughs in sweetness streaming;
There we spent a happy day,
Till came too soon the evening.

The "Commercial Times" for July 23, 1849 carried a unique verse dedicated to the so-called water parties then in vogue. The poem follows:

O'er the Lake's Sparkling Waters Glide Gaily—A Boat Glee

by Anna, Minstrel of the Heath
Written and Dedicated to the

Waterparties of Oswego, by a Stranger who received an unlooked for civility in the Boating way.
Push off Boys—push off—on the Lake we're afloat

Then let us enjoy the sweet breezes of even;

All taunt are the timbers of this our good boat

She's sound and we'er snug, as if moor'd in its haven;

Then merrily pull boys, let boat, wit and song,

O'er the Lake's sparkling waters, glide gaily along.

The silver moon's rising, her glances light

Will rival in splendor, the brightness of day;

And hearts that are mirthful, and eyes that are bright

Will give music and zest to our wave woven lay;

Then merrily row lads, let boat, wit and song,

O'er the Lake's sparkling waters, glide gaily along.

Bright stars are glowing in beauty and glisten,

As bending in love o'er the children of earth

They seem as if stooping from Heaven, to listen

And catch the glad tones of our innocent mirth;

Then merrily row lads, let boat, wit and song,

O'er the Lake's sparkling waters, glide gaily along.

The use of Lake Ontario for recreation and sports was reflected in a ballad concerning the Oswego regatta which appeared in the "Palladium" for September 16, 1878. The poem follows:

The Oswego Regatta by Patrick M. Regetta

On September the tenth of our glorious year,

Ontario's bosom resounded with cheer.

Full fifty yachts with suits never wet,

Their speed for the test in

splendor they met.
 As thousands assembled on the
 rampart and shore,
 All welcomed the strangers
 who nobly came o'er.
 They are good worthy fellows, we
 call them first rove
 And were fully determined the
 Yankees to beat.
 'Twas then for the race all hands
 did prepare;
 The most skillful selected each
 yacht for to steer.
 The course, I've been told, was
 twenty-one miles,
 But some had tipped over and
 tumbled in piles.
 Sure this was but fair when the
 parson surmised
 'Twas just the right to be new-
 ly baptized;
 But Stone's pretty Ella, with a
 brave, noble crew,
 Before all the others their
 course did pursue.
 There was Featherstone, Wright,
 Gitting and Best
 Whose fame rings aloud from
 the east to the west;
 With McCarthy and Hagerty,
 both skillful and true;
 With Easton and Parson, just
 numbered her crew.
 The last buoy as they rounded,
 cheers went to the skies,
 And next came fair Canada's
 noble Surprise.
 Almost equal numbers, no matter
 what size,
 Our boys of Oswego have borne
 off the prize.
 That the rainfall in the City
 could be excessive was shown by
 the lamentations of an unnamed
 Oswegonian in the pages of the
 "Commercial Times" of October
 20, 1860, titled:

That Horrible Rain

(Oswego, New York, Oct. 19)

It mizzled, it drizzled, sprinkled,
 it poured,
 And spattered as down from the
 hillside it roared;
 The earth was asoak over upland
 and plain,
 And still it kept pouring—that

midsummer rain!
 Dreadful to me was the result of
 that shower;
 I had an engagement to call on
 Miss Tower.
 But my "sparking" was dished,
 for 'twas now very plain
 That I could not go out in that
 terrible rain.
 I looked at the clouds as above
 me they flew—
 Not a glimpse of blue sky ap-
 peared to my view.
 I said if I donned my new gar-
 ments, 'twere vain;
 They'd only be spoilt by the
 spattering river.
 And the very lovely Miss Carolyn
 Tower
 Sat up in the parlor hour after
 hour;
 For though it was muddy and
 wet, she would fain
 Have inveigled me out in that
 merciless rain.
 At length with a very impetuous
 crash
 She locked the front door and
 fastened the sash;
 Vowing my love would never
 drive me insane
 If 'twas cooled by a few drops of
 midsummer rain.
 I called the next day—she was
 then in a pet,
 Refusing to see me, and so she
 does yet;
 In vain I have striven, her love
 to regain.
 I lost my true-love by that ter-
 rible rain!

MORAL

One piece of advice to all sen-
 sible beaux:
 Don't break an engagement for
 rain, hail or snow!
 Just stick to your promise;
 though pitchforks it rains;
 So you must if you'd have a bride
 for your pains!

Some customs change very lit-
 tle regardless of the century in
 which they are practiced as the
 following poem on the subject of
 a lady shopping will prove. This
 recital appeared in the "Commer-

cial Times" of January 25, 1861
from the pen of the then editor
of that newspaper:

Shopping

by Ira D. Brown

Hauling over calico
Turning over lace;
Looking at the ribbons;
Smiles upon her face.
'Tis really very funny
How the clerks are hopping—
But nothing suits the taste
Of a lady shopping.
Examines some de laines,
Thinks them quite too dear;
These will never answer—
They are so old and queer.
Would like a handsome bonnet;
Inspects a monster heap,
But none will suit her fancy—
They're all too poor and cheap!
She wants some silken hose—
Would be glad to buy—
Looks at several pair,
Thinks they come too high!
Clerk reflects upon it;
Thinks it plain to see
That they would never come
Much above the knee!
She would be glad to buy
A fine and handsome shawl;
But this one is too large,
And that one is too small;
This one is too gaudy;
That one is too plain;
When they get some new ones,
She will call again.
Clerk surveys the counter
Groaning with its pile,
"Glad to see her always!"
Thinking all the while,
If he dare but say it,
He would very surely
Send her to the devil
Rather prematurely!
She overhauls the goods
Very much at leisure;
Finds fault with everything,
Just as suits her pleasure,
At last she makes a bargain,
Oh! let the truth be said
She draws her purse and pur-
chases
A spool of cotton thread!
Hauling over calico

Turning over lace;
Looking at the ribbons;
Smiles upon her face.
'Tis really very funny
How the clerks are hopping—
But nothing suits the taste
Of a lady shopping.

Many visitors to Oswego have
been impressed with the friend-
liness of the community and some
have left poetical appreciation of
their visits as was the case with
the following poem which appear-
ed in the "Oswego Daily Times",
June 14, 1879:

A Voice From Afar

by Rev. S. S. N. Greeley

(For the tin wedding of Mr. and
Mrs. Thomas Mathews)

I have just got some news as I
entered my gate
And sat down in my home in the
old Granite State,
Some news that inspires me to
sing a brief ditty,
To the host of dear friends in
Oswego's fair city
Who meet, and conspire and to-
gether rush in
With the ravishing music of
whistles of Tin,
And take captive the castle of
Thomas, the brave,
Who fought in great battles, the
country to save,
And Helen, his bride—from this
distance I see
You got them away to Pa Buck-
hout's to tea.
You entered his halls—not man
to dispute you
And lit up the gas and arranged
things to suit you,
Then waited the coming and saw
the surprise
Of the good man and wife at
what greeted their eyes.
The home he left silent was bril-
liant with light
And the silence was broken that
festival night
By the noise of an host who with
fullest intent
Had come for a night's boisterous
merriment.

And brought their trumpets and
musical ware,

Like the king, of old time, when
he made it his care

To have music and mirth, and all
sorts of delection,

But he had not the ken of a glis-
tening paw,

Not the drum, not the fife, not
the flute, not the man,

That could fashion all vessels
without and within

With that metal to us indispen-
sible—Tin!

It was Tin that this night of jol-
lification

The thronging friends as a shin-
ing oblation,

Tin twisted, tin curved, tin plan-
ished and plain,

Tin cups, pans, strainers and
measures for grain.

Tin toys for the little folks, dip-
pers for water,

Utensils all sorts for the kitchen
back quarter.

Tin caddies for tea and boxes for
spices,

And countless "receivers" of cur-
ious devices.

Ah! then and there what a tumb-
ling in

To the house of Mathews of beau-
tiful Tin!

But a higher aim and a nobler
end

Than the social hour when friend
meets friend,

Lies back of the scene so en-
trancingly bright

Lies back of all gifts, on this joy-
ous night;

'Tis the hour that completes the
first rapid decade

Since Helen the wife of the sol-
dier was made.

Ten years on life's journey, with
blessing o'er flowing.

Each heart on the other its ful-
ness bestowing.

Thus still may they live till the
silver comes in

And the gifts have grown dim of
this wedding of Tin!

Then onward by tens, cheerful,
honored and old.

May the silver give place to the
wedding of Gold!

The new bridge over the Oswe-
go River produced a parody on
the poem "Charleston Bridge,"
which ran something like this:

Oswego rejoice, lift up your voice
The bridge will soon be done—
When Scriba Pigs may put on
their rigs

And over to Oswego come.

The response from Scriba was
immediate and devastating as the
issue of the "Daily Times" for
October 29, 1856 shows:

To "Our New Bridge Poet"

Borrowed thunder makes a
noise—

And so does borrowed rhyme,
Especially when grunted forth

By West Oswego Swine.
Our new made bridge affords the
theme

For a great poet's invocation,
In which a full grown porker
gives

His younger friends an invita-
tion.

Of course these tyros will accept
The "note" which thus their
memory jogs,

And cross the bridge which sep-
arates

The porkers from the hogs.

As a startling contrast to the
above sectional feeling is the
emotions which a local boy felt
when his dog died. His emotions
produced an excellent ballad for a
child and the "Palladium" print-
ed it in the issue of December 14,
1883:

Requcat in Pace

Now my "Otto" dog is dead,
All my happy hours are fled
Into gloom;

And my heart in me doth sink.
As of my poor dog I think
In the tomb.

'Twas the dread distemper's way
Bore him from my sight away
To his grave;
And the river's sullen tide

His dear form from me doth hide
'Neath the waves.

Yet in mem'ries chest of oak
The fond dream which he awoke
Still abide;

And that he's now free from pain
Happy thoughts—I'll let remain
By their side.

But I ne'er shall cease to hear
Should I live a hundred year

His last groan;
When he gasped to catch his
breath

And closed his eyes in death
And was Gone.

O, 'twas music to my ears
His strong, lusty bark to hear
When at play;

But his voice I will hear no more!
All his playfulness is o'er,

Lack a day!
Do not think me vain or weak,
If I at times do weep

O'er my dog;
For a boy may have a grief
Even far beyond belief
For a dog.

—
This paper would not be complete unless some of the political verse of the time was included, so three such effusions are inserted at this point. The first, appealing for votes from a citizen with ambitions to be an alderman was printed March 4, 1867 in the "Oswego Daily Palladium":

When I Get to be an Alderman

by L. L. Jenks, Fourth Ward

Tune—"Ain't I Glad I Got Out
the Wilderness"

Solo—

When I get to be an Alderman;
To be an Alderman,
To be an Alderman,
Won't I rip up that old railroad
Down in East First Street?

Chorus—

Then all hop up and make Jenks
an Alderman,
Make Jenks an Alderman;
Yes! make him an Alderman,

And he will rip up that old rail-
road

Down on East First Street.

Solo—

When I get to be an Alderman;
To be an Alderman,
To be an Alderman,
Won't I make it warm for the
Water Works?

O, No! I expect not.

Chorus—

Then all hop up and make Jenks
an Alderman,
Make Jenks an Alderman;
Yes! make him an Alderman,
Won't he make it warm for the
Water Works?

O, No! not any at all.

—
The next political ballad came from admirers of Moses P. Neal, the father of M. Prouse Neal, who has been Mayor of Oswego and Treasurer of Oswego County in our time. The other Neal was then a candidate for mayor of Oswego. This appeared in the "Oswego Daily Times" for March 5, 1879, following the election which took place on March 4;

Moses P. Neal

(Composed and sung at the gathering at Mayor Neal's residence last evening)

Moses P. Neal for Mayor, the
people's choice,

A substantial solid man,
He is bound to rule, we'll put
him in:

He'll lively lead the van,
Our influence will be powerful,
Led by a man so free

On election day we cleared the
way

And to the front put Moses P.
CHORUS:

So raise your voices every one,
The enemy we did hunt,
On election day we cleared the
way

And put Moses to the front.
Mayor Pearson, you've done very
wrong

To treat Tom Dobbie so,

You've got to stop this fooling
around

We're going to let you know,
Mose Neal for Mayor is the people's choice

And we're bound we'll put him
there

On election day we cleared the
way

And put Moses in the chair.

Our city will be clean and sweet
As anyone can see

While in the Montezuma Chair

We've placed our Moses P.

CHORUS:

So raise your voices every one,

The enemy we did hunt,

On election day we cleared the
way

And put Moses to the front.

The last selection for this particular shelf of verse has to do with national issues and originated with the Scriba Club, and was composed by its secretary "J. H. M." The song appeared in the issue of the "Commercial Times" for November 9, 1860:

The Scriba Fight

Oh have you heard of the little
fight

We had in Scriba Town,
How the Locos charged us right
and left,

And how we mowed 'em down.

Chorus—

Well we did you know,

Well we did you know,
W-e-l-l w-e d-i-d you know.

As uncle Abe was at the head,

We carried out our plan,

By giving him a few more votes
Than any other man.

Well we did, &c.

The Locos came with all their
force,

And spread their falsehoods
wide,

And said they'd beat our LITTLE
JOHN;

But bless me how they lied!

Well they did, &c.

You see how much they hurt him
with

A thousand lies or more—

Last year he got one-twenty-
eight,

And this, one-seventy-four.

Well he did, &c.

They worked so hard to do him
wrong

And get him in a fix

That the Wide Awakes, to do him
right,

Just gained him "forty-six."

Well we did, &c.

Our Governor is an honest man,

On "State" he takes the lead,

So we put him through with Lit-
tle-john,

And only two a-head.

Well we did, &c.

And when the Traitors cause was
tried

We had not a word to say,
But every Wide Awake reached
out

And tolled the bell for Gray.

Well he did, &c.

The Scriba club were calm and
stern,

Tho' not one word was said;
But all their votes come down
like rocks

On his devoted head.

Well they did, &c.

But Powers and Burch, two war-
riors brave

In freedom's cause they say,

To show freemen how free they
were,

They threw their votes away.

Well they did, &c.

And now we've told you how the
war

Was waged on freedom's side,
So we'll tell you of the wounded,
and

How the little Giants died,

Well we will, &c.

You see the Squatter fused with
Bell,

And in the mud they wallow,

But when they fused with Breck-
inridge

They melted down like tallow.

Well they did, &c.

You know the Scriba Wide
Awakes

Had freedom for their cry,
And with their torches, caps and
capes,

They kept their powder dry.
Well they did, &c.

Askew was there, and Wales and
all

The cheating fusion clan;
But you see the fusion powder,
how

It flashes in the pan.

Well it does, &c.

And Billy Wales, the man that
gets

The Custom House's pap,
He looks right down his nose to
think

How soon he'd loose the tap.
Well he does, &c.

They that set traps sometimes
get caught—

That's everybody's lot—
They set the Squatter Sovereign
trap,

And so they had to squat.

Well they did, &c.

When whipped they never stop-
ped to see

How many votes they have,
But left the Scriba Wide Awakes
To dig the Squatter's grave.

Well they did, &c.

And now Old Abe is President
Of these United States,
He'll drive the thieves from
Washington,

And fasten up the gates.

Well he will, &c.

Two dedicatory poems appear-
ed in the newspapers for the year
1855 which are rather unique in
the field of occasional verse and
since many persons living have
sentimental and family ties with
the subject matter both are be-
ing inserted into this study.
These poems appeared within two
weeks of each other and each was
written to consecrate a cemetery.
The first was read at the conse-
cration of Oswego Rural Ceme-
tery and was composed by Miss
Cornelia Brewster. It appeared
in the "Times & Journal" of No-

vember 9, 1855 and read as fol-
lows:

(1)

Holy Father, in thy sight,
We have met with solemn rite,
Bending on this sod to thee,
Where our resting place may be;
Let thy spirit breathe around—
Consecrate this, holy ground.
Here, where we may lay our dead,
Here, where our tears may shed,
Here, where oft to thee will rise
The heart . . . broken sacrifice,
May thy blessing here be found
Consecrate this hallow'd ground.
Here, where rich and poor will
rest,

By the same cold cov-ring prest,
Where the young and old shall lie,
Mingled in one family,
May thy presence here be found
Consecrate this sacred ground.
Here, where we in tears may sow,
In the grave so dark and low,
May thy strength to us be giv'n;
We reap with poy in heav'n,
Here may heavenly peace abound
Consecrate this, holy ground.

(2)

Oh God, to thee we render praise
For this calm, quiet spot,
Afar from toil and earthly strife,
Where cares may be forgot.
Here let us lay our silent dead—
Where clear the streamlet
glides;
While near their green and mossy
bed,

The spring bird meekly bides.
Here let us paint the choicest
flowers,

Whose voices speak of love—
Whose whispers tell of fairer
homes.

In brighter lands above.
And as we lay them down to
sleep,

"The lov'd, but gone before,"
O, teach us, Lord, while hearts
are reft,

To love thee still the more.
Thy blessing, Holy Father, grant,
That when we rest below,
Around the throne of light above,
Our songs may ever flow.

The second of these poems was written by Ira S. Jenkins and was "pronounced at the consecration of Riverside Cemetery." It appeared in the "Times and Journal" for November 15, 1855, and follows:

The earth rolls on in harmony,
and brings
To feeble man God's bounteous
offerings,
And seasons alternate, as they
come and go,
Spread new born beauties on
these vales below;
While Nature's works innum-
erable combine
To prove them moulded by a
hand divine.
See puny man, so helpless from
his birth,
Sustained and nourished by his
mother earth,
Fill his existence, in its varied
round,
With all the blessings that on
earth are found;
When life, at last, shall slowly
ebb away,
And he the call of Nature must
obey,
Resign, with fleeting breath, his
borrow'd trust,
Give back to earth her senseless,
mouldering dust.
When the pure soul and body dis-
unite,
And the freed spirit upward
takes its flight,
Then doth affection hover o'er
the day
It's last sad rites, its homage
there to pay.
Of all that's holy, pure and good
bereft,
The unconscious clay is all that
God hath left,
O'er which the mourner can in
sorrow bend,
To pour his grief for mother,
brother, friend
When other scenes invite us far
away,
Love, like a pilgrim, hitherward
shall stray;
And as kind friends shall welcome
our return,

Let this sweet spot still dwell in
memory's urn,
Till life shall wane to evening's
balmy close,
Then let our frames upon this
couch repose.
When thou shalt come with care
and grief oppress'd
Tarry awhile and be great Na-
ture's guest,
And she will soothe thee from a
fount above,
From the great ocean of God's
boundless love.
Come when the morning breaks,
when day declines,
Hear the Great Spirit whisper in
the pines,
And when the purple night heav-
en's gate unbars,
Walk 'round these graves beneath
the eternal stars,
And thou wilt learn that far be-
yond the skies,
Immortal hope, celestial springs
arise.
Here shall the Spring dispense
her annual dower,
In new leaved woods and in the
blushing flower;
In bursting buds and in the sun-
shine warm,
Spread her green mantle o'er
each sleeping form;
Load every floweret with her
glistening dew,
Paint glorious Nature with her
sunset hues.
Far from the noise and din of
hurrying feet . . .
Far from the city's busy, bustling
street,
Let the remains of cherished
friends be laid,
Where tall old forests yield an
ample shade;
And let the songs that fill the
woodland airs,
And heaven's pure sunshine, let
them all be theirs.
This glowing landscape, and these
ample fields,
That unto man a golden harvest
yields . . .
The tall old trees that centuries
have stood,

With wide spread branches, in
 lone solitude . . .
 The tiny rivulets, and mossgrown
 rills . . .
 The sedge brooks, and gently ris-
 ing hills . . .
 These winding pathways that our
 steps invite . . .
 Nature's sweet charms that greet
 our raptur'd sight,
 The winds that fan with an un-
 tainted breath . . .
 All these we consecrate to thee,
 Oh Death!
 Here shall arise the sculptur'd
 monument
 Defying Time, yet mutely elo-
 quent;
 And Art and Nature in wedded
 love, shall meet
 In these sweet bowers, the
 stranger's eye to greet;
 Here shall the stricken mother
 oft repair,
 With Nature wild, her sorrowing
 grief to share;
 And she lingers here with Na-
 ture rude,
 Naught shall disturb her musing
 solitude.
 Hither will welcome Summer
 come to twine
 Love's precious jewels 'round the
 pilgrim's shrine,
 Fill all these groves with warb-
 lers of the wood,
 Dispel awhile the wintry soli-
 tude,
 That he who lingers with en-
 charmed ear,
 May breathe the while a purer
 atmosphere.
 Yet Autumn with a frown and
 sullen mood,
 Will in these bowers his ghastly
 form intrude,
 Banish the dew-drops and the
 summer rain,
 Leave death and havoc in his
 mournful train;
 Till Winter's icy fingers spread
 o'er all
 The winding sheet and shroud,
 death's funeral pall.
 O! let us learn, 'ere we shall
 reach the grave,
 Of Him who life unto the sleep-
 er gave,

Whose presence fills the earth,
 and air, and sky,
 Whose works all move in heaven-
 ly harmony,
 The way to live, and how at last
 to die.

This paper has already reached proportions far beyond its original intent, and only one more verse can be inserted in this sketchy discussion of local poetical effort. It is unfortunate that I am not musically inclined and cannot sing some of the verse obviously written to be sung. Some member of the Society with a good voice and an interest in music would find ample song material of a local nature to make a full length paper, and I suggest that the program committee seek such a person. Many phases of local lore have not been touched in this paper at all, and your present compiler hopes that others will find fascination in this field and expand the sketchy material presented here tonight.

The last insertion here is taken from the "Oswego Daily Times" for March 28, 1876, and appeared in that journal without author's name—the reason being obvious. I should like to conclude my remarks by reading this verse and dedicating it to Oswego weather in any month of February, in any year.

The First Robin

(Anon)

A Robin comes Flitting
 Clear up from the South,
 And on a limb sitting
 He opens his mouth,
 He sees nary roses,
 He sees nary spring,
 Catches tuberculosis
 In attempting to sing,
 Catarrh and bronchitis
 Rheumatics and chills,
 And acute laryngitis
 Complete his sad ills.
 He hesitates, lingers,
 Weeps, shudders and sighs,
 Blows his nose on his fingers,
 Keels over, and dies.

Importance of the Oswego Canal in the Development of Oswego County

(Paper Presented Before Members of Oswego County Historical Society March 18, 1947 by Charles McCool Snider of Social Studies Department of Oswego State Teachers College)

In its narrowest sense, the Oswego Canal was a branch of the Erie Canal system. Considered more broadly, however, it was a link in a chain of public improvements, begun in Europe in the 18th century, spread to America in the years following the American Revolution, and extended thence beyond the Appalachians during the third and fourth decades of the 19th century. It was an important chapter of the competition of the cities on the tidewater for commercial pre-eminence dependent upon an easy passage to the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys. As late as 1820, prior to the completion of the Erie Canal, it was a matter of conjecture whether Boston, New York, Philadelphia or Baltimore would become the metropolis of the East. The canal was a cord binding East and West, providing a means of carrying manufactured goods westward and raw materials eastward. It was a highway for immigration into the West. We can only guess at the numbers of English, Scots, Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, to mention but a few nationalities, who found Oswego the gateway to the West.

An International Highway

The canal, like the Oswego River before the canal came into use, was a means of opening the Oswego River Valley and neighboring regions to further settlement and a means of transport for their imports and exports. It was an international highway between the United States and Upper Canada. Oswego was the port of entry for Canadian wood and grain, the port of departure

for passengers and commodities; a means of healing the wounds of two wars. Finally, the canal quickened the lives of Oswego's citizenry and broadened their intellectual horizons. Prices, markets and land values were at once responsive to conditions in New York, Washington and even London. It was imperative that the importance of the canal be recognized in Albany; that Buffalo receive no favors denied Oswego. It should be remembered that while other branches of the Erie Canal system were complimentary, the Oswego Canal was a direct competitor for business of the Erie or main line of the canal west to Syracuse. Obviously, such a subject goes beyond the limitations of a short paper. But I do feel that it is important at the outset to emphasize the significance of the canal to Oswego. It was far more than mud and stone; locks and towpaths.

Two Possible Routes

When Dewitt Clinton and his far-sighted associates first speculated upon a waterway to join the Hudson valley to the West two plans were proposed. First, the improvement of the waterway of the Western Inland Lock Navigation company and its connection with Lake Erie by a canal around Niagara Falls. This company, chartered in 1792, had linked Albany to Oswego, making use of: a wagon road from Albany to Schenectady, the Mohawk River with a short canal and locks at Little Falls, a canal across the portage between the Mohawk and Wood Creek (near the site of the present City of Rome), improvements on the

Oneida, Seneca and Oswego Rivers, a portage at the Falls of the Oswego (at Oswego Falls at the site of the present City of Fulton), and the Oswego River again to Lake Ontario. Durham boats, sixty feet in length with a two foot draft, carried 20-24 tons of freight from Schenectady to Oswego, but portages were required to reach both terminals. The second proposal was a new canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie that would run roughly parallel with Lake Ontario's South shore, but about 40 miles South thereof. Sentiment in the state was divided between the two plans, but there is little evidence of any division of opinion among the residents of Oswego, where the Oswego route appeared to be the natural path to the West, and the Erie, an artificial connection.

Van Buren's Opposition

President Martin Van Buren in his "Autobiography" recalled an interesting sidelight which occurred in the state Senate during the Oswego-Erie route controversy. Senator Perley Keyes of Jefferson county, an Oswego route supporter, prepared an amendment to the Erie authorization bill which would have made the Oswego branch a part of the original undertaking. This amendment placed the influential and crafty Van Buren upon the horns of a dilemma. He favored the Oswego plan, but it was a well known fact that he owned many acres of land, including the area in the City of Oswego today known as "the Van Buren Tract," which would appreciate in value if the canal became a reality. Under the circumstances he felt obliged to vote against it, and so informed his Jefferson county associate. But the latter would not be dissuaded. He offered the amendment and Van Buren voted against it, thus contributing to its defeat and the postponement of the construction of the Oswego Canal.

Oswego Route's Advantages

When the decision was made in favor of the Erie route in April 1817, the year which followed Oswego County's erection as such, Oswego neither despaired nor turned apathetic. The completion of the middle span at Rome—with the hope of diverting the western section to the Oswego route. A pamphlet published at the "Palladium" office in Oswego and largely written by Alvin Bronson and his business associate, Col. Theophilus Morgan, emphasized the greater speed to be provided by the Oswego Canal, a saving in time of two days between the Hudson and Lake Erie. It stressed, also, the location of Oswego, declaring: "We cannot dismiss this subject without noticing the harbor of Oswego, and its importance in the lake navigation must command the attention of the observer. View its fine position on the map; not a port on the whole shore of the lake offers such facilities for navigation. It is a place of such importance, and its river possessing so many natural advantages, our readers are, no doubt, ready to inquire, 'Why are they so little regarded while there is such an impulse for improvement in the state?' . . . There is one fact that ought to outweigh volumes of reports founded on hypothesis and supported by sophistry. The trade between Oswego and Lewiston, for the last twelve years, has been carried, almost exclusively, in vessels belonging to Oswego. The average number employed has been ten." (Landmarks of Oswego, 152).

That this slight to Oswego was significant politically is indicated as early as 1820 when Oswego gave Tompkins, identified with the anti-canal faction, 455 votes for Governor to 311 cast for the victorious Clinton. Unable to block the construction of the Erie Canal by the Buffalo route by press or ballot Oswego turned to a second alternative, a connec-

tion for Oswego with the Erie system. Several difficulties were at once apparent. Pressure was being exerted at Albany by all sections of the State for internal improvements, for roads and connections with the Erie Canal. The Oswego valley was yet thinly populated and remote from Albany. Furthermore, adherents of the Oswego route were divided over the most feasible type of construction; some favoring an improvement of the Oswego River, others supporting the building of a canal that would closely parallel the route of the river.

River Improvement First

Oswego's representatives in the legislature kept hammering away for action and in 1820 secured an entering wedge in the shape of an appropriation for \$25,000 for the improvement of navigation on the Oswego River. Public rallies also kept the pot a'boiling. A public meeting was held in Guiteau's Hall in Oswego on December 2, 1822, to "concert measures for bringing before the Legislature the subject of improving the navigation of the Oswego River, and other matters of public interest." The question of the relative merits of canal and river improvement seems to have been avoided in the interest of harmony. In a memorial addressed by citizens of Oswego to the Legislature, the latter was reminded that \$25,000 had already been appropriated which, combined with improvements at or near Salina, would provide boat navigation from the Erie Canal to Oswego Falls, a distance of 24 miles. But 12 miles more, it was argued, would join it with Lake Ontario. (Landmarks of Oswego, 153).

Construction Started In 1826

Oswego interests were not ignored in Albany. In the spring of 1823 the Canal Commission, prodded into action by petitions from the Seneca and Oswego River sections, presented a report to the Legislature urging the im-

mediate improvement of navigation as far as Oswego Falls and the appointment of a board of investigation to make a scientific examination to determine the most expedient means of completing it to Lake Ontario. The latter, it held, presented "great difficulties" which might require a mode of improvement "different from any heretofore designed and estimated and considerably less expensive . . ." (Oswego Palladium, March 7, 1823).

The Commission's report was acted upon with despatch and the Legislature directed the Commission to investigate and report the probable cost of completing the canal from Salina to Lake Ontario. This investigation was duly made and 18 months later, on November 2, 1824, the bill authorizing the construction of the Oswego Canal was adopted. The first appropriation was voted the following April and construction was begun in 1826.

Aaron Burr's Comment

Crisfield Johnson in his "History of Oswego County" recorded the following incident indicative of the Buffalo-Oswego rivalry: "Before a blow was struck on the Oswego Canal, the Oswego people learned with consternation that the Buffalo member of the Assembly, Reuben B. Heacock, had introduced a bill repealing the law authorizing the Oswego Canal. Mr. (Alvin) Bronson was then out of the Senate, but was expected to take care of the interests of Oswego all the same. He mounted his horse and started for Albany. On entering the Capitol the first man he met was Aaron Burr, who twenty-five years before, had been Vice President of the United States, but was then, in his old age, earning a very moderate subsistence by his practice at the bar. He knew Mr. Bronson, having argued cases before him when, as a senator, that gentleman was a member of the old Court of Errors. "Ah," exclaimed the veter-

an, as he met the young Oswego merchant, "so you have come back after your canal, have you?" "Yes, sir; that is my main object." "Well, now, Mr. Bronson, I am disposed to be on your side; I am in favor of the Oswego Canal too." "Well, Colonel," said Mr. Bronson, "I believe all sensible men are on our side." "Ah, my young friend," replied the disappointed and cynical politician. "If you have none but the sensible men, there is a vast majority against you." But whether it was by the aid of the sensible or senseless, the Buffalo representative's effort was defeated and construction of the Oswego Canal was begun in 1826.

First Lock At Fulton

The cornerstone of the first lock was laid at Fulton on the Fourth of July, the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Impressive Masonic services were used. Jonathan Case was the master of ceremonies, Judge David P. Brewster of Oswego delivered the address, Peter Schenck read the Declaration of Independence, and Hastings Curtiss* of Central Square served as marshal. An 18 pound cannon exploded, but fortunately there were no serious results. (Landon, "North Country," 288).

In the construction of the canal the river was utilized wherever there was sufficient depth of water unobstructed by rapids. The tow path was built on the East river bank—except in a few instances where it was placed in the middle of the stream to be near deep water. The canal at its opening had a minimum depth of 4 feet; locks were 90 feet in length and 15 feet wide. In all "there were 19.7 miles of independent canals connected with the Oswego River by

locks and dams, and 18.56 miles of slack water river navigation. Its structures of timber and stone consisted of 22 towing-path and other bridges, 7 culverts, one aqueduct (to carry the waters of Waterhouse Creek at Fulton), two waste weirs and 8 dams built across the river, 13 locks of stone masonry and one of stone and timber, having an aggregate lift of 123 feet." (Adding 3 locks located between Syracuse and Salina the total lift equalled 155 feet). (Whitford, "History of New York Canals," 1,452).

Engineering Features

A brief survey of the 17 locks reveals: Numbers 1, 2, and 3 between Syracuse and Salina; total drop 32 feet; number 4, Salina side-cut; number 5, mudlock at Liverpool, drop 9 feet, 7 inches. Situated in a marsh this lock and the section beyond it as far as Phoenix required frequent repairs and an early reconstruction. Number 6, Hinmanville,* drop 7 feet; number 7, Morseman's, drop 5 feet, 8 inches; numbers 8, 9, 10, 11, Fulton, total drop 39 feet; number 12, Battle Island, drop 11 feet; number 13, Minetto, drop 5 feet, 6 inches; numbers 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 along the approach to Oswego and Oswego Harbor, drop 45 feet. The eight dams, all constructed of wood, were in need of frequent repair, as were the tow-paths which had to be raised at numerous points to avoid flooding. From South to North the canal extended from Syracuse to Salina and along the eastern shore of Lake Onondaga and its outlet to the Seneca river and thence to Three Rivers. From that point it continued along the East bank of the Oswego River to Oswego Harbor.

First Operation In 1829

The completion date had been set for the spring of 1828 but an epidemic of malignant fever in 1827 greatly reduced the labor

* Curtiss was then a leading citizen of the Central Square area. The name Hastings given to the town in which Central Square is located was suggested by Curtiss's first name.

* The Hinmanville Lock is still extant today although no longer in use. It is the best preserved of the old Oswego Canal Locks.

supply and increased costs. The lock contractor died a victim of this disease and other contractors could not fulfill their obligations. The fever abated during the winter but returned the following summer. There were also frequent and continued rains. As a result the consummation of the 38 mile project was delayed until December—hardly an auspicious time for canalizing in Upper New York—and traffic moved on the canal throughout its entire length for the first time on April 28, 1829. The entire project cost the State \$525,115, a sum considerably higher than original estimates.*

The canal was designed to transport boats or packets carrying about 40 tons. The packets were light, blunt and narrow, their general characteristics determined by the size of the locks and the low elevation of bridges. These limitations, I should add, by no means eliminated opportunities for variation in detail. Gilt, gingerbread and awnings on the packets expressed the individuality of the owner. The boats were drawn by three horses or mules, usually driven tandem, but sometimes abreast. Passengers in fair weather rode on the upper deck above the cabins, often sheltered from the sun's rays in midsummer by a resplendent awning. The arrival and departure of the packets in Oswego were occasions of great interest attended by crowds of curious onlookers.

Bugle Notes Proclaimed Arrival

As expressed in the "Landmarks of Oswego": "The bugle notes which announced its ap-

proach, were the signal for a gathering at the landing place 'to see the packet come in' while the horses which towed it made a spurt for the finish. The landing was at the east end of the lower bridge, to which the packets came down in the water power canal or mill race and landed their passengers on the level of Bridge Street opposite the Arcade Block.** Stables used to house the horses and mules were located along the canal between Bridge and Mohawk Streets. (p. 346)

Canal Provided Employment

It is difficult to overemphasize the dependence of Oswego upon the canal almost from the start. It provided employment from April to November for many Oswego families, men, women and children.* "Sons followed fathers and children grew up along the canal, cradled in their mother's arms while she watched the steering, the family wash waving on lines overhead, with many acquaintances to be met nightly at the groceries—the 5-mile grocery' or some other name—canal bestowed, that made a landmark and a stage of the voyage—there were gatherings of canal folk, dances to the music of accordion and fiddle, and at sun-up sleepy eyed youngsters harnessing canal nags to resume the plodding along the tow paths. A leisurely life, paced to the gait of the horses or mules, with breaks or high water to be accepted philosophically, even as the frequent altercations over crossed and snagged tow-lines

* One of the engineers in charge of construction on the canal was Benjamin Winch, an early settler of "Vera Cruz" as the locality known today as Texas was called by George Scriba, the landed proprietor who sought to found a "city" there in 1795. Winch later moved across Mexico Bay to the mouth of the Salmon River and became one of the first settlers in the Town of Richland. He kept the first inn in Pulaski.

**The packet boat landing was located along the East bank of the river just South of Bridge Street in the area now occupied by the Neal Block. The packets operated between Oswego and Syracuse. They made stops all along the route to take on or discharge passengers at their convenience. The packets continued to carry passengers on the canal until about the year 1900. For many years they were operated both day and night packets between the two cities. A ticket office and landing place was also maintained in Fulton.

brought spice to the day's proceedings."*

The canal facilitated travel to and from Oswego, carried imports and exports, attracted business, encouraged ship and boat building and lake commerce, and enhanced land values. It has frequently been repeated that in any Oswego assemblage, prior to the turn of the last century, a shout of "Low Bridge" would have caused at least one-half of those present to lower their heads to escape contact with an overhead obstruction.**

Early Operations At Loss

The history of the canal during the two decades after 1828 reflects the economic well-being of the nation with variations due to conditions more local in character. For two years the volume of traffic was moderate, and by no means up to the predictions of enthusiasts. If we were to pause to observe a typical week's traffic in 1830 (Week of May 19-26) we would note the following: Packet arrivals at Oswego; Packets with passengers 6, with merchandise 13, with salt 4, miscellaneous 2, total 25. Departures: Packets with passengers 7, with flour 6, with merchandise 7, whiskey 1, with stoves 1, with rope 1, with hogs 1, total 23. Toll collections were not sufficient to avoid criticism by the Buffalo press that the Oswego canal was operating at a loss. The charge was of course resented in Oswego, as was the practice of grouping the Oswego canal with other branches in making financial reports with the inevitable tendency to underscore the profits of the main line and the losses of the branches. Oswego could ill afford to be relegated to the status of a branch and thereby lose favors given to the money-

making main line. This situation was intensified, naturally, during depression periods when the State was economy conscious and the wisdom of the branches was questioned.

"Palladium" Champions Cause

The "Palladium" rose at once to the defense, and by a process of reasoning, which might be considered somewhat ingenious since the assets listed included such items as: augmentation of revenues on the Erie, augmentation of the general canal revenue by the increased manufacture of salt, credit for tolls not collected on wood carried to the salt works and interest on the sales of Oswego village lots enhanced by the canal, showed enough "indirect" or intangible credits to lift the Oswego canal out of the "red" and into the "blue." (Palladium, Feb. 16, 1831)

When, a few years later, Oswego's delegate in the State Senate, Henry A. Foster, spoke in defense of the utility of the state works in the northern sections of the state and contrasted their profits with the losses sustained from similar works in the southern sector, the "Palladium" reported the speech with pride, but it chastised him gently for a statement (which I am sure a more modern member would have avoided) to the effect that while the improvements in the Central and Western sections had brought rich returns to the State, two exceptions should be noted: the Black River and Oswego Canals. "Why is this invidious exception made to the Oswego Canal?" the "Palladium" inquired, "Senators from other districts might well be excused for error in regard to the productiveness of the Oswego Canal—for we are sensible that the whole truth on the subject has never been officially laid before the public. The true state of the case is, however, well understood by many of our distinguished citizens, and we confess our re-

* At the John Van Buren Tavern in Volney stables were maintained. Stables for canal animals, a blacksmith shop for shoeing the animals, a store for selling groceries to canalers.

** Quoted from Centennial Edition of "Oswego Palladium-Times" November 20, 1945.

gret that it has not been looked into by Mr. Foster." The "Palladium" then brought its admittedly unofficial version of the balance sheet up to date, revealing not only an operation profit but the realization of 74 percent of the cost of construction in 14 years. (Palladium, Mar. 16, 1842) Whatever the validity of its figures, the "Palladium" was undoubtedly correct in insisting that the real value of the canal could not be stated in simple terms of profit and loss.

The Effect of Welland's Opening

As the Oswego canal linked Oswego to the East, so the completion of the Welland Canal in 1830 united her to the West. The former contributed to her leadership as a lake port, the latter opened Lake Erie and the Ohio and Michigan regions to her ships and wharves, and made her one of the leading milling centers of the Nation. It is true that Oswego had flour mills before the opening of the Welland Canal, but they were now expanded rapidly. Furthermore, western grain continued to feed her mills for years after the growth of dairy-
ing had reduced local supplies.

The news of the completion of the Welland was expected through the spring and summer of 1830, but it was not until August the fourth that the arrival of the schooner "Erie" from Cleveland, Ohio, brought demonstrable proof that the lakes were joined. In the words of the "Palladium": "The arrival of the schooner was greeted by the ringing of bells, by a national salute of twenty-four guns, by a display of all the flags in the village and harbor, and by the cheers and congratulations of our citizens. Thus this great event, the offspring with us of so many hopes and fears, and expectations and disappointments, has at length taken place and with exulting hearts, we hail the harbinger of the commerce of Erie. Another triumph of human ingenuity and

wisdom is achieved. The hitherto insurmountable barrier of the Niagara is overcome, and the waters of Erie may now mingle with those of Ontario, bearing upon their bosoms the bounties of civilization, and the gifts of the arts. If there be a spot on the western waters, which, more than any other, is to reap the commercial harvest of which the Welland Canal is to be the parent, that spot is Oswego. To the 600 miles of coast to which we had access, 1000 more are now added, comprising the most western counties of New York, the county of Erie, in Pennsylvania, the shores of Ohio, Michigan, and Upper Canada—the abodes of a large and enterprising population, stimulated by the wants, and actively engaged in administering to the supplies of civilized life. It is needless to speculate, for imagination cannot compass the extent of that commerce which will inhabit the bosom of the northern lakes, when the regions of the far west shall yield their spoil."

Dinner Marks Celebration

At four o'clock in the afternoon the citizens of Oswego assembled at the Welland House to partake of a public dinner in celebration of the joyous event. The President of the Village, T. S. Morgan* presided, and George H. McWhorter, Alvin Bronson and Henry Fitzhugh gave him capable assistance. Officers and members of the "Erie's" crew were among the guests gathered about the board. "Great good humor, hilarity and temperance prevailed." It was made to order for toasts, and I shall quote several of the most appropriate:

"Oswego—Nature has done her duty, art hers; may her citizens do theirs."

"The schooner "Erie" — the

* Col. T. S. Morgan was a business partner of Alvin Bronson in the forwarding business and also in the ownership of the first flour mill established in Oswego. He also served in the State Legislature.

first to tell us that Erie is ours—and Huron is ours—and Michigan, Superior and all are ours."

Chorus: "The Duncans are coming—McGregor coming—The Campbells are coming—and all the de'ls in the West are coming."

Among the volunteer toasts: by Gerrit Smith: "The Welland Canal—a stream of wealth into the lap of Oswego."

By Alvin Bronson: "The schooner Erie—like the Dove from the Ark, a messenger on the winds; but unlike the dove, she proclaims that the waters are flowing not ebbing."

Finally, by Judge Daniel Hugunin: "Oswego—may she realize all the benefits from the Welland Canal, which her enemies predicted." (*Palladium*, Aug. 11, 1830)

Optimism Vindicated

The optimism expressed at the Welland House* was vindicated in the years which followed. Canal and lake commerce, ship building and milling flourished, and Oswego's population expanded. Oswego barely felt the business panic occasioned by President Jackson's war with the United States Bank in 1833, and 1835 in particular was a year of record-breaking activity at Oswego. More travelers passed through Oswego in 1835 than during any previous year. (*Palladium*, August 12, 1835)

Eleven lake steamboats made scheduled runs up and down the Lake Ontario weekly. Two packets departed daily for Syracuse,

a trip requiring about eight hours, two others arrived from Syracuse each day. Inaugurated that year, also, was a daily packet to and from Utica. To quote a current traveler from Utica to Rochester by way of Oswego: "The traveler from Utica to Rochester taking this route, may spend a few hours in our village (Oswego), take a steamboat and arrive at Rochester some hours sooner and with lighter fare than he can to take the canal direct from Utica to Rochester. So from Rochester east, the traveler can reach our village in six or seven hours after leaving that city, and by the packets from this place he will reach Utica in twenty-two hours more, and at less expense than by taking the canal direct from Rochester to Utica."

Both packets on this line, the "Niagara" and the "St. Lawrence" were built in Oswego boat yards and "are fitted up in a style not inferior to any packets upon the Erie canal." (*Palladium*, July 22, 1835) As the "Palladium" jovially expressed it: "A sharp competition is now carried on between these lines of boats, and in consequence, fare is so reduced that a man can hardly afford to remain at home." (July 29, 1835)

The Land Boom

The prosperity of 1835-36 was reflected also in land values along the canal. For example, the farm of Benjamin Burt adjacent to the southern limits of the village containing 92 acres was purchased by Abraham Varick, a mill owner from New York City, for the unprecedented sum of \$19,000. (*Palladium*, July 22, 1835). A short time later two blocks of state reserved land on the west side of the harbor sold for \$108,850 and \$47,842 respectively. (Oct. 21) Gerrit Smith bought a farm in the autumn of 1835 for \$40 per acre and sold it in March of 1836 for \$200 per acre, and his holdings in Oswego purchased in 1827 for \$14,000 and

* The Welland House which stood at the southwest corner of West First and Cayuga streets, was completed and occupied for the first time in the year the Welland Canal was first opened to traffic. The name "Welland" was given to the hotel to commemorate that event. The old Welland Hotel should not be confused with the "New Welland" which was erected after the earlier hotel had been destroyed by fire at West Second and Cayuga streets where it continues in use at this time.

in 1835 for \$81,000 were valued at \$1,000,000. (Harlow: Gerrit Smith, 24) Oswego property values rose generally from 50 to 75 percent.

But Oswego was soon to find that her land prices were inflated and her business over-expanded. Even before the panic of 1837 swept the Nation, prostrating business life for four years, the bottom dropped out of the market in Oswego. Prices fell as speculators unloaded; foreclosures mounted. By October 1836 Smith's Oswego agent, John B. Edwards, was reporting to Smith that money was "scarcer and scarcer—I am not able to collect scarcely anything at all." By April, following, Edwards was planning work "which will enable me to employ some more of the poor men that are begging for work—it is a great charity to employ and pay the poor laborers at this time" . . . But in May the work stopped because, "there is no horse feed to be obtained here. None of the mills here have done anything this spring except Mr. Fitzhugh a little." (Ibid., 30) I should make it clear, however, that the canal boats did not all tie up to the docks. In 1837, for example, 1,773 boats cleared from Oswego. (Landon, 289).

Canal Traffic Doubles

Oswego began to emerge from the panic in 1839 and while canal receipts continued to indicate subnormal traffic the "Palladium" pointed with satisfaction to the fact that Oswego's canal tonnage more than doubled the volume of the five branch canals, Chemung, Seneca, Cayuga, Chenango, and Crooked Lake, and totaled about one-fourth the tonnage of the main line. In 1840 the recovery was sustained; canal tolls almost trebled and its packets carried more than 13,000 passengers. In 1841 the up-turn was in full swing and the passengers increased two fold. This growth was continued through the decade of the 1840's.

The "Vandalia" and the "Chicago," steamships with the Ericson type of screw propeller, built in Oswego by Sylvester Doolittle, and launched upon the Lake in 1841 and 1842 respectively proved to be a boon to Oswego commerce. (Palladium, June 1, 1842, and June 7, 1843) Another of these new propeller ships, the "Oswego" returned to Oswego from Chicago, distance of 3000 miles, with 900 barrels of pork, after numerous stops on four lakes, in the record time of twenty-three and one-half days for the round-trip from Oswego. These screw propelled ships were not only more economical in operation than the traditional side-wheelers, but they could pass through the Welland canal. Their economy is suggested by the steerage passenger fare from Oswego to Chicago, 1300 miles, for \$6.

Oswego Population Increases

In 1845 the population of Oswego village was 6,313, an increase since 1840 of 2,318 or fifty-one percent. And this figure the "Palladium" regarded as extremely conservative since so many inhabitants were absent during the navigation season that an exact enumeration was impossible. It failed to uncover a single unemployed person in the community!

Such were the 1840's, a decade which might be termed the "golden age" of the canal. While the railroad was beginning to compete for passenger traffic in the State, the canals retained briefly a virtual monopoly upon the carrying of freight—protect-

*The "Vandalia" was the first propeller boat built on the Great Lakes and the third to be built anywhere in the world. She was built in accordance with plans designed by Ericson himself who transferred the Great Lakes rights for the building of propeller ships to Captain James Van Cleve, a Lake Ontario steamer captain, who was part owner of the "Vandalia." The Doolittle shipyard where the "Vandalia" was built was located at the foot of West Cayuga street east of Water street.

ed from railroad competition by state law.*

Harbor Works Suffered

The 1840's, however, were not without problems which vitally affected the welfare of the canal. One of the most trying of these was the port of Oswego. Daniel Hugunin, Oswego's first member of Congress, had secured appropriations for a breakwater, piers and light house during the decade of the 1820's. But the Democratic party of Andrew Jackson in the 1830's and 1840's was guided by a philosophy of economy and laissez-faire. Internal improvements at Federal expense were cut to the bone and the states left to their own devices. Hence the harbor of Oswego was permitted to deteriorate; appropriations were both irregular and inadequate, and the harbor fell into disrepair at the very time when shipping and ship building were prospering. Fort Ontario, at Oswego, of course, languished also, during the early part of this period.

Another problem of the 1840's, suggestive of "Keeping up with the Jones," might be termed "keeping pace with the Erie." The Erie Canal, pride of the State and model of the Nation, was the focus of attention in Albany, where there were recurring plans for its improvement. But, burdened with debt, other improvements, including the branch canals, were looked upon with a jaundiced eye. When the question of enlarging the locks on the Erie was before the Legislature in 1840 the "Palladium" presented a convincing battery of figures to prove that the locks were more than adequate for current and even future needs. (Apr. 15, 1840) A year later,

*It wasn't until 1848 that the Oswego and Syracuse Railroad, the county's first railroad, was completed, so that prior to that year the canal packets had no competition for passenger business in Oswego County except the stage coaches.

with plans more articulate for the main line improvement, the "Palladium" modified its position. It ceased opposition to the Erie and championed a similar improvement of the Oswego branch. An Oswego town meeting lent its voice to this cause, maintaining in a memorial addressed to the Legislature, "that the Oswego Canal, in usefulness and actual production to the State, has not been equalled by any section of canal of equal length, constructed by the State." If utility were not enough to justify it, the memorial insisted that "the interest of the State requires that the Ontario route, for the western trade should be improved to the full extent of the facilities furnished by the Erie Canal—the public interest requires it as a check upon monopoly in transportation." A final argument presented anticipated the St. Lawrence Waterway. (Should I say more than a century before its time?) The Oswego route, it affirmed, would offer the only effective means of competing with our Canadian neighbors for the western trade once ocean going vessels passed from Kingston to Montreal.

High Tolls Favored Oswego

A year later, with the question yet unsettled, the "Palladium" found still another reason to rejoice at the prospect of enlarging both the main line and the Oswego Canal. The tremendous cost involved must inevitably raise the tolls, and, "Every cent that is added to the tolls will operate as a premium in favor of the Oswego route." Why? Because the route west from Albany by way of Oswego to Lake Erie, including the 36 miles of the Welland Canal, equaled but 245 miles, while the Erie Canal added up to 364 miles. Thus goods carried over the Oswego branch saved tolls equal to the difference in length or 199 miles; the higher the tolls, the greater the advantage for Oswego. Just the same,

the "Palladium" hastened to explain, Oswego and her representatives favored, and always had supported, low tolls. That the opposite was now anticipated could be interpreted as "one of the consequences of that recognized moral necessity—the final triumph of truth." (Nov. 23, 1842)

Problems Faced Oswego Route

The sharpest criticism of the Oswego enlargement was made, to be sure, in Buffalo. An improved Erie Canal, it was observed, would be adequate for everything moving east and west. All funds available and unavailable "should be allocated to the main line." ("Buffalo Courier" as reported in Palladium, May 11, 1847) "A more selfish set of mortals never infested the earth than are the Buffalonians," retorted the "Palladium." "They would like to monopolize not only all the travel between the East and West, but the trade likewise." (Palladium, May 11, 1847) A bill in the Assembly to appropriate \$100,000 toward the Oswego enlargement was strenuously opposed by members from Erie, Genesee, and Monroe counties and ably defended by Oswego's representative, M. Lindley Lee, of Fulton, who emphasized that the Oswego Canal was not a mere branch or secondary work, but a part of the main line and "as much entitled to the fostering care of the State as the Erie Canal itself . . ." Lee's remarks were received in Oswego with genuine enthusiasm. (Apr. 20th 1847)

Both canals were subsequently enlarged, but the trend in tolls was downward, not upward, all charges being eventually removed, and the ultimate advantage went to the Erie since the Welland Canal, a Canadian corporate organization, continued to collect its fees with the result that the use of the Erie Canal became for the time being more economical than the Oswego

Route, which of necessity involved the use of the Welland Canal and the payment of its tolls.

Effect of the Salt Rebates

The granting of rebates upon salt tolls on the Erie Canal raised another problem for Oswego. The transportation of salt down the Oswego River from Salina, and thence to the West by way of Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, Lewiston Portage and Lake Erie, had provided Oswego's earliest stimulus to growth, and salt had continued to pass through the Oswego canal upon its completion. Considerable ship tonnage had been constructed for its conveyance on the lakes as well as numerous boats and scows for the Oswego Canal. This trade had become "blended and interwoven with the manufacture of flour at Oswego, the purchase and transport of nearly all the wood used in the manufacture of salt at Geddes, Syracuse, Salina and Liverpool, the lumber for vats, salt works and other village purposes as well as barrels for the salt." ("Palladium," Feb. 2, 1842). Thus by the 1840's this trade was traditional, and Oswego folk could hardly avoid the conviction that it just naturally belonged to them. However, the Legislature in 1841 authorized the Canal Commission to reduce tolls to stimulate the sales of salt in the West and in Canada; and the Commission in turn implemented the act by giving a rebate of eleven cents per barrel on salt shipped to Buffalo on the Erie Canal. No rebates were granted on the Oswego route. The decision of the Commission was at once denounced in Oswego.

The Salt Drawbacks

The "Palladium" called the action a flagrant discrimination enacted "to gratify the cupidity of Buffalo." (Sept. 8, 1841) On Saturday evening, Sept. 4, 1841, the towns-people of Oswego, Alvin Bronson presiding, rallied at

Market Hall to voice their disapproval. And they did it in no uncertain terms, "The drawbacks of duties and tolls on salt," they resolved, "are partial and unequal in their operation, and establish an unjust discrimination, hostile to the commercial interests of Lake Ontario, and prejudicial to the interests of the State at large . . . not warranted by the language or spirit of the laws prescribing the duties of the Board." The Oswego cause was amplified brilliantly in a memorial to the Legislature, prepared by Bronson, Luther Wright, Orris Hart, Henry Fitzhugh and William F. Allen.

"If it be said, as we believe it has been," the memorial read, "that this regulation sought to stimulate competition, and not to divert or destroy trade, we answer—the boats on the Oswego Canal have many times as much tonnage in wood to bring up to the salt works as they have salt to carry down to Oswego—hence they require no foreign competition; and the hundred coasters trading from Oswego to Lake Erie have full freights of agricultural products down, while they have but half loads of salt and merchandise up—no foreign competition is therefore required to cheapen the freight of salt through this route. It is one of the laws of commerce that freights are high in the direction that they are abundant, and low in the opposite direction where they are scarce—the full load pays a high price per ton or barrel—the half load a low price. Beside, if a bounty may be awarded to a dear route, the Erie Canal, to stimulate competition on the cheap route, Oswego, why not offer a bounty for railroad transportation to provoke cheap freight on the Erie Canal?" Excellent logic and sound economics! Finally, it was argued that salt trade to Cleveland and the West in general was active and expanding. There was no need for regulation. (Feb. 2,

1842) It is interesting to note that Gerrit Smith, owner of valuable property in Oswego harbor area, was aroused sufficiently to campaign actively inside and outside of Albany, against this discrimination. (Smith to F. Whittlesy, Feb. 1, 1845). The salt trade continued to flourish during the years which followed: in 1845—273,730 barrels arrived on the Oswego Canal (Jan. 12, 1847, *Palladium*), despite discriminations—a tribute to the business sense of the Oswego merchants.

Railroad Becomes Competitor

Thus the 1840's were years of hustle and bustle; of growth and change, of pressing problems, with the canal conditioning and permeating almost every form of activity. Then one day in 1848, on November 15, to be exact, a train of cars on the Oswego and Syracuse railroad arrived in town—marking the completion of the first railroad into Oswego, inaugurating the age of the railroad, and the decline of the canal. In Oswego the latter was not immediately apparent. The train carried only passengers, and the volume of business over the canal continued to expand in the decades of the 1850's and 1860's. This, I might add, again attests to the vigor of Oswego enterprise—since scores of canals succumbed without a struggle to this new rival. But it marked a new age just the same. From an artery of commerce, a colonizing agent, a way of life—the canal was gradually but inevitably transformed into a mode of cheaper transportation.

But I would prefer to leave the canal in its era of glory, not decay, and I can think of no more appropriate way of closing than to look upon the canal briefly with the travelers of the 1840's as guides.

Canal as Travelers Saw It

"First, an eastward passage, as reported in the Albany *"Argus"*:

"The traveler who takes this route at Buffalo, starts at 9

o'clock in the morning, and has a most delightful ride of 22 miles, along the bank of the Niagara River, to the Falls, at which he will arrive in about an hour and a half. The cars leave the Falls at 2 or half-past 2 o'clock—giving passengers nearly four hours to visit that great natural wonder of the the World—a visit which afforded us great pleasure and satisfaction, and which cannot fail to interest and delight all who are not absolutely insensible to the beauty, grandeur, and sublimity of Nature's Wonders and Works.

"The route to Lewiston is an exceedingly interesting and delightful one. The cars pass, for some distance, very near the edge of the high-bank of the river affording a fine view of the Falls, the Narrows, and all the beautiful scenery on the river. On the Canada side, Queenston Heights and Brock's Monument are distinctly in view.

"At Lewiston we went on board of one of our most splendid Ontario Steamboats, the "Niagara"; and we were never on board a more neat and orderly boat in our life. Everything was scrupulously clean and neat; and a more gentlemanly and accommodating set of officers, it has never been our good fortune to meet. In fact, the passengers feel perfectly at ease and at home; and, so quiet and orderly is everything on board, he frequently finds himself enjoying the pleasing delusion that he is really at home and in his own parlor! The "Niagara" and all the other Ontario Steamboats are fast sailers, too. Leaving Lewiston at about 4 o'clock and making several stoppages on the way, they arrive in Oswego by or before 5 o'clock next morning—a distance of 152 miles. This part of the route also, is no less agreeable and interesting than the others. Passing down the Niagara and out at its mouth, a fine view is had of the British and American Forts, and the villages and

scenery on the banks of the River"; and then, when once fairly out on the broad, blue waters of Ontario, with a pure air and invigorating breeze, the relief which one feels from the dust, and smoke, and noise, and confinement, and heated atmosphere, with which the traveler meets in the Canal Boats or railroad cars on the other route, can be appreciated only by him who has endured the one and enjoyed the other. As the steamboats arrive here, (Oswego) a Packet Boat is always in readiness to take passengers directly on to Syracuse, arriving there in season for the afternoon line of Packets or train of cars, for Albany and Saratoga Springs.

It will be perceived, therefore, that this route not only affords an agreeable change in mode of conveyance, but combines all the advantages of pleasure, speed, and cheapness; and we are pleased to learn that a large portion of the travel of the East and West, now goes this way. The well-filled registers of our excellent Hotels, and the daily crowd of travelers upon our wharves, are good and sufficient evidence on this point."

(Reprinted in "Palladium," July 14, 1846)

The Westward Voyage

Finally, from the Syracuse "Standard," a westward passage, which in 1846 might be arranged in advance by the new magnetic telegraph:

"Decidedly the most pleasant route for travellers going west, is that by way of Oswego Canal and Lake Ontario. There are two daily lines of packet boats plying between this village (Syracuse) and Oswego. The accommodations of these boats are everything that could be desired, and their officers, from the captain downwards, are obliging, gentlemanly men. The scenery upon the Seneca and Oswego rivers, which form the canal for a considerable

* Old Fort Niagara.

part of the way, is exceedingly beautiful, and the rate of speed of the boats, gives a fine opportunity to the traveller for taking a full survey of the natural beauties that meet him at every turn. A voyage up the Lake on one of the substantial and beautiful steamboats which are always found at Oswego on the arrival of the Packet Boats, is a rich treat to any one, not completely

lost to all sense of the beauty and sublimity of Nature's Works. and is not to be mentioned in comparison with any other method of conveyance."

(Reprinted in "Palladium," July 14, 1846)

Said the Palladium. "It is needless for us to add that we fully concur in all that our neighbors of the Argus and Standard here say."

Along Oswego Canal Tow-Path



Photo Taken in 1880's

"Bill" Johnston, Patriot or Pirate?

(Paper Given Before Oswego County Historical Society April 15, 1947
by Edwin M. Waterbury, President of the Society)

The most colorful figure along the Ontario and St. Lawrence frontiers during the period that the so-called "Patriot War" was keeping the border area in a state of constant furore from 1837 to 1840 was Bill Johnston. "Officially" appointed to command the "Patriot Navy" by a tentative government which had been set up at a secret meeting held in the United States at Cleveland, Ohio, to take over the management of affairs in Canada in case the so-called "patriot movement" should succeed, Johnston was denounced as a "pirate" by the provincial governments of Upper and Lower Canada which also put a price upon his head, while the United States government regarded Johnston as an outlaw and ordered a portion of its standing army stationed along the border to maintain neutrality, to follow his fleeting and rapidly shifting footsteps until he should be caught. There were however many American citizens residing in Oswego and other counties south of the border lines who regarded Johnston as scarcely less a "patriot" than their forefathers had regarded Samuel Adams or John Paul Jones.

Proclaimed Himself Emperor

Johnston had proclaimed himself as "Emperor of the Thousand Islands." From the island fastnesses in the St. Lawrence River to the depths of which he was accustomed to flee after he had perpetrated his various acts of daring lawlessness on both sides of the international border and upon the international waterways under his patriot guise he would issue "imperial edicts" to

the border folk which were generally communicated to them through the columns of newspapers published on the Yankee side of the border. The "Oswego Commercial Herald" and the "Bulletin", the latter printed at the "Oswego Palladium" office he occasionally made use of for these purposes.

Since the days of the War of 1812 Johnston had been known along the Ontario frontier as a vindictive enemy of the British sponsored government of Upper Canada as the result of wrongs, real or fancied, he had suffered. He was said to have been "ready at a moment's notice for any brawl that might afford him opportunity for revenging the injuries he claimed to have received from the Canadian government."

Soldier's Son

Born at Three Rivers on the St. Lawrence, February 1, 1782, the son of Sergeant Johnston of Sir John Johnson's Regiment of Royal Greens, Johnston had removed with his parents to Bath, Upper Canada, in 1784 and grew to manhood there. He served as a blacksmith's apprentice until he was 22 years old when he took up the manufacture of potash from wood ashes. He applied his earnings from this business to the building of a small schooner in 1805. During the next six years he came frequently to Oswego in this ship for cargoes. Also he engaged in smuggling, a common practice with both Canadians and Americans in those days. When the War of 1812 opened Johnston was a grocer at Kingston and a member of one of its militia companies.

Aided Stranded Americans

Johnston had furnished bail for several Americans who had been in Canada at the on-set of the Rebellion and who could not otherwise have been set free, and would have been interned for the duration of the "war." For these acts of kindness, he was suspected by his superiors of disloyalty. After a time he hired a substitute to serve in the army for him and returned to the direct charge of his retail business which he had purchased only a year before at a cost of \$12,000.

One of the Americans whom Johnston had befriended in Canada was Seba Murphey of Schenectady who had been thrown into prison as the result of his American citizenship. Johnston furnished bail which brought about Murphey's release. The latter attempted to escape over the ice to Sackett's Harbor. He was recaptured and returned to Canada, his feet having been frozen so badly during the escape attempt that they had to be amputated. Johnston again assisted him in getting out of the country and in rejoining his family in the States. Murphey remained his loyal friend ever afterwards. Johnston had also furnished bail for several other Americans in Canada. Further suspicion was directed against Johnston's loyalty to Canada because of the fact that Ann Randolph of Washington County, N. Y., whom he married in 1808 was an American girl. He came to be regarded in Kingston by reason of these kindly acts and his marriage relationship as a possible friend of the United States and a traitor to his own country. Several times he was placed under temporary arrest and then released.

Johnston is Accused

In May 1813 Col. Cartwright, a Canadian militia officer, came to Johnston and accused him of corresponding with the enemy and informed Johnston that he

would be arrested and thrown into jail. "Up to that time," Johnston later wrote, "I solemnly declare I had never had communication with the American Army or Navy or any individual to my knowledge by whom any information was likely to be conveyed to the enemy to the injury of His Majesty's subjects or those of his realm."

Captain Mathew Clark of Ernesttown, a boyhood friend of Johnston, ordered the latter's arrest by Sergeant David Lockwood. Johnston saw the militia approaching his store. He went to a rear window and through it escaped, calling out to the military as he did so that he knew "what they were coming for."

In effecting a temporary escape Johnston sought opportunity to transfer his store to his brother and otherwise arrange for the handling of his affairs during his imprisonment which he had been informed might continue for the duration of the war.* With the odds all against him, Johnston finally gave up resistance and was lodged in jail for the last time in Canada. With the assistance of friends, military and otherwise, he escaped from prison and made his way alone in a canoe to Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., 50 miles away. There he was taken into the presence of Commodore Chauncey, the American Naval commander on Lake Ontario, on board his flagship the "Oneida." That day he took the oath of loyalty to the United States.

Johnston's Threat

Also Johnston at that time declared: "I will be a thorn in Great Britain's side. I will get back all that I have lost." He proceeded to carry out his threat. He became the scourge on land

* The transfer of the store to Johnston's brother was not later recognized by the Canadian authorities. Johnston's 400 acre farm at Ernesttown (now known as Bath) 18 miles west of Kingston was also seized.

and water between Brockville and Cobourg of all things British. Before the War of 1812 was over Canada had placed a price of \$5,000 on his head for his capture dead or alive.

Served As U. S. Spy

Johnston soon accepted employment from the United States army, then based at Sackett's Harbor, as a spy and reentered Canada. While he was engaged in this work he seems to have been faithful to his trust and regularly got back to the army command through secret channels information as to military and naval movements in process or in contemplation in Canada. On one occasion he planned and carried through a robbery of Canadian mails which contained important military official dispatches. He brought these intact to the American commander at Sackett's Harbor.

In November 1813 "Bill" Johnston piloted in the "Ridgely" General James Wilkinson's force of 10,000 United States troops being borne in 300 huge, flat-bottomed boats each mounting a cannon down the St. Lawrence moving against Montreal. The boats were followed closely along the shore by Cols. Harvey and Morrison with 800 Canadians. After the battle of Chrysler's Farm in which the American loss was 300 to 200 lost by the British, and following receipt of word from Gen. Hampton Wade, supposedly moving from Lake Champlain against Montreal, that he would not meet Wilkinson at St. Regis as had been previously arranged, Wilkinson abandoned the expedition. In the fighting which took place at the fort five miles below Morrisburg, General Leonard Covington, a protege of General Anthony Wayne during the latter's Indian fighting days in Ohio, was mortally wounded.

In 1814 Johnston held up the British dispatch carriers at Presq' Isle and gained possession of the British plans to attack Sackett's

Harbor and destroy the ships building there.

Johnston was well known to many Oswego vessel captains who sailed to Ogdensburg and St. Lawrence River points. Crews of Oswego-owned and manned ships which visited Kingston before the war were among the customers of his Kingston store when their ships visited that port. In the days before the border troubles Johnston had frequently visited Oswego with his schooner. He knew well many Oswego sailormen. He was personally well known to the newspapermen of the Oswego of the 1830-1840 period and at first apparently he enjoyed the confidence of some of them to a marked degree.

"Held Up" President Monroe

It is related that when President James Monroe came to the Ontario-St. Lawrence frontier following the War of 1812, soon after his induction into office, to observe the frontier and make such arrangements for its future military security as might be deemed necessary, he stopped at Sackett's Harbor on August 14, 1817. He was received there by the firing of a national salute at Fort Pike and conducted by Captain King, then commandant there, to the "Mansion House" where he was to stay during his stop at the village. "Bill" Johnston was at the time proprietor of that inn. As the president and his party prepared to leave the inn next morning, Johnston presented the President a bill for \$150 for the President's night lodging for himself and two companions. Whether or not the President paid the bill, an astounding one for the time and location, without protest, the chronicler of the event unfortunately does not relate.

After the close of the War of 1812 Johnston opened a store in Watertown where he sold jewelry and other goods to meet women's needs. He closed this after two or three years. Between that

time and 1837 he moved about a great deal. In 1817 he removed from Watertown to Sackett's Harbor where he conducted the Mansion House in that place. Later he kept hotels at other points. At different periods he lived in Albany, Auburn, Ogdensburg, Cape Vincent, and Watertown. In 1834 he removed to French Creek and built the house which was afterwards his home for many years. It was after he took up his residence there that he was appointed by President Jackson to serve as a United States Revenue officer, a position he continued to hold until February 1838 when his resignation was called for because of his Patriot activities.

Here In 1838

The first incident in the "Patriot War" period which brought "Bill" Johnston to Oswego so far as existing printed records disclose, came early in January 1838 when readers of the "Palladium" learned that "Bill" Johnston had "passed through this place on his way to Navy Island the preceding week." At the time, which was soon after the incident of the burning of the Buffalo-owned ship "Caroline", while she was tied up at her wharf at Fort Schlosser in the Niagara River about three miles above the falls, Johnston, who was accompanied by Benjamin Lett, also later to become famous at Oswego and elsewhere along the border by reason of his criminal escapades concealed under the cloak of "patriotic" activity, was taking along a nine pound cannon which Lett and Johnston were planning to use in aiding the "Patriots." These included some refugees from Canada who had fled here after the failure of the abortive attempt to seize the Upper Canada government at York (Toronto), and many United States citizens then massing on Navy Island in the Niagara River, a short distance off the Canadian shore, and

threatening an invasion of Canada. Lett was one of six men of the "Patriot Army" reported wounded while the bombardment of the "Patriot" encampment at Navy Island from the Canadian shore was in progress. (Later Lett was convicted at Oswego of an attempt to burn the Canadian passenger steamer "Great Britain" while she was loading passengers at her wharf in Oswego.) Johnston was among those who escaped from Navy Island unscathed.

"Worth 50 Men"—Fletcher

Johnston's interest in the Patriot movement had been awakened when Silas Fletcher, a member of Mackenzie's projected "Provisional Government" for Upper Canada, and Donald McLeod, a former British military officer and then a General in the Patriot Army, late in December 1837 had started Eastward through New York State seeking recruits for the Patriot army then being assembled on Navy Island in the Niagara River. At French Creek, Fletcher met "Bill" Johnston, spent the night in his house, and enlisted Johnston's support for the Patriot cause. Fletcher was elated by this accomplishment and wrote Mackenzie from Watertown January 2, 1838: "Here is a person in whom it is perfectly safe to trust; a man of intelligence, equal to 50 bold volunteers as ever drew trigger; one moreover, who desired a commission because he could greatly annoy the Kingstonsians."

Unable to catch Johnston through efforts continued over a period of years, the Kingstonsians had finally soothed their feelings by burning Johnston in effigy. This action on their part furnished Johnston with just another reason for hating them.

Mackenzie Meets Johnston

While he was still a member of the United States Customs Service, Johnston went to Navy Island to aid the Patriots rebell-

ing against Canada. There he met Mackenzie and they became fast friends, each admiring the other's qualities. Johnston remained at the Island for only a few days, however, seeing that the cannon to contain many Patriot sympathizers who would rise to welcome an invading force. Johnston's plan was enthusiastically accepted and steps were taken to put it in operation. Funds were raised by subscription throughout Jefferson County to finance the invasion planned for February. Supplies and clothing were purchased with the funds subscribed and also contributed. These were assembled at a central depot in Watertown. Within three weeks 2000 men were pledged to answer the call when it should come. Daily and nightly men residing in the border towns began drilling in preparation for the purposed invasion.

Patriots In Oswego

Oswego County folk next heard of Johnston in connection with the projected raid from Jefferson County against Kingston which Johnston, in accordance with his pledge, was planning on launching in February. This the "Palladium" described in its issue he was contributing to the Patriot cause was given a proper foundation and protection. (Where he got the cannon in the first instance has never been fully explained.) After offering further suggestions for the improvement of the defense works, Johnston returned to his home at French Creek.

Before leaving for home, however, Johnston had conferred at the Eagle Tavern in Buffalo with Van Rensselaer, General McLeod, David Gibson and others on Patriot strategy. Johnston suggested that McLeod and the Navy Island forces be sent to the Northwestern frontier to join other Patriots already there. The movement, he urged, would draw away the Canadian defense forces from the Midland

District of Upper Canada. If the plan were adopted, Johnston promised to organize an invading force to enter Canada at the Midland District which was believed of Feb. 19, 1838 as "a daring outrage." For some days before the time set for the "patriot army" to move, patriot leaders had been arriving in Oswego and passing on to Watertown where it had been brazenly arranged the "army" would openly assemble. As early as February 7, the "Palladium" announced: "General Van Rensselaer of the Canadian Army arrived in our village Saturday last (February 3) from Syracuse. He was met here by Silas Fletcher, the latter's son, D. Loyd Smith, Esq., a son-in-law of Dr. Duncombe, with whom he proceeded the same evening West, as we learn, toward the Western district of Canada. William Lyon Mackenzie about two weeks since passed east and by an article in the 'Kingston Chronicle' we presume, is in the vicinity of Lower Canada."

At that time a reward of \$2,000 had been offered by the Upper Canadian government for the arrest of Fletcher. Dr. Charles Duncombe was a former member of the Upper Canadian assembly who had been in command of a revolting patriot force operating near London, Upper Canada, in the hope of entering Hamilton from the west at about the same time that it had been projected that the "patriot" force that had assembled at Navy Island would leave that island to advance against the Loyalist forces on the mainland of Upper Canada. General Van Rensselaer was a United States citizen and a son of the distinguished American patriot, the original General Van Rensselaer who served in the war of 1812. The son was at the time commander-in-chief of the Patriot forces south of the border, acceptance of which designation from the sub-rosa patriot "government" which had also made Johnston a "commodore"

constituted a piece of effrontery for which he was later arrested, convicted and imprisoned.

Project Attack on Kingston

The presence in Oswego early in February, 1838, of these prominent leaders of the patriot forces was to become more understandable as events progressed in the next few days. Instead of going "westward" or "further eastward" as the "Palladium" had indicated was their intent, they turned up at Watertown by February 15. There Mackenzie, the chief Canadian figure in the rebellion of 1837, was, with "Bill" Johnston, directing preparations for an expedition against Kingston when "General" Van Rensselaer arrived a few days later. Food and arms which had been assembled in the Watertown area, were moved to the mouth of French Creek which flows into the St. Lawrence opposite Gananoque, sixteen miles from Kingston. As the Watertown Arsenal of the New York State Militia was plundered on the night of February 19, the probable source of some of the weapons which the "patriot army" intended to use against the Kingston garrison may be conjectured. The "Palladium" also described the looting of the arsenal as a "daring outrage." On this occasion a quantity of small arms had been removed from the arsenal but no cannon were taken there. Militia cannon were later discovered as missing, however, and later recovered at Oswego, but their later disappearance occasioned a court martial trial in Oswego County.

The commanding officer of the British regulars stationed at Fort Henry, at Kingston, soon had full information that a patriot force was assembled at Watertown. Considerably disturbed he wrote he suspected "that there were no less than 2,000 'brigands' assembled at Watertown and 500 at French Creek to join in the attempt against Kingston." He

added that he "was more alarmed for the safety at Kingston" than he had been "at any time since the troubles had developed along the border." The invaders, he had been advised, were armed with pikes and cannon and intended to cross the St. Lawrence and to attack the steamboats plying on the Canadian side of the river in the service of the Canadian government.

Johnston Served As Guide

"Bill" Johnston who had arrived at Watertown about the time that Mackenzie and Van Rensselaer appeared there, offered his services as a guide. He had urged that as a resident at Kingston in early life he was well acquainted with surrounding terrain. He offered to render any other form of assistance possible but his aid in the end proved valueless. Had the patriot force proceeded it would probably have gone only to defeat as the military authorities at Kingston, amply forewarned, had assembled militia in large numbers from the Midland and Johnstown districts to defend Canada against the threatened invasion. Not content to await an attack in Kingston, the British regulars and Canadian militia were preparing to advance against the invaders as soon as word should come that they had actually moved into Canada.

In view of all the boasted preparations which the invading "army" had made the outcome proved to be the most inglorious of all the failures against the Upper Canadian frontier which were planned and attempted from the United States during the "Patriot War." From the time of this failure onward Van Rensselaer's influence in patriot circles definitely waned.

We will let the "Palladium" of February 28, 1838 tell a part of the story of the outcome of the expedition:

"HORRIDA BELLA!"

Considerable excitement has prevailed during the past week in consequence of the gathering of the "Patriots" (as they are called) in the vicinity of French Creek on the St. Lawrence River, with the intent of crossing into Canada. Various rumors had been put afloat as to the start of the expedition. General VanRensselaer had been moving to and fro and boasting that some big movement was to be made soon. Consequently, all eyes were turned toward the scene of war and many individuals were induced to leave their homes and go to witness this modern Don Quixotte.

"On Wednesday night the general, after bracing himself for several days with brandy and water, said to be a sure preservative against cowardice, marched at the head of some one hundred and fifty men, and took possession of Hickory Island. The men, not being stimulated by the same means, were rather squeamish about attacking the Queen's troops and abandoned their rum valient leader and dispersed.

"VanRensselaer, it is said, started for Syracuse to report the proceeding to his dear intended (we pity her). Seriously, this man had had his way long enough and it is time that he was provided a straight-jacket or a coat of tar and feathers. No, we retract that wish and we hope that he may be forwarded to Mr. McNab to be dealt with by his tender mercy." (McNab, former speaker of the Upper Canadian Assembly, was at this time in command of the forces defending Upper Canada.)

The Patriots marched over the frozen St. Lawrence River to a Canadian Island on the appointed day, February 22, (Washington's birthday), but refused to advance further in spite of the urgings and threats of VanRensselaer and soon withdrew to the United

States mainland. With each call made for volunteers to continue the advance, the number indicating their willingness to proceed by raising up their hands fell rather than increased. VanRensselaer therefore gave the order for the return to the U. S. mainland.

Double Disappointment

Equally discouraging to the Patriots with the fiasco at Hickory Island was the outcome of the effort of the Midland revolutionists of Canada to reach Kingston's environs where they were to have effected a juncture with VanRensselaer's invading force on the afternoon of February 22, and launched thereafter a joint attack. Finding themselves followed as they were moving towards Kingston by the Prince Edward County militia summoned by Bonnycastle, commandant of the military forces at Kingston, most of the Belleville rebels leaped from the sleighs in which they were riding and fled. Some left on horse back and some on foot. Others from Napanee and the farther townships of Hastings, unaware of the reverses which had befallen the other parties, advanced almost to the outskirts of Kingston before they learned that their plans had failed. If they were to fight, they would have to fight alone. They turned back towards their homes, trying to act as if nothing unusual had happened. A party of Loyalists who gave them pursuit, however, overtook finally the hindmost of the long line of sleighs heading northwards. Searching through the straw which covered the bottom of the sleigh, they found concealed there guns, pikes, swords, axes and other weapons. They immediately placed the recent occupants of the sleigh under arrest. They did not stop the arrests until every man in the long line of sleighs had been arrested. The Belleville armourer who had made the pikes was

among those arrested. He was equipped with a rifle, a bowie knife, compass and woodsman's kit.

Canadians Make Seizures

Another sleigh was seized by Loyalists near Napanee after it had been abandoned by its driver. That was loaded with musket bullets, bullet moulds, a keg of fine powder, three boxes of percussion caps, a United States army musket and other similar articles. A small boy came upon a quantity of cotton haversacks, filled with cartridges that had been deposited in the woods. "This" commented the Kingston Whig, "looks like rebellion."

There followed wholesale arrests in the Midland region. Properties were seized, families torn asunder, the men carried off to prison, there to await, in many cases, many months their trials. Hundreds of others fled to the United States before they could be arrested. Some of those arrested had been American citizens who had taken up their residences in Canada, but many of those held were Canadian born and were sons of loyal Canadian fathers.

The defenders of Kingston, however, had been expecting an attack by the Patriots by way of Long Island. They sent a force of men there to fell trees across the roads to cut off or impede the progress of an expected advancing force. The loyal Canadians living on the island were alerted. Off-shore from the island and between it and the Canadian mainland, irregular shaped holes were cut in the ice of the river in the belief that a Patriot army passing over the ice under the cover of darkness would be disrupted as sleighs, horses and men should plunge under the ice.

Johnston's Campaign Plan

"Bill" Johnston, however, who himself had perfected the plan of campaign for this expedition had quite another plan in mind which,

if circumstances had permitted it to be carried through, might have found the Kingston defenders quite unprepared for the attack in the direction from which it would have come. According to Johnston's plan, the invading force would have moved from French Creek over the ice by the St. Lawrence river against Gananoque eight miles away, traveling by the way not of Long Island as Col. Bonnycastle expected, but by the way of Hickory Island where the patriot forces were to have consolidated. This island was not inhabited except by one widow and her family. There would be no one there to send an alarm to Gananoque that an attack was coming. By a dash across the ice it was planned that Gananoque should fall in a surprise attack. There were located the largest flour mills in Upper Canada. After stopping long enough to supply their troops with flour and other goods needed for a military force the invaders would move on against Kingston only a few miles away. There they would attack the city from the east side while the Midland revolutionists would attack from the west. As the attack should be developing momentum, Patriot adherents who had been "planted" in the town, would emerge from their lodging houses with their rifles, and open fire upon the defenders from within the city, seize the penitentiary, release the prisoners; a Johnston agent inside the fort would blow up the outer magazine at Fort Henry, and the Patriot emblem would soon fly over the fort.

That was Johnston's plan, but he was not in command of the patriot force. VanRensselaer, his brain befuddled, it was charged, by drink, temporized, went to bed and to sleep to the disgust of his men and associates and the opportunity long planned for February 22, was lost so far as the invasion force moving from the United States was concerned.

On February 21, company after company had arrived at French Creek, and was ordered forward to Hickory Island by Martin L. Woodruff, a deputy sheriff of Salina (Syracuse) who had been stationed at the point for the purpose. Among others there were companies from Watertown and Syracuse, "Bill" Johnston, clad in gray home spun, led a company of 50 picked men. Teams and sleighs bringing riflemen, spectators and equipment, continued to reach the island. Some drivers, more circumspect, turned back with their loads after looking over the situation at the island.

Indian Threat

Colonel Bonnycastle, in command at Kingston, to meet the threatened emergency summoned Indians from the Mohawk reservation in Canada, told them that wicked and designing men were conspiring against the Great White Mother (Queen Victoria) across the sea, and sent them forth to patrol the areas in which the spirit of revolt was believed to be strongest in the back country towns about Kingston. Their appearance there in "hunting parties" had the desired effect of alarming the Patriot sympathizers who began to plan to remain at home to protect their property and loved ones rather to join the plotted revolt. Bonnycastle barricaded Kingston. He called out the Leeds militia and other militia units including those from Prince Edward County who were to take up position in the rear of the Belleville rebels should they rise. Outposts were established some miles outside of Kingston, arms stacked there for possible later use.

Turner Not Suspicious

J. W. Turner of Oswego, deputy United States Marshall, had occasion to visit Kingston on official business about this time. He was closely questioned at the Kingston police office. He in-

formed the police that he had investigated widely in New York state as a federal officer the reports that armed men were gathering and that he had found no evidence of a Patriot assemblage.

The cry of "Wolf! Wolf!" when first uttered in Kingston at this time caused considerable alarm, but as time passed and no wolf appeared the alarm subsided.

Suddenly on the morning of February 21, news came to Kingston from what appeared to be reliable sources that Patriot army was on the march and moving in three divisions based on Watertown, French Creek and the Midland area of Canada. The Watertown party, traveling in sleighs, would cross the ice of the St. Lawrence near Long Island attack Kingston at its weakest point near the penitentiary. "Bill" Johnston was reported leading a party from French Creek which would make a feint against Gananoque in the hope of drawing off as large a part of the Kingston defense forces as possible, and then turning to the left along Lake Ontario's shore would attack Kingston from the east. From the west the Midland revolutionists would move up to attack Kingston's western defenses.

Reinforced by his militia Col. Bonnycastle, put his forces under arms and awaited developments. Later he recorded: "We watched in perfect hope that the attempt would be made, as it must have ended disastrously to the invaders and would have been the means of removing several very wicked and very troublesome persons from amongst us, who would have fled to the States, or would have been arrested."

Kingston Not Unprepared

"Kingston, on that 21st day of February 1838, was a town invested by conspiracy and honeycombed by intrigue", records John Northman's "Pirates of the Thousand Islands" first published

serially in the "Watertown Times" a hundred years after the events now being described. "Those farmers who foregathered to do their marketing were Radicals bent on revolution," continues the Northman narrative. "Those commercial men, travellers and seekers after employment were Patriots and Patriot spies. At the psychological time they would sally from their lodging places; their rifles would blaze, firebrands would be applied; and Kingston would be dealt a mortal blow by enemies within her gates. That armourer at Belleville had been making and selling weapons for just this purpose. And that blacksmith in Fort Henry was one of Bill Johnston's men, placed there to spike the guns and blow up the outer magazine. Very real, very imminent was the insurrection in the Midland District, and invasion from over the river; and all movements were directed towards the one objective.

"There is no suggestion that Canada in the presence of this danger from within and without, was totally oblivious or unprepared. Her espionage system was extensive and effective. Particularly she was watchful of developments at Belleville and Napanee; and despite the stealthiness of the insurrectionary activities there, little happened that was not made known, truthfully or otherwise, in Kingston. Daily the magistrates received reports from the American side that the Patriots were arming in Sackett's Harbor, Watertown, French Creek and Cape Vincent—that some great conspiracy was afoot—that some unusual move against Canada was contemplated. Even the day was declared with some semblance of certainty. One week before the actual invasion, the 'Kingston Herald' published warning of an impending attempt against Fort Henry by 10,000 men. Said the 'Kingston Whig': 'The general opinion seems to be that Macken-

zie, 'Bill' Johnston and several other blackguards are mustering their forces on the other side with a design of surprising Kingston.'"

Johnston is Arrested

"Bill" Johnston was arrested February 27, 1838 at his home in French Creek by United States Marshall Nicholas Garrow of Auburn and charged with the violation of the neutrality laws passed by Congress, in plotting the expedition which failed February 22. He was released on bail pending trial which was scheduled to take place in Albany the following September. This was Johnston's first arrest in the United States, and was the first installment of the price he was to have to pay by reason of his association with the Patriot cause.

Sometime after the Patriot invasion attempt was given up at Hickory Island but before his arrest by Marshall Garrow, Johnston wrote a letter to Christopher A. Hagerman, attorney general of Upper Canada, in which he suggested for the first and only time to the British authorities in Upper Canada that he was willing to make a peace that would terminate permanently the one-man war he had been carrying on against the British government in Canada for more than 25 years. The date of the letter is incorrect as will appear from the context of the letter, the actual date probably being February 25th or February 26. Its text follows:

Johnston's "Peace" Offer

Clayton (French Creek)
February 20, 1838
C. A. Hagerman, Esq.,

Sir:

I have, after taking all things into consideration, thought if you or your government would pay me the amount of goods taken from me while in the possession of my brother, I would settle

back in the country and trouble your government no more. The property unjustly seized would have been mine to this day, had I not been driven from friends and home by Colonel Cartwright during the last war. I was confined in jail several times, and was threatened confinement during the war.

My brothers were confined in jail without cause till they were covered with vermin, having in no way opposed the government. The goods seized by yourself, while collector at Kingston, and the amount was twelve thousand dollars, and to this amount should be added one half the amount as interest.

No doubt you have heard that I have taken part with the Patriots. This I will not deny. I was with the Patriots on Navy Island, and with the cowardly Van Rensselaer on Hickory Island. If Mackenzie or any other decent man, had been at the head of that party, they would have taken the town of Kingston.

Your answer or no answer will satisfy me.

William Johnston

What prompted Johnston to write this letter we today can only speculate. Perhaps he was homesick and wished to return to his native land in full possession of the property that he felt had been unjustly seized and taken from him. Did he seek vindication in the eyes of the Canadian public? Was he yet a Britisher at heart, or had he been disillusioned by his twenty-five years of continuous contact with the United States brand of democracy, or had he read the hand-writing on the wall as the result of the Hickory Island episode and come to the conclusion that the Patriot cause was already doomed to failure?

No one today can answer these questions with certainty. Hagerman never made any reply

to his letter, but Johnston had his answer nevertheless. Had his proposal been accepted, Canada would have been saved an expensive year of warfare and perhaps \$2,500,000 in money. And Upper Canada would have regained a citizen who might have been of considerable use to it. When his offer was rejected, Johnston was no longer in doubt as to where he stood with the constituted authorities of Upper Canada. From this time onwards his attitude towards the Canadian government became even more bitter and his conduct against it steadily more violent.

Below Wells Island in the St. Lawrence, almost opposite Alexandria Bay, lies a 400 acre island known as Abel's. In 1838 only the Martin and Robbins families lived there. In May, without the knowledge of the owners, two rough board shanties were erected on the north side of the island and about 30 men, mostly Canadian Midlanders, took up their abode there. Nearby on the river shore were two of the long boats resembling those built by Johnston the winter before at Cape Vincent and a number of fishing boats. Bill himself was there with his belt stuck full of pistols, dirks and bowie knives. Samuel C. Frey, a Brockville refugee, was there and others anonymously known to one another by such sobriquets as "Admiral Benbow", Captain Crockett, Bolivar, Nelson, Sir William Wallace and Tecumseh. The name of Judge Lynch is said to have been borne by General McLeod of Patriot army fame.

Plot Ship Seizure

On the afternoon of May 29, members of this group spent part of the afternoon painting their faces to resemble Indians on the war path, and donning Indian or outlandish costumes including the insertion of feathers in their hair or caps. Earlier in the evening at Johnston's command 28 of them entered the long boats

and rowed up stream toward Wells Island to lie in wait there for the arrival of the Canadian steamship "Sir Robert Peel" about which their designs of the evening were centered. This fine, new passenger ship, completed a year before at a cost of \$44,000 had for one of its owners Judge Jonas Jones of the King's Bench in Upper Canada, pillar of the Family Compact Group, politician thoroughly hated by all Canadian patriots. His cousin, Henry Jones of Brockville, and the son of his brother-in-law, Levius Sherwood of Brockville, George Sherwood of the same place, were also associated with the ownership of the passenger boat. These facts increased the patronage on the boat on the part of persons who were sympathetic with the Family Compact, but by the same token, its popularity was reduced among Patriot sympathizers.

Prominent Passengers Aboard

Among the 80 passengers on board the "Peel" that night when she left Prescott bound for Kingston and Oswego were George S. Weeks of Oswego, who operated a shipbuilding yard on the East side of the river, Dr. Thomas Scott, a young Scottish surgeon, a Belleville merchant named Robinson, Col. Richard D. Fraser, customs collector at Brockville, a Family Compact adherent who won their favor when he ejected William Lyon Mackenzie from the Upper Canada Assembly in 1832; he was accompanied by his wife. Mrs. James Sampson, wife of the mayor of Kingston, her daughter, Madeline, and Mrs. James Fisher of Kingston, composed the other women who were cabin passengers with the exception of Mrs. Theresa Robertson of Montreal.

Many of the ladies on board had with them expensive jewelry, and the cabin passengers had about \$9,000 in Canadian and American currency while the ship's purser had \$6,041 in Canadian dollars in transit between

banks for the purpose of providing funds for paying off the British troops at Kingston and \$400 in ship's money. All told there was about \$15,000 in cash money on board that night exclusive of the sums held by deck passengers.

Pirates Wait For Opportunity

After the "Sir Robert Peel" had tied up at her wharf at Wells Island to permit her crew to load wood as her fuel, Johnston's long boats which had been cruising about the island till the steamer arrived, moved out of sight and then put ashore. The men were to have moved stealthily to a point near the wharf where they could be concealed from view until an opportune moment should arrive to strike. The crew of the larger boat numbering 15 men lost their way and became mired in a swamp for a long period, but the crew of the other boat numbering 14 men, who included Johnston, got through to the rendezvous.

One of the men "Bill" Johnston led aboard the "Sir Robert Peel" was Marshall Forward who came to Oswego after the border difficulties were over, here married his wife and became a successful and respected business man. According to an interview which Forward granted in 1884 to an Oswego newspaperman in connection with the part he had played in the seizure and burning of the "Sir Robert Peel", Forward said that the "Peel" was selected for destruction "because it was one of the finest steamers of Lake Ontario, and, being owned by pronounced British royalists, it was thought that this act would stir up such a row that our American government would finally be forced to take a hand and that the final result of the complication would aid in bringing about the freedom of Canada."

Oswego Participant

Forward said that the "patriots" met on an island, near

Wells' Island, occasionally to drill in preparation for an anticipated armed, invasion of Canada. At drill one night the order was given for the destruction of the "Peel" that evening. About 30 men left the drill grounds in boats with muffled oars. They were disguised as Indians and were armed with muskets, pistols and knives. The party landed on Wells' Island where the "Peel" was tied-up, hiding themselves behind a wood pile while the situation was being reconnoitred. The passengers were asleep, the engineer smoking on deck, and Captain John B. Armstrong was talking with McDonald another of the ship's officers, while the members of the crew were carrying the wood aboard. McDonald, for some reason feared that harm was about to come to the ship, and twice urged Armstrong to pull his ship away. Armstrong made light of the matter and declined to leave.

"Whoop! Remember the 'Caroline!' " yelled the patriots as they rushed up the Peel's gang-plank to meet with only slight resistance from the crew fighting with only sticks of wood as weapons. The passengers fled ashore in their night clothes, some of them being harshly handled. The "Peel" was towed into the river and burned, the "patriots" aboard escaping in row boats brought alongside by "patriot" friends.

Forward Arrested

Forward and 10 others, who had participated in the burning of the ship, soon started on foot for Watertown. After an all-night hike, devoid of food, they reached Depauville at day-break. They were there arrested and taken to the Jefferson County jail in Watertown.

According to Forward the people of Watertown brought the prisoners pies and doughnuts and Sheriff Abner Baker treated them with great consideration. They were not locked in cells at

night, and lived in the debtors' room. They were refused bail at the telegraphed request of President Martin VanBuren.

Ten of the eleven men were Canadians who had hoped that the seizure and burning of the steamer might become a further factor in their goal in bringing on a state of war between Canada and the United States. Charged with arson, only one of the eleven men arrested (Anderson) was tried. After a trial which dragged on for several days before Judge Cushman, the jury failed to agree and Anderson was released without further trial as the prosecuting officials held the belief that the spirit of public feeling was such in the area at that time and that a conviction could not be had.

As the pirates had let out an Indian war whoop and rushed up the gang plank to board the "Peel", two of their number took up their stand at the end of the plank to prevent the boat's crew from endeavoring to return to the ship to try to effect its rescue, but their pains were unnecessary as most of the wood handlers had vanished into the woods with the first outcry. Six of the pirates took control of the engine room. "Bill" Johnston led six others along the deck, kicking, prodding and otherwise awakening deck passengers from their sleep and crowding them towards the exits from the boat. Above the din on board, rose the cry: "Bring that Yankee powder on board! Remember the Caroline!" With this the crew members and passengers realized for the first time that they were in the hands of Patriots.

Oswego Passenger's Experience

George Weeks, the Oswego passenger, thrust his head through his stateroom door after some one had broken in one of the panels of the door and he heard voices shouting "Go ashore! Go ashore! Take your baggage. This is no Schlosser affair. It's not

you or your baggage we want—it's the boat and we will have her."

"Are you going to commit murder?", Weeks asked one of the boarding party.

"No. Have you any arms?" came the answer.

"None whatever."

"Then come up."

With a little help Weeks crawled through the door and gained the deck. "Here, I know you", said another Patriot, simultaneously grasping Week's hand, and adding "You shan't be hurt", he led Weeks away to safety.

Sounds of combat penetrated the ladies' cabin and awakened Mrs. Sampson. At first she thought the crew were fighting. Peeping from behind a curtain, however, she soon took in the real situation and aroused the other women. Hurriedly they had all begun to dress when thunderous knocks and imprecations shook the door, Mrs. Sampson turned the knob and "Bill" Johnston walked in. "What do you want?" asked Mrs. Sampson laying her hand on his arm. "Come with me and I will save you", Johnston replied. "The nations are at war." Then giving his assent to Mrs. Sampson's request that she be given time to dress, he left the cabin.

Not so gallant were Johnston's companions. Even while he spoke, bayonets were thrust through the door, windows smashed and lamps extinguished. Five screaming women, barefooted and wearing only their night clothing, were hurried out on deck. A stewardess endeavored to make them more comfortable by bringing a few garments and such pieces of baggage as she could find in the darkness. Their money and jewelry, left behind in the cabins, presumptively fell into the hands of the pirates who soon began plundering the ship as she floated away from the wharf after the ropes had been

cut.* In the meantime the passengers had taken refuge in the wood cutter's house ashore.

Passengers Were Robbed

The passengers sought shelter in the woodsmen's cabin on the island where they remained until 5 a. m. when the steamer "Oneida" came along on her way to Oswego and Captain Smith took them off and returned them to Kingston where the story they told aroused the citizenry to a pitch of highest excitement. It was reported that several thousand dollars contained in a single package had been taken from one of the passengers. Several women passengers aboard had been robbed of money and jewels.

Even before the "Peel" had left Brockville, threats of violence had been made against her, but neither passengers nor crew had taken these seriously. The "pirates" as the Canadians immediately dubbed them, led by "Bill" Johnston, self-styled "Governor of the Thousand Islands" whose piratical ambitions Canadian contemporaries charged, aimed at outdoing the famous Captain Kidd, were said to have seized the "Peel" with the intention of making use of her later to seize her rival, the steamer "Great Britain." What it was that went awry in their plans and suddenly determined them to set fire to the "Peel" rather than to save her for further use, is today unknown, unless it was failure on the part of those who plotted the seizure to provide the promised number of engineers to handle the bigger ship. (Johnston himself in later years assigned this fact as the reason for the burning of the "Peel" in a statement he made to the historian Lossing). The "Great Britain" they had planned to

* Today an historical marker stands at the point where was located in 1838 at the edge of Well's Island the wharf at which the "Sir Robert Peel" was tied up when she was seized by the "pirates."

make use of in transporting "patriot" troops over the lake in connection with filibustering expeditions being plotted.

Promises Unfulfilled

Franklin B. Hough, historian of Jefferson county, who interviewed Johnston shortly before the publication of his history in 1854, states in his history that Johnston told him that he had been promised the aid of "150 men by a Cleveland, Ohio, committee who had planned the capture" of the "Peel" but that the promise had not been made good so that Johnson had finally seized the "Peel" with but 13 men, according to his own statement.

Johnston's statement made to Hough might seem to point to the headquarters of the "Hunters" which was at Cleveland, Ohio, as the originators of the plan to seize the "Peel." However, the "Hunters" had only been formed that month and probably were not in position to function so early. Most authorities attribute to the Canadian Refugee Association formed at Lockport, New York, in March 1838, the hatching of the plot for the seizure of the "Sir Robert Peel."

Johnston Escaped

After the destruction of the "Peel" about a dozen of the men involved in the seizure landed on the American shore and most, or all, of them were soon seized and carried off as prisoners to Watertown to await in the Jefferson County jail trial for arson. "Bill" Johnston, however, fled with others to his island retreat, said to have been fortified and well supplied with arms and ammunition. Rumor had it that Johnston abandoned this island soon after the "Peel" incident and fled "West" through Oswego. The "Oswego Commercial Herald" expressed doubt as to the truth of this rumor.

These incidents were recognized as news even in those days

of closely circumscribed journalism. Both were widely copied by the press of the day. Coupled with Johnston's "Proclamation" which came out at the same time, their influence on Canadian and American governments was comparable to that produced by the waving of a red flag in a bull-ring. Their final effect was to prove disastrous to Johnston and the pirates. Soon would commence the greatest manhunt in the history of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence.

Form Hunters' Lodges

It was during the month of May 1838 that organization of the Hunters' Lodges began taking place among the "patriots" and their sympathizers south of the border and in Canada as well, for the purpose of aiding the "patriot" cause. There were several Hunters' Lodges in Oswego County including a large one in Oswego. There were also organized at about the same time several other secret societies of "patriots" in the United States with kindred purposes. Later it was charged that the next escapade which brought "Bill" Johnston not only before the Oswego County public but to the status of an international figure as well, was undertaken by Johnston as a result of an arrangement which Johnston entered into with the officers of one of these new societies.

The "Oswego Commercial Herald" of June 6, 1838 described this escapade of which Johnston was the leader and moving spirit in the following language:

"O U T R A G E !

"Steamboat Sir Robert Peel Burned

"On Wednesday morning last, the steamboat Sir Robert Peel was burnt at Wells Island (near Clayton), a few miles below French Creek, in the St. Lawrence where she stopped to take on wood (while enroute west to Oswego). She was boarded about

2 o'clock in the morning by a body of armed men, variously estimated at from 30 to 60, who immediately cleared the cabins and set fire to the boat. The mate, Mr. Johnson, was sleeping in his berth at the time and barely escaped, after being seriously burnt, by jumping in the river.

"The passengers were taken to Kingston by the steamboat "Oneida," (of this place) which reports that much of the baggage was lost, also a large amount of specie. This daring piracy excites a just indignation among all classes and, calls for the vigilant and energetic action of the public authorities to detect and punish the perpetrators."

Lake's Best Steamer

Built at Brockville, Upper Canada, at a cost of \$44,000 to her owners, all Canadians with the exception of William Bacon of Ogdensburg who held one-quarter interest in her, the "Sir Robert Peel" had gone into commission only a year before, as one of the fastest and best appointed steamboats on Lake Ontario. She was 160 feet long and had a 30-foot beam. She was commanded by Captain John B. Armstrong who brought her into Oswego as a regular stop on both trips up and down the lake. She had already exhibited her stamina and other fine qualities in several tests of speed with the competing new steamer "Great Britain" as the two were crossing the lake to Oswego from Kingston on several occasions during the same summer, and the mooted question among passengers making frequent use of the lake steamers that season as to which was the superior boat as to speed had not been fully determined when the ship came to her wholly unexpected end.

The "Peel" had 80 passengers on board, mostly bound for Kingston, when she tied up at McDonnell's wharf on Wells Island, near Clayton, on the evening of May

28. the night of her destruction, to take on wood which was her fuel. There was only one lonely house on the island, that occupied by the wood cutters when they were present. As the crew began about midnight loading on wood while the passengers, who included several women, slept, suddenly 22 men "disguised and painted like savages, armed with muskets and bayonets," clambered over the rail with a whoop, "Remember the Caroline!" and began ransacking the ship and robbing the passengers. The latter, routed from their berths, were soon compelled to go ashore that the "pirates" might back the steamer into the St. Lawrence, and there set fire to her when she was 30 rods off shore.

Johnston's Plots War

After Bill Johnston was placed in command of the "Patriot" Navy with the title of Commodore while still retaining his family residence at French Creek, while he with his gang occupied various ones of the Thousand Islands, he traveled up and down the St. Lawrence river between Ogdensburg and Cape Vincent planning "a fall campaign." He made landings on the Canadian side to contact sympathizers there, located points where weapons could be landed and concealed and made other decisions preparatory to action. At Cape Vincent he built two large row boats, one carrying 16 men and the other 12. They were pointed at both ends, very strong and yet of light construction so that they could be propelled at high speed.

Early that spring Canadians refugees from the Midland region, patriot sympathizers from the United States, smugglers, free booters and adventurers from both sides of the river had begun establishing themselves on the heavily wooded islands in the St. Lawrence, most of them uninhabited by regular owners. At first they were widely scattered, but soon their numbers increased

to the point where there were considerable bands on each island. They were adventurous men, bent on wreaking personal vengeance for real or fancied wrongs or animated by desire for personal gain to be attained under the guise of "patriotism." They were of the raw material for piracy, and needed only a leader to make them formidable.

Johnston supplied that leadership with the result that a reign of fear and terror soon existed along the St. Lawrence and the shores of Lake Ontario as well. Thefts, plunderings, burnings were soon rampant. Even ships were fired upon from the islands and otherwise attacked.

Arm Lake Ships

Col. Gray, representing the British government, had a talk June 11th with President Van Buren, Secretary of State John Forsyth and War Secretary J. R. Poinsette in Washington, and the outcome had been assurances that United States steamers plying Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River would be placed under the command of officers of the United States Army and Navy, that each steamer would carry about 50 armed soldiers and a determined effort would be made to check the work of the pirates of the Thousand Islands and to bring them to justice. General Alexander Macomb, commander-in-chief of the United States Army would be sent to the St. Lawrence frontier and placed in command and a military force sent to Sackett's Harbor to start scouting expeditions in that portion of the Thousand Islands lying within United States territory in search of Bill Johnston and his band of pirates.

Again Indict Johnston

On June 19th the Federal Circuit Court grand jury sitting in Albany brought in indictments after eight-day delvings into the various raids from the United States into Canada, including

those from Navy Island, French Creek, and Hickory Island charging violation of the neutrality laws against "Bill" Johnston, "General" Van Rensselaer, William Lyon Mackenzie, Thomas B. Sutherland, Samuel B. Chase, William G. Bryant and eight others.

Brigadier General Brady of the United States Army was sent to Oswego by General Macomb soon after the latter's arrival to command in person the United States forces now operating along the frontier in an effort to capture "Bill" Johnston and his associates. Brady's orders were to gather all the information he could here and at Sackett's Harbor from persons known to be in the confidence of "Bill" Johnston as to the latter's habits, plans and movements. Writing from Drummondville, U. C., under date of June 21, Major H. D. Townsend of the 24th Canadian Regiment reported to Col. Halkett, assistant military secretary, that he had just been waited upon by Captain Sibley, aide de camp to Brigadier General Brady of the United States army and given some secret information regarding the intentions of the pirates collected by General Brady himself at Oswego, Sackett's Harbor and other places.

Information at Oswego

When the Patriots captured the "Sir Robert Peel", Captain Sibley's information was, that the Steamer "Great Britain" was to have been seized through the use of the "Peel" and her new pirate crew, taken to a point near Queenston, and there armed with 10 guns. Those guns were already mounted on high carriages and were concealed at some point in the woods. "Bill" Johnston was to have had the command of the captured "Great Britain" reconverted into a patriot man-of-war. When that plan failed due to the fact that Johnston had no engineers in his boarding party who

could operate the machinery of the seized "Sir Robert Peel", Johnston and others determined that the Patriot War should be carried on by small guerilla parties. Canadian loyalists were to be seized, and their arms, blankets and provisions taken from them. If they resisted, they were to be roughly treated. These operations were to be carried on by persons in their own neighborhoods who were not at the time suspected of having any part in the border depredations. The attacks would be made by persons in disguise and at night so that the persons who participated in them could be at their normal occupations the next day.

Troops sent to the scenes of the guerilla operations would thus soon become scattered and hence could be attacked in small details and annihilated. Some great affair would occur shortly which would eclipse the burning of the "Peel" through its startling nature.* Johnston would soon leave the Thousand Islands and proceed into the interior to a part of the country extremely mountainous and covered with lakes.

Johnston Meets Canadians

Canadian rebels had a rendezvous about 20 miles back of Kingston where Johnston met them. A number of rifles had recently been sent into Canada from a place called Goose Creek. Many Canadian militia officers who were recently discharged and little suspected, encouraged the Patriots and were privy to their plans.

On June 20 General Macomb sent an aide de camp with a letter to Sir John Colborne, the officer now in command of the British forces at Kingston, acquainting him with the purposes of a United States expedition soon to set out from Sackett's Harbor to capture Johnston and

his pirate associates, and suggesting that if Colborne were disposed to fit out a similar expedition, the two forces might co-operate.

Talks With Oswego Friends

On June 11, 1838 Johnston was interviewed by two old-time friends, members of the crew of the steamer "Oswego" which at the time was taking on wood at Pattison's Landing on the St. Lawrence when a row boat passed which his former friends thought to resemble one that Bill had formerly used. The men entered a row boat and put out towards the boat supposed to be Johnston's. The latter soon put out from its position close to shore and came rapidly towards them. As it drew near they observed Johnston himself seated on its rear deck steering his boat with a sweep. His boat came to a stop and for a few minutes he conversed with them:

Johnston said that he and his family had been injured by the British government which confiscated his property to a large amount in the last war. He said he had now fully avenged himself for that injury as well as for the destruction of the "Caroline." "I know well", Johnston told his friends, "how great are the efforts being made, particularly by the United States government, to arrest me. But that will be no easy thing to do."

"One thing you may be assured of", Johnston declared, "That is, I will never be taken alive. I am a fair mark to shoot at; but I am not a man to dangle in the air. Whoever comes after me, must bring his own coffin. I have no leisure for cabinet making.

"At this moment I have two other boats, well manned and well armed, within signal view. I am sitting on the colors of the 'Sir Robert Peel,' and mean to continue sitting on them until they rot. Steamboats on the lake need have no fear of me—I have no intention of molesting them. I was within 40 rods of the 'Os-

* Probably the projected attack on Prescott and the invasion of Canada that was undertaken late in the fall.

wego' when she passed the Sow and Pigs Island on her last trip up."

Concluding his visit Johnston said he was on his way to visit the wreck of the "Peel" hoping to find a pair of pistols that he had lost on the night of her burning. As his friends returned to the "Oswego" to repeat the subject matter of his conversation, Johnston's party proceeded on to the wreck, remained a short time and then repassed the "Oswego" close by and proceeded toward the mainland.

Johnston Gives Salute

Two days later with a larger crew aboard his boat Johnston passed within hailing distance of the steamer "Oneida" on her upward voyage. Several passengers began to cheer until the captain hushed them down. They then waved their handkerchiefs. Johnston returned the salute, and reaching into the sack on which he sat, drew out the colors of the "Peel", rose, and waved them momentarily, and then resumed his seat as his boat sped on its way towards Wells Island.

But "Bill" Johnston did not keep quiet for very long. He began arming his boats with two and three pounder carronades. His boats skimmed over the waters among the islands and scudded along the shores of Lake Ontario like a hare defying the hounds. He even offered a reward of \$100 each for each of his former followers who had deserted him after the burning of the "Peel."

On June 10, he wrote with his own hand a document addressed to the "Oswego Commercial Herald" and first published June 13 in that paper, which within the space of a month had been re-copied in virtually every English language newspaper published on the North American continent. Victoria on her throne in distant England received a copy of it which read as follows:

Johnston Explains Position

To all whom it may concern:
I, William Johnston, a natural born citizen of Upper Canada, certify I hold a commission in the Patriot service of Upper Canada as commander in chief of the naval forces and flotilla. I commanded the expedition that captured and destroyed the steamer Sir Robert Peel. The men under my command in that expedition were nearly all natural born English subjects; the exceptions were volunteers for the expedition. My headquarters were on an island in the St. Lawrence without the jurisdiction of the United States, at a place named by me Fort Wallace. I am well acquainted with the boundary line, and know which of the islands do and which do not belong to the United States, and in the selection of the island, I wished to be positive, and not locate within the jurisdiction of the United States, and had reference to the decision of the commissioners under the sixth article of the treaty of Ghent, done at Utica in the State of New York, 13th of June 1822. I know the number of the islands and by that decision it was British territory. I yet hold possession of that station, and we also occupy a station some twenty or more miles from the boundary of the United States, in what was His Majesty's dominion until it was occupied by us. I act under orders. The object of my movement is the Independence of the Canadas. I am not at war with the commerce or the property of the citizens of the United States.

Signed this tenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty eight.

William Johnston

None of the men who participated in the seizure, plundering and burning of the Canadian passenger steamer "Sir Robert Peel" and the robbing of its passengers

of \$15,000 on the night of May 29, 1838 was ever punished for his participation in that piratical act, although a dozen or more participants who confessed that they had been connected with the incident were arrested less than 10 hours after the act. Bill Johnston, the leader of the gang, although he was indicted upon a charge of arson growing out of the burning of the "Peel" was never brought into a trial court that the matter of his guilt might be determined.

Jury Disagrees

Several months after the burning of the ship those of the defendants then in custody were placed on trial at Watertown. It was decided that instead of their being placed on trial as a group, that each defendant would be tried separately. When the jury which heard the evidence against Anderson, one of the defendants, failed to reach an agreement as to his guilt, the district attorney moved that the case against Marshall Forward of Oswego, who was next to have gone on trial, be indefinitely postponed and the presiding judge granted the motion. The prosecuting officer had considered his case against Anderson as one of the strongest that he could bring against any of the defendants. When the jury failed to convict, he felt that it was useless for the trials to proceed at that time because the state of public sentiment in Watertown at the period was such that he did not believe that any of the defendants would be convicted no matter what evidence of guilt was offered.

The indictments against the men were not dismissed. They were merely released until such later time as they should be called for trial. But they were never called and never tried so that no one was ever legally punished for his participation in the "Peel" incident, although Forward, the only Oswego county man who participated in the destruction

of the ship, was formally called to the stand on the morning that the court formally took the action herein related.

Arrest Rewards \$5500

After the destruction of the ship, Governor Marcy of New York hurried to Watertown to confer with the authorities there asking for a vigorous enforcement of the law against the persons implicated in the burning of the Sir Robert Peel. From Watertown he traveled to Oswego by the water route. He remained here several days at the Welland Hotel. Just before he left Oswego the Governor offered \$500 reward for the delivery of Bill Johnston into the hands of the sheriff of Jefferson County and \$250 for the arrest of Daniel McLeod, Robert Smith and Samuel C. Frey, all refugees from Upper Canada, who were held to have been engaged with Johnston and others in seizing, plundering and burning the "Sir Robert Peel" and robbing some of her passengers. For other persons sought in connection with the episode the government offered a reward of \$100.00. As Samuel (Lord) Durham had previously offered a reward of 1000 British pounds for Johnston's arrest, the total of the rewards now outstanding for the arrest of Bill Johnston totaled \$5,500, in American money.

A committee of local citizens sought to arrange a dinner to honor Governor Marcy during his stay in Oswego. He had to decline the invitation, however, as he found it necessary to leave for Albany before the date set for the dinner would come around.

Pirate Celebration

After the steamer "Sir Robert Peel" had been set on fire and abandoned, the pirates sent a row boat back to Wells Island to pick up the stragglers of the pirate band. This boat, which carried Bill Johnston, also contained Dr. Scott and Robinson of the ship's passengers, Judge Lynch, Hugh

Scanlon and others. After taking aboard the stragglers on the island, both row boats were headed down stream for Abel's island. Three fourths of a mile down stream Johnston's boat was hailed by Samuel C. Frey who was alone in a small skiff. Frey threw them a line and towed them. Day was dawning as they got back to their rendezvous on Abel's island. Robinson was put ashore and Johnston and his party and Dr. Scott landed. After washing the paint from their skins the pirates sat down to an elaborate breakfast partaken of with much jollification resulting from the success of their enterprise of the night before. Many toasts were drunk.

Return Plunder

Pledges were exacted from both Scott and Robinson that they would not reveal, except under compulsion, what they had witnessed on the island on the preceding night. William Anderson, one of the pirates, turned over to Dr. Scott a leather covered trunk taken away from the "Peel" to be returned to its rightful owner, John Richard Auldjo. It contained promisory notes and other papers of much value. Mrs. Fraser's carpet bag was also turned over to Scott to be returned to her.

Arrangements were made at the Martin farm house on the island to have Scott transported to French Creek. Martin, Frey, Judge Lynch and Dr. Scott composed the party that pushed off in the boat after dinner. The party landed a mile below French Creek, and Scott went to a hotel there and left his baggage. At 4 o'clock that afternoon he was subpoenaed to give testimony against the pirates concerned in the burning of the "Peel" who had already been arrested and those who soon thereafter would be under arrest. One of the men arrested admitted having carried away the \$6,041 from the purser's office of the "Peel." It was re-

covered and afterwards returned to a Montreal bank, but the man who helped himself to the money never faced any charge by reason of his act.

Pirates In Fact

Called "pirates," particularly in Loyalist Upper Canada soon after the outbreak of trouble along the international border that accompanied the Patriot uprising in Canada, Bill Johnston and his associates after the plundering and burning of the steamer "Sir Robert Peel" and the robbing of her passengers, became actually pirates in the eyes of the law. With a price upon his head in his native Canada and a reward of \$500 offered for his arrest in New York State after the burning of the ship, and a long prison term probably awaiting him as a sequel to his arrest south of the border, Johnston found it necessary to surround his movements with the utmost of precautions to preserve his life and freedom of movement after May 29, 1838.

In a statement issued at the time District Attorney Sherman of Jefferson County said: "It is known that some ten or eleven others with William Johnston at their head are among the Thousand Islands in the river St. Lawrence; but report says their retreat is at present upon British ground. And although some citizens of French Creek have seen and conversed with some of these men at a distance, they were in no situation to venture upon an arrest. They bid the officers defiance. They are armed to the teeth and desperate."

Johnston's Hideouts

Many caves are found in the St. Lawrence islands, many unknown or unobservable to casual visitors. Some are small and shallow—mere cells—while others are wide and deep and so situated that they have been visited by but few persons. Within these larger caves men might remain

concealed indefinitely in case of need. Nature has concealed their entrances in many cases through the growth of trees and shrubs. Generations ago they were used by Indian tribes as an aid to their warfare. Later they were used by fur traders, and still later by smugglers and free booters. Bill Johnston knew them all, and he used many of them as occasion should require as places to which to retreat when pursuers bent upon his arrest, appeared to be too close upon his trail. He had used them in dodging British gunboats at the time of the War of 1812, as a smuggler himself and later as a place of observation from concealment when he was a revenue officer. Again in 1838 and 1839 he found them of use in eluding arrest by both Canadian and United States officers who were seeking to arrest him.

"The Devil's Oven" island which lies in Canadian waters at the head of Wells island and northeasterly of Grindstone island contains about three acres of land. Its highest level, about 40 feet above the water level, tufted with a growth of shrubs and pines was one of Johnston's retreats. A leaning pine concealed the entrance to its cave. There was an opening through which Johnston's daughter, Kate, could pass food for the use of her father and his associates with excellent opportunity of avoiding detection when she was accomplishing this purpose. The opening was created by a fissure between two rocky masses. Between these Kate would place the food intended for her father's use upon a plank which she would then push forward from view to a point within his reach.

"Fort Wallace"

In the center of one of the islands was a chamber, partly natural and partly excavated by man in the rock. It was nearly 100 feet long and 10 to 20 feet wide, and from six to sixteen feet in height. Its floor was smooth

but uneven, its walls indented with niches and alcoves. Fifty men could live there with comparative comfort and 100 in a pinch. It was to this spot Johnston gave the name of "Fort Wallace." He never took there any but persons in whom he placed the greatest trust. He had used it in April and May of 1838 as a place for storing arms and a gathering place for Patriot leaders where they would be free while in conference from interruptions. Between June 10, 1838 and the following July 12th it became one of the most noted and yet one of the most mysterious places on the North American continent. From Abel's Island after the wrecking of the "Peel" Johnston with 12 of his faithful companions who had not deserted him—as many others had—he moved to this spot on the last great adventure of his life.

Erecting a partition in the cave, Johnston's men created therewith a living room and a sleeping room. Beds of pine boughs covered with blankets were improvised in the alcoves in the rock. Pine boards placed atop "saw-horses" afforded the tables. Packing boxes were converted into crude seats. A crevice in the rock ceiling open to the outside invited the building of a fire place in the center of the living room, the smoke from this escaping through the opening in the rock. The walls of the "fort" were of stone too thick to be penetrated by cannon balls that were in use at that time, and musket balls could not have found their way inside. Inside the arms, powder and shot stored there made the place a veritable arsenal. There were also pikes and swords aplenty. With a dozen men, Johnston boasted, he could stand off 200 men from this fortress.

Only Two Fears

Once established inside the fort, Johnston figured that he had but two things to fear—treachery on the part of some one

in whom he had placed confidence and a siege. To guard against the first, he selected his followers with the greatest of care. Only those he was positive he could trust to the bitter end were admitted to Fort Wallace. From all others he kept its location a secret. He relied upon the fact that the island, set among a vast expanse of islands unostentatiously, did not have the appearance from the water-side of being a likely hiding place for any one to guard against the possibility of siege. Also, he figured, that in case a siege was decided upon, should his hiding place be discovered, that he would at least get some advance warning of this—warning in time to permit him with his followers to slip away in boats before the besiegers arrived.

Besides the hide-out just described, Johnston had similar ones, carefully protected against detection, and equally carefully supplied with food, water and arms to which he could resort in case of need. In fact there were probably several such places of concealment to which he at times applied the name of "Fort Wallace" for temporary convenience sake, but in reality the one first described was that which he relied upon as his stronghold.

Fiddler's Elbow Death Trap

At Fiddler's Elbow there was a small, almost inaccessible island on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. There the river traffic turned sharply at the narrowest part of the navigable channel, and there Bill Johnston established a look-out station and outpost which was one of the most deadly of his retreats to his enemies. A few cannon placed at this point would have commanded the ship lanes at a point where no anchor could be dropped with safety. Ships passing it, would have done so at a time when the helmsman's hands would have been full in accomplishing a safe passage. On the farther side Johnston con-

structed inclined planes with which to raise his boats up to a higher level. He moored barrels, resembling buoys, at strategic points; but those barrels anchored mines designed and powered to blow pursuing ships to atoms.

To Johnston's original "fleet" that he used at the time of the capture of the "Peel," he soon added a third boat to take care of additional men who joined the ranks of his "marines." He soon began hiring French Canadian voyageurs as his boatmen.

Rowers Could Beat Steamers

Johnston's own "flagship" was built to carry 21 men. It was the largest and speediest of the fleet and could with its sweeps fully manned, develop a speed not equalled by any steamer on the river. She was 40 feet long, and had a 4¼ foot beam. Eight feet of the after part was decked over. On that deck Johnston himself was wont to sit as his craft went skimming along the river, or lake shores overhauling and passing all other manner of craft. He would be bareheaded, his head wholly unprotected by a canopy of any kind. From this vantage point, he steered the boat with an oar. He sat upon a red carpet bag which contained the colors that he had taken from the "Sir Robert Peel." While ordinarily, his boats flew no pennant, no "jolly Roger," he did carry the stars and stripes, and occasionally he used these when he thought their use would help to fool an enemy crew who might otherwise be troublesome, into accepting the identity of his boat as American.

A One Man War

Called by others a "pirate," Johnston called himself "Patriot." To those with whom he was associated in the "Patriot War," he called himself a "Patriot." To them also he was Commodore of the Patriot Naval Forces and Flotilla. As he moved up and down the river, he was transporting arms and munitions, organiz-

ing conspiracies and seeking to promote sentiment in favor of Canadian independence. By annoying Great Britain, he was gratifying his own egotism. "I am at war with the Queen," Johnston declared. "The statement seemed to establish him as the only man in history, who, presumably sane, ever declared a one man war on the British empire," Northman remarks.

Johnston Lands Arms

Far north of Ganonoque Johnston landed arms for the use of rebels in Leeds and Frontenac counties. He established caches of muskets in the bays and inlets of Presq'isle. He furnished arms to other bands in Northumberland County. He had friends and sympathizers who co-operated with him, and he had enemies in those parts, too, who schemed against him.

On the night of June 7, 1838, scarcely more than a week after the burning of the "Sir Robert Peel," two pirate boats loaded with men, moved up the river to Amherst Island. A long, swiftly moving cutter with 30 men on board turned south and the other with 15 men aboard turned northward. Later that night 15 men, dressed as sailors, each carrying a pistol in his hand, broke into the house of Robert Preston, a prosperous farmer on the north side of the island. When Preston sought to resist, a bullet grazed his face. Next he was struck repeatedly on the temple until he dropped in a pool of his own blood.

Amherst Island Outrage

The pistol itself which struck the blows was broken before Preston fell. One of his two young sons who leaped from his bed to go to his father's assistance had three of his fingers shot off. He lost so much blood that he died the next day. The other son, hidden under a bed, was kicked into unconsciousness when a chance movement revealed his

whereabouts. The pirates took \$600 in cash that they found in the house, two silver watches, two guns, some clothing, food and many other articles found on the premises. Mrs. Preston managed to elude the intruders, and ran to the home of a neighbor for help. Before they could return, fearing attack, the pirates had withdrawn to their boat and moved off with their plunder to their cave.

The other and larger party visited the home of Isaac Patterson at about the same time. Although they carried pistols, too, they did not exhibit violence. The men ransacked the house from cellar to garret, finding only an old musket and a bayonet which they cared to take. They came upon a trunk and were about to burst it open when Mrs. Patterson told them that it contained "dead clothes," meaning clothing prepared for persons yet living with which to adorn their persons after death. Even pirates respected such associations, it seems, for they did not open the trunk. After they had left, Mrs. Patterson revealed that it had contained the family cash and silverware.

After setting fire to farm buildings, the pirates withdrew but stopped at Mill Creek, near Kingston, on their way back to their lair and took all the flour to be found in the mill.

Was Johnston Present?

Canadian public sentiment attributed the Amherst Island raids to Bill Johnston and his gang. While Northman concedes that Johnston "may have been an accessory before the fact," he adds "there is not a tittle of evidence that he was near the scene of the crime that night." The boats, Northman believes, "may have been loaned by Johnston". Whether Johnston participated or not, he was blamed by the Canadian public for the raids. The militia was called out, and a large section of the Canadian populace rose in protest against the acts. They demanded that the Upper Canada

government find some way to stop the raids and put an end to Johnston's activities. Nowhere were the protests raised more loudly and more widely than they were in York (Toronto) and in Kingston. "From every loyal newspaper in Canada, with perhaps three exceptions and from every loyal Canadian, came the demand: "Route the pirates from their lairs."

Canadian Authorities Act

In response to the popular hue and cry, Col. Bonnycastle sent from Fort Henry at Kingston picked militia to every Canadian village and town along the St. Lawrence between Cornwall and Gananoque. A company from the First Regt. was stationed at Bath. A company of volunteers was enrolled on Amherst Island to remain under arms until order was restored. New barracks were built for their occupancy. From Kingston sailed the steamboats "Cobourg," Captain Marper and "Commodore Barrye," Captain Patterson, each with a company of the 83rd British regulars aboard. They had orders to ply along the river shore and search the islands for the pirates. Captain Patterson was a son of the Amherst Island man who had been robbed by the pirates.

Captain William Sandom, commander of the British naval forces in Canada, went to Quebec to make arrangements for the equipment of a British naval force on Lake Ontario for the protection of British commerce. There he found three ships of the British line, two large frigates, a sloop of war, a steamer of the Royal Navy, numerous transports with cavalry, line troops and munitions of war aboard. Potentially this was the strength of British military and Naval power pitted against Bill Johnston and his gang of rowboat pirates. For a surprisingly long time, Johnston's skill and cunning were to prove more than a match against this array of force.

Lord Durham, who shortly before this time had arrived in Canada to make a study of the Canadians' grievances with a view to recommending to the British government methods which he believed would alleviate these and restore order, peace and contentment to Canada, soon reached the opinion that Canada could not put a stop to the border raids or capture the pirates without United States help. On June 9, he sent to Washington Col. Charles Grey, his personal aide, with letters addressed to H. S. Fox, the British minister, asking Fox to use his influence with President Van Buren and his cabinet to find means for putting an end to the border raids and joining Canada in a joint effort to round-up and arrest the pirates.

Col. Gray's Viewpoint

"These islands are perfectly beautiful," Gray wrote after a trip through Bill Johnston's empire, "but a place so formed for a buccaneer I never saw, Johnston has only to keep quiet for a certain time, and it is impossible to find him. The only chance is his being betrayed for the sake of the reward, and it is odd that he has not already been so; but I hear he is very popular even with those who do not join him, and he is connived at by those he assists in smuggling. It seems too absurd that one man should keep a whole country in hot water; but so it is; and till he is caught, there is no doubt that navigation of the river in this neighborhood is unsafe."

Within a week Col. Dundas and Captain Sandom crossed the St. Lawrence from Kingston to Sackett's Harbor where a conference was held with General Macomb, commanding the U. S. forces, and the latter's officers and arrangements made for a joint effort to capture Johnston's gang to be inaugurated July 2. Under the terms of the gentlemen's agreement reached, armed craft of both countries were to be free

to cruise in and search in the waters of either. Any prisoners taken were to be handed over to the authorities of the country in whose domain the prisoners were taken.

Pursuit Force Organizes

General Macomb leased the steamer "Oneida" and placed soldiers aboard her for use in connection with the proposed joint program. The Canadian "Niagara" was ordered to comb the American islands. Sir John Colborne assigned four bodies of marines for similar duty on board the gun boat "Bull Frog," commanded by Lieut. Leary of the Royal Navy and the steamer "Experiment," which were to search the Canadian Islands from East to West.

There was thus presented the spectacle on the great St. Lawrence early in July of 500 red-coated and blue-coated soldiers united under two flags, beating through the woods on 1700 islands like huntsmen in an English game preserve. The prey sought, however, in this case, was just one man—Bill Johnston. If he should be caught, nothing else much would matter.

About this time, Kate, Bill Johnston's attractive and devoted daughter began to play a more important role in her father's affairs. For months she would aid in keeping him out of the clutches of those who sought his arrest and punishment.

Thousand Island Queen

"Kate Johnston was born in Sackett's Harbor, September 11, 1819," writes John Northman, Canadian-born author who used a pen name. "In babyhood and girlhood she was slight and delicate, threatened with early decline. That physical weakness attracted her and endeared her the more to her rugged father, as an oak attracts and protects, and perhaps pities, the clinging vine. Between father and daughter developed an affection which grew

through two decades—an affection strengthened and amplified by mental affinity, mutual interests, and a fondness for the picturesque. He was her ideal of manly strength and bravery, her inspiration to deeds of high enterprise. She was his alter ego, the Alpha and Omega of his hopes and dreams. With him, she loved the mighty river rolling eastward in power and beauty immemorial. Its waters lured her to paddle and swim and shoot. She learned to know the Thousand Islands like a book. Sun and wind and breath of pines brought bloom to her cheeks; and although she never became robust, she developed a beauty and self reliance rarely equalled even in that land of virile womanhood.

"My little Kate;" her father often said, "'Some day you will be Queen of the Thousand Islands.'"

"Literally, the prophesy was not fulfilled. But little Kate attained to prominence rarely vouchsafed to the humbly born. She became a heroine and was called a queen. She added new romance to the St. Lawrence. She set up a new standard of feminine loyalty. Amid the legend-haunted Thousand Islands her memory still lives; and so long as men and women admire the qualities which she exemplified, she is assured of remembrance.

"To Bill Johnston, as has been said, the Upper Canadian embroglio was not so much a rebellion as a revolution; as such, it was something which seemed to demand his attention. To Kate, it was a war which took her father forth on daring exploits and dangerous voyages; it appealed to the spirit of adventure in her. Developments of July, 1838, presented it as a new exemplification of human tyranny, of which her own father was the victim; and all the instincts of her being prompted her to lend her aid in his behalf. Strictly speaking, she became a law-breaker, too. But posterity puts no such brand on her; rath-

er, it recognizes her as preeminently a woman, actuated by womanly motives and impulses—one who deserved to succeed even in a questionable cause.

Kept Father Informed

"From the very day when her father first defied United States law, Kate Johnston did her best to shield him by giving the authorities false information about him, and by warning him of their plans: herself unsuspected at first, she learned by inquiry and observation, and from a host of friends, almost every move that was proposed against him. When he went out on his island domain she followed him as a helper and protector. Contrary to legend, she did not live with him among the Islands. But she was frequently with him; she had her own boat; she went armed like the boldest buccaneer; she was a constant and infallible means of communication between Fort Wallace and the American mainland.

"His lovely little daughter visits him every day," wrote Mackenzie, who had met her often in her father's home, and loved her almost as a father, 'although she has to submit to the abusive language of the American officers and private soldiers who are constantly haunting his premises at French Creek.'

"She is certainly a very noble looking girl," declared a writer who saw her at that time from the deck of a passenger steamer.

"After the sacking of the 'Peel' her father presented her with Mrs. Sampson's silk apron, the gold watch with long gold neck-chain attached, and, it is said, a considerable amount of cash. In later years, she cut the neck-chain into four lengths, and presented one to each of her four daughters. Descendants still possess the silk apron. It is of mauve-colored material, and slightly torn at the upper corners as if it

had been wrested from someone's grasp.

"Then, if ever, would appear to have been the time for the 'coronation.' More fantastic things have hapened. Many heads less worthy than Kate Johnston's have worn a golden crown. If Mackenzie had succeeded, the British Islands of the St. Lawrence, and suzerainty over the surrounding waters, would have been meagre enough reward for an ally so able and active as Bill Johnston; and it does not transcend credibility that the King would have honored his daughter by some sort of regal ceremony. But the fates decreed otherwise.

Tables Are Turned

"Bill Johnston, the man-hunter, became himself a hunted man. Waters of freedom still; but they were now as a flood of tribulation compassing him round. Shut off from home and supplies, and constrained to a role which was foreign to his temperament, he suffered intensely in body and mind. It was then that his daughter revealed her queenly qualities.

"Day after day, from sunrise to sunset, during those summer and autumn months of 1838, a slim, beautiful, dark-haired girl, 19 years of age, sat with a telescope at her eye, watching through two 'owl's-eye' windows in a house in French Creek. Her seat was a bed on which, at night, if circumstances permitted, she might snatch brief repose. Occasionally she had a companion, faithful as herself—a cousin named Ada Randolph—who shared her vigils. Sometimes she watched in vain. Sometimes she would see on Grindstone Island, or on some farther lonely rock, a furtive figure steal into view, wave a signal, and disappear. She would see and understand; for a system of signals had been arranged on the principle of the Morse Code.

"When such message came, she, after dark, in storm or calm,

would put food in a canoe or little row-boat, and, with a rifle by her side, set forth alone, or accompanied by her cousin, into the wilderness of waters. Unerringly she would reach an appointed place; and a haggard man would come down to meet her. She would give him the food, and tell him the latest news of things ashore; then, if it seemed advisable, she would take him aboard, hasten away to some secret cove or cave in the rocks, leave him there, and return home. Perchance the man she expected would not appear; he would send a substitute. If no one came, she needed no explanation; she would hide the food in a cache, knowing that sooner or later it would be called for.

Devil's Oven Tryst

"One frequent tryst was the Devil's Oven, just below Alexandria Bay—that tiny island of hollow rock, tufted with pines. In its cavernous interior, which can be entered only through one opening, shaped like the door of an oven, little higher than water level, the fugitive kept a canoe, and remained secreted for many days. When the girl arrived, she would place food on a plank, and shove it through to the man within.

"People on land, and fishermen on the river, often saw that solitary voyager of the St. Lawrence. They knew her identity and her mission: they knew she was Kate Johnston assisting her outlawed father. Two nations paid tribute to her heroism. A few attempts were made to follow her; but she outwitted all pursuit.

"On one occasion two British officers, who were out in a gig searching for the Pirate, came across her unaware. With visions of rewards in mind they endeavored to make her reveal her father's hiding place. Casually maneuvering her boat into an advantageous position, she seized her rifle, and covered them. Threatening them with instant death if they disregarded her

commands, she compelled them to hitch their boat to hers, and tow her to the American side. Then, with a smile, she bade them depart in peace.

Net Draws Tighter

"Several times she landed alone on the Canadian shore, and talked unafraid to Canadian citizens. She sometimes visited her uncle James—her father's brother—at Bath. Legend has it that she once walked along the main street of Gananoque, recognized by many of the inhabitants. Legend further says, uncontradicted by this history, that she and her father more than once rowed past the village, just beyond musket range, taunting the citizens and waving a Stars and Stripes.

"Thus from mid-July until mid-November, Kate Johnston risked life and liberty in the cause of love. Her adventures, if told in detail, would fill many pages; most of them have been lost in the vortex of time. How she endured the strain is a physiological mystery—she, a frail looking girl whose strength seemed scarcely equal to a day's railway journey. Fame sought her out. Poets sang her praises. Novelists—and some alleged historians—romanced about her. A play was written and staged in her honor—a rather crude melodrama, critics said; and it had a run in New York. Tradition made her a figure of almost mythical beauty and greatness; and some of its lore has come down to the present time.

"It is not implied that she alone, with Ada Randolph's assistance was her father's salvation. In the earlier period of his outlawry, many homes among the Islands and along the borders were open to him. Grindstone Island in particular was a nest of Patriots who, although closely watched by the authorities, managed to supply him and his followers with arms. That perhaps, explains an experience which befell a Canadian wom-

an, Mrs. Charles Lashay, of Gananoque, on the first night of a visit to friends on the Island. Her child became sleepy, and she proceeded to put it to bed. When she turned down the covers, she found the bed already occupied—it was full of muskets. Mrs. Samuel Johnston gave the wanderer food.

Pursuit Intensifies

"Gradually, as the pursuit intensified, these sources were closed to him. For awhile he found refuge on Well's Island. Authorities, having learned his whereabouts, prepared to catch him. A posse of deputies sighted him walking, rifle in hand, across an open space, towards the farm house of Joseph Pecor, a Canadian, who subsequently resided in Gananoque. They gave chase. But their quarry had seen them; he dodged into a thicket and was lost to sight. Shortly afterwards, Mrs. Pecor, alone in the house, saw a desperate looking, armed man standing in her doorway.

"I'm Bill Johnston," he said. "They're after me. Hide me someplace, and don't betray me, or I'll shoot you."

"She motioned him up a ladder which led to the garret. Scarcely had he disappeared from view when the deputies approached the house.

"Have you see Bill Johnston?" they asked. "He came this way."

"I haven't seen him," replied the woman.

"Do you mind if we have a look?"

"Search the house if you like. He isn't here."

"They searched perfunctorily down stairs. An officer climbed the ladder to the second floor level, glanced casually around, saw nothing but a few packing boxes, and came down satisfied. Had he used a lantern he would have seen Bill Johnston crouched behind a box with his rifle ready for action. When the deputies departed, the fugitive descended,

sat down at the table and demanded a meal. He ate ravenously. Then, without a word of thanks, he stalked away.

"To such a pass the King of the River had come! But he would not have shot Mrs. Pecor: he would not have harmed a hair on her head. Those who were kind to him found him not ungrateful. One who helped him occasionally was Frank Kirky, a resident on what was then called Kirky's Island. To this friend he gave an old flint-lock musket of American make, dated 1811—a musket which, perhaps, he had used in the War of 1812. Converted into a hammer and nipple weapon, this musket became a cherished heirloom of Frank Laskay, of Gananoque, a grandson of the original recipient.

Johnston Challenges Fate

"Even on the river, the outlaw was no longer secure; for the authorities increased their flotillas of small craft, and dogged him relentlessly. To counter their movements he established an observation post on what rivermen call Look-out Island—a bald rock, some eighty feet high; his post was discovered and made untenable. He returned to his cave on Hemlock Island; a hunting party came searching, and he fled again. Frequently he was seen in Lake Waterloo, between Well's Island and La Rue Island. Twice his pursuers chased him into Eel Bay, believing they had him cornered; but when they closed in upon him, he was not there—he had carried his boat over a neck of land, and escaped down the International Rift which lay on the farther side of the island.

"There were moments when death or surrender seemed the only recourse; but he still said: 'I will never be taken alive.' Desperation made him more daring. It is related as a fact of local history that he once tied his boat to Gananoque wharf, landed, and stood leaning nonchalantly on his rifle, as if defying all Canada

to come and take him. Someone told the Sheriff that 'Pirate Bill' was there.

"I know it," replied that official, finding other duties more urgent at the moment; and the visitor departed unmolested."

Johnston Celebrates Fourth

On July 4th 1838 Bill Johnston arranged a big celebration to take place at "Fort Wallace" not only in honor of the birthday of the United States, but more especially to celebrate the freeing a week earlier of Anderson, the first of the pirates to be tried in Jefferson County Court at Watertown upon a charge of arson, following the arrest of a party of "pirates" the morning after the burning of the "Sir Robert Peel" as they were moving along a Jefferson County highway from the scene of the crime. The jury which had stood 7 for conviction of Anderson on the charge of arson in the third degree on its first ballot, and five for his acquittal of any crime, had finally brought in a verdict of not guilty after a trial which had lasted several days and awakened great interest throughout New York State and Canada. It had drawn many prominent lawyers and public officials to Watertown. Marshall Forward of Oswego, one of the party arrested following the burning of the "Peel," was called to the witness stand on the day after the Anderson jury disagreed as he was scheduled to have been the second one of those in custody to go on trial. His attorney moved that Forward's case, and those of his other associates other than Anderson be "put over till a later term" for trial to give counsel an opportunity to obtain evidence in his behalf and upon other grounds. The court then granted the postponement and all of the defendants were released under their own recognizance pending a trial then suggested to take place in the fall. None of them, however, was subsequently brought to trial.

Johnston exhibited to his guests who came to celebrate the release of Johnston's erstwhile fellow conspirators the colors that had been flown by the "Peel." They were greeted with cheers. Humorously Johnston referred to the burned ship in addressing his guests as "the Queen's gridiron." A toast, said to have been composed by Johnston which may have had its first offering on this occasion was: "Admiral William Johnston and the captors of the Sir Robert Peel—May all Patriots emulate the glorious conduct of those 15 heroes that conquered Captain Armstrong and his One Hundred Thirty British Hell hounds, and may the remainder meet with what they deserve, the gallows, not forgetting MacNab, Mosher and Drew."

A Fake Knighting

When the British government knighted Col. MacNab and Captain Drew who had taken prominent roles in the destruction of the American steamer "Caroline" at Schlosser the preceding December, the Patriots retaliated by dubbing their admiral "Sir William Johnston" and presenting him with a flag emblazoned with his name. It is related that Johnston was so sure that he would not be interfered with by local officers during the period that the manhunt was at its height, that he visited French Creek nearly every day. Johnston boasted of having such evidence against most of these men—probably in connection with smuggling operations—that they dare not lay their hands on him. As a matter of fact they were probably all afraid of him such a reputation had Johnston been at pains to build up for himself as a "tough hombre."

Johnston viewed with contempt the efforts of the two governments to capture him through the use of their armies. It is related that he stood, only partial-

ly concealed from view at Sackett's Harbor one day, to watch the steamer "Telegraph," loaded with U. S. soldiers leave port to go in search of him. One evening he swept past Brockville with five boats containing upwards of 100 men. The Canadian authorities of the town rushed to put armed guards upon the steamboats in the town fearing that Johnston was coming for these.

Johnston Makes Cousinly Call

Says Northman of Johnston at this period: "Secure in the knowledge of what his enemies were doing—firm in the faith that no friend or follower would betray him—confident in his own ability to detect and avoid any trap laid for him—he on the evening of July 10th crossed with five or six men in one of his smaller boats to Grindstone Island. It was commonly reported afterwards that the purpose of his visit was to consort measures for the blowing up of the Welland Canal so as to block the passage of Government vessels between the two lakes. Whatever his purpose, he proposed but the Fates disposed."

When Johnston beached his boat at Grindstone Island that night, he sent his companion to the home of John Farrow, a fellow pirate, on the island while he went to call on his cousin, Samuel Johnston, who as a law abiding citizen had little use for his cousin, Bill, but whose wife was a friend and quite an admirer of Bill Johnston and his political ideas and who on occasions befriended him. After spending the evening with his cousins, Bill joined his companions at Farrow's house which stood in a lonely spot surrounded by dense woods and bushes. There Johnston conferred with his associates until midnight when all retired with the exception of Riley Toucy, a youth, who had joined Johnston's party only the day before, and who was assigned to stand guard. Inside the house were 14 pistols and 13 rifles and half a dozen swords laid

out on tables and ready for instant use should occasion require.

Johnston Eludes Trap

Some one in Johnston's confidence is believed to have tipped off the United States army's representatives that Johnston was spending the night on Grindstone Island. (Northman suggests that the informer was probably Johnston's own cousin, Samuel Johnston). The U. S. army got word across the river to the Canadian army that they knew where Johnston was and invited the Canadians to come to help catch him. The Canadians came on the gunboat "Bull Frog" with 50 sailors. Their leader conferred with Captain Gwynne of the American army. It was arranged that the British ship should anchor off the north side of the island and then land her men; that the "Telegraph"; the American troop ship, should land 50 soldiers on the south side of the island. Then the two forces would advance at daybreak simultaneously, meet at the Farrow house and surround it.

The British moved too rapidly with the result that they arrived at the rendezvous before the Americans had moved up. Two watch dogs discovered their presence in the undergrowth about the house and began barking, awakening Toucy who had been dozing at his post. His alarmed out-cry brought Bill Johnston and five of his men—Farrow, Robert Smith, William Robbins, John Van Clute and Allen Early, all unarmed out of the house. Seeing the nearest seaman only 15 yards away, they dashed into the woods and escaped as bullets went whistling past their ears. By chance they chose a route that took them out of the path of the advancing Americans, and they had opportunity to make good their escape. Intensive search by soldiers and sailors in the woods roundabout the Farrow house, brought no trace of them.

Slay The Watch Dogs

Angered by the barking of the dogs which had aroused their intended victims, the men shot the watch dogs. They made prisoners of Toucy and Jonathan Tunnecliffe, a farmer who lived on the island, who had come to the Farrow house on an early morning errand. They seized all the arms in the house, a boat and a rifle that belonged to Tunnecliffe and left. They located Johnston's cutter and took possession of that, taking it on board the "Telegraph" back to Sackett's Harbor.

Receiving further information on the island as to the probable whereabouts of the location to which Johnston had fled with his companions, the British sailors returned to their boats and sailed for Fort Wallace. This time they had made no mistake. They reached the proper island, found the hide-out, but no one there.

In the cave they found rifles, muskets, ammunition, empty casks and the flag bearing Johnston's name. These were all the spoils.

"Fort Wallace" Falls

Never afterwards was "Fort Wallace" occupied for purposes of war or peace. With the passing of years, fallen boulders have come to block its entrance. Rocks crumbled, and earth shifted in its interior. The present generation resident in the vicinity knows little of its existence or its location.

After his escape at Grindstone Island, Bill Johnston, was too wise to attempt to return with his followers to Fort Wallace. But they did escape and they were not to be soon apprehended. He still had boats and men willing to do his bidding. And they found new hideouts in the island fastnesses. Johnston was to have several months more of freedom before he should be made an American prisoner once again.

Toucy and Tunnecliffe after having been held as prisoners at

Sackett's Harbor for several days, were given a hearing which resulted in their discharge. They were set free and returned to their island homes.

Following the capture of a major portion of his gang at Grindstone Island, Johnston continued to remain in hiding in the islands while both British and American forces redoubled their efforts to apprehend him. The number of British ships engaged in search of him in the island area was soon increased to four and the number of men engaged in the man-hunt increased accordingly. Johnston found new places for concealing himself and the members of the new crew with which he surrounded himself. His daughter, Kate, who endeavored to see him almost daily, frequently going out in her own row boat under the cover of darkness to accomplish her purpose, took along on these trips supplies of homecooked foods and delicacies for her father. She kept him informed of the plans of the two governments to catch or entrap him, advised him of movements of ships and troops and gave him the news of the day. Friends of Johnston, ever on the alert in his behalf, supplied her with much of the information she passed on to him. Frequently his friends went to the islands to talk with him, including, it has been recorded, some elected officials whose duty it would have been to place him under arrest.

Said the "Oswego Palladium" of July 18, 1838:

"Bill" Johnston's Narrow Escape

"A friend has put us in possession of the following account of an unsuccessful attempt to surprise and capture the 'Buccaneer of the Lake' on Grindstone Island in the St. Lawrence by a party of about 80 men of the American and British forces. The correctness of the statement may be relied upon.

"Our correspondent comments in relation to this statement that

it would seem that Bill Johnston is not at the head of so formidable a force as is generally supposed; that he owes his immunity from arrest less to prowess of his arms than to the concealment afforded him by border inhabitants. It also seems that he, too, when it comes to a scratch is not ashamed to acknowledge that 'discretion is the better part of valor'.

"Sackett's Harbor, July 12, 1838 about 11 o'clock A. M. the steamer 'Telegraph' in the service of the United States arrived from a cruise along the Thousand Islands and brought with her two prisoners of Johnston's gang of desperadoes and Johnston's boat so much extolled for its swiftness.

"Two Armies Seek Johnston

"On the morning of the 11th inst. Captain Gwynn of the 1st Regt. of the U. S. Infantry, commanding the steamer 'Telegraph' received information that Johnston's party were concealed in a house on Grindstone Island and with a party of British regulars engaged in the same pursuit, made arrangements for surprising and capturing the gang, but owing to difficulty of approaching the house on account of the roughness of the country, and the density of the woods and thickets the parties did not approach the house simultaneously as it was intended. The British party, getting on the ground somewhat the soonest, and approaching on the same side with the other (party) the whole of Johnston's gang, with the exception of two men, made their escape. The two men taken were asleep. They were found in the house belonging to John Farron on Grindstone Island, who is said to be one of the burners of the Peel, with a quantity of arms, such as pistols, rifles and muskets. The names of the prisoners are Riley Toucy and Jonathan Tunnecliffe, those who made the escape were Bill Johnston, John Farron, Robert Smith, John Robins, John Van Clute and

Allen Early. They were fired on, but with what effect is not known. After a thorough search by the whole party, amounting to 80 men, it was found impossible to discover the fugitives. The two prisoners under the charge of Deputy Sheriff D. McCulloch are now at Sackett's Harbor and will be turned over to the proper authority, to be dealt with according to law.

"Pirate Boat Seized

"The boat of Johnston is 28 feet long and 4½ feet wide. She is painted black at the bottom, white above the water, with a red gunwale, and a yellow streak six inches wide just below, and below the yellow a small streak of red. She has one set of sweeps and one set of short oars, so as to row double, or single handed, according to circumstances. But may be rowed with 12 oars. She is clinker built and very light. Two men can carry her with ease, still she is capable of transporting 12 men with their arms. She had on board when captured a large American flag, intended no doubt, to deceive the English boats when passing by them.

"Captain Childs in charge of 'Telegraph'."

All efforts put forth either by the British or the American authorities to take Johnston into custody during the late summer months and those of the early fall of 1838 came to naught. Fate determined that these efforts should not be successful until after the invasion effort being planned had been carried through and resulted unfortunately for the Patriot cause and those Hunters and Patriots who participated in it. In the meantime Johnston was taking an active and prominent part in the planning the invading expedition and in the execution of which he was expected to play a leading part.

Hunters Lodges Organized

Hunters' lodges, first organized in Vermont by a man named

Hunter to whom the order paid tribute by giving his name to the organization, spread rapidly in the summer of 1838 so that within a period of a few months they came to have a membership of more than 200,000 men in the United States, principally in cities and towns in the border states. At Watertown the lodge membership soon increased to 1,900 members. Oswego had one of the larger and most active lodges. The Hunters soon took over the task of providing arms, munitions and men for prosecuting the aims that had formerly been espoused principally by Canadian refugees who had fled to the United States when the rebellion failed in Canada, and their American sympathizers. Bill Johnston took an active part in organizing the Hunters lodges.

John Grant, Jr., who had been one of the first county judges in Oswego county, was reported by George McWhorter, collector of customs at Oswego to his superiors in Washington, as occupying the office of treasurer of the Hunters' lodges in the United States. When the Hunters held their national convention at Cleveland, O., in September 1838, Grant was designated to head a projected national bank in Canada with a capital of \$750,000,000 which the Hunters aimed to establish to back up the "provisional government" which they planned to place in power in case the invasion attempt against the Canadas that was being planned for November should succeed.

When the expedition moved out of Oswego aboard two chartered schooners and the passenger ship "United States" on November 11, Bill Johnston, commodore of the Patriot Navy, was in command of one of the schooners that left Oswego bearing men, arms and munitions for use in the proposed invasion. Many of the supplies had been loaded on ship at a

wharf which was located just north of the location of the Bridge street bridge of today and on the West bank of the Oswego river, while, it was later charged, Federal and local officials stood by, and made no effort to intervene. The wharf was within 60 feet of Oswego's Post-office of that day.

"Hunters" Plot Invasion

While Johnston continued a way of life after the loss of his earlier gang similar to that he had followed in his heyday in the few weeks which immediately followed the seizure and destruction of the "Sir Robert Peel," his spirit seems to have been somewhat broken and his acts of conspicuous daring and lawlessness were less frequent than formerly. He supplied himself with new light, speed boats similar to those which had been seized at Grindstone Island, and he continued to move about on mysterious missions. Undoubtedly he was landing arms and military supplies which found their way back into the Midland towns where Patriot sentiment was strongest in Canada. There men were being prepared to take part in a fresh revolt which was being planned for the late fall months to coincide with the entrance into Canada from the St. Lawrence river of a Patriot force which was to be equipped and trained in the States. This would enter Canada with the expectation that hundreds of Canadian Patriots, and members of the new "Hunters" lodges, principally made up of men sympathetic with the Patriot cause, would flock to join them as soon as the invading force should score its expected first success soon after entering Canada.

Hunters Lodges Founded

Hunter membership was made up of men sympathetic with the Patriot cause and who favored intervention by the citizens of the United States in Can-

adian affairs, if this action should be necessary to win "freedom" for Canada. Foundation of the lodge was followed by rapid spread of the Hunter movement throughout both the United States and Canada. It soon had lodges in all the Canadian border states. Later lodges were founded in some of the Southern states outside the deep south.

As from this point forward during the period of the border war the organized Hunters largely replaced the loosely organized Patriots in developing, financing, and forwarding all movements south of the Canadian border which had for their objectives the "freeing" of Canada, some idea should be imparted at this time as to whom the Hunters were and how they carried on their work.

Many Patriots Were Hunters

Bill Johnston was a Hunter. He helped to organize several Lodges in New York State. Frequently he addressed their meetings. Under the banner of the Hunters he was eventually to come out of seclusion to aim one more blow at the British Lion.

Captain Heustis was a Hunter. In May, 1838, he joined a Lodge in Watertown on its first night. Soon the Lodge had nineteen hundred members. Three months later, ten American prisoners—including James Moreau, Samuel Chandler, Benjamin Wait, and Linus W. Miller—who had been captured at Short Hills—were tried and condemned to death at Niagara, Upper Canada. Moreau alone was hanged; sentences of the others were commuted to deportation. While these nine men were still in Niagara jail, fifty young Hunters, including the Captain, assembled secretly at Youngstown, intending to cross the river and rescue them. Just before the expedition started, word came that the convicts had been removed to Fort Henry at Kingston.

Benjamin Lett was a Hunter; and no one among the 200,000

"Knights of the Dagger" better represented than he the criminality which found place in their ranks. He and his had suffered injury at the hands of the Family Compact. Like Bill Johnston, he swore vengeance. Unlike his more famous contemporary, who knew him well but never was associated with him in his deeds of violence, Lett stained his hands with human blood.

Hunter Lodges At Work

At first there was a broad assumption of good faith among the fraternity of Hunters. A brother, during his initiation, beheld a dagger lying on a table; but nothing was said as to the reason for its presence. Later, after a few members had been observed to be talking too freely of the lodge and its operations an initiate beheld, when the bandage was removed from his eyes, a member standing before him waving a dagger; and he was informed that the dagger was to remind him of the manner in which he would meet his death should he at any time reveal a secret to the injury of the cause or of a fellow Hunter. Several members disappeared mysteriously. Whispers spread through the Lodge rooms—and leaked out to other ears—that the dagger had fulfilled its function.

Membership in the United States alone eventually reached a grand total of 200,000 members of whom, it was said, 40,000 effective men, including a band of Indians and 600 Kentucky riflemen, had pledged themselves to march into Canada when required. How many Hunters there were in Canada will never be known. They were scattered over the length and breadth of the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. They were to be found in churches, schools, farm houses, public offices, even in the militia. They constituted a vast body of discontent and conspiracy, preparing for war. Not without ground was that information

transmitted by Major Townsend to Colonial Halkett in June of 1838, but only a small part of the truth was glimpsed until one year later, when, through the lips of a converted Patriot in Cobourg it burst like a thunderbolt upon the Canadian authorities.

Membership in the Society of Hunters was easy of attainment. No particular qualifications were stipulated. Patriotism and secretiveness were the *sine qua non*. Ministers and murderers, judges and convicts, generals and warriors, all classes, all creeds, all colors, alike were admitted. Not untruthfully a Select Committee of the Upper Canadian House of Assembly said: "Laborers left their employ, apprentices their masters, mechanics abandoned their shops, merchants their counters, magistrates their official duties, husbands their families, children their parents, Christians their churches, ministers of the Gospel their charges, to attend these meetings."

There were four ranks of degrees, each with its special oath, its own signs of recognition—all of them conversant with signs common to all the degrees; and there was one general Oath which all members took on admittance. It follows:

Hunter Oath

"I swear to do my utmost to promote Republican Institutions and ideas throughout the world—to cherish them, to defend them; and especially to devote myself to the propagation, protection, and defense of these Institutions in North America. I Pledge my life, my property, my sacred honor to the Association; I bind myself to its interests, and I promise, until death, that I will attack, combat, and help to destroy, by all means that my superior may think proper, every power, or authority, of Royal origin, upon this continent; and especially never to rest till all tyrants of Britain cease to have any dominion or footing whatever in

North America. I further solemnly swear to obey the orders delivered to me by my superiors, and never to disclose any such order, or orders, except to a brother 'Hunter' of the same degree. So help me God."

Snow Shoe Degree

First of the degrees was called "the Snow-Shoe Degree." Candidates about to take it were introduced into the Lodge Room blindfolded; and this Oath was administered to them:

"You swear in the presence of Almighty God that you will not reveal the secret sign of the snow-shoe to any, not even to members of the Society; that you will not write, print, mark, engrave, scratch, chalk, or in any conceivable manner whatsoever, make the shape or sign of the snowshoe to any living being, not even to members of this Society. You furthermore solemnly swear that you will not reveal any of the secrets of this Society, which may come to your knowledge through the president, vice-president or his cabinet. You furthermore solemnly swear that you will give timely notice to any member or brother if you know of any evil plot or design, that has been carried on against him or this Society. You furthermore solemnly swear that you will render all assistance in your power, without injuring yourself or family. This you swear as you shall answer to God."

Signs Of Identification

This degree had four signs: First, laying the palm of the left hand over the back of the right hand, with all fingers extended and apart from each other, and then letting both hands fall carelessly in front of the body. Second, when shaking hands, the cuff of the coat was taken between the finger and thumb of the left hand. Third: an inquiry: "Are you a Hunter?"—to which the other party, if he were a Hunter, replied by naming the day immediately following the day of the

week on which the question was asked. Fourth, lifting the right hand to the ear, with the palm in front, and pressing the ear slightly forward. As a further precaution, in the event that a stranger might have become familiar with the signs, any doubtful person under interrogation was asked: "Have you ever seen a snowshoe?" and requested to make a representation of it on paper. If he attempted to comply, he was immediately known to be an impostor.

Second Degree

The Second degree was known as "the Beaver Degree." This was the oath imposed:

"You swear in the presence of Almighty God that you will not reveal the sign of the Beaver Degree to anyone who is not a member of the same Degree with yourself.

"Its specific sign consisted of an inquiry: "Do you know the Beaver to be an industrious animal?" If the party questioned were a Hunter, he made no answer verbally, but, to imitate the action of a beaver gnawing a tree, he lifted his left hand to his mouth, with the palm nearest the face, the fingers bent, the forefinger under the chin, and the nail of the thumb between the thumb and the teeth, which were closed upon it, to imitate the action of a beaver.

"In the Third Degree, which was called the Master Hunters' Degree, a similar Oath was administered; and the sign was one word: "Trouble?" To that question a true Hunter replied: "Calm," at the same time, he moved his right hand to the left side of the body, with the back of the hand upward, and the hand and fingers horizontal.

"Fourth Degree was known as the Patriot Hunters' Degree. Its Oath was much the same as in the Second and Third; and it had three signs:—First, "Do you snuff and chew?" Answer: "I do." Thereupon the party making re-

ply, if he had a snuff box with him, took it out, and made three scratches on it with his nail; but if he had no such article, he put the thumb of his left hand into the left pocket of his waistcoat, and made three scratches with the finger on the cloth. Second: "Have you any news for me?" Answer: "Some." Third: A sign of distress: the left hand was raised with the palm forward, the fingers partially extended and the thumb pointing to the coat collar."

All these signs were used, as occasion required, in gaining admittance to Lodge meetings. Gradually another method replaced them, and developed into a significance of its own. An applicant gave two raps on the outside of the door. These were answered by two raps on the inside. One more rap on the outside brought another answering rap from within. Then the entrant made three scratches on the door; and the portal flew open.

Signs Are Changed

Notwithstanding all oaths, and promises, and the general atmosphere of mystery and brotherhood, some of these signs and secrets became known to the public; consequently they were changed from time to time. In the United States, the sign of recognition, as finally adopted, consisted in moving the index finger of the right hand with a circular motion; this was acknowledged by a wave of the left hand. In Canada, a Hunter put either hand in his pocket, took out some change, and remarked: "Times are easier." And a brother Hunter replied: "Truly."

Aims and objects of the Society were not stated fully to initiates until after the Fourth Degree had been taken. Only Grand Masters, and others of high rank, who were implicitly trusted, knew all the secrets.

Such was the "unholy league," as one British writer describes it, which developed out of the

exodus of Canadian exiles to the United States. Mackenzie himself was not a member; he was not in its secrets except from second-hand sources; he disapproved of its war-like program even more strongly than he disapproved of some of the deeds it did in the name of Patriotism.

Two Grand Lodges

There was a Grand Lodge of the east, with headquarters in Vermont, and a Grand Lodge of the west, with headquarters in Cleveland. In September, 1838, a seven-day Convention of Michigan and Ohio Lodges was held in the latter city. Quite a number of Oswego Patriots attended including Deputy Marshal J. W. Turner of Oswego, who secretly went as a "spy" for the United States government by arrangements made through George McWhorter, then Collector of the Port of Oswego. It organized a republican "Government" for Upper Canada, complete with President, Vice-President, and Secretaries of State, Treasury and War. A date was set for the invasion of Canada. Commanding officers were appointed. The principal of these was L. V. Bierce, an Akron lawyer, who had formerly come to Oswego teaching grammar, who was sky-rocketed to the rank of "General," over the head of "General" Handy. To provide the sinews of war, a National Bank, to be known as the Republican Bank of Canada, was projected, with an initial capital of \$750,000,000, divided into 150,000 shares of a par value of \$50 each; this capital to be employed solely in the acquisition of Canada, and repaid to investors by the confiscation of Canadian lands—but only in the event that the cause triumphed.

Oswego Judge Headed Bank

John Grant, Jr., of Oswego, one of the first judges of Oswego County, became bank President; and Bernard Bagley and S. Moulson, vice-Presidents. Notes of the bank were to bear "martyrs to

the cause of Canadian Liberty; Lount, Matthews and Moreau."

Subscriptions were solicited and sufficient funds were received to make possible the purchase of 5,000 stand of arms, ammunition, and campaign supplies, and to charter steamboats for the transportation of troops. But even in those Patriotic days there were plausible scamps who managed to worm their way into the confidence of honest men; and much of the money collected, it was later charged, never found its way into the treasury.

Spies of two countries watched proceedings. For the United States, one Captain N. Johnson travelled as a steamboat hand and posed as a Patriot, and learned many of the Hunter secrets. Deputy Marshal J. W. Turner of Oswego kept an eye on the frontier. Both these men attended the Cleveland Convention; and both reported to their superiors that Bill Johnston, General McLeod, Dr. Duncombe, and others, were under close supervision. Canada was represented by one official spy named Matthew Hayes, and by many sub-spies, one of whom Jones, a dentist, offered to sell Royalist secrets to the Patriots, and another of whom was Heley Chamberlain, of Bath. Chamberlain's information proved to be unusually accurate—he said that he obtained much of it from Bernard Bagley. "Bill" Johnston categorized him in writing as "Chamberlain, perjured villain." The two Governments adopted preventive measures; but before their ponderous machinery could get into motion, the python had struck.

In a report sent by George McWhorter, the collector of the Port of Oswego, to Secretary of War Forsyth in the form of a letter under date of September 14, 1838, McWhorter set forth that he had reason to believe "that a plan of operations for the overthrow of the British authorities in Upper Canada and for the establishment of its independence

is in process and its organization ranges along the American frontier from the St. Lawrence to the St. Clox. I doubt if there is a city, village or port upon the lake frontier in which an association there is not formed for the prosecution of objects incompatible with the neutral relations of the United States."

McWhorter Advises Washington

McWhorter described the organization of the Hunters Lodges in this area and expressed the belief that "the membership of the fraternity exceeds 40,000." Among the men named by McWhorter in this letter as being active in the alleged plot was "William Johnston (of the 'Sir Robert Peel' memory), who seems to have the direction of their naval matters."

When the Patriot expedition against Canada moved out of Oswego on November 10, 1838 a few weeks after McWhorter's letter had advised Forsyth of his belief that such an invasion was being planned, Bill Johnston, with a group of his personal followers, was aboard one of the two accompanying schooners "Charlotte of Oswego" and "Charlotte of Toronto" which had been loaded at Oswego with food, cannon, ammunition and military supplies for the expedition. The main body was on board the passenger steamer "United States" which left her Oswego dock a few hours after the two schooners loaded with men as well as munitions had sailed.

Von Schoultz Commanded

In command of the Patriots aboard the passenger steamer was "General" Neils S. S. Van Schoultz, a Polish patriot who had recently taken up his residence in Syracuse after having fled from Poland following the collapse of the movement for Polish freedom. Von Schoultz got his orders to assume command at Oswego after returning to Syracuse from a business trip. He caught the steamer only be-

cause its departure had been delayed by storm and then only after riding all night the packet boat from Syracuse to Oswego over the Oswego Canal.

Oswego County Participants

In all there were about sixty Oswego County residents who were aboard either the "United States" that Sunday morning or on one or the other of the two schooners. Included in that number were the following: Charles S. Brown, a son of the Rev. C. B. Brown of Hastings; James L. Snow of Hastings, Alson Owen, Hiram Kinney, Joseph Lee, aged 21 of Palermo; David Allen, John Berry of Volney; J. Clark Cooley, Marshall Forward, J. M. Mackin, Thomas Baker, Eli Clark, Oliver Lawton, Simeon Webster, Jerry C. Griggs, John M. Jones, Edgar Rogers, Alonzo Menhoit, Truman Chipman, Levi Chipman, John Francis Rood, Patrick White, J. H. Martin, Joseph Drummon, all of Oswego; and David Dalfield, Granby. Asa Priest and B. Woodbury were two of the Cayuga county boys to board the ship at Oswego. At Cape Vincent Dorephus Abbey, who earlier attained the distinction of being Oswego County's first printer and newspaper publisher when he established himself here in 1817 and with John H. Lord founded the "Palladium" in 1819 who was a "colonel" in the "Patriot" force, would come on board. There were undoubtedly other Oswego boys who were along on the expedition either on board one of the schooners, or the steamer "United States"—enough, at any rate, so that as a sequel to the unhappy termination of the expedition a public mass meeting would soon be called in Oswego and a committee of prominent villagers named to try to extricate from their perilous situation the many Oswego County boys captured following the battle of the Wind Mill.

In the night preceding the landing of the expedition of Os-

wego Patriots at Wind Mill Point, General J. Ward Birge caused the following printed bill to be displayed through neighboring Canadian towns:

General Birge's Proclamation

Brother Patriots of Canada:

We have come to your rescue; we have heard the groans of your distress, and have seen the tears of anguish on the cheeks of your exiled and oppressed companions. They have besought us to aid them and you in the great work of reform, and to establish on your native soil Equal Rights and Equal Privileges. We come not to invade or war as robbers or plunderers, but we come as brothers from a land of Liberty, as free men, pledged to your cause, and have sworn in the sacred name of Liberty not to desert you. Rally then to our standard; it floats high above your soil as a beacon inviting you to assert your rights. We must triumph. Shouts of victory are already sounding in your ears. The Cause is the Cause of Justice and humanity. Thousands of our countrymen are ready with arms in their hands to aid you. They have pledged to your exiled bretheren their lives, their property, their sacred honor, not to desert the sacred cause of Liberty. Let not your brother Patriots, who are now struggling against the oppressors, be disappointed in you. They have raised their standard and will maintain it. They have gained victory after victory and they expect you to arouse to the conflict and join in the great work.

Your homes, your firesides, your sacred altars shall not be violated. Come on, then, be free-men, and your liberties are secured.

In behalf of the American and Canadian Patriots.

J. Ward Birge,

Brigadier-General

Commanding Eastern Division

Canadians Ignored Appeal

In response to this appeal, 500 Canadian militiamen were under arms waiting for the sunrise. Reports from Patriot sources after the invading forces were all wounded, killed, prisoners or in flight were that only three Canadians responded to "General" Birge's invitation and joined the force at the Wind Mill bent on freeing Canada. Birge was an itinerant dentist whose home was in Cazenovia. He had accompanied the expedition from Oswego, but asserting that he was ill remained in safety at Ogdensburg during the fighting at the Wind Mill and never once entered Canada. After the failure of the expedition he was badly discredited.

Cooley Recalls Role

J. Clark Cooley, who was one of those on board the steamer "United States" when it sailed on the expedition was yet living in Oswego in 1884, nearly fifty years after the events now being described. He was at the time employed by the State of New York as statistical officer at the Port of Oswego in connection with the operation of the Oswego Canal. In discussing the expedition against Prescott in 1838 and the part that Oswego had played in connection with the "Patriot war" Cooley in 1884 said that the officers of the steamer "United States" knew of the dangerous and unlawful errand of the passengers who had assembled on board. "Although," Cooley told a reporter, "the majority of the officers of the steamer were believed to be "Patriots" or sympathetic to their cause, they did not wish to take the responsibility of causing the steamer to cast off her lines and leave port." Accordingly, when he learned of the situation Cooley said he had at once of his own initiative assumed temporary command of the steamer and given the command to throw off the lines to the crew members.

He threatened one member of the crew with a gun. He sounded the bell in the engine room giving the command for the engines to be started and the "United States" started on her fateful voyage.

A little below Millen's Bay near the entrance to the St. Lawrence River the "United States" overtook the two schooners which had left Oswego during the preceding night. Officers of the ship stated later that an unidentified passenger on board the "United States" who came on board at Cape Vincent had made an arrangement with them for the "United States" to pick up and tow the two schooners to Ogdensburg where the stranger, who posed as a merchant, said he desired to have his goods in port the next morning. Captain James VanCleve in command of the steamer "United States," stopped his steamer, arranged his tows one on either side of the ship and the "United States" once more proceeded on its way.

Schooners Loaded With Men

Soon the hatches on the decks of the schooners were lifted up and large groups of armed men led by Bill Johnston, began rushing through the openings to clamor aboard the "United States" to join "General" John W. Birge of Cazenovia, their commander-in-chief, who with others was on board. Soon a council of war was in progress on board the steamer with Birge, Van Schoultz, Johnston and others participating.

Soon the "United States" dropped at Morristown the two schooners and proceeded on to Ogdensburg while the two "Charlottes" tried to make the Canadian shore at Prescott under cover of darkness. They failed when a sentry at Fort Wellington at Prescott observed them and gave the alarm. As the projected attack on Fort Wellington, the Prescott fort, had depended for its success upon the surprise the plan was abandoned and both

ships dropped down stream. The "Charlotte of Oswego" grounded on a delta formed by the Oswegatchie River at its confluence with the St. Lawrence. In order to lighten her load that she might be free to give assistance to the Oswego "Charlotte" the "Charlotte of Toronto" landed Von Schoultz and about 170 men on the Canadian mainland near the old stone wind mill which stood on the point of land afterwards known as Wind Mill Point, about one and a half miles from Prescott. Von Schoultz assumed direction of these men while Birge and some of his cronies proceeded on to Ogdensburg where they remained in safety throughout five days of fighting which were to succeed. After dispatching men into Canada to put up handbills announcing the invasion and inviting the Canadian populace to join the Patriot forces in a statement which appeared over his own name, Birge himself made no effort to enter Canada.

Cooley Told Of Plans

According to Cooley's account of 1884, the Patriots planned procedure had been to effect a landing at the second wharf at Prescott by the "United States," seize and arm the ship with cannon stolen from the New York State Militia which had been brought from Oswego on board the schooners, capture Fort Wellington which was the key to what they thought was the military situation and which had at the time a garrison force of only 14 men. A fatal error, according to Cooley, was made by the Patriots themselves which, it later appeared, was the cause of the defeat of their carefully prepared plans. At 11 o'clock on Sunday night the two schooners were cut loose from the "United States." Assisted by a favoring breeze they moved in towards Prescott intending to surprise the small British garrison and seize Fort Wellington. There were two wharves in Prescott. The "Char-

lotte of Oswego" drew up to the mainland only to discover that the entire width of the face of the dock was occupied by a warehouse with locked doors. To have battered down the doors to effect a landing would have alarmed the villagers and warned the garrison and so defeated the Patriots before they could have drawn their swords.

"Right here was the defeat of the Patriots," commented Cooley in 1884. "There were but fourteen men in the fort that night and if the Patriots had landed at the right dock they could have taken the fort and the Patriots would have been the masters of the situation. But this mistake in the attempted landing defeated everything. It had been planned to seize and arm the steamer "United States" but after this mistake on the part of the schooner the ship was useless and so her skipper ran her into American waters. The "Charlotte of Toronto" left the wharf without attempting to strike a blow and went to the aid of the "Charlotte of Oswego" which in the meantime had run aground and was fast in the mud.

Expedition Failure

It is beyond the purpose of this paper to give a detailed account of the fighting which followed during the next five days at the windmill. Suffice it to say that although they were attacked by greatly superior forces the "Patriots" defended themselves well during the first few days of fighting. Reinforcements were brought up from Kingston by the British regulars who had joined the Canadian militia. A floating battery and an armed steamer were brought into action from the river against the Patriots simultaneously with the attacks made by the reinforcements upon the Patriots who had taken refuge in the windmill. In the end the Patriots raised the white flag over the mill but for a time the attacking forces ignored this and

continued with the slaughter. Finally the flag was recognized and all of the Patriots were taken prisoners with the exception of a few who took advantage of the darkness and made their way one way or another to the American side of the river and to safety.

Fifteen Hung

The prisoners were held overnight at Fort Wellington and taken next day to Fort Henry at Kingston there to await trial and for about fifteen of their number execution, sentencing to a life of penal servitude at Van Dieman's Island in New Zealand for others and eventual pardon for the very young and very old members of the expedition. Among those who were hung for their part in the invasion attempt were the ill-fated but gallant Von Schoultz, commander at the Wind Mill and "Colonel" Dorephus Abbey, the former Oswego printer who had been second in command. A total of 15 men were hung.

During the period of fighting at the Windmill "Bill" Johnston crossed the St. Lawrence from Ogdensburg on one or more occasions to visit the Patriot army defending the Windmill. He did not remain there long, however, and under the pretense that he was leaving to arrange for the sending over of reinforcements to the Windmill defenders, he withdrew to Ogdensburg. He was observed mingling with the crowds of men gathered on the wharf to which the steamer "United States" was tied up and exhorting some of the Patriots, who seemed adverse to the undertaking, to board the ship and be transported to the Windmill. After she had participated on Monday when the steamer was seized by the "Patriots" and her crew were compelled to do the Patriots' bidding under temporary officers who were in part impressed against their wills into taking charge of the steamer, Captain William S. Malcolm of

Oswego who was present on the Ogdensburg wharf as an observer for the United States government's secret service, was forced on board and to assume responsibility for navigating the ship when a cannon ball fired from a British ship decapitated the helmsman. The ship was seized by the United States authorities that night and held under their custody thereafter until she was finally turned back to her owners a year later.

Where Was Johnston?

Where was Bill Johnston during the last four days of the Windmill battle? Most of the time he was on the roof of a house in Ogdensburg, watching events through a spyglass. Because he was there instead of in the Wind Mill, he lost his name and fame, locally at least. He came down, and struck back at his traducers. True, he admitted to Mackenzie and others that, had he been so minded, he could have taken the men away from the Wind Mill. But, he said, Von Schoultz was their commander, and presumably knew his own business best; further, he declared that, having delivered his quota of arms to Von Schoultz, he was deprived of his commission and, consequently, of his power to act. In truth, although he did not say so, Johnston was on the horns of a dilemma: he had pledged his support to the Patriots, and he dare not renege. After the first day at the Wind Mill he knew that the Prescott expedition was doomed, and yet, in the then state of public opinion, he dare not cry quit. For once he lacked the courage of his convictions. Thus precluded from saving others, he decided to save himself. His decision cost him a border reputation for courage which had endured for a quarter of a century.

Son Sought Rewards

He disappeared from Ogdens-

burg—but only for a day. He went out into the wilderness, not to pray but to prepare. He had made a great resolution: urged by his children, and fearing for the safety of his daughter, Kate, whom more and more the authorities were shadowing in her movements, he had resolved to surrender, pay the penalty, and have it over with once and for all. Shrewdly enough, he arranged that his son, John, should take him into custody, and claim Governor Marcy's reward. It was John Johnston's plan, once the arrest was made, to go before the State authorities at Albany, and ask them to weigh his father's deeds as a loyal sailor and soldier of 1813-14 against his mis-deeds as a Patriot of 1838. Of the result he had no doubt: it would be either amnesty or the mildest of punishments.

Johnston is Captured

On the morning of November 17, which followed immediately the surrender and arrest at Wind Mill Point the night before of the men who had participated in the expedition against Prescott which so hopefully had moved out of Oswego six days earlier, "Bill" Johnston was observed making his way westward through the outskirts of Ogdensburg along the St. Lawrence river. He was on foot, and making his way to a rendezvous where he had previously arranged to meet his son, John, a young man of good reputation not sought by the authorities. The son soon appeared in a small row boat and beached his boat on the mainland about three miles above Ogdensburg. From this point, if their plans did not miscarry, John Johnston would soon emerge with his father as a prisoner, ready to turn him over to the federal officers at Ogdensburg and thereafter to claim the reward for Johnston's arrest.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of the Johnstons

along the river front, but with father and son still about three miles apart, Smith Stilwell, collector of the Port of Ogdensburg at the direction of United States Marshall Garrow moved upstream in a revenue cutter with Deputy U. S. Marshall Robins. The steamer "Oneida" under lease to the United States army, dropped down stream and took up a station near the river shore at a point opposite that where Johnston was about to be captured.

In the meantime Garrow had directed Deputy Marshall Hoyt to organize a posse, rent horses at a livery stable, and proceed on horse back along the river shore to head off Johnston should he land from the row boat and attempt to escape overland. In Hoyt's party were Deputy Marshall McCulloch, Lieut. A. B. James and Charles T. Burwell. There were also in the party two unidentified private citizens. Col. Worth, in command of the United States regulars gathered at Ogdensburg during the exciting events of the week, sent a detachment of soldiers along the river.

"Bill" Johnston reached the rendezvous, entered his son's boat and pushed off up the river. He soon discovered, however, that his retreat by water was being cut off by the revenue cutter and by the "Oneida." He determined to land, and try to escape into the woods about three miles above Ogdensburg. His son remained in the boat. Bill Johnston had not gone far before he discovered that the approaching horsemen had cut off his retreat landwards. He veered about and ran in an attempt to regain the boat.

Bent on earning a reward which would pay for his lost cannon, Lieut. James had ridden far ahead, with Burwell beside him. They came upon the boat, and John Johnston standing near it. Lieutenant James removed the oars, and set the craft adrift. At that time, "Bill" Johnston came running out of the woods, closely

pursued by Burwell who had de-toured on a scouting expedition.

"My boat! My boat!" he cried.

He was armed to the teeth, and carried a pistol in each hand.

"I will never be taken alive!" he shouted. "I will shoot the first man who touches me."

"They attempted to seize him. He shook them off and backed away. Again they approached. He leveled his pistols; but he hesitated to fire because, as he later said, his opponents were Americans. During the impasse, the other four horsemen came up.

Gives Arms to Son

"Run, father, run!" advised young Johnston. "I would help you if I could; but they've taken my oars."

Too late! He was surrounded. But he still defied them. To his son only would he surrender. After prolonged wrangling, they agreed to his terms. He then formally gave himself into custody of his son, and handed over one Cochran rifle (twelve discharges) and two large pistols still retaining four small pistols and a bowie knife. Another argument ensued: as a prisoner lawfully in custody, he must relinquish all his arms, a deputy's decree. Reluctantly he complied. Then he fell in quietly for the march into captivity.

Later Deputies James and Burwell received the \$5000 in rewards which had been offered by the Canadian and United States government for Johnston's arrest.

It was Johnston's desire to be taken at once before a magistrate in Ogdensburg, where he hoped to get bail. No, said Deputy-Marshall McCulloch, who had just arrived in the barge: he must go before Colonel Worth on board the "Telegraph." Johnston demurred. At the height of the controversy they met the soldiers. Under civil and military guard, therefore, the protesting Patriot was hustled into the pres-

ence of Colonel Worth and the Colonel informed him that he would be sent at once by steamer to Oswego and thence to Cayuga county to face the United States Circuit Court at Auburn.

After Johnston's arrest, he, with General Ward Birge and other prominent Patriot leaders, was brought to Oswego on board the steamboat "United States." They were held overnight at the "black hole" in the basement of the old Town Hall, as the jail was referred to by the newspapers and others at that time. Their presence in the village created great excitement as no report of the outcome of the fighting at the Wind Mill had been received until the "United States" came into port. For more than a week after the departure of the expedition with so many Oswego County young men attached to it no word had come to Oswego of its fate.

The Oswego newspapers issued extra editions giving the news of the failure of the expedition and the arrest of those who had shared in it. The editions also recorded the arrival in Oswego under arrest of several of the expedition's alleged leaders.

Missed Safety Chance

The next day the prisoners were all transferred to Auburn in connection with the consideration of the government's case in the Federal Court there against General Birge. In the court proceedings there was introduced a letter which Birge had written to Johnston while all the invaders were still at the Wind Mill during Wednesday night when all of the Patriots would have had an excellent opportunity to escape and return in safety to the American side of the river in safety if they had grasped the opportunity presented by the temporary withdrawal of the besieging British ships for repairs, the opportunity which the cowardly group remaining in safety at Og-

densburg could readily have brought to their attention. The text of the letter follows:

"Dear Johnston:

"The fate of the men who are on the other side of the river is in your hands. Nothing is expected from the British at Prescott and if you rally your men and go to Jones' Mill and kindle some fires, you will serve the men and serve Canada. Start fires at Gananoque and the British will think Kingston is to be attacked. Do for God's sake rally your men.

"J. Warren Birge"

From the letter it appears that the safety of the small band of invaders now wholly surrounded at the Wind Mill was not a matter of major concern to Birge. Johnston apparently made no attempt to carry out Birge's order. Neither did he move to get the invaders away from Wind Mill Point and to safety.

Johnston Escapes Deputies

Birge was ordered held for trial in Federal Court at Auburn, bail being fixed at the sum of \$3,000. "Bill" Johnston, and "General" Birge were being quartered at Auburn in a room in an upper floor at the American Hotel in the custody of Deputy U. S. Marshals McFarlin and W. S. Malcolm, both of Oswego, and McCulloch and Robins of Sacketts Harbor, the Marshal having elected to keep the prisoners in the hotel rather than place them in the county jail at Cayuga as he feared an attempt would be made by Patriot sympathizers who abounded in Auburn to release them from the jail. Although they were ordered to stay constantly awake and to keep vigilant watch at the door through which any one would pass in order to gain

*Johnston had been discharged at the close of his hearing as evidence was lacking in the judge's opinion to warrant his being held. Garrow had immediately arrested, however, under another charge on which he was wanted in Jefferson County.

access to the hallway, the tired deputies seemed to have fallen asleep that night. Johnston watching for his chance produced a key which he had probably fashioned from a piece of purloined silverware brought to him on a tray with his food, picked a lock and with Birge made good his escape for the time being.

Garrow Blames Deputies

Nathaniel Garrow, of Auburn, U. S. Marshal, whose prisoners Johnston and Birge had been, was blamed in part for their escape by U. S. District Attorney N. S. Benton in a letter which the latter sent later to Washington addressed directly to President Martin Van Buren. Garrow defended himself vigorously in a letter which he sent to Washington as soon as possible after he learned of the fact that Benton had written the President concerning the matter. In this letter Garrow stated that "Bill" Johnston, after he had been discharged by the court on the complaint made out by Garrow charging that Johnston was implicated in the "Wind Mill Point Affair" for lack of sufficient evidence to support the charge had assured Garrow that bail would be provided on his behalf upon a further charge upon which he had been arrested growing out of his participation in the seizure and destruction of the steamer "Sir Robert Peel" in 1838 so that Jefferson county desired that he be surrendered to, it for trial for arson. Continuing Garrow's letter said in part:

"When Johnston and Birge, who were lodged in the same room in charge of my deputies on the evening after the examination closed, they having failed to procure bail, I told them I would, if bail was not attained, take them next day to Albany to jail. I gave the deputies special charge that they should keep a vigilant watch on the prisoners. If the deputies had acted pur-

suant of my instructions the escape would never happened.

There was a singular remissness on their part. I do not believe it was wilful or that it can be imputed to anything else on their part but reprehensible negligence. When the escape happened Johnston and Birge were in the immediate custody of Malcolm, for whom Mr. Benton had vouched. McCulloch (Deputy) was absent and Robins (another deputy) had gone to bed in a room connected with the one in which the prisoners were confined. The deputies all failed to obey by instructions and the prisoners understanding the feelings of the members of the Secret Society in this place (Auburn) were received and concealed or conveyed away immediately. It is worthy of remark here that McCulloch, who is also a Deputy Sheriff of Jefferson county, had a process against Johnston and Birge and was, as he said, anxious for Johnston's safekeeping with reference to his own process."

Wanted For Arson

Technically, Bill Johnston was again free. But there was still against him the indictment for arson growing out of the burning of the "Peel" returned by the Circuit Court at Albany in June, and Deputy Marshal McCulloch held a process, founded on that indictment, for his arrest and committal. Consequently Johnston was informed by Garrow soon after Birge had arranged to give bail that he must either find bail by the next day or go to jail to await trial. He therefore ordered Johnston and Birge returned to the American house for the night, in custody of deputies W. S. Malcolm and Robins. Most strictly Marshall Garrow enjoined his officers to be wakeful and vigilant. He himself had some business to transact at the Post Office.

In a room which they shared together, the two prisoners took

off their boots, and Bill Johnston removed his coat, as if to retire and make the best of things. Deputy Malcolm sat down before a fire-place, and was overcome by drowsiness. Deputy Robins went to bed in a room adjoining that of his charges, and fell sound asleep. There was silence in the corridor. Sweet is liberty. Johnston put on his boots and coat; Birge pulled on his boots; and both men walked quietly out into the night.

Great was the surprise and mortification of Deputy-Marshall McCulloch when he returned to the hotel and found the captives flown—he has said so himself. He advertised rewards for their re-arrest—\$200 for Johnston, \$50 for Birge. In his official account of the incident he said: "Whether or, if so, to what extent, they received assistance in effecting their escape, I have not certainly ascertained. Of the deputies in whose immediate custody they were it is but Justice to state that I have no reason to entertain the slightest suspicion of any collusion or wilful negligence of their part."

"General" Birge did not long remain at large after his escape from custody at Auburn for under date of December 25, Garrow wrote to Secretary of State Forsyth at Washington to notify the latter that Birge had voluntarily surrendered himself and given bail in the sum of \$2,000 and three good sureties in the sum of \$1,000 each to the charge of violating to the neutrality laws.

Johnston Re-Arrested

On the day after Johnston's escape with Birge, Marshal Garrow had offered \$200 reward for the arrest of each of the men. After a week's time fruitlessly spent in trying to ferret out clues as to the direction in which the escaped prisoners had gone, the Deputy Marshals had not succeeded in finding a single warm trail when William Vaughn, Captain of the United States Navy stationed at Sackett's

Harbor, accompanied by J. W. Turner, of Oswego, a deputy U. S. Marshal, followed up a "tip" given them by a man whom Johnston regarded as a friend, that Johnston could be found at a certain house near the hamlet of London in Oneida county amidst the foothills of the Adirondack mountains. On going to this house Vaughn and Turner found Johnston there and placed him under arrest. The officers entered the house, about ten miles from Rome, late in the evening just as Johnston was undressing for bed. Johnston made no effort to fight off the officers nor did he attempt to escape. He was placed under arrest and immediately taken to Albany where he was lodged in jail.

Johnston's Arrest Story

The "Oswego County Whig" of January 30, 1839, published at Oswego contained the following account of his capture as described by William Johnston's letter to a personal friend, whose identity the newspaper did not, however, reveal:

Albany, Headquarters, Dec. 13
Friend—

It is sometime since I have written you, not having spare time, but now having a few days of leisure, I wish to inform you, that I am yet among the living. It is laughable the ups and downs a man meets with, yet to my mind there is not, nor ever was anything so disgusting as a traitor and a coward. I had what I and others supposed a friend, and a regular Hunter, as he was, and besides swore to me, by all the Powers, he would befriend me, and I put reliance on him. He knew where he left me, and knew he would find me there when he came back. He came to me in nine days after, and with a famous Capt. Vaughn, and I knowing Vaughn had a son that was taken at Windmill, thought all was right, and he was admitted to see me. He stated that

Capt. Vaughn and himself had been sent to me, and that all my friends, nearly to a man, thought nothing would save them, but my going to jail.—

And I thought if that would be the means of saving one I would willingly lay in jail any length of time, God knows. But that was not the case. Captain Vaughn wanted the name of capturing me, and the sight of Marshal Garrow's \$200 sat well on the coward villian's stomach, though I presume the traitor did not get more than half the money. As soon as I understood what was wanted, I started immediately with them. x x When Vaughn came within ten rods of the watch, he said he had a writ from the Marshal, and you must consider yourself my prisoner, and at the house the Deputy Marshal is waiting for you and Garrow will be here when the cars arrive. I am at headquarters in Albany, with plenty of friends, and no mistake. SUCCESS to the Patriots—and my best wishes attend them.

Yours

(Signed) William Johnston

Young Vaughn Freed

In recognition of Captain Vaughn's act in locating and placing Johnston under arrest, the Canadian authorities who were holding Vaughn's son, Hunter C. Vaughn, a prisoner at Kingston under arrest after his participation in the Battle of Windmill Point, set the young man free as a reward for his father's act.

Johnston languished in prison at Albany without bail from the time of his arrest until the following October.

When surrender of the invading force, based out of Oswego, which had attempted unsuccessfully to get a foot hold at Wind Mill Point near Prescott, in November, 1838 in a five-day battle, came, the members of the expeditionary force who had not been

killed or who had not escaped to the United States mainland, were taken prisoners and marched to Kingston, Upper Canada, where they were placed in confinement at Fort Henry. They were not considered by the British authorities as prisoners of war, with military rights that must be respected, but rather as "brigands" which was the appellation given them by their captors. Soon each of them in turn would face trial by Court Martial and a sentence which in many cases provided for death by hanging.

Victims of Gullibility

The gullible youths who composed the bulk of the expeditionary force had been induced to join the ranks of the expedition at Oswego, Syracuse, Watertown, Sackett's Harbor and elsewhere, had been promised liberal pay for taking part in the expedition. It had also been represented to them that hundreds of Canadians would rush to join them once they succeeded in getting a foothold in Canada. They had been told that even the military of Canada would desert in large numbers and flock to their support. As a matter of fact, only three Canadians accepted the invitation, widely circulated in Canada by "General" Birge, to join the invading force. After a few hours at the Wind Mill the misguided youths realized that that they had been victimized, and that the people of Canada, while they might have differences with their government, wished to be left alone to settle these in their own way without intervention on the part of invading Americans seeking to bring to Canadians a type of "freedom" they did not desire.

"Bill" Johnston was not one of those captured at the Wind Mill, although he had held an important command in the expedition. He never faced trial by the Court Martial. After the second day's fighting, he remained on the American shore of the river, and

did not again venture into Canada. On the day following the closing of the battle, he was arrested by the United States authorities while endeavoring to flee, but he did not remain a prisoner for long.

Court Martial Acts

Meanwhile day after day, for many days, luckless men were being doomed to death, or to the scarcely less terrible punishment of transportation to Von Die-man's Land by the Canadian Court Martial sitting at Kingston.

Of those taken at the Wind-mill, 140 were brought to trial, and 17 were not tried. General Von Schoultz, Colonels Abbey and Woodruff, Henry George and 68 others were condemned to die on the scaffold. Captain Heustis, William Gates, Sebastian John Meyer, Stephen Wright—all of whom afterwards wrote books on their experiences—John Cronkhite and 55 more, were sentenced to deportation for life. Four were acquitted, three pardoned; and one died. In the defence of Von Schoultz, a young Kingston barrister, then unknown to fame, won his legal spurs: he was John A. MacDonald, who in 1856, became Premier of Canada; but all his eloquence and skill and flashing wit availed nothing to save the former Polish leader.

Particular pains were taken by the Court Martial to discover whether and to what extent, the accused men were implicated in the activities of Bill Johnston. Only four of them admitted having been in any manner approached or persuaded by Johnston to take part in the expedition. Only one of them, Lyman L. Leach—who sought to hide his identity under the name of Lewis—stood revealed as an associate of Johnston's. He was known to have been present at the burning of the "Peel"; and although that matter was not before the Court, it hovered like a

shadow over all proceedings, and Leach was a marked man from the very commencement. The Court recommended Leach for leniency. Said the Executive Council, however:

Refuse Leach Leniency

"Besides the case clearly made out against him, (Leach) upon which he was convicted, it appears in evidence that he had joined himself to the notorious Johnston, at Fort Wallace, so early as the month of July last; he has moreover stated, though not in evidence—as indeed no examination on that point could regularly take place before the court martial—to have been second in command at the destruction of the Sir Robert Peel. This accounts for his change of name, and forces upon the Council the belief he was concerned in that outrage.

"The Council do not intend that the prisoner should be punished for an offence for which he has not been tried; but they do not hesitate to say that in selecting objects for merciful consideration, they cannot feel safe, or right, in including a person whose accession to the conspiracy against this Province, at the time when it was most dangerous, is fully proved; and when they know that the hostile outrages for the purpose of which it was formed, were commenced by the destruction of a British steam-boat in American waters; and when it is further considered that the plot has been from the beginning to the present time, carried on with persevering malignancy and obstinacy on the part of the original conspirators."

Sir George Arthur and the Executive Council used the Prescott prisoners as pawns in a game of politics and diplomacy. With those human pawns they set out to break down the morale of Patriotism in the United States, forestall further rebellion in Canada, and induce the Van Buren government to surrender Bill

Johnston, William Lyon Mackenzie, and several other leaders for one hundred lesser men.

Prescott Prisoners Pawns

Dutifully the executive initiated the program and accepted responsibility. An address to the Lieutenant - Governor, dated at Toronto, February 4, 1839, said:

"Were the American government to consider the protection afforded to fugitives for political offences forfeited when abused by repeated aggressions upon the neutrality of the United States, and by repeated hostile organization within American territory against a neighboring friendly power, and the consequent endangerment of the peace of two nations—were it positively understood that such men as Johnston, Birge, Bierce and Mackenzie, would be seized and delivered up as having violated the refuge afforded them,—there would be no objection to the release of hundreds of obscure criminals; because we could then be assured that if certain punishment waited the leaders, notwithstanding their escape across the border, the whole conspiracy would fall to the ground for want of leaders.

Judge Jonas Jones, of Upper Canada wrote Judge Fine, of Ogdensburg, complaining that Mackenzie had not been given up, and offering to exchange for him 100 Prescott or Windsor prisoners. Presumably the Executive authorized his proposition. The United States did not consider seriously these proposals.

Johnston's Autobiography

A few weeks after "General" Von Schoultz had been hung at Kingston for his part in the Prescott invasion attempt, a man whom Von Schoultz had roundly denounced as a "coward" and almost at the hour of his death, had called upon God to punish, sat in a prison cell at Albany penning a brief autobiography, one of the relatively few docu-

ments in Johnston's own handwriting which are extant. He wrote, it appears from the text, chiefly because he believed that most of his fellowmen had misunderstood his past and because time hung heavily on his hands in a prison cell and he found in his writing an outlet for some of the pent-up energy of which otherwise he had no opportunity to relieve himself.

A Court Prisoner

At the time Johnston was not serving a sentence imposed as punishment for any of his misdeeds or errors of judgement. He was held as a court prisoner under indictment and awaiting trial. He had been indicted for his supposed part in planning the invasion attempt against Upper Canada that was made from Jefferson County in February of 1838 by the way of Hickory Island. By this time he had been disillusioned of his early idea that Canada could be "freed" by an invasion of Patriots or Hunters from the United States. He recognized that any expectancy that Canadian Patriots would rise in strength to join an American invading force to fight for the freeing of Canada from British rule was a delusion. His hatred of Great Britain was as keen as ever, however, as was his love for his personal liberty, and for the islands among which he had lived for so many years. These thoughts colored his writing as he recorded in a document that in type would not fill completely a newspaper column, the story of his life.

"When an obscure individual, by his own merits or demerits brings himself before the public so as to render his acts worthy of note by the public press, either for their good or bad qualities, it is natural for that public to wish to learn something more of the public and private history of that person, and the means by which he has become notorious", Johnston wrote in his autobiography. "The writer of the fol-

lowing sketch of events which have transpired during the past twenty eight years, or since 1812, has been the subject of censure or applause as the people have had knowledge of the facts from friend or foe; and to many the subjoined statement may not be uninteresting

Admits Private War

"I have now given some of the principal reasons why I left Canada and took up my abode in the States. It is true I have strove to revenge the loss of my property and the persecutions of British tyranny which have been lavished upon me without stint for opinion's sake; and as yet the servile knee has not been brought to bow, nor the lips to kiss the rod that scourged me, for which I am denounced as a pirate by those who first robbed and then imprisoned me without cause. If the commerce of one nation is interrupted, and their property plundered by another, government seeks redress for the grievances of its inhabitants. But mine is a case where an individual is warring against a nation single handed, and only for private wrongs.

"I took up arms immediately for the United States on my arrival at Sackett's Harbor (in 1812), and was employed severally by Generals Brown and Wilkinson and Commodore Chauncey, and subsequently by Presidents Jackson and Van Buren in the Revenue Department until February of the present year, when I resigned the employment of Government, and joined the Patriot cause; since which time I have been made familiarly known as 'Old Bill Johnston, the Hero of the Thousand Islands', 'the Buccaneer or Pirate of the Lakes', etc., with how much reason the public is left to judge by their humble servant and well-wisher."

Gives Leg Bail

After spending a few months in the Albany jail, Johnston was

released under a new bail bond pending trial. This second bond was later found to have a flaw, which freed the bondsman from responsibility, and left Johnston free to take "leg bail" and return to his haunts in the Thousand Islands and resume there something of his former way of life, without jeopardizing the financial interests of his friends who had become his bondsmen. In reporting this state of affairs to the United States District Court at Canandaigua in June 1839 General Mathews as counsel for the men who had furnished bail for Johnston at the time of his transfer from Auburn, following his rearrest after escape in December 1838 and who were now seeking the return of their bond money holding that by accepting new bail and new bondsmen as a condition of Johnston's subsequent release, the court had freed the original bondsmen from financial responsibility, when Johnston later "jumped" this second bail, reported that Johnston "is now on one of the Thousand Islands, or in some part of Jefferson County, threatening death to any one who should attempt to apprehend him. Efforts to arrest him had failed." On the grounds that while Johnston was in prison he was fully in the custody of the United States—that had he not been given his freedom on other bail, he would have been there still, his bondsmen sought release.

Returns to Old Haunts

While a United States Court was arguing over the bail of a man whom the government seemingly could not catch, Johnston himself was causing official pens to scratch vigorously and many citizens to spend sleepless nights along the St. Lawrence frontier. Johnston had acquired a couple of new boats, and attached to himself a few men once again. His movements had once more

become a matter of major concern to Captain Sandom, still at the head of Naval matters along the St. Lawrence and in the Great Lakes for the British government. International co-operation between Canada and the United States had come into play once more in a joint effort to capture Johnston and his gang, but there was less of the spectacular about the manhunt than had formerly been the case. No longer was there a Fort Wallace to hunt out, and seize. There were no more charges upon pirate strongholds with sailors armed with drawn cutlasses. Watchful waiting was the international policy once more. It was a campaign of precaution and prevention, that would, however, terminate in action.

Grass Creek Mail Robbery

The piratical activities among the islands in 1839 had opened with a spectacular robbery of the Canadian mails on April 24, at Grass Creek, three miles west of Gananoque on the road from Kingston. Maxwell Greenwood of Kingston, who drove the mail stage had to pass this point at 11 o'clock at night while driving from Kingston to Gananoque for the mail contractor. As he entered a pine forest on the face of a hill half a mile from Grass Creek that night, three men leaped out from the roadside uttering unearthly yells. One of them held a rifle at Greenwood's chest while the other pair freed the horse and removed his harness in order to use the reins with which to bind the mail driver to the wagon. Then they moved off with the mail sacks, one of which contained about \$1,000 in notes of the Commercial Bank of Upper Canada. The robbers escaped in a boat belonging to Bill Johnston. In fact, they told a resident of the vicinity before they pushed off to advise the populace that "Johnston has got the mail again." The man who knew Johnston was sure that

Johnston was not a member of the party, however.

Arrest Mail Robbers

The daring mail robbers were later identified as Washington Mellis alias Kelly, Robert Smith and John Farrow, the latter being Bill Johnston's old "pal", at whose home Johnston and the members of his gang had been sleeping on Grindstone Island when Johnston and all but two of his men escaped, just as detachments of the Canadian and American armies arrived soon after dawn intending to arrest the members of the party after having been "tipped off" that Johnston and his friends were spending the night there. The trio were arrested and placed in the Watertown jail to await trial. They escaped, however, from the jail, aided by help from friends both within and without the jail.

The arrest of the mail robbers had been accomplished by Col. Worth of the United States army and a large company of civilian authorities and 100 troops who accompanied him on a mission for that purpose. The party assembled at Sackett's Harbor under cover of darkness and moved over to Grindstone Island before daybreak, landed, guarded every avenue of possible retreat, raided houses and beat about the woods with the result that they arrested in addition to mail robbers one Runions who was charged with assisting the robbers in their effort to quickly rid themselves of the "hot" money taken from the mail sacks. Thanks to a warning gotten through to him by his daughter, Kate, "Bill" Johnston,* whom Worth had hoped to capture on this expedition once more escaped.

When the hearings of the four

*Col. Worth had advised Captain Sandom in a letter dated June 30th from Sackett's Harbor a recent effort "to get possession of the persons of Johnston, Farrow, Kelly and their fellow brigands" had failed "owing to gross neglect, or worse, of the civil authorities to whom its execution was entrusted."

men took place in Watertown before Judge Allan, the evidence against the defendants was overwhelming. Residents of Gananoque and Grindstone Island were among those to give testimony. District Attorney Sherman addressed the court pointing out the many abuses which Canadians had been subjected to from the acts of lawless freebooters and urging the importance of bringing the defendants to justice in this instance. Judge Allan replied in similar vein, and ordered the defendants remanded to jail to await the outcome of negotiations for their return to Canada to stand trial. The Canadians returned home highly pleased with the outcome of the hearing and with the attitude of the friendly American court officers.

Mail Robbers Escape

But on the night of August 9, (1839) less than three weeks after the four men had been ordered held pending trial the quartette made good their escape from jail. Loud protests were uttered by the Canadian press against the existence of such carelessness, or such a degree of complicity at to make the escape of the defendants possible. American papers criticized with more restraint. Sheriff Baker of Jefferson County offered a reward of \$100 apiece, or \$300 for the lot, for the arrest of the men. They were, however, never recaptured.

Under date of May 31, Captain Sandom wrote to Sir George Arthur, governor of Upper Canada, from Her Majesty's Ship "Niagara" on duty in the Thousand Island area, in part as follows:

"As I feel assured that most prompt and decisive measures are absolutely essential to crush in the bud the movements of the turbulent people secreted on the borders of the St. Lawrence, and on some of the Islands, with the avowed intention of committing depredations on some part of the British dominions in Canada, or on mercantile steam vessels, I

most earnestly entreat Your Excellency to give me instructions for my guidance, should the naval forces under my command come into contact with them. Their tact and cunning will keep them within the American line of demarcation on the St. Lawrence; but chance may enable some of my officers to meet them off their guard on our side, in which case the result would be simple—they would be taken.

"Their present haunts are in the American Islands bordering upon our lines, so near as to enable them to make incursions with facility and success. It is in such cases that I feel most perplexed and at loss how to act. My understanding was with General Macomb last year that I should be at liberty to attack such people on any of the Islands, but in the event of capturing the brigands, hand them over to the American authorities (when taken on their territory) for trial."

As the result of this letter Arthur issued instructions to Captain Sandom to keep a good lookout for pirates, but not to take measures in American waters against them until some advice on the subject had been received from British Minister Fox at Washington.

Johnston Surrenders Self

Early in October 1839 at the urging of his son, John, a fine upstanding young man, who afterwards became a port collector and bank president, "Bill" Johnston proceeded to Albany, and thence to the jail in which he had formerly been incarcerated, and advised the jailor that he had come voluntarily to give himself up that the case pending against him might be finally considered. His daughter, Kate, accompanied him and once more shared his cell during the long hours of the day. Johnston waited in jail until January 23, 1840 when his case was moved to trial in court before Judge Conkling. His in-

dictment was read. Calvin Pepper, Jr., Johnston's counsel and Judge Cheaver sought an adjournment from the court that Johnston might have an opportunity to get his witnesses. The request was refused.

The defendant's lawyer then sought a court order for the production in court of R. Van Rensselaer, who had been sentenced a few weeks earlier to pay a fine of \$250 and to spend six months in jail for his part in the Canadian invasion attempts. Johnston's attorneys wished to make use of his services as a witness. This request was also refused. Johnston was finally convicted and sentenced to spend one year in prison and to pay a fine of five dollars "after", he later complained, "lying in jail for nearly seven months previously."

Johnston's Scrap Book for which he gathered materials and in which he made entries over a period of many years indicated that in the first three months of 1840 while he was incarcerated in the Albany jail that he received but two contributions from Patriot friends in marked contrast with the many gifts which had come into his hands from admiring Patriots during the years when his activities along the frontier were at their height. One was a gift of five dollars from a Mr. Rathburn, not further identified and another was a gift of two dollars from Abraham Tiffany, a Patriot who had been acquitted by a Court Martial at London, Upper Canada, after his arrest and trial on a charge of participating in Dr. Duncombe's rebellion.

Again Breaks Jail

Patriotism of the type identified with the Canadian rebellion was dying out. Public interest in its most colorful figure, Johnston, was lagging. In prison Johnston was in a fair way of soon becoming "the forgotten man." He decided to make a change and gain his freedom. From a piece of

zinc smuggled into him at the Albany prison by a friend, Johnston made a key which would unlock the door of his cell. Having sent his daughter, Kate, on to visit relatives in Rome, N. Y. a few days earlier, he made his final break for freedom.

Daughter Seeks His Pardon

Johnston inserted his improvised key in his cell door at 6 o'clock on an evening late in May, 1840 and walked out of his cell and out of the jail undetected. Before daybreak the following morning he walked 40 miles. Utterly exhausted by his strenuous exertion he rejoined his daughter the next afternoon. It was Johnston's last jail break. People had become so accustomed to his departing from jail soon after entering it that they accepted this latest break largely as a matter of course. No hue and cry arose for his return.

Not satisfied that her father be merely free, his daughter, Kate, began circulating widely a petition that had been prepared asking for an Executive Pardon for her father. Kate labored tirelessly going about the country procuring signatures for this petition. By February 1841 when Johnston went personally to Washington to present it in person to President Martin Van Buren who was about to retire from office, it bore thousands of signatures. We will let Johnston tell the story of his reception in Washington:

Johnston's Appeal to Van Buren

"I called on Senator Silas Wright (of New York) to sign a petition to be presented to Martin Van Buren, then President. The petition was to relieve me of eight months' imprisonment in Albany jail. It was, as appeared, a political offence violating the Neutrality Law in the Patriot days. After lying in jail seven months and a half, I left the jail one evening, leaving those months above stated be-

hind not served out. The reply from Mr. Wright was: 'It will not avail you anything, if I should sign it, but I would rather be candid with you. I would rather sign a petition to have you all hanged than for your relief, as you have disturbed the peace of my most friendly neighbors, and you ought to be punished'.

"The above petition was presented next day to President Van Buren by laying it down on the table as he rose up. As Mr. Craney and myself entered the room he offered his hand, and as I was going to take it, he drew it back and said: 'I wonder you could have the assurance to make your appearance before me' I said 'Your particular friends advised me to do so, and to present my certificates of service in the last war from a number of officers.' He said: 'No doubt you rendered services to the Government; but it won't avail you anything with me.' Then I picked up the petition and withdrew."

"Queen Kate" a Bride

Pardoned a little later by President William H. Harrison on the ground that Johnston's health had been impaired, and therefore excused from the necessity of serving out the remaining few months of his term in Albany jail, Johnston returned to his home at French Creek. Poor, sorrowful, but not abjectly penitent, he turned to the task of endeavoring to reestablish his fortune. He acquired Whiskey Island, and later owned several other islands in the Thousand Island group. Then he began the operation of a ferry between Wolfe Island and the American mainland. With money earned in this fashion he again provided himself with row boats, rifles and a sail boat and other articles reminiscent of the days when he was a sailing master, a scout and a pirate. At 60 years of age at the time of his return to the islands he was still physically robust beyond his years and con-

tinued so for many years. He had to find outlets for his tremendous energies. He took long journeys in his sail boat, often going alone and being absent for considerable periods. He had become taciturn. Few even of his intimates learned where he went on his long journeys or for what purpose.

Peace Returns to Border

With the dying out of Patriotism south of the international border, the dissolution of the Hunters' lodges which had flourished there and the breaking up of the Hunters' lodges in Canada and the triumph finally at the polls of the Reform party in Canada and the disruption of the obnoxious "Family Compact," peace, friendship and good will returned to the neighboring nations. Tranquility returned to the border and trade and commerce resumed their accustomed course which had been disrupted by the Patriot War.

Freed, through the change in her father's manner of life and thinking, from the constant sense of responsibility for her father's welfare which had kept her at his side for years, to the sacrifice of her own aspirations and desires, Kate Johnston finally married Charles L. Hawes of Clayton, N. Y., who had been a former school-mate. People said that "it was a real love match." They had four daughters and one son, William, who became a jeweler. Northman records: "Their home (Mr. and Mrs. Hawes's) a big frame house on Merrick street, now demolished, was a place of felicity and hospitality. Its master was a fine man, and its mistress was kind and charitable, a charming hostess, well read in current literature, and above all, a good wife and mother. Kate's youthful beauty endured long. One great sorrow befell: It was the death in early womanhood of her daughter, Catherine, a beautiful girl, much like herself in features and disposition. All Clayton attended the

funeral and even as late as the thirtieth year of the present century, old friends remembered the pathos of the scene when "the Queen of the Thousand Islands" wept over the coffin of her child.

Lighthouse Keeper Johnston

Through the influence of General Winfield Scott in 1852, Bill Johnston was appointed keeper of the Rock Island lighthouse in the St. Lawrence. A frame structure on a barren rock, the lighthouse keeper's dwelling was a lonely place. It was within plain sight of a spot where nearly 15 years before Johnston and his gang had burned and sunk the "Sir Robert Peel." Using a rowboat for the purpose, Johnston carried out earth from the mainland and filled in the openings in the rock with earth. Soon the place was transformed into a veritable garden of flowers. Johnston also grew vegetables.

From the lighthouse Johnston's eye could look out over 70 islands in plain view. Beyond his vision lay 1600 more, varying in circumferences from a rod to miles. It was an empire of land and water over which he once held sway.

His winters when the light did not function, Johnston spent back at French Creek (modern Clayton). After the death of his wife in 1858 he lived during six months of the year entirely alone in the island lighthouse. Often he entertained there relatives, friends and travelers. To those whom he considered to be properly interested, he would talk readily of his early experiences.

The time came when Johnston lost his job as lighthouse keeper through a change of administrations in Washington. He could not pick up the old threads of his life, and had to start out again anew. He built a resort on Whiskey Island, a half way house which dispensed hospitality in various forms to travelers en-

gaged in crossing the St. Lawrence. A door at the waterfront opened directly into the barroom where Johnston himself dispensed refreshment.

After conducting this place for two years, Johnston abandoned it and built a new hotel on Goose Island. He left this almost immediately when he discovered that it was in Canadian territory. He returned to Clayton where he lived at the Walton House where he would finally end his days.

Purchasing a scow, and equipping it with a mast and sail Johnston started out to make his living once more by the sweat of his brow and the exercise of his wits. The islands then abounded in oak and pine which were much sought after for making of barrel staves. Many Indians and French Canadians came to the American islands poaching this wood which was exported to England where it brought a high price. It was Johnston's custom to watch these encampments as he skimmed up and down the river in his scow. When he observed one where large piles of oak had been cut and piled up, Johnston would go ashore in his scow and landing alone would announce: "I am Bill Johnston. You have no right here. Clear out." Invariably, it is said, the poachers fled as if from the Devil himself. Then the former employer of the islands would load the wood on his own scow and transport it to the American lumber yards where he sold it.

Johnston's Death

Johnston died February 17, 1870 at the age of 88 years. His body lies buried in a cemetery at Clayton, N. Y. among the graves of other members of his family. The tombstone reads: "Ann Randolph Johnston 1784-1858; William Johnston 1782-1870." Many of his children were at his bedside when he passed away, including the ever-faithful Kate who died in Clayton in 1878 after six years of widowhood.

Revelations of Excavations in Oswego County as to Prehistory

(Paper Presented Before Oswego County Historical Society at Fort Brewerton
May 20, 1947 by Charles A. Denman, the Society's Archeologist)

Fort Brewerton, Oswego County, occupies a unique position on a crux of waterways at almost the geographic center of New York state. Trade and travel were possible to the primitive Indians in all directions from this point, viz., through the Oneida, Seneca and Oswego Rivers to Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence on the north, or westward from the mouth of the Oswego to the Niagara river; via the Seneca River and Cayuga or Seneca Lakes to the headwaters of the Susquehanna on the south; east through Wood Creek and over a short portage to the Mohawk, thence through the Hudson and north to the St. Lawrence or southward to the Atlantic; and by the Seneca and Clyde Rivers westward into the Genesee country and beyond. Evidences of the utilization of these advantages are found in the exotic objects discovered on our excavations of Brewerton sites.

A Fisherman's Paradise

Of even more importance in early Indian economy was the presence in the river at the shallow foot of Oneida Lake of very extensive rapids or rifts, since destroyed by canalization. To people having a hunting-fishing-gathering economy, and even to a horticultural group whose subsistence pattern utilizes the products of woods and waters, the physical conditions naturally prevailing at Brewerton were extremely inviting, since the cultural equipment of the Indians did not permit deep water fishing. His bone harpoons, bone fishing hooks and gorges, and small nets were of advantage

only in shallow lakes, rifts, and river pools.

We know that immense runs of eels, salmon, and other fish formerly entered Oneida Lake. As late as 1836, the records tell us, four men in one skiff fishing in the Oswego River, took in one night, over 400 salmon of an average weight of 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. each. Dams and water pollution have changed all this, and with the rapids and forests gone, the Brewerton of today bears small resemblance to its prehistoric predecessor.

Discoveries of Great Import

It is a fact that with the exception of four or five cultures—two of them confined to the Eastern New York area—every aboriginal occupation known from New York state has been found at Brewerton. Indeed, one new culture of great importance has been discovered there and most of what we know about another we owe to Brewerton. Briefly, the history is as follows:

In 1937, stimulated by surface finds described by the pioneer archaeologist, Rev. Dr. William Beauchamp, Dr. William A. Ritchie of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences came to Brewerton seeking evidence to support the hypothesis of an early hunting culture, surface traces of which occurred widely in the state. By amazing good fortune Dr. Ritchie found not one but two sites, where for the first time in deep refuse under ground, the story of one of the earliest chapters in the occupation of north-eastern North America was recorded. These ancient settlement sites lay on opposite sides of the Oneida river on the Rob-

Denman Indicates Discovery



Charles A. Denman, Archeologist of Oswego County Historical Society
At Work Near His Home

inson and Oberlander properties, respectively. With the owners' kind permission we carried on excavations during two summers. The results of this early work in the Oswego County field have been described by Dr. Ritchie in a scientific publication, from which I will quote liberally later in this evening's paper.

The "Brewerton Focus"

This new culture brought to light in 1937, Dr. Ritchie has named "the Brewerton Focus, of the Laurentian Aspect, Archiat Pattern," because it cannot be identified with any known tribal group or linguistic stock. There is every reason to believe that these Laurentian people came into Eastern and Central New York through the St. Lawrence, Oswego and Hudson-Mohawk River Valleys. The relatively few skeletons found by the excavators in the camp refuse show that the bearers of this culture were a rather rugged folk with medium to broad skulls. That they were hunters and fishermen without knowledge of plant domestication and the use of tobacco is shown by their cultural remains. These are characterized by a large proportion of broad and heavy javelins, spears, and perhaps arrowheads of many types, fashioned of chipped chert and other stone, some local, from the Onondaga outcrops south of Syracuse, some from distant sources to the east and south.

Bannerstones used as weights on the throwing sticks for hurling the javelins were also found for the first time in New York state in direct association with such projectile points. There were also found many stone gouges for excavating dug-out canoes; stone plummets, probably employed in fishing; stone choppers; celts and adzes, both wood-working tools; hammerstones; bone awls; fishing gorges; harpoons of a distinct type; netting or snowshoe needles; and many other artifacts.

First Copper Implements

Of great significance was the very rare discovery of a number of small native copper gorges and of several heavy copper tools, all surely imported from the Lake Superior region, far to the west, where such objects were made in great numbers in early prehistoric times. Never before had these implements been found in a cultural association which would establish their position in our archaeological sequence in New York.

Traces of Early Lamokas

These seminomadic Laurentian hunters, who sojourned at Brewerton 1500 or more years ago were not, however, the first comers to this inviting spot. On the Vinette property, on the north side of the Oneida river, in Oswego County, were found in 1938, 1940 and 1942, deep down in the river silt and clay, slender traces of the earliest known occupants of the New York area, the Lamoka people, whose culture Dr. Ritchie discovered and elucidated in 1925 on a large and very rich site at Lamoka Lake in Schuyler County. This culture belongs also to the Archaic Pattern or first level of culture in north-eastern North America.

On the Vinette site at Brewerton this old Lamoka level, doubtless dating back to well before our era, was overlaid with a thick stratum of refuse of a much later but still prehistoric occupation which we have named the Point Peninsula and dated to about AD 1000. The particular manifestation found at the Vinette station was almost unknown, hence the scientific value of the artifacts obtained was very great. These consisted of two types of pottery, comprising the oldest wares in the New York area; fragments of stealite (soapstone) cooking pots; arrowpoints; drills; scrapers; copper awls; gorgets and many other things. Our luck even extended to the discovery on a knoll some distance away, of

Denman Makes Recoveries



Stone Tools and Implements Recovered by Archeologist
At Fort Brewerton Site

the burial site for this riverside settlement. Here the same types of artifacts, plus such extremely rare things as bird-stones and tubular pipes, occurred with the cremated remains of a considerable number of individuals in twenty-two grave pits.

Mound Builder Inheritances

This find of village and cemetery of the Point Peninsula culture considerably extends our knowledge of a people whose affiliations were with groups of horticultural tribes to the westward in the Ohio area. They were later than the Hopewellian builders of the great burial mounds of this area, but had inherited from them many cultural traits.

In 1942 another settlement site of the Point Peninsula culture was found near Brewerton on the Wing and Wickham properties, also on the north side of the Oneida river. This time it was overlaid by an extensive deposit containing an abundance of material pertaining to still another culture, viz., the Canandaigua Focus of the Owasco aspect, a late prehistoric Woodland culture known to us through the excavations of more than a dozen sites in various parts of the state. In the Ritchie explorations which followed in 1943 and 1945, Charles A. Denman of Fort Brewerton described by Dr. Ritchie as "long an ardent observer of our work at Brewerton who joined us as an official member of the expeditions, a fortunate fact for us, since his uncanny luck led to many important finds."

Grew Crops Here 800 Years Ago

The Owasco layer at the Wickham site, excavated through the courtesy of the Messrs. Frank and Harry Wickham, proved to be very productive in harpoons and other bone implements, including a perfect mat needle, a rare antler socket, projectile points of several types, etc. Sherds of two restorable pots were also found, as well as a number of fine pottery pipes. The

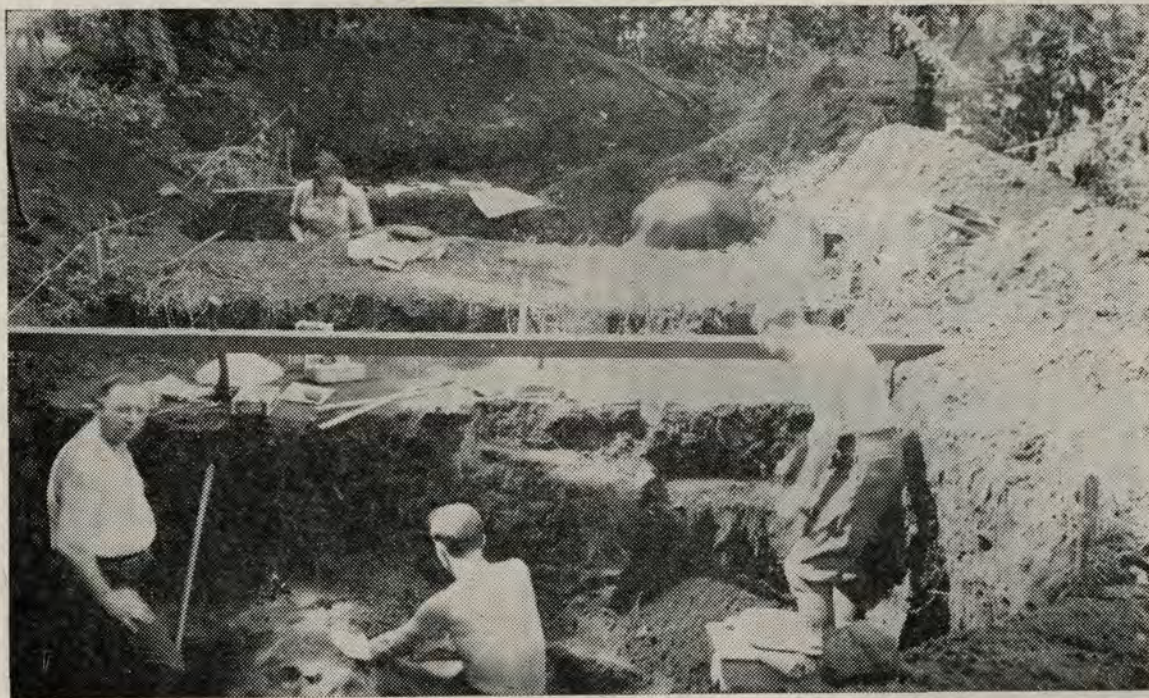
total series perfectly confirms our picture of the mode of life in Owasco time some 800 years ago. The Owasco people occupied populous villages, some times fortified on hilltops; they were farmers who raised corn, beans, squashes, and tobacco, which they stored in underground cache pits. We have found the sites of their circular lodges which were probably covered with bark or rush mats. Their dead were interred in a flexed position, usually without grave goods, in cemeteries near the hamlets. Many other interesting facts are known about them.

Indians At Brewerton 2000 Years

Their successors, and the last people to live in the Brewerton region, and indeed, in New York before the European invasion, were the Iroquois, whose presence at Brewerton is known only from our limited excavations on Smith Island in 1942. In the Brewerton cemetery on Kathan Street Iroquois burials with trade beads, brass kettles and other European goods of the historic period, have been found from time to time. At Brewerton, therefore, we have demonstrated a cultural and temporal sequence beginning with the Lamoka and Laurentian cultures of the Archaic period; followed by the Point Peninsula culture of the Intermediate period; the Owasco culture and the early Iroquois, both of the Late Prehistoric period; and finally the Iroquois of historic times. For some 2000 years or more Brewerton has been the residence of at least half a dozen different Indian groups before its settlement by white men, and the Ritchie-Denman excavations, conducted with scientific care, and published in several reports, have revealed not only this fact, but the order of succession and a great many facts regarding the material culture and pattern of life of these vanished peoples.

The Syracuse "Post-Standard" of Monday, November 2, 1942, described the then recent un-

Party at Work on Brewerton Excavations



This Picture Was Taken During 1943 Operations

earthing of the bones of six Indians at Brewerton, Oswego County, by Charles A. Denman, as follows:

Uncovers Six Skeletons

"The remnants of six Indians believed to have been buried 1,000 years ago, have been found by Charles A. Denman of Brewerton on his cottage property on the west side of the Oneida river, one-quarter of a mile east of the bridge. The skeletons are those of four men, one woman and one child. They were uncovered while Mr. Denman was digging a ditch for the placement of a water pipe from his cottage out into the river. He has salvaged a number of flint arrow heads, cache blades, mullers, anvil and hammer stones, net sinkers and bone punches from the graves. These implements, along with pieces of bowls which held food for use of the Indians 'in the next world,' had been buried with them as 'grave offerings.'

"Mr. Denman, who has been digging for the cultures of ancient tribes in the Brewerton section for the past five years, reports there are thousands of Indians buried there. The skeletons of those he has found will be left where they were uncovered. He does not believe in moving the bones of the dead of the ancient race he has come upon, and will accord them the honor intended them by those who bound them embryo fashion with knees drawn up under their chins, and placed them, wrapped in deer hides, in their final resting places centuries before the first white man set foot upon the soil of the new world. He reports these Indians were 'Laurentians,' a people who had their culture and primitive civilization about 1,000 years ago. They were inhabitants of the semi-archaic period, the second in the five classes of succeeding Indian civilizations found in this part of the country.

Classifies Finds

"Mr. Denman has classified his

finds according to number. They are:

"1. An infant, which had been cremated. Dr. William A. Ritchie of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences has made positive identification of the ashes as belonging to the semi-archaic period, Mr. Denman reports.

"2. A male adult who died of torture. Only his head and the upper portion of his body was found. The mouth, bearing a double set of teeth, was open. Mr. Denman believes this Indian was cut in half by his torturers. No grave offering implements were found with him; but, by digging beneath the spot where he rests, in a way not to disturb the bones, the explorer found deer or elk horns. These, he reports, are uncovered beneath each Indian grave.

"3. A male adult who died of an arrow wound in the neck. The flint arrowhead, the point broken off, was found in the neck. The skeleton lay under only six inches of earth. Burial offerings with him included broken spears, meat choppers, flint knives, and parts of the pot that had been filled with food to carry him on his journey to 'the happy hunting grounds.'

"4. A female adult, the first skeleton found. In this grave Mr. Denman found what he described as a 'beautiful cache blade,' an implement made of flint and shaped like a spear head, which was a ceremonial offering of the tribe. Nearby was uncovered a large pestle, used for grinding meal, and numerous other stone implements, 19 in all.

"5. A male adult. Most of this skeleton had gone back to the earth. Only the Indian's right arms remained and the outline of his body where it had lain.

"6. A male adult. Just found, this body had not been uncovered as yet.

Uses Fruit Knife

"The tools used by Mr. Denman in his underground explorations

consist of a grapefruit knife and a brush. The soil is loosened carefully with the knife and, when an object is found, it is carefully brushed to remove the light soil.

"The work must be carried on carefully and patiently because of the delicate condition of the material that had laid in the earth for centuries. In his search for ancient Indian lore, Mr. Denman has been aided by Harry and Frank Wickham of Brewerton, who operate a hardware store there. At present, they have some of his relics on display at their place of business.

Has 8000 Relics

"Mr. Denman took up his archaeological work as a hobby half a decade ago as the result of failing health. He had suffered from polio and other ailments, and reports that the activity has recouped his health. He has 8,000 relics taken from Indian graves and hopes his findings will some day find their way into a museum to be established at Brewerton on the site of the home of the ancient peoples. He worked all summer on digging the ditch for the pipeline and searching out his findings. He reports that every race of Indians used a different type of pottery, and it is this which decides the period of their graves. He says that the most valuable finds are fish hooks. The 1,500-year-old type is a straight bone, the ends sharpened. A thong was attached to the center, and it was baited and lowered into the water. In those days the Oneida river abounded in salmon, the scales and skeletons of which he has found.

River Was Junction

"The Oneida river, near the point of these newly-found graves, is believed to have been the 'railroad junction' of ancient tribes of this area, due to the reefs there that permitted crossings. Also they could travel east and west by canoe.

Flints have been found there that came from a South Onondaga quarry and also from Coxsackie. Red and yellow jasper, also found, is believed to have been obtained in trade with the Pennsylvania Indians, as that is its nearest source. He reports that all animal bones found have been split in two, the ancient people evidently considering their marrow as we do candy. When their rude dwellings became littered with bones and other refuse, they did not clean them out, but covered the floor with sand. Their implements for digging were the shoulder blades of deer and thin stones shaped for hoes."

Prehistoric Pottery Dump

One of the Rochester Museum's biggest archaeological finds of many years was made in August, 1946, by a field party consisting of the Messrs. Charles F. Wray, Charles A. Denman, and Dr. William A. Ritchie, archeologist of the Rochester Museum, while working along the Seneca River near Three Rivers. The October 1946 issue of "Museum Service" describes the find in part as follows in an article contributed by Dr. Ritchie:

"The eroding stream bank had revealed a dense layer of potsherds, deeply buried under a silt stratum laid down by wash in subsequent centuries which when exposed in part, disclosed a remarkable cultural deposit, hinting at a still more unusual story. Among the boulders of the old stream bed, then approximately four feet above the present level, we uncovered literally thousands of potsherds, many of extraordinary size, from scores of individual vessels bearing the characteristic decorations of the early Owasco culture, which preceded the Iroquois period in New York state. Occasional animal bones, especially of the bear, lay among the sherds, suggesting food contents of the cooking pots. Bone and stone implements, usual in a midden, were absent, but a

complete pottery pipe occurred among the sherds.

"Obviously this is no mere Owasco kitchen midden. All the customary vestiges of such a deposit are missing, there is no nearby trace of a settlement site and the prodigious number of potsherds infinitely exceeds anything ever before found. The evidence clearly shows that a large number of cooking pots had been cast down among the stones in the shallow reaches of the stream. But why? We cannot answer, but we have a theory or two, based upon certain ceremonial practices of the later Iroquois Indians.

"A Stratified Prehistoric Site at Brewerton, New York," is the title of a monograph written by Dr. William A. Ritchie, Archeologist of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, which was published by the Lewis H. Morgan Chapter of the New York State Archaeological Association, published in 1946. From this Mr. Denman quoted frequently in his paper. Says Dr. Ritchie:

A Mistaken Traveler

"Nearly 150 years ago the French traveler, le duc de La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, pausing for a night's rest in the shelter of Fort Brewerton, then a still-tenanted relic of the French and Indian wars, wrote in his journal: 'All the antiquities of this country consist in the remains of forts, built in the wars of 1776 or 1756. Fancy must live in future ages, to find occupation in this infant country; past ages can exist here only for generations not yet born.'"

"By an ironic coincidence this observation on the historic sterility of the New World was made at the very spot where, could his vision have pierced the surrounding forest mold, one of the most extensive deposits of human prehistory known in northeastern North America would have been

perceived; for some 2,000 years of buried history lay beneath his feet as he stood on the banks of the Oneida River contemplating the wide sweep of Oneida Lake. He had reached in his journey the geographical heart of New York state, a crux of waterways from which easy transport by canoe might be had to far-off places in every direction and, although the discovery is a matter of our researches of the last few years, he was sojourning at the prehistoric capital of the state.

"Since 1937, when a fortunate surmise brought the writer to the friendly town of Brewerton, our surveys and excavations have disclosed a continuous series of settlement and burial sites, in some cases interdigitating or actually superincumbent to one another, extending along a half a mile of both shores of the river, where it emerges from the foot of the lake. With but two exceptions** every culture thus far identified from western and central New York is here represented, from the historic Iroquois back to the probable beginning of the period of habitation.* Even

** The Middlesex Focus and Hopewellian Phase.

* Historic Iroquois (Onondaga?) graves have been found in the Riverside Cemetery on Kathon Street (material in possession of Messrs. Charles A. Denman and J. Elett Milton of Brewerton). Two prehistoric Iroquois burials and related cultural material were excavated by the writer and Mr. Edmund S. Carpenter in 1942 on Iroquois or Smith's Island at Brewerton, through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Hurlbut W. Smith of Syracuse. Owasco artifacts have been exhumed by several people, including the writer, on Smith's Island and by the late Frank L. Carter of Brewerton and the writer in the field three-tenths of a mile east of the highway bridge, on the north shore of the river. For an account of the Point Peninsula and earlier Laurentian village and cemetery sites found here by our expeditions, see Ritchie, 1944, pp. 150-166; 235-243.

Although its significance as a relic of still earlier man in this area is problematical, it may be well to mention again the surface discovery of a fluted or generalized Folsom type point of red jasper on the Robinson (Laurentian) site by the late Dr. William G. Hinsdale of Syracuse.

* La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, p. 20.

more may be said for Brewerton, for here, on opposite sides of the river were uncovered the key stations of what we have stratigraphically proved to be one of the oldest occupations in the Northeast, a prehorticultural, pre-ceramic, hunting-fishing culture which, prior to our excavations of 1937-38, was only vaguely suspected from widely disseminated surface traces.**

Explorations in Hastings

"After five seasons of intensive work it seemed that the Brewerton palimpsest had largely been deciphered that probably nothing more of major significance remained to be discovered in the immediate vicinity. And then in the summer of 1942 our attention was directed by the Messrs. Harry and Frank Wickham to some old finds made a number of years before on their property situated on the north side of the river, some 1,050 feet east of the bridge carrying U. S. Highway No. 11, on what is known as Staat's location, Hastings Township, Oswego County, New York.

"Somewhat sceptically a test pit was begun with the enthusiastic help of the Messrs. Wickham and Charles A. Denman which to our amazed delight reached subsoil only after penetrating nearly 6 feet of stained sand and camp refuse, abounding in potsherds, bone harpoon points, and other devices attributable to the early stage (Canandaigua Focus) of the Owasco Aspect. Furthermore, near the base of the undifferentiated deposit, sherds of the larger portion of an entirely different type of pot were troweled out, a rocker-stamp decorated vessel bearing other distinctive features of the earlier Point Peninsula Focus, best known from our work on the nearby Vinette village and Oberlander, No. 2 burial sites.* Could

it be these occupations overlapped in time as well as in space? Might not the recognized Point Peninsula and Owasco culture parallels be explicable in terms of actual contact of the two groups? Our excavations of August, 1943 were undertaken to answer these and other pertinent questions of New York prehistory.

The 1943 Excavations

"Because the Wickham property was in lawn, excavations were begun, through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wing, in a garden area adjoining the test pit on the west. A trench 12 feet wide, divided into 10 foot sections, was carried westward for 55 feet, when dense shrubbery and tree roots made further progress very difficult. In addition, sufficient time remained to extend Section 3 southward for 6 feet, to form the first segment of Trench 2.** As evidenced by the dark soil of the neighboring lawns, the site continues westward for at least another 100 feet. The principal habitation area thus encompasses some 230 feet of a low sand terrace rising gradually to the north to a second terrace or sand ridge occupied by a series of houses (on Milton Street). Many burials, probably relating to the site in question, have been exhumed during construction work along this ridge.

"The southern boundary of the lower terrace is an old strant line. Between it and the present river shore, some 100 feet distant, is low-lying land consisting of

** The personnel for 1943 comprised: the Misses Margaret E. Contant and Florence R. Roggie and Mr. Robert L. Clicquennol, of the museum staff; Mr. Charles A. Denman of Brewerton; and the writer, who was in charge. For a short period the Messrs. Vincent J. Schaefer and P. Schuyler Miller, of the Van Epps-Hartley Chapter, New York State Archaeological Association of Schenectady, contributed their able services.

** Ritchie, 1940.

* Ritchie, 1944, pp. 152-166. The first is situated approximately 800 feet east of the Wickham site, the second about double this distance in the same direction.

dark riverine silt and clay and recent fill for the road-bed (Front Street) bordering the river. Obviously the first inhabitants camped upon a south-sloping sand terrace (as shown by the trench profiles) along the former marshy river margin. The flanking ridge to the north was then much steeper; indeed it was steeper only a decade or so ago, according to Mr. Wing who still tills it. Clearing for wood and cultivation by the Indians doubtless initiated the still active process of erosion which is clearly the primary agent responsible for the great depth of the accumulated refuse-bearing sand deposits. Further proof is given by the thick topsoil layer (12 to 17 inches, average about 14 inches) of very dark, plow-turned sand, nearly sterile of Indian remains, and therefore of recent formation.

"The midden, or occupied soil, varied in depth from a maximum of less than 3 feet along the northern face of Trench 1 to as much as 7 feet on its southern edge. It consisted of an organically stained dark brown sand, lighter in color than the topsoil, and having a considerable ash content. Except for occasional small lenticular masses of ash and charcoal, possibly hearths, although the surrounding soil was not reddened, and the vague outlines of a few pits, it was virtually homogeneous and contrasted sharply with the irregular yellowish sand subsoil. The latter was frequently pockmarked with saucer-shaped depressions, 2 to 5 or more feet in diameter, apparently the fundus of pits whose superior outlines were partially or wholly obliterated.

Fish Bones Intact

"In the preserving ashes of many of these pits, and sporadically elsewhere in the midden, occurred large accumulations (varying from approximately a quart to more than a peck) of perfectly intact bones and even scales of several species of fish,

frogs, and turtles.* Mammal and bird bones had a low frequency,** and carbonized vegetal material was very rare, comprising but two corn kernels and five acorns. The principal food was evidently fish, obtained primarily by spearing*** in the great riffles which formerly existed here in the now canalized river, extending with minor interruptions from the highway bridge east to the present location of the Oberlander cottage (the site of the large Laurentian village previously mentioned).**** The finding of 61 notched netsinkers and 2 bone fishhooks indicates other means of taking fish from the river pools and nearby shallow foot of the lake. Indeed, the primary reason for occupation was doubtless the excellence and availability of the local fishing.

* Study of the extensive series of fish remains has been kindly undertaken by Dr. Sherman C. Bishop, Professor of Biology, University of Rochester. Unfortunately, his examination is incomplete as this report goes to press. On the basis of scales he has identified the small-mouthed bass and "what appears to be some kind of sucker." "Of the bones there are some representing both common bullhead and large catfish." (Letter of August 7, 1946). Jaws of the genus *Esox*, presumably the northern pike, are also present in some numbers. (These were examined by Dr. John R. Greeley, Senior Ichthyologist, New York State Conservation Department.) Remains of the salmon may be expected in the material recovered since this species is recorded in abundance in Oneida Lake as early as 1818. Bones of the box tortoise, snapping turtle, leopard frog, and bull frog occurred, the last three species in considerable numbers.

** The following species are represented: Virginia deer, elk, black bear, raccoon, beaver, muskrat, woodchuck, porcupine, mink, small Indian dog, Canada goose and turkey. A number of dog coprolites, containing fish bones, were also found.

*** A prodigious number, 267, of barbed bone points, whole and broken, were found in the course of the two seasons' work.

**** Information furnished by Mr. J. Elet Milton, local historian.

***** Summary and references to published sources in Ritchie, 1944, pp. 29-101.

Distribution of the Artifacts, 1943

Save for the virtually sterile topsoil, industrial objects were recovered at all depths within the midden. Potsherds comprised the bulk of the remains; bone articles were fairly numerous; while stone artifacts, especially of the polished variety, were less common, in keeping with the typical Owasco cultural picture.

Approximately 50 per cent of the non-pottery artifacts pertained typologically to the Owasco culture, as known from a study of more than twenty-five sites; the remainder as definitely represented the Vinette manifestation of the Point Peninsula Focus.*

"Artifacts of both foci were randomly dispersed through the dark sand, the majority of each group occurring between the depths of 14 and 48 inches, the latter figure being the approximate mean depth (47 inches) of the deposits.

A Difficult Problem

"A distributional study, as a function of depth, of diagnostic representation of the two culture congeries, gave a negative correlation. Of this fact there were several alternative explanations, as follows: (1) concurrent occupation of the site by people of the Point Peninsula and Owasco cultures, (2) the adoption of certain Point Peninsula traits (or people), or more probably the acquisition of trade articles (since the ceramics are in every respect traditional) by the Owasco inhabitants, (3) intermittent occupation of this highly propitious camping spot, on well-drained sand adjacent to exceptional fishing grounds, by the cultural groups in question, within the same general time period (e. g. alternate habitation in the same season or in different years).

"The last of these several hy-

potheses seemed best to account for the facts although it did violate in part on stratigraphic relations. However, scatter diagrams of the horizontal distribution of the deterministic traits revealed an absolutely and relatively larger quantity of Point Peninsula material from the northern third of the trench, irrespective of section. This fact seemed best accounted for on the assumption of an older Point Peninsula component of the sand ridge from which was derived cultural material to accompany the eroding sand which so largely contributed to the formation of the habitation floors. Thus later Owasco levels may have been contaminated by a redeposition of earlier alien remains by the process of hill-wash.

"Tests on the slope and upper terrace or ridge failed to disclose any such industrial aggregation, (although a few sterile storage (?) pits were found), a nonindicative fact in view of the large amount of soil wash and creep, probably sufficient to have completely effaced an original surface mantle by this late date. We were left, therefore, with a major unsolved problem requiring further excavations which fortunately were possible in the eastern area of the site, a portion of which seemed far enough removed to have escaped the most marked erosive influences from the hill.

Excavation of 1945

"With the gracious consent of the Messrs. Frank and Harry Wickham and their tenant, Mrs. Carrie G. Adkinson, Trench 1 was extended eastward across the lawn of the Wickham premises to within a few feet of the drainage ditch bordering Center Street. Test pits east of this point in the low field exposed dark riverine clay bearing traces of occupation, a condition similar to that found between the site and the river.

"Actually only 55 linear feet of the eastern half of Trench 1

* For a discussion of the problems surrounding the classification of the Point Peninsula culture, see Ritchie, 1944, pp. 115-121.

were explored, the initial cut being centered on the eastern half to avoid the already disturbed test pit area in Section A and the pet cemetery of amiable Mrs. Adkinson. Sufficient time remained to open a 10x10 feet southward extension of Section C and D, designated a part of Trench 2.*

Soil Differences

"At once important differences in soil conditions were observed below the plowline. The homogeneous brown sand stratum was still present, but with a markedly higher ash content,* and a considerably lesser depth (average 15 inches vs. 31 inches in Sections 1-6). The explanation for both differences is probably to be found in the slower rate of accretion of the habitation floor, due to the smaller quantities of re-deposited sand from hillside erosion. Identical conditions with respect to ash and fish bone accumulations, pit bottoms, and other features previously found, occurred in the eastern portion of the trench.

"Underlying the ash sand stratum was found a higher irregular and interrupted basal layer of a more compact black soil carrying many fire-broken stones, especially near the top. Analysis has shown this to consist of a fine-grained silty sand, deeply stained with organic matter including charcoal granules and ash. It was, however, much less ashy than the superimposed layer.

"For convenience in further reference these strata may numerically be designated as fol-

* The total excavated length of Trench 1 was therefore 110 feet, plus 10 feet of Test pit 1, or 120 feet comprising 1440 square feet. The area covered by Trench 2 in both seasons was 160 square feet. Hence 1,600 square feet of the site were excavated. The second season's work was done by the following party assisting Dr. Ritchie: the Misses Margaret Contant and Shirley Woodams, the Messrs. Robert L. Clicquenoel and Charles A. Denman, Dr. Vernon Leslie and Lt. (J.G.) Carl Blaker contributed their helpful services for a week.

* Confirmed by subsequent microscopic and flotation tests.

lows: Stratum, the topsoil, already referred to as largely of recent origin and therefore not merely the plow-disturbed top zone of the stratum beneath; Stratum 2, the brown ashy sand; and Stratum 3, the black sand, which through most of the 1945 excavations directly overlay the yellowish sand subsoil and was everywhere inferior to Stratum 2.**

"The significance of Stratum 3 did not become clear until excavations had progressed almost to Section 4, from which point it formed a continuous basal member on which Stratum 2 seemed conformable to rest. As will later be shown, a close cultural correlation was observed with the physical stratigraphy.

Owasco Material Predominated

The picture was further clarified by the excavation of Trench 2, which apparently provided the key to the riddle of the first season's dig, as well as to the conditions encountered in Sections B, C, and D. Figure 5, H, I, the main profiles made in this trench, clearly portray the intrusive character of Stratum 2, here forming a long trough-like extension from Section C and D, penetrating the otherwise intact portion of Stratum 3 to a maximum depth of 27 inches. Evidently over large areas Stratum 3 had been

** Tests for the H value of a number of soil samples, taken from various localities and depths in Trench 1, were made through the courtesy of Dr. A. F. Gustafson, Professor of Soil Technology, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University. They revealed the slight acidity of Strata 1, 3 and the base of Stratum 2 (6.50 to 6.95) and the slight alkalinity of the major portion of Stratum 2 (7.20 to 7.35). A considerable amount of free calcium carbonate also occurred in this layer. It is probably this factor which has operated to preserve so well the fragile fish remains and other osseous material, both refuse bone and industrial objects. Conversely, the extreme rarity of bone in Stratum 3 is doubtless related to its acid content, as shown by the markedly inferior condition of its bone component. The prevailing pH of 6.75 only slightly exceeds that on the Vinette site (6.67), where no osseous remains endured.

wholly or partially expunged by the activities of the group responsible for the deposition of Stratum 2 and the contents of the two intermingled. Since in the latter layer Owasco cultural material vastly predominated, while Stratum 3 produced industrial remains wholly attributable to the Point Peninsula focus or of non-deterministic nature, culture superposition or replacement, with an indefinable temporal hiatus, was now indicated. The brief sample analysis which follows of the artifact distribution by section and layer confirms this hypothesis.

Distribution of the Artifacts, 1945

In Trench 2 and section E, F, andw G of Trench 1, typological differentiation in terms of physical stratigraphy was added to the previous methods of analysis, with extremely significant results. In appraising the cultural value of the artifacts they were classified into four culture inventories, as later described, and the contents of strata 2 and 3 listed accordingly, with the results which appear below:

Trench 2, Stratum 2. Owasco traits: 56 potsherds; 3 pipes, whole or broken; 13 triangular points; 11 harpoons, whole or broken; 1 flat bone projectile point. Total 5 traits, 84 artifacts.

"Point Peninsula traits: 19 potsherds; 2 broad, stemmed points; 1 narrow, stemmed point; 1 broad, side-notched point; 1 semilozenge-shaped point; 1 bone harpoon point; 1 double-pointed bone implement; 1 piece muscovite mica; 8 Jasper flakes. Total 9 traits, 35 artifacts.

"Linked traits: 1 conical antler arrowpoint, 1 bone fishhook, 7 bone awls, 1 thin curved needle fragment, 1 antler flaking tool, 2 worked beaver incisors, 1 notched net-sinker, 1 piece reworked gorget or pendant, 1 plain pipe bowl fragment. Total 9 traits, 16 artifacts.

"Novel or indeterminate traits: 1 bone implement or unknown use; 4 quartz crystals, one work-

ed for point or knife. Total 2 traits, 5 artifacts. Stratum 3.

"Point Peninsula traits: 20 potsherds; 1 steatite sherd; 1 broad stemmed point; 1 narrow, stemmed point; 1 jasper flake. Total 5 traits, 24 artifacts.

"Linked traits: 1 bone awl (?). Total 1 trait, 1 artifact.

"Novel or indeterminate traits: 1 stone shaft rubber. Total 1 trait, 1 artifact.

Trench 1, Section F, Stratum 2. Owasco traits: 215 potsherds, 2 pipe bowls, 6 triangular arrow-points, 1 flint saw, 4 harpoon points. Total 5 traits, 228 artifacts.

"Point Peninsula traits: 4 potsherds; 1 steatite sherd; 1 broad, stemmed point; 2 pentagonal-shaped points; 16 jasper flakes. Total 5 traits, 24 artifacts.

"Linked traits: 2 drills with expanded base, 6 side scrapers, 1 end scraper, 1 stride-a-light, 1 celt bit, 1 deer ulna bone awl. Total 6 traits, 12 artifacts.

"Novel or indeterminate traits: 1 quartz crystal. Total 1 trait, 1 artifact. Stratum 3.

"Point Peninsula traits: 33 potsherds; 1 steatite sherd; 2 narrow, stemmed points; 1 thin side-notched point; 1 semilozenge-shaped point; 7 jasper flakes. Total 6 traits; 45 artifacts.

Linked traits: 1 hematite paintstone. Total 1 trait, 1 artifact.

Trench 1, Section G, Stratum 2, Owasco traits: 156 potsherds; 3 pipe fragments, one of steatite; 7 triangular points; 5 harpoon fragments; 1 fragment turtle carapace bowl; 1 discoidal hammerstone. Total 6 traits, 173 artifacts.

"Point Peninsula traits: 1 potsherd; 1 steatite sherd; 1 narrow, stemmed point; 2 corner-notched points; 1 semilozenge-shaped point; 1 triangular scraper; 10 jasper flakes. Total 7 traits, 17 artifacts.

Linked traits: 3 end scrapers, 2

splinter awls, 1 deer ulna awl.
Total 2 traits, 6 artifacts.

Stratum 3

"Point Peninsula traits: 13 potsherds; 1 steatite sherd; 1 broad, side-notched point; 1 chipped celt; 1 bone harpoon point; 2 Jasper flakes. Total 6 traits, 19 artifacts.

"Linked traits: 1 prismatic flake knife. Total 1 trait, 1 artifact.

"Over the area concerned, therefore, Stratum 2 yielded 8 traits and 485 artifacts of the Owasco culture, 13 traits and 76 Point Peninsula artifacts, 15 linked traits and 34 artifacts, and 2 novel or indeterminate traits represented by 6 artifacts. Stratum 3 produced no Owasco traits, 10 traits and 88 artifacts of the Point Peninsula culture, 3 linked traits and 3 artifacts, and 1 each of novel traits and artifacts. The total absence of Owasco type material from Stratum 3 is far more significant for our analysis of the Wickham site than is the occurrence in considerable numbers of Point Peninsula type remains in Stratum 2, which may readily be accounted for by the hypothesis already stated on page 9.

Description of Artifacts

"To meet the need of brevity this report omits a detailed description of the industrial material, relying for this purpose on the trait tables, illustrated by well-captioned plates, and supplemented by such notes as seem essential to a fuller comprehension of certain traits and their cultural significance. Under the major categories of Chipped Stone, Polished Stone, Rough Stone, Bone and Antler, and Pottery traits, four culture inventories have been recognized on the basis of previous experience with the prehistoric manifestations of the New York area. These are, respectively, Owasco traits or those known to occur on sites of the Owasco, but not on sites of the Point Peninsula culture (the only

entity demonstrably present as a complex on the Wickham site); Point Peninsula traits for which the reverse is true; Linked traits or those common to both cultures concerned, hence of no particular diagnostic value; and Novel or Indeterminate traits, which comprise either new forms or those not thus far found on sites of either culture. It may be well to state at this point that the sum of Linked and Novel traits does not equal a third culture, in terms of current knowledge.

"Admittedly this scheme embodies certain arbitrary features. For example, while triangular projectile points are almost the exclusive type in the general Owasco congeries, nearly every site of this culture known to the writer has produced a very small number of non-triangular types, indistinguishable from some which have been found in Stratum 2 and included in the Point Peninsula category; and conversely, triangular forms, typologically undifferentiable from the Owasco, constitute a small percentage of the total points on the majority of Point Peninsula stations.* (None, however, came from Stratum 3). Yet because of their high diagnostic value for the cultures here involved, point types have been employed as markers, in full recognition of the probable small degree of error so incurred, since it was felt that to treat them as linked traits (they are so shown on the trait table) would create a far more distorted picture of the actual findings. The multiple bilaterally barbed harpoons (all, incidentally, from Stratum 2) are likewise regarded as Owasco diagnostics, because of their overwhelming preponderance in this culture.

Point Peninsula Origin

"In the case of a number of the linked traits, notably the pendant or gorget and the platform pipe (both represented only by fragments), the cultural provenience may be gauged with a

* See Ritchie, 1944, Plate 165, A.

fair degree of probability because of their relative frequency in the two cultures. Like the native copper projectile point, a novel trait, they may be suspected as having originated in the Point Peninsula horizon.

"While such a procedure as archeological research requires all the objectivity which can be brought to bear, the subjective synthesizing intelligence of the trained student, developed by long and intimate familiarity with his materials should not be underrated by the critics of his methodology. The lack of ability 'to see the forest for the trees' and the absence of that 'intuitive' faculty which operates with small non-measurable clues, in much the same fashion as an expert clinician diagnoses a patient, is a great handicap to the professional worker. In most cases the number of variables is large and the 'human element' enters into both ends of the process. Still, the empirical factor is perhaps no greater in archeological interpretation than in the procedures of many disciples usually accorded a higher scientific status.

Chipped Stone Artifacts

Most of the stemmed and the thick, narrow-and broad-bladed, side-notched points, attributed to the Point Peninsula component on the Wickham site are equally at home in the demonstrably earlier Archaic cultures, especially the Laurentian Aspect, so well represented locally by the Brewerton Focus. Their provenience has been assigned in part on their prevalence in Stratum 3, in part on their appearance in the congeries of the unmolested Point Peninsula component at the Vinette site as well as in other stations of this culture.* The explanation of this fact seems to lie in a degree of traceable continuity from the cultures of the archaic into those of the Intermediate period,** rather than in the oc-

currence of actual Archaic remains on the Wickham site. This latter possibility is, to be sure, supported by the finding in the peripheral midden of a single sickle-shaped blade, believed to be a specific marker for the Brewerton Focus, and what may be an oval chopper, a more generalized Archaic trait. Quite possibly these two pieces, plus some of the points, knives, and scrapers, may represent vestiges of an Archaic occupation along the ancient river edge, as seen nearby in the lower component at Vinette's, and this assumption would further explain the relative abundance of Archaic point types at Wickham's, as compared with the Vinette site, as well as the correspondence in technique of manufacture (coarse heavy flaking) and even nature of material (which includes some non-local, probably eastern New York, drab cherts), with the chipped implements of the Brewerton Focus. If so, no trace of an Archaic stratum survives. Another explanation resides in the hypothesis of their being random intrusives, picked up locally on the rich Brewerton Focus stations by occupants of either or both of the Wickham site components. This view is strengthened by the discovery of a single battered beveled edge, a primary diagnostic of the Lamoka Focus showing fresh markings of secondary usage as an anvil-stone. Such discoveries of older relics, often re-used for other than their original purpose, is the rule rather than the exception on most New York Indian sites.

Polished Stone Artifacts

"The reworked beveled adze having already been referred to, there remain but four items in this category deserving of special attention. The small, unique, cylindrical, green slate object, of uncertain cultural provenience, may be a pigment pestle, since it exhibits the marks of rubbing and grinding on both ends.

"The notched, triangular, red

* Ritchie, 1944, p. 354.

** Expressed graphically in Ritchie, 1944, Plate 165A.

slate pendant seems to pertain to the general category of small drilled and/or notched stone ornaments, established as part of the Owasco pattern."

Rough Stone Artifacts

Two types of the hammerstone, not previously well described, occurred in considerable numbers on the Wickham site," Dr. Ritchie's report continues. Plate 7, figs. 11, 12, show the discoidal type, which is either biplano or beconcave. It appears to be a linked trait of the Owasco and Iroquois cultures. The heavy maul, made from a large unpitted pebble may be a local Point Peninsula trait since it was also present on the Vinette site.*

Bone And Antler Artifacts

"An unusually large number of bone and antler projectile points of several styles were found in the course of the dig. The chief form is the well-known Owasco flat lanceolate type, with two variations, one stemmed, the second side-notched. A triangular barbed type is apparently new in New York. Its association with the Owasco is strongly suggested by its prehistoric Iroquois provenience in Ontario. Probably the best example of the antler artifact type thought by the writer to be a celt socket, is pictured on Plate 9, fig. 68. To date, this is an absolute marker for the Owasco culture.

"Three novel traits, of uncertain provenience, but probably also Owasco, comprise the pottery stamp made by serrating one edge of a snapping turtle plastron; the polished and centrally perforated (by cutting) half of a deer phalangeal bone, perhaps used as an ornament; and the nearly flat, rectangular section of a mammal long bone (black through carbonization), tentatively regarded as a gaming piece.

"Only the Owasco station at Jack's Reef on the Seneca River,

some 18 miles southwest in an air line, rivals the Wickham site in the prodigality of barbed bone points, whole and broken, utilized as harpoons for spearing fish. The vast majority of Wickham specimens are of the distinctive Owasco form. One is barbed at both ends and has parallels at the Canandaigua site. Types equally well established for the Point Peninsula complex are represented on Plate 6.

"A small number of harpoon points were modified for secondary usage as awls and projectile points. The base of one, of Owasco type, is crossed by broad transverse bands of reddish stain, evidently either the vestiges of hematite paint or the marks of the lashings which served to fasten the point to the wooden raft.

"The extremely high incidence of breakage is very difficult to explain. The Owasco series contains 116 distal or tip portions, 73 proximal or basal section, 19 central section, and 17 complete implements, representing a total of approximately 225 harpoons.* The 42 examples of Point Peninsula types, none of which is complete, comprise 32 tip sections, 2 bases, and 8 central pieces. In both series tip sections outnumber basal portions, although in the first case the discrepancy is reduced to an approximate equality by the addition of central portions.

Breakage Not Explainable

"At Jack's Reef, the only comparable site, the relative proportion of whole to fragmentary harpoons was higher, but here, too, broken implements far outnumbered whole ones. These artifacts are almost invariably made from a thick cortical segment of long bone derived from a large mammal—deer, elk, bear, etc.—and are very tough even in their present condition, yet the breakage rate far surpassed that of awls often made from lighter bone. Had the damage occurred during

* Still more remarkable is the fact that laboratory attempts at restoration from broken tips and bases have largely failed.

* Ritchie, 1944, Plate 75, fig. 46.

the use of the implement, whose function as a harpoon for spearing fish can hardly be doubted, and the shaft been returned for a new point, basal fragments would predominate on the site. The suspicion is inescapable that intentional breakage was practiced for some unknown reason.

Ceramic Artifacts

"The tubular pipes from the Wickham site are the first recorded from an Owasco station. One specimen has provisionally been regarded as of Point Peninsula provenience because in form and quality of paste it conforms rather closely with examples from graves of this culture, which, however, have lacked any decoration.

"Two pipes, one a fragment, seem certainly to be the products of Owasco industry, inasmuch as the mammaliform boss design covering the bowl is typical of this culture but is wholly lacking from Point Peninsula ceramics. This combination of a distinctive Point Peninsula form with an equally diagnostic Owasco decorative design raises the important question of acculturation. The fact this is the only object combining the characteristic elements of the two groups concerned militates against this probability. Moreover, since the typical obtuse angle elbow form of Owasco pipe has its prototype in the tubular and obtuse angle pipes of the Point Peninsula culture, from which it was evidently derived and progressively modified by Owasco people into a nearly right angle arrangement of bowl and stem, it is theoretically likely that the basic Point Peninsula form should occasionally reappear in the early Owasco horizon.

Pottery Characteristics

"Four major ceramic categories may be differentiated in the series from the Wickham site. The first comprises the well-known type of the Canandaigua Focus, illustrated by the large

rim sherds and restored vessels. In a word, this pottery is grit-tempered, surface-malleated with cord- or fabric-wrapped paddle; has an elongated body, conoidal base, mild to moderate degree of neck construction, and straight to moderately everted collarless rim. Ornamentation, confined to the shoulder, neck, and rim, and frequently present also on the lip and inner rim surface, is executed in the main, with corded stick or dentate stamp, in designs consisting usually of simple rectilinear lines, sometimes combined with the herringbone, chevron, or plat composed of a series of vertical or oblique groups of short parallel lines.

New Pottery Types

"To the Point Peninsula component of the site pertain three ware styles, designated Vinette Types 1 and 2 and Wickham Punctate, the latter being a new type. The first, appearing earlier in time on the type station, and characterizing all the cultures of the Intermediate period in New York, is a moderately thick, coarse to medium grit-tempered, gray to black or buff colored ware, derived from fairly large, unornamented, straight-sided, conoidal-based vessels, cord- or fabric roughened over the entire surface both outside and inside.

"Type 2, which overlaps with and finally supplants Type 1 ware at Vinette's, and which was apparently coextensive with it at Wickham's,* has medium to medium fine grit-, sand and grit, or sand-tempered paste; is brown, buff or terra-cotta in color; and derives from small pots having mildly constricted necks and straight to slightly everted rims, pointed bases, and flat, rounded, or pointed outslipping lips. The prevailing style of ornamenta-

* The relative proportions of these two types of wares at Wickham's suggests that the Point Peninsula component at this site equates with the middle period of occupation of the Vinette site.

tion which was applied over the entire body, as well as the shoulder and rim, is rectangular dentate impression in simple rectilinear patterns. Rocker-stamping is common. The interior surface usually exhibits the channeled markings of the scraping tool.

"The fourth category, containing 79 sherds, comprises a ware unique in the writer's experience, which he has termed Wickham Punctate. This is related to the Point Peninsula component both stratigraphically and typologically (rectangular dentate impressions, rocker-stamping, interior channeling, etc.). Four variants are distinguishable. All are tempered with medium coarse to medium grit or sand and grit aplastic; the dominant hardness in 2-2.5; the thickness about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch; and the color brown or buff.

Burials

"Mention has already been made of the fact that many skeletons, without accompanying grave goods, but probably pertaining to the Wickham site, have at various times been exhumed from the bordering sand ridge north of the occupied terrace, in the course of cellar, drainage, and other excavations. In the explored village (Brewerton) area were uncovered four fragmentary burials, too poorly preserved for restoration, one of which certainly belonged to the first or Point Peninsula component. None had mortuary offerings. A brief description follows:

"Burial 1. Found in test pit of 1942 (Trench 1, Section A, 26 inches from southeast corner.) Infant, in brown sand (Stratum 2), depth to skull 24 inches, on right side, headed N.N.W., facing S.S.W., skull crushed, all bones below thorax missing.

"Burial 2. Also from test pit, at center of south end. A badly disturbed and much broken adult skeleton without skull, depth 25 inches in brown sand (Stratum 2).

"Burial 3. Found in 1943 near center of Trench 1, Section 1,

depth 37 inches. Fragmentary skeleton of adult female (%), closely flexed on left side, headed N.E., facing S.E. Bones very fragile, upper portion of skeleton destroyed by intrusive hearth (in Stratum 2). Lay on subsoil in an area of very black compact soil under layer of fire-broken stones which coincided in extent with the black zone (remnant of Stratum 3, not yet recognized at this time, for reasons given above). It now seems definitely assured that this was a Point Peninsula burial partly destroyed by Owasco period intrusion.

"Burial 4. Exposed near the northwest corner of Trench 1, Section 4 (1943), at depth of 20 inches and 10 inches above subsoil. Fragmentary adult skeleton, loosely flexed, left side, headed west, facing N.W.

Conclusions

"The combined evidence of stratigraphy and typology on the Wickham site overwhelmingly supports the hypothesis of culture superposition, with a later Owasco horizon and an earlier Point Peninsula level of occupation. There seems clearly to have taken place, primarily through pitting, a partial obliteration of the black basal stratum (number 3) pertaining to the latter, accompanied by an intermingling of its industrial contents with the brown deposit (Stratum 2), representing the accumulating debris of the Owasco habitation. This new indication of the relative antiquity of the cultures concerned confirms the data from the Jack's Reef site, where a rich burial of the Point Peninsula Focus occurred in a subsoil pit beneath three feet of unbroken early Owasco (Canandaigua Focus 3 midden)."

"It accomplishes much more than this, however, since it provides at Brewerton an additional vital link in the extraordinary stratigraphic succession containing most of the major occupations

* Ritchie, 1944, pp. 148-150.

defined by the writer for New York state.** Supplemented by the evidence of ceramic typology the sequence may be expanded to include the two principal manifestations of western and central New York, apparently absent from Brewerton, viz., the Middlesex and Hopewellian cultures. Indirectly, it also affords a cross-tie with the Coastal Aspect of eastern New York.

"This epitome of prehistory, as disclosed at Brewerton, begins on the Archaic time level with the Lamoka and the Brewerton foci. Unfortunately, and still somewhat obscure temporal relationship of these oldest definable cultures is not here revealed,* but both are seen to precede the Vinette manifestation of the Point Peninsula culture on three sites.** The Point Peninsula in turn has now been demonstrated to antedate the early (Canandaigua) Focus of the Owasco Aspect on the Wickham site, while on Smith's (Iroquois) Island a prehistoric Iroquois occupation with burials has thoroughly deranged older deposits containing Lamoka, Brewerton, Point Peninsula, and Owasco artifacts.

Chronological Relationship

The chronological relationship in this progression, probably the most manifold and instructive yet found in the northeastern area, of the locally missing compon-

** Ritchie, 1944, Plates 1, 2, 4.

* Because the Lamoka is everywhere wholly preceramic and the upper levels of the Brewerton Focus sites at Brewerton contain Point Peninsula ceramic types, interpreted as an introduced increment in the final stage of occupation, the priority of the Lamoka is assumed. An overlapping of the Lamoka and Brewerton foci is found, however, in the Frontenac Focus (Ritchie, 1944, pp. 268-292 and 1945).

** The Lamoka occurs in an intact clay-silt stratum beneath the Point Peninsula component of the Vinette site (Ritchie, 1944, p. 163. As stated in a footnote potsherd of Vinette 1 and 2 wares appear sporadically and in small numbers in the upper layer of refuse on both the Robinson and the Oberlander, No. 1 sites (Ritchie, 1940).

ents of the Intermediate period, is supplied by ceramic evidence from the Point Peninsula constituent. This concerns Vinette 1 and 2 wares, already described in text and trait table. The first was conclusively shown to be the earlier form on the key Vinette station, where it was almost wholly supplanted by the second during the period of habitation. A somewhat cruder and thicker form of Type 1 ware comprises sole fictile fabric known from the Middlesex Focus (Vine Valley Aspect)*** and is the major ceramic element of the New York Hopewellian. Type 1 ware is present in the intrusive complex at the Lamoka Lake station.* Recently it has been found associated with a typical Point Peninsula burial complex at Cuylerville, Livingston County, New York;** and it is a constituent of the Early Coastal (Throgs Neck-Grantville Period) in southeastern New York.*** It belongs to the earliest pottery level at the Foster's Cove and Camp Maud Eaton sites in Andover, Massachusetts. At the latter it is associated with sandy grit-tempered ware having a "wiped-surface" and both side- and corner-notched arrowpoints. Bullen, referring to the upper level of the Brewerton Focus sites, suggests the possibility "that pottery and points of these forms were introduced into Andover by influences similar to the late 'Archaic' of New York. General similarities in vessel shape and surface treatment are to be

*** Ritchie, 1944 1/2-192. Subsequent study of sherds in New York State Museum.

** Studied through the courtesy of Robert R. Hill, Rochester, N. Y.

* Ritchie, 1932, p. 112.

*** Smith, 1944, p. 92 ff., Plate IX, fig. 17, and by correspondence of May 12, 1946. I am indebted to Mr. Smith for the opportunity of examining these sherds. This ware was also seen by the writer on eastern Long Island in the collection of Roy Latham of Orient. It was found on the Tiffany, Hand's Creek, and Fresh Meadow sites, on Three Mile Harbor, L. I.

noted between this Vinette 1 pottery and Pope's Creek ware of the Middle Atlantic area. While its wider distribution is as yet undetermined it seems to be one of the basic early Woodland wares in the Eastern United States and its early position in the cultures of the Intermediate period in New York is unequivocal. Hence it may tentatively be regarded as one of the first, if not actually the first ceramic type in this state.

Vinette 2 ware, stratigraphically somewhat later at Brewerton, appears to stem from some source west or northwest of New York. Fundamental resemblances in decorative technique and design to the Illinois Hopewell were remarked by Griffin.^{****} It forms a major element on numerous Woodland stations in lower Ontario* and on one in Upper New England,** and it is the exclusive ware on numerous camp sites in the St. Lawrence valley in New York.^{***} In eastern New York it occurs on what has been referred to an Early Coastal site. Its non-pottery associations in Canada and the Vinette and Wickham

Point Peninsula components, are very similar. They are unknown for the Weirs site in New Hampshire.

Second Ceramic Tradition

"The indications are, therefore, that a second ceramic tradition was introduced during the course of the Intermediate period. Whether it came as a diffused element, as part of a larger complex, or was carried on a migratory wave is not yet ascertainable. There are grounds for support of the first or second premises and for believing that the Middlesex - Hopewellian cultures largely if not wholly antedate the influx of this increment. Here, again, is testimony from another source in support of the cultural and chronological sequence postulated by the writer on other evidence for the Intermediate period.^{****}

"Apparently accompanying this ware on certain of the northern stations is another and rather generalized Woodland pottery, grit-tempered and decorated with corded-stick, dentate stamp, and to a much lesser degree, punctate impressed (in this respect suggesting Wickham Punstate). There seems reason to believe that this ware could have been the prototype of the classic Owasco type of the earlier or Canandaigua Focus, a point which redirects attention to the measure of continuity indicated by the shared or linked traits of these two cultures. While the combined weight of the cultural and cranio-logical evidence to date militates against the simple assumption of a Point Peninsula derived Owasco complex, the facts surely suggest the partial derivation of the latter from the total complex comprehended under the still somewhat loose designation "Point Peninsula Focus" in the Ontario-New York area during the Late Prehistoric time interval. Studies already underway may clarify this problem."

^{****} By conversation with Dr. James B. Griffin, Ceramic Repository for the Eastern United States, University of Michigan, after his examination of the Vinette material on May 3, 1941.

* White's Island and Idywilde Point, Rice Lake, Northumberland County, collected by Messrs. Albert J. Hoffman of Rochester, N. Y., and Peter M. Pringle, of Toronto, Ontario, respectively. Also found by the writer near Gore's Landing, Rice Lake. Bob's Lake, Frontenac Co., collected by John Carter, Clayton, N. Y.

** The Weirs, outlet of Lake Winepesaukee, Belknap Co., N. H. Moorehead, 1922 pp. 208-210. Seen through the courtesy of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.

*** Found by the writer on sites in the following localities: Point Peninsula (4 sites), Black River Bay, foot of Grindstone Island, Perch Lake, all in Jefferson County; Heuvelton and Long Sault Island, St. Lawrence County.

^{****} Ritchie, 1944, pp. 112-115.

Unearthing of Prehistoric Indian Skeletons To Lead to Other Discoveries

Charles A. Denman, Society's Archeologist, To
Carry on Excavations in 1948 With Hope of
Locating Site of Former Iroquois Village

The location of another prehistoric Indian village within the confines of what is today Oswego County was probably determined by excavations carried on last June and July on the Philip Luke farm in the southern part of the town of Granby by Charles A. Denman of Brewerton, archeologist of the Oswego County Historical Society, assisted by Ralph M. Faust of Oswego, a vice-president of the society, by Philip Luke, the latter's son, Jack, and others. The excavations then carried on resulted in the uncovering of nine skeletons of Indians who had been buried there for a period probably of 450 to 500 years. Mr. Denman is quite confident that excavations to be made next spring will reveal the site of a former Indian village near the site today occupied by the hamlet of Little Utica.

The first skeletons were uncovered last summer by Philip Luke while he was at work grading and excavating for a new (vegetable) cellar upon which he was about to start construction on June 27. Mr. Luke at once drove to Fort Brewerton and notified Mr. Denman of his discovery so that the latter had opportunity to get on the ground before the additional graves, which were later brought to light, had been disturbed by Mr. Luke's further excavations. Mr. Luke kindly suspended construction while the archeologists were pushing their exploratory operations.

Graves in Circle

As early Indian burying grounds were usually located in close proximity to their villages and upon a high bit of well drained ground, those archeologists who carried on the investigations at

the Luke farm, expressed the opinion that when opportunity offers that further excavations at a nearby knoll, which at the time of the July discoveries was planted to wheat, would result in the finding of traces of an Indian village which probably flourished there more than 200 years before the first white man appeared in this region. These excavations are yet to be made, but it is expected that a start will be made upon them next spring after the ground has dried out.

On the first two days that the excavations were in progress on the Luke farm last summer five skeletons were located, three of these having been uncovered by Mr. Luke during his excavations made the first day he started work on the vegetable cellar. The other six skeletons were found during the next succeeding week or 10 days. The positions in which the skeletons were found indicated that the bodies had been laid at rest roughly in the form of a circle the diameter of which was about 30 feet.

Skeletons Well Preserved

Of the first skeletons located, four were those of males and five those of females. One of the latter was that of a young girl. The female skeleton is distinguishable from that the male Indian in part due to the fact the female skull bones are only about half as thick as skull bones of the Indian males. There are other physiological differences in the bone shape and structure which assist in making this distinction.

While bones of some of the skeletons are so well preserved it is difficult to believe they come from graves 450 years or more old, bones of others are as dry

as powder and almost ready to crumble to pieces. The teeth of several of the skeletons have been found in an unusually good state of preservation.

Bundle Burial

One of the skeletons unearthed near Little Utica by Mr. Denman is in his opinion the aftermath of a "bundle burial," the deceased person having been wrapped in a sack-like covering after the body had been tightly flexed in the manner frequently followed in Indian burials. Decayed material from the cloth used to make the sack has affected the quality of the soil found adjacent to bones of the skeleton.

Old residents in the Little Utica locality recall that years ago a farmer sinking postholes for a fence in a location in proximity to the present Luke farm dug up some human bones which were thought at the time to have been those of Indians. Then an incident of the skeletons found 50 years ago while a barn was being projected in the same locality was recalled.

Denman's Observations

"The skeletons found near Little Utica, were buried about three feet beneath the surface of the earth", Mr. Denman reported. "Considering the length of time they have lain in the ground they are in an excellent state of preservation. The bones are yet in their normal position and decay has not reached advanced stages as yet.

"It was customary with prehistoric Iroquois, unlike the earlier Laurentian men who inhabited the region now known as Fort Brewerton, a thousand or more years ago, to bury their dead without accompaniment of their personal effects, weapons and articles of food and personal adornment. No artifacts, sherds or other evidences of Indian culture were found in the Little Utica excavations which, have not advanced at this time sufficiently far to per-

mit the forming of ultimate conclusions."

One of the skeletons found at the Luke farm, that of a man was found in a tightly flexed position with the legs and knees drawn up against the body which reposed in a sitting position. Another body, that of a squaw apparently, was found in a prone position, buried face downwards in the earth. Both hands were crossed at the location of her stomach as if clutched there in an attempt to relieve a severe pain from which she may have died.

The Luke farms lies about eight miles south of the City of Fulton in the Little Utica area. Alonzo Luke, the first of the family to settle in the area purchased a farm which lay close to that now occupied by his son during the 1870s. Later in 1912 Alonzo Luke purchased the farm upon which the Indian graveyard was located last July. His son, Philip, who succeeded to its ownership on his father's death in 1912, is a licensed Methodist preacher as well as a prosperous farmer. He served in World War I. His son, Jack, 21 years old, became ardently interested in archeology following the discovery of the first skeletons and thereafter arose very early each morning for some time to work in the excavations with the hope of bringing additional skeletons to light. In this hope he was successful, as he located one of the first of three skeletons found during the second week of the excavations.

Make Plaster Casts

The skeletons uncovered during the excavations are believed to have belonged to the prehistoric Iroquois period, and hence to have dated back to a period 500 years before their discovery. The remains, however, are not as old as some of those brought to light during the Brewerton excavations which are believed to date back as far as 2000 years ago.

Some of the more perfectly pre-

served skeletons were carefully removed from their resting places, and taken to the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences where they will be reproduced in plaster casts after they have been carefully examined for scientific purposes. Later the skeletons removed temporarily will be returned to the proximity of the burying ground from which they were removed, and reinterred there.

Among those not previously mentioned herein who worked on the excavations at the Luke farm

last summer were: Anthony Slosek, organizer of the Oswego Junior historians at Oswego High School, Ralph Konduct, Robert O'Brien and Anthony Murabito, all of the Oswego high school faculty. Richard Bohall and Alan Eggleston of Oswego also participated in the excavation work.

The Historical Society expects to be able to arrange for a report of the significance of these latest Oswego County prehistoric Indian finds to be made at one of its meetings during the year 1948.



Headquarters House of Society Opened By House-Warming Which Attracts More Than 300 Guests

Former Richardson-Bates Mansion Scene of Interested Gathering Of
Members of Oswego County Historical Society Tuesday Evening

(From Oswego Palladium-Times October 22, 1947)

More than 300 persons, members of the Oswego County Historical Society and their families, attended a "house-warming" meeting of the Society Tuesday evening in Headquarters House, the former Richardson-Bates residence at East Third and Mohawk streets, the occasion being the first use the Society has made of the property, which came as a gift from the children of the late Mr. and Mrs. Norman L. Bates last December.

In the hall, as members entered was a bust of Beethoven presented by citizens of Oswego to the late Max B. Richardson on the opening night of Richardson Theater in 1896, and thereafter were confronted by a scene suggestive of days when the original owners of the house were in possession, in the candle-lighted reception and drawing rooms, against a background of richly, heavily draped, tall windows, with mantles, and walls adorned by works of art, and provided with massive furniture suited in every way to the surroundings.

Nearly the entire house was open for inspection and in glass-fronted cabinets many found much to awaken interest in curios, gathered from all parts of the world by members of the families who formerly lived in the house and left there for the pleasure of their home folks in city and county, in a museum soon to be established by the Society.

The Society is endeavoring to preserve the residence as typical of a period of longer than 50

years ago, and original furnishings and settings have been kept nearly as intact as possible. Museum exhibits will be largely concentrated in the spacious halls, and in rooms on the second floor, in two tower rooms in the cupola and on the third floor of the north, or older, wing.

Autumn flowers, used in decoration by a committee headed by Mrs. Dearborn V. Hardie, and Mrs. John L. Hawley, were augmented by several dozen large yellow chrysanthemums, sent for the occasion by Mrs. Calvin Tomkins, now of Palisades, the former Sally Bates, with a message "May the party be successful, beautiful and merry." The tea table was centered with an arrangement of pom-pom chrysanthemums, and anemones arranged in the main hall, elicited much favorable comment by callers.

Many Members Assist

Refreshments were served in the dining room from 8 to 10 o'clock under the glow of the candle-lighted chandelier. The refreshments consisted of attractively shaped and colored sandwiches, fancy cookies and dainty cakes, tea and coffee. Pouring at the tea table during the evening were the following ladies: Mrs. Frederick Leighton, Mrs. Francis D. Culkin, Mrs. Thomas A. Cloutier and Miss Anna Post of Oswego and Mrs. Grove A. Gilbert and Mrs. Frank Elliott of Fulton. Mrs. E. M. Waterbury headed the committee on hostesses.

Assisting with the serving were

the following ladies serving under Miss M. Louise Driscoll as chairman: Mrs. Richard C. Mitchell, Mrs. James Lally, Mrs. J. M. Riley, Mrs. George A. Marsden, Mrs. E. M. Anderson, Mrs. S. M. F. Peters, Mrs. Vern P. Ward, Miss Helen Quirk, Miss Lucile Leanor, Miss Elizabeth Culkin, Miss Eva O'Brien, Miss Helen Hager

Mrs. Robert L. Allison had charge of the provision of the coffee and tea for the occasion, and their making. The following ladies serving under Mrs. Charles F. Wells assisted in providing the refreshments: Mrs. Leon N. Brown, Mrs. Carlton N. Clearwater, Mrs. John C. Henry, Mrs. Alfred G. Tucker, Mrs. Harold D. Alford, Mrs. Donald Snygg, Mrs. Leyden E. Brown, Mrs. Floyd Spangle, Mrs. Frances Dann, Mrs. Blanchard Shaver, Mrs. John W. O'Connor, Mrs. Harry C. Mizen, Mrs. George M. Penney, Miss Marion Mackin.

Mrs. David M. Russell, Jr., as chairman and the members of the Ways and Means Committee of the society had general charge of the arrangements. The ladies collectively received many compliments on the manner in which they handled the various details incident to the entertainment of so large a gathering so that every detail was carried through most successfully.

Business Session

In opening the business session at 9:30 o'clock President E. M. Waterbury referred to the significance of the occasion as the first upon which the gift made by the Bates heirs to the society in trust for the people of Oswego city and county had been put to use. He spoke of widespread demonstration of appreciation with which the gift had been welcomed, and observed also acceptance of the gift had brought new obligations to the society's members in providing for appropriate care and protection for so fine a gift in its future. He expressed belief and personal hope that Headquarters

House would become in future years a center of activity for community-serving organizations of the city and county, and especially those of a patriotic nature.

The president recalled since the Society's most recent meeting in May the following members had been removed from its rolls by death: Robert Oliphant of Oswego who died on September 4, Elmer E. Morrill of Fulton who died on September 12, and Dr. Clifford R. Hervey of St. Petersburg, Fla., whose death occurred in that city Oct. 16.

Treasurer John H. Hourigan advised the assembly he had received from Mrs. J. Edward McChesney of Oswego a check for \$25 payable to the society, and given in memory of her husband whose death occurred January 29 of this year. The amount will be added to the Endowment Fund of the society now being raised.

Later Meetings Planned

It was announced the November meeting of the society will be held at Headquarters House Tuesday, November 18, with Frederick W. Barnes of Oswego as speaker of the evening. The subject of his paper will be "Oswego Street Names, and Their Significance." The December meeting will be addressed by Ralph M. Faust of Oswego, whose paper will relate "High Lights in the History of A One Hundred and Twenty Five Year Old Oswego Parish." The paper will tell the story of Christ Episcopal Church in relation to the community which has served.

Museum Fund Grows

It was reported approximately \$4,600 has been subscribed to date for the \$5,000 Fund being raised by the Society to cover expenses incident to removing its historical collection to its new location, arranging for its recataloging, identification and display and to provide for maintenance of Headquarters House for the first two years of its operations. The campaign, of which Mr. Faust is the chairman, will con-

tinue until the full amount sought has been raised, it was announced.

The president reported on the present status of the society's movement for permanent preservation as an historic site of Fort Ontario with its ancient military cemetery and surrounding battlefields which will be permanently preserved by the Historic Sites Commission of the State Education Department, if steps now being taken by the department, the State Land Board and the Governor's office are successful, as there is every reason to believe they will be, he said. He gave an account of the visit to Fort Ontario Monday and Tuesday of representatives of the War Department in relation to the federal government's role in the movement.

Takes Life Membership

The first life-membership in the society was taken last evening by Dr. Harvey S. Albertson of Oswego. This membership classification was set up by amendment made to the society's by-laws early in the year to become available with October 1. Upon the payment of \$50.00 in a lump

sum any person qualified for active membership in the society will be relieved from the payment of annual membership dues and continue as a member of the society through the remainder of his or her life. Other classifications of the Society's membership provided for by the by-law changes are now effective as well. The by-law changes also provide for an active membership fee of \$2 a year from this time forward, the amount to entitle the member to receive without additional charge the annual year book published by the society in January which contains its proceedings for the preceding calendar year and the text of all papers read before the society.

Mrs. William Wetmore of Camillus, an oldtime resident of the City of Oswego, whose family at one time owned the house in East Third street now owned by Miss Anna Post, unable to be present for Tuesday evening's function, sent along with a letter which was read at the membership meeting "a little gift for the plate" which was disposed of in accordance with her wishes.



Oswego Streets--How They Got Their Names

(Paper Given Before Oswego County Historical Society at Oswego November 18, 1947 by Frederick W. Barnes, Vice President of the Society.)

To begin with what is a Street? According to the Dictionary "a public highway in a city or town lined on either side with houses" is a street. Nevertheless we have in Oswego, at least one public highway, which has no houses on it and yet they call it a street and it was named some years ago. They call it Eslaf street and it extends from No. 85 Hamilton to No. 314 on the Hall Road. If we take the word Eslaf E.S.L.A.F. and spell it backwards we have F.A.L.S.E. False, so it is really False street spelt backward.

In Montreal there is an old map of Oswego which shows about 70 log cabins or huts as occupied by our early Fur Traders. These were built in two parallel rows with about 35 cabins on each side and between them was a lane on which they faced. This lane may be considered as Oswego's first attempt at street building. The topography of our lake front has changed somewhat since the old map was drawn. The original highway has not survived until our day, although Front street which extends from the harbor to West Schuyler street might almost be considered an extension of Fur Traders Lane.

Oswego was finally evacuated by the British on July 15th, 1796. Prior to that it was a fur trading center and a military post. After the evacuation it gradually acquired new interests which brought new people here and these new people had to have places in which to live and to do business. Someone may have appealed to the authorities in Albany, for in the year 1797 the State Surveyor General, Simeon Dewitt, sent one of his assistants here; a surveyor by the name of

Benjamin Wright. This man had previously been in the employ of George Scriba, the great land holder, and as he was familiar with this locality he was selected to lay out the streets for the village of Oswego. Although the job of surveying the streets could be left to a subordinate the seemingly more important task of naming them was reserved for the Surveyor General himself. Those thoroughfares which ran North and South were named as at present, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc., but those extending East and West received entirely different titles from those which they bear today.

Streets Receive Classical Names

General Dewitt apparently must have received a classical education for he went to the heavenly spheres for the names of 15 of Oswego's streets. The northernmost thoroughfare was called in 1797 Aquila street. It was almost an eastern extension of what is now called Bronson street which then ran through to the river but was later closed up. As extended to the East side it was first known as East Aquila but we now call it Mitchell street. Still referring to the East side there is North of Mitchell a short street originally christened Auriga but now called Dewitt. In between Dewitt and Mitchell there is another short street once named Orion but since changed to Mercer. Returning to the West side of the river South of Aquila street the ancient and modern names are as follows—Lyra street now Van Buren; Aries street now Schuyler. What is now Seneca was then called Taurus. Gemini street is now Cayuga and Cancer street is now Bridge. (What an awful name for our principal thor-

oughfare, Cancer street!) And it bore that name for 40 years. Leo street is now Oneida. What was then called Virgo has been changed to Mohawk street and at the same time Libro was changed to Utica. The Albany street of today was once known as Scorpio. Saggitarius is now Erie. What was once Capricornus street has been shortened to Niagara and Aquarius changed to Ohio. The names seemed to get worse the farther one got away from the Lake. Surely it was not Surveyor General Dewitt's fault that Oswego did not become a celestial city. Some of these classical names were to be found on the West Side only. Others were confined to the East Side but the majority were in evidence on both sides of the river.

Oswego Spreads Out

The British captured Fort Ontario in 1814 but even the terrors and privations incidental to war did not check an important movement toward the development of Oswego. It was in this same year 1814 that a surveyor named John Randall came here from Albany to remeasure the State Reservation on the East side of the river and to lay off 100 acres in streets and village lots. Randall's instructions were to obey the law designating the bounds of the Reserve which directed that the Southern boundary should begin a mile from the mouth of the river and run thence a mile at right angles with the course of the stream. Surveyor Randall, however, managed to make the distances and angles differ from those established by his predecessor or Surveyor Wright. The new lines laid down by Randall encroached seriously on some adjoining farm lands previously purchased. Anxiety was caused to these purchasers and several delegations were sent to Albany to obtain if possible a restoration of the old lines. The authorities finally decided to ignore the changes and continue on the original bases.

In laying off and naming the streets in the new East Side Tract Surveyor Randall followed the same system that had originated on the West Side. The streets parallel with the river were named East 1st, East 2nd, etc., while Aries, Gemini and Taurus were extended across to the East Side. By 1837 the people of Oswego had become thoroughly disgusted with their classical street names. To the mind of the ordinary villager there was something uncanny in such names as Aries, Taurus, Capricornus or Saggitarius and even if the average villager had known enough later to translate these appellations into Ram street, Bull street or Crab street, it would not have helped the situation materially so in 1837 the village fathers responding to a general demand rechristened those streets which ran East and West. Their first idea was to take Indian names for those thoroughfares which were located in what was then the center of the town; hence we have Oneida, Mohawk, Cayuga and Seneca. Four of the five nation's tribal names were thus accounted for but there was yet another (Onondaga) and tradition has it that the village fathers planned to change Cancer street to Onondaga street. Tradition further reports that the people did not want their principal thoroughfare called Onondaga. The name was too long, too awkward. There was but one bridge across the Oswego river in 1837. It connected East Cancer street with West Cancer street. Nearly everybody thought of Cancer street as the street of the bridge. Why not call it Bridge street and be done with it? So as is nearly always the case in this country of ours public opinion could not be denied and the street was officially designated Bridge street.

Streets With Indian Names

Of the 152 streets which form the ground plan of our city only eight bear Indian names—Erie, Ohio, Ontario, Niagara, Sen-

eca, Cayuga, Oneida and Mohawk. Four are foreign—Albany, Dublin, Utica and Syracuse Avenue. Ten others are feminine as follows—Arabel, Catherine, Dorcas, Ellen, Elizabeth, Paloma, Minerva, Ruth, Naomi and Mary. You may remember that the distinguished actor and composer, the late George Cohan wrote a song in which he said that "Mary was a grand old name" for a woman so it must be good enough for any street. Seven other thoroughfares have masculine titles—John, Edward, Merrick, Orville, Governor, Gregory and Walter. Still another seven were named after trees—Ash, Cherry, Chestnut, Elm, Walnut, Maple and Willow. It is reasonable to assume that in the case of one or more of the last named group the street at one time may have been distinguished because of the trees of some particular kind which bordered it but if this were the case nothing of importance seems to have survived into our day.

Ten Location Streets

Ten streets have location names. By that I mean that the name indicates proximity to something of importance on our city map or else suggests its relative position as regards other streets. Such names are Bridge, Division, Center, Front, Lake, Water, Market, Prospect, St. Paul streets and Hillside Avenue. Liberty street is in a class all by itself. Every American city should have a Liberty street and Oswego has had one for a long time. We have now accounted for 43 names out of 152. Another 34 more or less have always borne numbers instead of names. Of the numbered thoroughfares 8th street seems to be the most popular. There are three 8th streets in Oswego, West 8th, East 8th and South 8th. South 8th is an extension of West 8th. It begins at 158 Ellen and runs in a southerly direction to the city line.

There are about eighty other streets to be considered and in nearly every case the name is that of a man who was at one

time prominent either in local or national affairs. Among these is that of the enemy, the Marquis de Montcalm. We just had to have a Montcalm street and although the Marquis did fight against us, he was a gallant soldier and came to a dramatic end only three years after his victorious assault upon Oswego's forts.

Streets In Alphabetical Order

From this point let us take the names of Oswego's streets in their alphabetical order. Babcock street was named after a family prominent in Oswego through several generations. Some of us remember Bronson Babcock, one of the last to bear that name. When the State Normal school (now the Teachers College) moved to its present site, a man named Franklin Bayliss came here from away and started to develop the land adjacent to the school. His idea was that a good many homes would be needed by Oswego people connected with the school and although the development may not have been as extensive as Mr. Bayliss expected, nevertheless people did buy lots and will undoubtedly build on them when materials and labor are available, hence Bayliss street.

Probably the most distinguished man who has ever lived in Oswego was Alvin Bronson and it is fitting that a street should be named after him. Bronson street begins at No. 18 Montcalm and extends West to Liberty street. Some of Oswego's most stately residences were built either on or adjacent to Bronson street. Our distinguished fellow member, Dr. Lida S. Penfield, has already given us a paper dealing with H. C. Bunner, the popular novelist and his family. The Bunners lived in Oswego at one time which accounts for Bunner street. Members of the Burt family (spelled BURT) came to Oswego before the year 1800 and their descendants are with us today, having lived here ever since. It is doubtful if any other family has such a record and explains why

there is a Burt street. Not so very many years ago Oswego had a Mayor by the name of Conway. It was during Mayor Conway's administration that a block of modern residences was erected on the Oneida Street State Road beginning at East 12th and extending to East 13th. The short street which connects these houses is called Conway Terrace. When Cook street was named whoever was responsible for the christening must have had in mind the late A. G. Cook, one of Oswego's prominent business men who was very active here 70 years ago.

Origin of "Draper" Street

When it was decided to build a new Normal school in Oswego on a different site there was some difference of opinion as to where it should be located. Andrew S. Draper, at that time Superintendent of Education for the State of New York, acting in conjunction with the local board, was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting the site. The members of the local board either rightly or wrongly were of the opinion that Mr. Draper was not very friendly to Oswego and that there was danger he might hold up the appropriation if he could find an excuse for so doing. So when Mr. Draper met the local board the members asked him what was his choice and when he named the present location the others promptly acquiesced without any apparent difference of opinion. That is the way the story was told to me by a man now dead, but who at that time was a member of the local board. As far as I know everybody now agrees that the present location could not have been improved upon. Oswego retained its beloved Normal school destined to even greater usefulness as a State Teachers College and Mr. Draper got his reward when we named a street after him.

Duer Street

The next street name taken alphabetically is Duer. Very few

Oswegonians now living ever heard of the Hon. William Duer although one of our streets bears his name. He was born in New York City, was educated at Columbia and for a while practiced law in New Orleans. From there in 1835 Mr. Duer moved to Oswego. We do not know where he lived while here but we do know that he entered into partnership with Leander Babcock, another lawyer, and that their office occupied a portion of the site of the present Palladium building. In 1840 Mr. Duer was assemblyman from Oswego County and from 1847 to 1851 he represented this locality in Congress. In 1852 he went to Chili as Minister Plenipotentiary. The Honorable Mr. Duer came to Oswego not simply to practice law but also because he considered this locality a promising place for real estate investment and at one time he was the owner of considerable local property.

We were rather tardy in recognizing the claims of one of America's greatest statesmen but we finally did call a street Franklin after the Benjamin of that time. We are not going to repeat any of the complimentary things which have been said about Gerrit Smith. A very complete sketch of his life was contained in a paper which was read before this society a few years ago. Suffice it to say that he was one of Oswego's benefactors and he received the unusual honor of having two streets named after him for Oswego boasts of a Gerrit street and also a Smith street.

Hamilton's Gore

Many residents of Oswego County have at one time or another heard of the Hamilton Gore, a tract of land largely incorporated into the city of Oswego. This piece of land was owned at one time by George Scriba but in 1804 it was conveyed by him to others after which the title to the property was transferred by foreclosure of mortgage to one John Lawrence who at that time was a

U. S. Senator from the State of New York. Associated with Senator Lawrence in this transaction was the eminent Alexander Hamilton and a man named John Church. Because of Hamilton's participation the parcel of land in question was afterwards known as Hamilton Gore or Hamilton Tract and three of our thoroughfares respectively, Hamilton street, Lawrence street and Church street were named after the three land holders.

The names Herrick, Hubbard, Judson and Lathrop, were bestowed upon our streets because in each case the name was that of a man prominent in his day in Oswego civic or industrial life. To begin with William H. Herrick built the car shops, a portion of which is still standing on the West Fifth Street Road. When Mr. Herrick built his own home he constructed the largest frame residence for a single family that our city has even possessed. Part of this edifice is still standing on West Seneca street between Sixth and Seventh. Joseph B. Hubbard was in the leather business and with his partner, Charles North, operated a large tannery at a period when this industry contributed substantially to Oswego's development.

Judson Street

We have now come to the street named Judson. If Oswego had not already named one of its streets after John Worth Judson it would have been compelled in all fairness to name one after his son, William Pierson Judson. John Worth Judson was the engineer who surveyed the old harbor and after him came his even more distinguished son, William Pierson Judson, who followed in his father's footsteps as far as our harbor is concerned and in addition spent much of his very useful life in the development of other projects some of which were far from Oswego. Some of us who are here tonight knew William Pierson Judson and it was a privilege to know him. This Historical Society

is particularly indebted to Mr. Judson because he gave much of his time and some of his substance to enrich the work in which we are engaged.

Lathrop street was named for the late Stephen Lathrop who built and occupied with his family the fine old stone residence across the street from the George B. Sloan mansion. This Lathrop house is now the property of Leonard Amdursky and stands today a monument to the dignified and enduring craftsmanship of the period in which it was built. The fine old house was set in the midst of grounds so spacious that they were known as "Lathrop's Grove" and were the scene of many a picnic and an occasional garden party.

Recalls Anecdote

Lyon street, sometimes called East 9½ street, extends from 118 East Seneca street south to East Cayuga street. I never hear Lyon street mentioned but what I think of that captain of industry, the late John E. Lyon. Mr. Lyon was a member of the firm of Penfield, Lyon & Co., one of the best known business organizations that Oswego has ever possessed. Mr. Lyon was the man who paid \$500 to have the Battle Hymn of the Republic sung in old First Presbyterian church. This incident occurred during the Civil War period 1861 to 1864. Mr. Lyon was both a staunch Presbyterian and an ardent patriot. The pastor of the church at that time was suspected of being a Southern sympathizer and at any rate patriotic airs had not been as much in evidence as Mr. Lyon thought they should be. Lyon street, however, was named after James Lyon, the father of John E. Lyon.

One of Oswego's shortest thoroughfares is called Market street. Half-way between Bridge and Cayuga streets, it connects West First with Water street. It owes its name to its proximity to Market Hall, the most interesting building now standing in Oswego. Those of you who were fortunate

enough to hear Miss Marian Mahar deliver her scholarly address on the subject of The Market Hall will need no further explanation.

There is a McWhorter street named after a family that was prominent here many years ago. The last one to bear that name was Mr. George McWhorter, a gentleman of the old school, a devout Christian and a zealous member of Christ Episcopal church. During a period of years it was Mr. McWhorter's job to select the books which were added each year to our Gerrit Smith Library. Mr. McWhorter believed that the people should read more religious books, so the story goes that he bought nothing but theological works. Sad to relate, the library in consequence became very unpopular as comparatively few wished to draw the books.

A Tragedy of the Olden Times

Someone has said that "it is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous." If that be so perhaps it is but another step from the facetious to the tragic and with that in mind let us take up for consideration another family for whom a street was named. This time it is Murray street which begins at 442 West First and extends to the Kingsford Farm. Hamilton Murray the 1st came to Oswego in 1846 and bought a large tract of land just inside of what we now call the City Line—facing the West River Road. He named the property Greenvale and erected a fine stone mansion. The house is still there and up to a few years ago it was the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Johnson, who acquired the property about 1910. When the Leonard Johnsons lived there they called the property "Brinnington." Hamilton Murray 1st was a useful citizen. He was one of the founders of the old City Bank, a director in the Oswego and Syracuse railroad and at one time president of the Oswego County Agricultural Society. He had several children, among whom was a son, Hamilton Mur-

ray 2nd and a daughter Martha. It was these younger Murrays whom I referred to when I said that it might be but a step from the facetious to the tragic. Hamilton Murray the 1st died in 1866 but his family continued to live at Greenvale.

It was in 1873 that Hamilton Murray 2nd and sister Martha undertook a trip to Europe. They embarked on the steamer Ville de Havre but this ill-fated ship collided in mid-ocean with another boat and went down with the majority of those aboard. This disaster occurred on Nov. 23, 1873 but the news did not reach Oswego until Dec. 1, one week later, when it was learned that both of the Murrays and a Mrs. Platt, also from Oswego, were among those lost. The other ship, the Loch Earn, the one which ran into the Ville de Havre, managed to keep afloat and was able to give those on the Ville de Havre some assistance, the only help which came from any source. Of the 317 souls aboard the doomed vessel, only 87 were saved whereas 230 perished. The Ville de Havre was considered one of the best passenger ships of her day and her loss has been rated as one of the worst marine disasters of the 19th century.

Story of Self Sacrifice

The foregoing paragraphs may be considered as the newspaper account of a tragedy as it was reported throughout the civilized world but there is something more which should be told, something perhaps which has never appeared in print. It seems that sometime after the tragedy one of the survivors came to Oswego and reported that after the collision the stricken vessel did not sink at once but remained afloat for a short time during which period the Murray brother and sister realizing that because of inadequate space in the lifeboats and other reasons that only a fraction of those aboard could possibly survive resolved that they would make no attempt to save themselves, but spent their

last moments going about among the other passengers comforting them and setting an example of extreme fortitude under the most trying of circumstances. I was told this by my parents when I was a little child and have never forgotten it.

Named For Military Heroes

Mercer street and Mitchell street both commemorate soldiers who each in his turn fought bravely to defend our forts against overwhelming odds. Col. Mercer was the ranking British officer in 1756 when the French under Montcalm captured all three of our forts. Col. Mercer was killed in that action. Sixty-eight years later, in 1814, it was a Col. Mitchell who commanded the Americans when an English fleet under Admiral Sir James Yeo bombarded Fort Ontario from the lake. The English outnumbered us nearly 15 to 1 and Col. Mitchell was compelled to withdraw his small garrison but not until he had made a stout resistance.

We have now arrived at Midland street. The name Midland undoubtedly reflects the Midland Railroad, that unfortunate corporation which promised to do so much for Oswego and for which Oswego went so heavily in debt. When I was a small boy the older people round about where I was had a great deal to say about Midland bonds. Our city had been bonded for a very large sum to help pay the cost of constructing the Midland Railroad and each year our taxpayers were compelled to pay the carrying charges on these bonds. Munn street was named after Stephen Munn, who in 1817 bought 3,394 acres of land within the present confines of Oswego County.

Holds Record As Office Holder

Next in turn we must pay our respects to a man who like Gerrit Smith was big enough to have two streets named after him. We refer to the Hon. Orville G. Robinson and we have both an Orville

and a Robinson street. Mr. Robinson was a distinguished lawyer and a man of affairs. During his long life he held more public offices than any other man who has ever lived in Oswego County. Beginning as a Justice of the Peace in the town of Mexico, Mr. Robinson was successively Town Clerk for Mexico, Surrogate for Oswego County, Member of Assembly for the Oswego District, District Attorney, Member of Congress, Recorder of the City of Oswego, Speaker of the Assembly for the State of New York and Collector of the Port of Oswego or nine offices in all. Mr. Robinson, however, could not be called an office seeker. This was a case where the office sought the man.

There are several reasons why we should have a Schuyler street but I will mention but one—the officer who fought under Col. Mercer in 1756 when the French captured the forts was a Lt. Col. Schuyler. We have come to Scriba and no one in this audience should need to be told why we have a Scriba street. George Scriba, who at one time owned all of the land (about 500,000 acres) from the Oswego River to the Oneida River from Lake Ontario to Oneida Lake. While they were about it why they did not pay him proper respect by naming one of our principal thoroughfares after him? Scriba street has but three houses on it and it extends from 223 East Second to 204 Syracuse Avenue.

Sheldon Avenue comes next and here again we have an instance of the name honoring the street rather than the street honoring the name. I shall not attempt to give even a brief biographical sketch of Edward A. Sheldon whose name more than any other Oswego name is associated with public education.

The Elusive Tallman

Up to this point with exception of Duer street already referred to it has not been difficult to find the reason for the choice of names but with Tallman street it

was different. Nobody now living in Oswego appears to have ever heard of anyone by the name of Tallman and yet on the face of things it did seem that there must have been some reason for calling one of our important residential streets (Tallman street boasts of 166 houses) by that name. There was a George F. Tallman. After almost giving up in despair I accidentally ran across his name in an old newspaper which led to something tangible. George F. Tallman was a New Yorker with an office on Wall street. It is probable that at one time he owned more of Oswego's land than anyone who has ever lived with the exception of course of the almost fabulous George Scriba and the possible exception of Stephen Munn.

In the "Oswego Commercial Times" for June 20, 1863, George F. Tallman had an advertisement in which he offered for sale at a public auction to be held on Feb. 10, 1863, 145 lots all located in or contiguous to the City of Oswego. One lot was described as being 1½ acres in extent and two others were one acre each.

Van Buren Street

Turrill street was named after Judge Joel Turrill who in 1831 represented this district in the State Assembly. From 1833 to 1837 he was our Member of Congress after which he went as U. S. Counsel to the Sandwich Islands, now known as Hawaii.

Van Buren street is in honor of Martin Van Buren. The name has both a national and a local significance. Lot No. 6 of the Military Tract now forming the Western part of Oswego, had been a subject of litigation in the courts ever since its having been granted by the Land Commissioner, Martin Van Buren, afterwards 8th President of the U. S., was counsel for one of the claimants. In 1822 the legal battle was finally decided in favor of Mr. Van Buren's client. This tract of land was not then of much value

and the cost of litigation was greater than it was supposed to be worth. Mr. Van Buren, however, consented to accept it in payment of his services and the title to the land was therefore transferred to him. It has ever since been known as the Van Buren Tract. Although as just noted this land was at the time of the law suit of small importance it steadily grew in this respect because in 1895 its value was 1,000 times greater than it was originally appraised at. My authority for this startling statement is to be found in "Churchill's Landmarks of Oswego County."

Varick street was named after Abram Varick, another New York capitalist who came to Oswego about 1827. It was he who financed the Varick Canal project, a construction which has contributed greatly to the welfare of our city. There are probably 1,000 more thoroughfares in the U. S. which have been named after the father of his country, so no one should be surprised to learn that Oswego has a George Washington Boulevard. This avenue which forms the Eastern approach to the State Teachers College is lined on either side by trees which were planted in memory of Oswego veterans who lost their lives in World War I. Each tree is marked with a boulder on which is the name of one of these veterans. In 1822 the Oswego Cotton Mfg. Co. was incorporated and one of its directors was an A. J. Yates. Apparently the village fathers had this man in mind when one of our streets was named Yates Avenue.

Fish Names Suggested

Beginning with Babcock street and ending with Yates Avenue we have now considered in alphabetical order nearly all of those streets that were named after individuals or families. You may be relieved to learn that we have now come to almost the end of our subject but before asking for my discharge, either honorably or otherwise, I

beg your indulgence for a few more moments while I tell you about a mysterious map which was at one time in the possession of your society but which has since disappeared. About 50 years ago there lived in Oswego a man named W. H. Kenyon. He was a lawyer and a good citizen. Many years after his death (I should say about 1935) one of his heirs brought to me a map which had been found among the late Mr. Kenyon's papers. Your society bought this map for a small sum and it was added to our collection. It was beautifully printed in black on a glazed white paper or possibly linen surface. It was drawn to scale about 300 feet to the inch. Those streets on our East Side (for some reason the West Side escaped) which ran East and West were named after fish. I can remember but a few of these names but according to the map it was proposed to drop such titles as East Oneida, East Mohawk, East Utica, etc., and substitute such names as Trout street, Bass street or Mullet street. And to cap the climax it was printed in the State Engineer's Office in Albany. Even if we should ever find this map (I have spent two evenings and one afternoon looking for it) the mystery of its origin will remain.

I knew the late William H. Ken-

yon. He was a serious minded dignified gentleman. It is not likely that he had anything to do with the making of such a fantastic map but it is more than probable that he did know something about who did it. If so the secret appears to have died with him many years ago.

The Chamber of Commerce wished to find a slogan that would describe Oswego and call attention to at least one of the things which make it different from most other cities. A number of suggestions were sent in but the one adopted was offered by our former townsman, the late George W. Bush. It went something like this: "Here's to Oswego where every street begins at the water." This may not be literally true but nearly all of our streets do begin either at the lake or the river.

Allow me at this point to acknowledge my indebtedness to the following ladies for assistance rendered—To Miss Juanita Kersey for access to old newspaper files; to Miss Gertrude Thompson of the City Clerk's Office for the loan of an interesting old scrap book, and to Miss Cynthia Beadle for the loan of her manuscript which dealt with a subject similar to my own. You have been most kind and considerate in your attention for which I thank you.



Christ Church, An Old Oswego Parish

(Paper Presented by Ralph M. Faust, Vice-President of Oswego County Historical Society Before the Society at Oswego December 16, 1947)

One hundred and twenty-five years is only a tiny splash in the broad stream of history but in the story of these United States it represents a period of real significance. So it is that Christ Episcopal Church in this year of Our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and forty-seven happily celebrates its 125th anniversary as a Parish.

Its beginning was in the year 1822 in the bleak month of February. To this little hamlet on the shores of the Great Lake, a frontier community in every sense of the word—was sent a pioneer missionary of western New York, the Reverend Amos Pardee who planted the first seeds of Episcopalianism in this area of New York State. There is none, but Christ Church should have among its many memorials one to this early missionary.

At the time the population of Oswego was probably between three and four hundred people. Crude log houses still could be seen but framed houses were going up in increasing numbers. The only public building which could be used for any civic or religious meeting was the school house which stood on the northeast corner of West Third and Seneca streets. It had been built sixteen years earlier by Bradner Burt and in it were held all community functions. To it came the itinerant preachers of the various religious groups; here was held court when it met; here the village schoolmaster met his pupils.

Across the road from the school house was the village square, known early as Franklin Square and today as West Park. The beautiful park we know today did not just happen by accident, but was provided for in the original plans of the village of Oswego; laid out on the west side of the

river by the state surveyor Simeon DeWitt in 1797, just a year after the evacuation of Fort Ontario by the British following the settlement of the Jay treaty. The old square has always been identified with the history of Christ Church, its life revolving around it. Today in the vestibule of the present church edifice can be seen imbedded in the wall the first cornerstone which reads "Christ Church, Laid May 9, 1828, Franklin Square." This, then, was the setting.

By 1822 our country had settled the matter of the War of 1812 and men were looking westward in one of our great movements of expansion. James Monroe was president. Twenty-four states made up the American Union and courageous men were carving out destinies in New York as well as other western areas. To this frontier area along Lake Ontario had come New Englanders to fell the forests and enter the lively transfer business between lake and river traffic. The war had slowed down the development of the area but not before the seeds of commercial and industrial expansion had been planted. By 1810 some shipbuilding had begun, immigration increased, a county seat had been set up in 1816; the following year the pioneer steamboat on the Lakes had reached Oswego, and by 1819 the "Palladium" had had been founded. The next year saw the first of the large grist mills, built by Alvin Bronson and a partner, but milling as a great industry was not to begin for another decade.

So it was that in the slowly but steadily growing community the missionary Pardee found a possible field of labor. Meeting with a small group of men in the little school house on the night of February 26, the articles of in-

corporation were signed: "Resolved that we organize ourselves into a Protestant Episcopal Church to be called Christ Church of Oswego," reads the resolution. Today we still have the time-worn records of incorporation, vestry minutes written in the old script of the day, and the names of the early vestrys. These faithful men carried on the infant church organization for three years after the missionary resigned his station, having served here for nearly two years.

The period (1824) had become a critical one, not only for the little congregation which had flickered into being, but for the little town as well. Its population had reached to around six hundred but the Erie Canal had been abuilding, extending through the village of Syracuse and had reached the Genesee River. Its traffic had been diverted through that channel to the Lake and Oswego began to languish. Business was at a standstill and the outlook was not as hopeful as had been expected. No more is known of the destiny of the Reverend Pardee; he fades into the shadows to appear again at the laying of the cornerstone of the first church edifice. To him goes the credit for having founded the Episcopal Church in Oswego.

The Parish Is Established

The man who permanently established the Parish here was the Reverend John McCarty who built its first church edifice and who held his rectorship for nearly twenty years, the longest tenure of any of the line of distinguished clergy who have served the Parish. He came at a time when the community picture had begun to brighten somewhat, in the rough and tumble days of rivermen and lakemen, when community living had much of the rawness of frontier life. For the period he was exactly what the little congregation needed—for he was a rugged builder—and he could get things done. His theological background must have been lim-

ited, but he had a crusading spirit that the time and the place demanded. His old records were mere entries telling of his baptizing, marrying and burying of those early Oswegonians and transient workers of the period. When he came here he was not an ordained priest but then not many of those early missionaries were until they had proved themselves in the crucible of active churchmanship.

At that time the Episcopal diocese embraced the whole of the State of New York, a vast area in those days of slow travel and communication. The Bishop of this territory was the venerable, the Right Reverend John Henry Hobart, D.D., who from Trinity Church in New York City guided the founding of many parishes across the State. It was he who sent Father McCarty to this "mission station" as Deacon in November, 1826.

At once Father McCarty sensed the need of Christian leadership and energetically set about welding together the straggling group of churchmen into a harmonious entity. At the annual election of vestrymen the following Easter, held in the frame Court House in East Oswego (now a part of the Chapel of the Church of the Evangelists) the Rev. McCarty was asked to remain as Rector. Then began a series of events which permanently established the Episcopal Church in Oswego.

The activity in the young Parish reflected the awakening of the village which was over its early adolescence. Under the leadership of Alvin Bronson the Legislature approved the building of the Oswego Canal (1826-28), and with it came back the movement of trade and commerce, population doubled and soon the village was to be incorporated (1828).

First Church Edifice

In the fall of 1827, Father McCarty undertook the long trip to New York City on the packet boats by way of the Erie Canal

from the village of Syracuse. At Trinity Church he "was admitted to the Holy Order of Priests by the Right Reverend Dr. Hobart" . . . on the 16th day of October, 1827." Returning, he set about campaigning for a church edifice, and on "Jan. 8, 1828, the Vestry opened a subscription for the building of a church." John McCarty must have first acquired the reputation for being a "zealous and indefatigable man" by the speed with which he set about building his church. When he came to Oswego he was twenty-seven years of age and his vigor was reflected in the Parish's rapid forward steps. Within a month, the \$4,000 desired was subscribed for and within five months the ceremonies for laying of the cornerstone were held.

The edifice was placed in the village square at its southeast corner (opposite the present home of Dr. Charles Halsey.) It was built of stone in Gothic design, four Gothic windows on each side and a small belfrey rising over the front entrance. It could accommodate 400 persons. On May 9, 1828, the cornerstone was laid by the Rev. McCarty himself, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Rudd, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Auburn.

Christ Church, Oswego, as it was officially called, was not the first church to have been erected in the square, but followed by three years the building of the Presbyterian Church (1825) which was located near its center. It seems that the village fathers had agreed that as church societies erected their own places of worship, the square would be the appropriate place for them. The arrangement was not uncommon to many New England and New York State communities.

The first Episcopal visitation to Oswego County and the first official act of any Chief Pastor of the Episcopal Church was performed by Bishop Hobart in the consecration of Christ Church on Jan. 25, 1829. Today in the Chapel Chancel may be seen the Bishop's Chair used by him on

that occasion. In spite of the swift subscription made to erect the edifice, it was necessary for the Rector to borrow from New York and Utica banking interests. Under this debt the Parish struggled along until in 1835, Trinity Church in New York City came to its rescue with a liberal donation which retired the debt in the ninth year of Father McCarty's labors. From eleven communicants when the Rector first arrived, it now numbered ninety-one and was a self-sustaining church.

Church Finances

In those days the main source of income for church revenues was from renting of pews to worshippers. Free churches as we know them today were unknown. Another quaint practice was the auctioning of pews. In 1830 a sexton was hired whose salary five years later was raised to \$30 a year. At the same time the Rector's emolument was \$600 a year. His work extended across the county as well as in Oswego, for we find that in 1832 he married the daughter of Nicholas I. Roosevelt in the town of Hastings, in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. and Mrs. Scriba, and others. In the village of Fulton, he founded All Saints Church in 1834.

Until 1845, John McCarty was a faithful servant and a pioneer soldier of the Church in this region as he was to be later in the Oregon territory where he went as a missionary and in the wake of the gold rush to California. His rectorship here spanned nineteen years of perhaps its most significant early history. In 1845 because of differences which developed in the Parish, he relinquished his office and left Oswego to enter the Mexican War as a Chaplain. It was back to the scenes of his early missionary and pastoral efforts in and around Oswego that he came in death. Today he sleeps in the midst of the area where he sowed seeds "so

widely and so faithfully, still taking root downward and bearing fruit upward."

The Church Expands

From 1845 to 1852 the Rev. John S. Davenport served as Rector, a period which was marked by changes within the church and in the community. Business and industry flourished. Plans were afoot to connect Oswego with other communities by the new railroad and by plank roads. In 1847 six large flour mills were built in a single year with a capacity of 4,200 barrels of flour a day. In March 1848, the village attained the status of a city, the starch industry was begun, and in the following year another bridge was built across the river (Utica Street) with no tolls charged. By 1850 the population numbered over 12,200. Within two years gas for illuminating purposes was introduced.

The little church in the square and its services was quite plain at the beginning of this period. Its hand-pumped organ was in the loft, a small gallery in the rear of the church. The loft was curtained and veiled the organist and the choir of four who were listened to in silence by the congregation "sometimes with delight, sometimes with anguish." As late as 1856, a year before the new church was entered, a boy was employed to pump the organ at a salary of \$20 a year.

The chancel arrangement of the day was the domination of the whole by the pulpit, a reading and prayer desk in front of it, and the altar a small table in front of the prayer desk. There was no room on the altar for a cross or vases. At Christmas or Easter a small cross of evergreens might be seen somewhere in the church. The Rector said the service in the surplice which he changed in the vestry for black gown and bands before entering the pulpit.

Changes in churchmanship marked the period just before and following the middle of the 1800's not only in Christ Church Parish

but the Church as a whole. Advances in the ideal of public worship and in ritual customs were evidenced. The issue involved swept across the State and brought about the stiffening alignments of ecclesiastical schools and parties. Parishes split and new parishes were formed, principally on the grounds of Churchmanship: whether "High Church" or "Evangelical."

By 1850 Christ Church was one of the many parishes wrestling with the issue. At the time it seemed a serious crises in the history of the Parish when part of it separated to form the Church of the Evangelists. Communicants and supporters were lost. But regardless of the differences which prompted the move, the saving prospective of time has shown that the results justified its wisdom. A growing and expanding city demanded a second Episcopal church organization.

A New Edifice

The fourth Rector to serve the Parish was the Reverend Anthony Schuyler, D. D., a great leader who served from 1852 to 1863. Under his leadership the congregation left the little edifice in the Park to move into its present spacious Gothic structure at the corner of West Fifth and Cayuga streets. The new site was purchased in 1853 for \$3,300 and the following year construction was begun. For two and a half years the building was under construction.

Something of a solemn pageant marked the laying of the cornerstone on Oct. 12, 1854. Assembling at the little church in the Park the clergy, wardens and vestry and members of the congregation marched in procession up the hill to the place where the new edifice was to be erected, repeating responsively from the 122nd Psalm: "I Was Glad When They Said Unto Me, Let Us Go Into the House of the Lord. Our Feet Shall Stand Within Thy Gates O Jerusalem." For the occasion, the Bishop was unable to

be present and in his stead officiated the Rev. William B. Ashley, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Syracuse, senior Presbyter. Dr. Schuyler delivered a historical sketch of the Parish and into the cornerstone were deposited church and civic publications, coins of the day, the Bible and Prayer Book, clergy name and the sermon of the day.

The final service in the old church was held on the last Sunday in December 1856 and the first service in the new edifice the first Sunday in 1857. It was a time of great rejoicing for the edifice was entered a completely finished building, a thing of beauty and a matter of pride to the Parish, the city and the diocese. Oswego had had reverses since the building was planned and the cornerstone laid. The fire of 1853 had destroyed most of the grain elevators and in its wake came an upset in the commercial life of the city, and a monetary depression while the building was under construction.

The cost of the building was \$31,000 of which one-third was left unpaid. To raise the funds, 116 pews were put on sale with their valuation set at from \$100 to \$500, and it is said that some paid \$1000. Upon purchase a lease was issued to each pew holder and each pew was subject to an annual tax. A reading of the names of those early pew holders reveals a large number of the early builders of this community, including among others: D. C. Littlejohn, Henry Fitzhugh, G. H. McWhorter, S. H. Lathrop, A. P. Grant, F. T. Carrington, M. Pardee, P. S. Perry, D. DeWolf, S. R. Beardsley, J. Sloan, M. P. Hatch, E. R. Talcott, and L. Babcock. From 11 communicants in 1826, the Parish by now numbered 300.

The old church in the Park lasted long enough to be a visible link to bind together earlier and later history. In the spring of 1857, the Society of Universalists bought the little stone building for \$2000. Some money was paid on it but within two years the

contract was declared void "because of nonpayment of sums." In January 1862, it burned "by accident or design and went up at last as dust." It thus stood as a ruin for six months until the city agreed that in return for the lease of ground, it would remove the remains at its own expense. The only other structure in the Park (the Presbyterian Church) had burned sometime earlier and with the removal of the ruins, the Park was cleared of buildings as we know it today.

Church Consecrated

It was under the rectorship of the succeeding clergyman, the Reverend Amos B. Beach, D. D., 1863-1876, that the new edifice was freed of debt and consecrated. It was a memorable time in the history of the Parish as well as in the nation. It was the period of civil war and the downfall of the confederacy which had successfully resisted the armies of the Union; when President Lincoln had been killed (April 14, 1865); and when the Diocese of Western New York was called upon to mourn the death of Bishop DeLancey just at the time he was planning to come to Oswego to consecrate Christ Church. His successor was the Right Reverend Arthur Cleveland Coxe, D.D., whose first official act was the consecration of the church, April 29, 1865.

It was during the rectorate of Dr. Beach that the Diocese of Central New York was born. After considerable struggle on the part of Syracuse to have the area named the Diocese of Syracuse, with the offer of a \$20,000 Episcopal residence if the See was established there, the new diocese was called the Diocese of Central New York. Its first Bishop was the Right Reverend Frederick Dan Huntington, D.D.

During this period gradual changes took place in ritual customs. By 1860 the black gown of the clergy began to disappear and stoles took the place of the wide-flaring scarf. Eucharistic vest-

ments appeared and the Gloria Patri after each Psalm began to be sung.

By 1872 a new Erben organ operated by water power was installed in the loft up behind the congregation. The water was furnished by the Oswego Water Works. We still hear the old organ today not from the loft but from the chancel.

The year 1873 marked a severe financial panic in the business affairs of the nation and Oswego felt it keenly. In spite of that the population of Oswego continued to increase until in 1875 it reached 22,455. By this time the problem of church finances had become so acute that the Vestry sought to borrow money on the church property, but the Bishop ruled that no canonical law permitted him to sanction a mortgage on a consecrated church. By retrenchment and by loans within the Parish, the storm was weathered eventually.

Chapel Built

From 1877 to 1888, the Reverend William L. Parker served as Rector. During this period the present chapel was erected south of the edifice and occupied April 4, 1884, replacing a simpler one built in 1858. During this period the commercial complexion of the city began to change as the industrial era began to meet the challenge of a changing economy. Changes in domestic life brought running water into the homes of residents, and by 1880 the telephone was brought into uncertain use. In this decade, electricity began to replace gas for illumination, and at this time electric cars began to replace the old horse-drawn cars. Tree-lined dirt streets were still common and ol' dobbin was still king of the roadways.

During the rectorate of The Reverend Philip N. Meade, D.D., the chapel was consecrated, in October 1890. Dr. Meade served the Parish from 1889 to 1899, a period which saw the pew system

abolished, and the interior of the church changed to the beautiful arrangement we know today. During this period, the Rectory was added to the church property. From 1900 to 1905 the Reverend Lewis G. Morris, D.D., served as Rector during which period the upper fifty feet of the bell tower had to be removed because of its excessive weight and with it went the old bell which for a half century had summoned the faithful to worship.

The church celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1922 during the rectorate of the Reverend Richmond H. Gesner, S.T.D. For eighteen years he served Christ Church Parish actively and with devotion, his being the second longest service of its clergy. During the period (1916) women were given the right to vote in Parish elections for the first time. The two living former Rectors are the Reverend T. Raymond Jones who served from 1925 to 1931, and the Reverend James E. Clarke, 1931 to 1943, both who saw the Parish well into its second century of Christian service to Oswego, and whose work was distinguished.

125th Anniversary

The century and a quarter of Christian service to Oswego by Christ Church was celebrated on October 12 this year on the very day which marked the laying of the cornerstone of the edifice ninety years before. Under the inspiration and guidance of the present Rector, the Reverend Frederick Ward Kates, the renovated and rebuilt chapel was rededicated in memory of the Reverend P. N. Meade, two of whose children donated the first funds for the purpose. It was in Dr. Meade's rectorate that the chapel was first consecrated and it was a happy occasion that his children had a part to play in the subsequent rebuilding and rededication. Coming to Christ Church in 1943, Mr. Kates has rendered service of a high order to Parish and community.

From humble beginnings 125

years ago, Christ Church Parish tells the story of continual growth and expanding influence for good. It tells of the loyal devotion of generations of worshippers; it tells of the faithful labors of a consecrated clergy, teaching the Christian way of life, baptizing, administering to the sick and needy, easing the sadness of death, encouraging the troubled. Its story tells only a small part of the Christian work done by those who have gone be-

fore, not only in this Parish but in many other parishes in Oswego, and elsewhere. Upon this foundation which has been given us we of today must press forward "in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life" to preserve the dignity and work for—the brotherhood of man. The future beckons all Christian peoples—everywhere—who are building for tomorrow. We look backward for understanding; ahead must be action.



The Perrys of Perry Hill

(Paper Read Before Oswego Historical Society at Oswego in 1944 by Mrs. Richard Hobbie of Oswego, A Perry Descendant)

About three miles west of the city of Oswego, on road Route 104, there stands an elevation which for several generations has been known as Perry Hill. From its top can be seen the waters of Lake Ontario to the north, and to the east the upper parts of some of the taller structures of the City of Oswego. At the foot of the hill lies that section of the rolling plain now known as Fruit Valley. The collection of farms and homes latterly has borne this name, but originally it was called "Union Village."

On the hill, or in the immediate neighborhood, today stand three houses built by three generations of the family which gave the hill its name. In the first generation was Eleazer Perry, Sr., in the second, his son, Eleazer Perry, Jr., and in the third, his grandson, Talmadge Perry, who was my maternal grandfather.

Eleazer Perry, Sr., was a man of 45 when he first came to Union Village in 1806. He was the sixth generation descended from one John Perry of Boston and Roxbury, Mass., who came to this country from England, and first set foot on American soil Nov. 3, 1631, 11 years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

Eleazer Perry, the great-great-grandson of John, was born in Holliston, Mass., Feb. 2, 1760. Both he and his father, James Perry, served in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. At the close of the conflict, as there was already a considerable population in New England, there was a marked movement among these rugged farmers toward New York state, and especially into the Mohawk Valley, all west of which was still largely a wilderness.

Cherry Valley a Stepping Stone

Eleazer Perry joined this emigration, and some time before 1785, when he was in his early twenties, with his young wife, Jane Pond Perry, moved to Cherry Valley, and located near Springfield, at that time in Montgomery county. Four children were born to this couple, and for more than 20 years they prospered in that locality.

In 1790, a census was taken from which it appears that the population of the New York State then amounted to 324,127, an increase of more than 85,000 since 1786. This increase was mainly in the Northern and Western parts of the State. As a result of this growth in population, a new apportionment of representation for the legislative districts of the state was made by the New York Legislature, and three counties—Herkimer, Otsego and Tioga—were erected from Montgomery County. William Cooper*, of Cooperstown, was elected first judge of Otsego county in which the farm of Eleazer Perry was then located. Among the exhibits are a bond, mortgage and discharge of mortgage, given by Samuel Seeyle of Tully, Onondaga county, to William Cooper in 1807.

Probably the greatest stimulus to emigration from New England to New York was the sale, in 1790, of State lands. When New York became independent of Great Britain, it held more than 7,000,000 acres of wild, uncultivated and unappropriated lands.

* Father of J. Fennimore Cooper, the author who served as a naval lieutenant in Oswego in 1809 while the first United States battleship on the Great Lakes was being built at Oswego, and of William Cooper who settled in Oswego and built during the War of 1812 the ill-fated floating battery known as "Cooper's Ark."

Before 1790 few sales had been effected, but in 1791, at a session of the Legislature in New York City, a law was passed authorizing the commissioners of the land office to dispose of any of the waste and unappropriated lands in the state, in such parcels, and on such terms, as they should judge most conducive to the interests of the public.

Land Sales Led to Settlement

This act conferred an immense power on the commission. Under the authority of this act, these gentlemen sold, during the year, more than 5,500,000 acres of land. The price varied, according to the bids received, from 8 pence to 3 schillings and a penny, per acre. The largest sale was that to Alexander Macomb, who bought 3,500,000 acres for 8 pence per acre.* The purchasers of these lands were active and powerful agents in inducing emigrants to come from other states, and from abroad to settle in New York. Thus a rapid increase came about in the population, wealth and resources of the state.

One of the greatest problems of that early period was the lack of communications. The first roads were horsepaths, and very poor ones, but in 1796, road commissioners were appointed and a system of roads started. In some places, emigrants had built local roads, and these were enlarged and improved with the passing years. The Cherry Valley turnpike was started in 1802, and finished in 1807. The capital stock was \$75,000, with the privilege of increasing to \$30,000 more. Shares were \$25 each. As one may well imagine, the best of the roads were none too good.

Early in the 1800's, Eleazer Perry became interested in moving westward, and subsequently he purchased a tract of military

land west of Oswego.** This military land had been assigned by lot, in 1790, to 130 officers and soldiers of the Continental Army, but few of them ever actually settled on the land, selling it usually, at a low price to settlers. It was to this land that he came with his wife, eldest son, Montgomery, and Eleazer, Jr., in 1805. They probably traveled over the route that followed an old war trail from Springfield to Oneida, thence to Oneida lake, to Three Rivers, to Oswego.

Woods Cut Off Village

From Oswego they and early Perry settlers reached Union Village by means of a blazed trail through dense woods. Their first home, of which there is a record, was established in a frame house built across the road from the cobblestone school house on the Rural cemetery road and now owned and occupied by Mr. Rozelle Abbott. We have little knowledge of the early activities of the Perry family in Union Village. Montgomery Perry married Mehitable Rice, about 1812. After the early death of his wife, he left his baby daughter, Eliza, with his father and mother and joined a party going farther west. He spent the rest of his life there, never returning to Union Village.

Chosen First Supervisor

Eleazer Perry, Sr., was elected the first supervisor of Oswego Town, in 1818. At the same meeting Eleazer, Jr., was elected assessor and overseer of the poor. Both of the Perrys were members of the Whig party. The death of Eleazer, Sr., occurred in 1819, and he was buried in the old cemetery below the hill that still functions in Fruit Valley today. His widow, Jane, continued to live in the home with her granddaughter, Eliza Perry, until Eliza's marriage to Mr. George

*Macomb's land purchases included lands now included in the northeastern area of Oswego County.

** The military tracts in what is now Oswego County, lay west of the Oswego river principally in the towns of Hannibal and Oswego. Many Cayuga County towns adjoining were included in the military tract.

Casey of Auburn. At that time Jane Pond Perry sold her home and went to live in Auburn with the Casey family, where she died in her 96th year.

Eleazer Perry, Jr., married Electa Rathbone, who lived near his former home in Cherry Valley. Electa was one of a family of nine children. Her father was Benjamin Rathbone, who was the seventh of his line in this country. Her mother, Huldah Williams Rathbone, was a direct descendant of John Howland, who was a passenger on the Mayflower and a signer of the Mayflower Compact. John Howland was a grandson of the Right Rev. Richard Howland, bishop of Peterborough, England.

Once Employed Mormon Founder

Electa's father, Benjamin Rathbone, a Revolutionary soldier, emigrated to Springfield, N. Y., from Connecticut in 1798, and settled at the head of Otsego lake. The Rathbone home was a large, three storied frame house, painted green, and was locally called, "The Big Green House". Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon faith, was employed by Benjamin Rathbone on his farm about 1800.

In 1811, Electa Rathbone completed her education at the Albany Boarding school where she had been a pupil, and in 1812 she married Eleazer Perry, Jr. The Cherry Valley turnpike, as you will recall, was opened in 1807, so that their trip to their new home in Oswego, in 1812, was not as difficult as the one the Perry family had made in 1806.

Electa's dowry, which came by wagon express, consisted of furniture purchased by her father in New York City for her new parlor, linen, bedding a set of gold-band china and other household effects. Most highly prized, was a fine Pembroke table, and a mahogany and gilt wall mirror from France. These last two articles are still owned by a member of the family. Though Eleazer Perry, Jr., may have traveled with

his bride to Oswego in comparative ease for that period, there was still three miles of wilderness from Oswego to Union Village, a hard trip over the rude emigrant road, to be traversed.

At this period, the United States was engaged in the Naval War of 1812 with Great Britain, and there was much anxiety in the small settlement of Union Village when Admiral Yeo attacked Oswego in 1814. For an eye witness account of that attack, I will read a copy of a letter written by a contemporary and friend of the Perry family, Benjamin Burt. Later, a member of the Burt family became engaged to Clarissa Rathbone, a younger sister of Electa Perry.

Describes Yeo's Attack

Sirs:

I communicate to you by putting to paper the incident that occurred with me at Oswego in the year 1812. I was plowing for corn, I had to leave it and attend to moving our most valuable things out of the way of the English who drew in before the town and began to fire balls and grape shot. I took the team and carried my Mother up by the Oswego River four miles, now called Minetto. Then I returned to Oswego again in company with a boy of about 18 years. I was 22. We could hear the guns. I told the boy I should go and join the artillery. We went together. Within one-half or three-quarters of a mile (of the Fort) the road then ran on the bank of the river, now a canal. The balls and grape shot fell in the river like hailstones and cutting the limbs and leaves of brushwood and trees. We ran all the way to our battery and joined our men. Found our mortar was not heavy enough, therefore, went down to the dock and drew up a thirty-two pounder and showered them (the British) so that they shortly hoisted their anchors and bid us goodbye.

I will now tell you further that I went with team to Sackett's

Harbor with baggage. Next I went on express, night and day without sleep. As there had been a great flood, the road was unusually bad. I had to press a horse into service at Smith's Mills, where 160 dragoons had passed through. Starting for home, I did very well till I got this side west of the Salmon River. The water had run over the road. Being of clay bottom the dragoons had made such a deep clay mortar bed that my horse could hardly get thru. Once I had to get off in the mud knee deep and with difficulty got him out, although a good horse. Gen'l Adams would always call on me or my brother James for expressing as horses were scarce in Oswego at that time, telling me I should be cleared from duty in action. I always told him that I did not wish to be cleared, but would go and do my duty as I was well equipped.

I was called upon to go to Baldwinsville about 20 miles south of Oswego. I started at 6 o'clock in the evening. When I got into the pine woods on the bank of the river I could only find my way by the blazed trees when the lightning flashed. I at last got as far as Judge Mooney's and stopped to refresh myself and horse. Then went on to Baldwinsville and delivered my papers, got my breakfast and returned home.

They said that there were 1,800 troops started for Oswego. Although some went no farther than Oswego Falls.

My brother and I crossed the river and saw the dead and wounded*. The dead were on boards and the wounded in hos-

pital. One in particular I remember with his jaw shot off. They said he would have to be bled to death. Then we went North East of the Fort and visited the mounds of dead. Some with cloth over them and others with faces bare. My brother fainted.

A few of the English came as far as our house, my Father guarded it with his gun.

BENJ. BURT

The Burt farm, at this time, was located in the vicinity of West Fourth and Fifth streets and extended to the Lake. In 1835, Benjamin Burt settled in a new location on a grant of land, on the west side of the river, now the site of Minetto. I am indebted for this letter, to Mr. Budd Burt, who still resides in the Burt homestead.

Electa Chose Homestead Site

Eleazer Perry, Jr., already had plans for a fine new home, but waited for Electa to choose the site. She missed the Springfield hills of her childhood, and with them in mind, she selected the site, on top of the hill, where the Colonial type mansion was built. This residence** is now owned by Colonel and Mrs. Philip R. Ward.

In 1816, roads were surveyed and put through, from the Village of Oswego to various parts of Oswego Town, and it was about this time that the Perry home, on the summit of Perry Hill, was completed, and named "Rathbone Place". The house is a wooden structure, with two stories and an attic. Originally the large door was on the North side of the house, toward the west corner. It entered into a hall which ran through the house.

On exhibit, is a line drawing of the main doorway, by Mr. Howard Fournier, the well known archi-

* It is not clear from the text of the letter, but the writer is probably referring to the scene he found near Fort Ontario after the fort had fallen at the close of Admiral Yeo's attack in May 1814 which resulted in the capture of the fort, although Col. Mitchell in command of the regiment of artillery which had reached the fort a few days earlier withdrew his regiment and the militia at the fort and fell back to Fulton to protect the large quantities of naval stores being temporarily held there.

** This residence was for many years conducted under the name of Perry Inn as a deluxe eating place for Oswego County folks by Miss Alice Perry. Her establishment became widely famed for the excellence of its food. Miss Perry closed the inn to the public in 1933.

tect of Oswego. Also, on exhibit is the medal that was awarded him for the descriptive matter concerning this drawing. I quote an article by Mr. Fournier, as follows:

Prize Winning Description

"The doorway of Perry Hill Inn still stands as an eloquent tribute to the sense of design and proportion of the Architect who conceived it. He treated it as the 'Gem in the Ring' with relation to the enthusiastic development of the house itself. Unlike some of the blueprinted attempts, represented on certain \$10 a set plans, right off the production line, it was not tailored to a thousand stuffy deceptions, but it sings with sincerity and welcome, and there is a friendly beckoning to friend and stranger alike. If it could speak, no doubt a genuinely romantic story would be told.

"The first Yankee doors were rough boards fastened together with cross battens, and studded with hand wrought nails. The frames around them were particularly plain. Later, panels appeared in the doors and simple, hand-run mouldings adorned the casings. Cornices, light giving transoms, and pilasters followed; various pediments were developed, (triangular, rounded or broken) until finally came the fruition of the style with the leaded glass transom and sidelights. With the return of normal times and normal thought, the bounty of the life of these fine old doorways can be rededicated in new homes of Early American design and they still possess the beauty which their heritage deserves.

"The Colleges of Architecture, under the Beaux Arts System, require the presentation of a measured drawing of a fine, existing work of Architecture, preferably Early American—a doorway, a building, a mantel or any other example in an acceptable state of preservation. My search for a suitable subject took me over the Berkshires and all through Con-

necticut. As everyone knows, this State abounds with handsome morsels of early craftsmanship, but even in 1922, the best of them had been subjected to the indignity of being photographed and attacked at every detail with rule and tape by excited students. No subject will be accepted a second time.

Finest Example Close At Home

"This thousand mile search was made without realizing that, within hands' reach, was one of the finest. The house itself is good material for an archaeological survey and its architectural authenticity should have suggested immediately, the probable incorporation of a good doorway. After walking around the house, and turning to the East facade, this portal, all sun dappled, smiled at me and said, 'Here is the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.'

"The concrete proof that this was no idle boast is my measured drawing of the Doorway of Perry Hill Inn, which the University sent to the Beaux Arts Institute in New York City, and there it was awarded a Second Medal, the highest honor conferred on this type of work."

Many Changes From Early Day

From the hall, the stairway on the right, led to the pleasant sleeping rooms of the second story. On the left the door opened into the parlor. Back of the parlor was the dining room. A large chimney was built between the two rooms, and fireplaces opened into each room.

On either side of the dining room fireplaces, were built cupboards with glass doors, in which Electa's gold band china and other precious pieces were kept. There was an outside door from the dining room. It opened on to a porch, with benches built on either side, and was a favorite resting place of Electa's. There her little girls played with their home made dolls.

At the end of the hall was the

usual downstairs bedroom. Extending to the West, was a long wing, in which, first came the large kitchen, with huge fireplace for cooking. Pantries, and a sink room, opened off from the kitchen, the sink room containing a large iron sink. Beyond the kitchen was the wood shed, and beyond that, the carriage house. There were upper chambers over the entire wing.

In front of the house was a white bannister fence, which separated the grounds from the road. The fence curved inward, to form the opening for a gate, from which a path led to the front door. There was a lovely flower garden to the West, in which Electa planted a rose bush brought from her Springfield home. This bush still thrives in Mrs. Ward's garden.

Sad Shock For Travelers

In January of 1815, Electa and Eleazer Perry, Jr. went to Springfield to visit her family, traveling by team and sleigh. They had with them their two small daughters, Mary Ann aged two, and Juliette, four months old. It was a hard trip, taking several days, and their stops by night were at Taverns along the road. During the last few hours, before they reached Springfield, it grew very cold, and fearful for the baby, Electa kept her closely wrapped. Upon arriving at the Rathbone home, when the baby's things were removed, it was discovered that the child had smothered. A sad shock to the Perrys, and the rest of her life, Electa cautioned young mothers of the danger of covering a baby's face.

Electa and Eleazer had six children. The oldest daughter, Mary Ann, married Moses Hawks, the son of the Judge Edmund Hawks, a prominent citizen of Oswego. I quote from the Oswego Palladium of May 11, 1836, under the captain of "marriages" the following: "May 8, 1836, by Rev. Mr. Condit, Mr. Moses Hawks to Miss Mary Ann Perry, daughter of Mr. Eleazer Perry."

A son, Talmadge Perry, my grandfather, as a young man learned the carpenter's trade and later became a contractor. He married Amy Sabin, the daughter of a family of early settlers, Alpheus and Elizabeth Bailey Sabin.

Joel, the second son, died in his early twenties. Another daughter, Artimissa, married William Fairfield of Bath, Ontario, and Daniel, the youngest child, married Laura Harris.

Picture By Wentworth

The picture of Eleazer Perry, Jr., on exhibit, was drawn by Thomas Wentworth, who was one of the minor artists of his day, being also a forwarding merchant and prominent citizen of Oswego. As payment for the picture, he received from Eleazer, a barrel of cider applesauce. At various times, there have been articles in Antique magazines concerning Thomas Wentworth, also reproductions of his drawings.

Eleazer, Jr. was prominent in both village and town affairs. He was one of the first Vestrymen of Christ church, Oswego, when that Society was formed in 1822. He died in 1842. After his death, his widow continued to live in their home with her two, then unmarried children.

Death Of Eleazer Perry, Jr.

Eleazer Perry, Jr's obituary as published in the "Oswego Palladium", August 24, 1842, read as follows:

Died—At his residence in this town, on the 24th. of August, Mr. Eleazer Perry, aged 58 years.

Mr. Perry was a native of Cherry Valley, N. Y., from whence he removed to his late residence in 1810, at that time, an unbroken and uncultivated wilderness, and presents a rare instance of having survived the deprivations and hardships, so familiar to the sturdy pioneers of our flourishing community, to the enjoyment of that comfort and prosperity, which alone is the

reward of untiring industry, economy and perseverance. During his long residence in this section, the correctness of his understanding and his unwavering integrity, gained for him the confidence and respect of all who enjoyed his acquaintance, while the urbanity of his manner; cheerfulness of disposition, and unusual goodness of heart, eminently qualified him for all the social duties of life.

He was a kind and affectionate husband, an indulgent and benevolent father, an obliging and pleasant neighbor, and a consistent and faithful friend. It is not often that the community is made to mourn the loss of such a member.

The vast concourse of people that followed his mortal remains to their final rest, was not a slight testimonial of the estimation in which he was regarded by his fellow townsmen.

Artimissa Perry in her girlhood, was sent to the boarding school in Albany, where her mother had been a pupil. She was a gay, pleasure loving, young woman, who often sought the society of her friends in the village, and frequently entertained them in her home. She was also very extravagant. Some one once told Miss Lida Penfield, that at one time Artimissa bought a great many new clothes, and engaged passage on a packet boat that would soon leave for New York City. Her trunk was packed, and she was ready to start next day, when, for an unknown reason, her father forbade the trip. She was forty when she married William Fairfield, and went to live in the old Fairfield mansion on the Bay of Quinte.

Artimissa was lonely there and made frequent trips back to her home in Union Village. After Mr. Fairfield's death she returned to Rathbone Place to live with her mother.

The Perry Private School

Daniel Perry was educated to be a doctor, but never practiced. In

1854 he had married Miss Laura Harris, the pretty school teacher of the cobblestone school house. He took his wife to his mother's home to live, and they remained there for a year or two. Mrs. Daniel Perry, meantime, conducted a small private school, using one of the rooms in the wing of the house for that purpose. My mother, who was then about eight years old, attended this school, and recalled that each pupil was requested to bring his or her own chair. About 1859, one part of the long wing of the house was taken off, and moved across the driveway, where, with some additions, it was made into a home for Daniel and his family.

Electa remained in her home until her death, in 1874. Her obituary reveals much of her character. It follows:

Obituary.

Died, June 14th, 1874, at her home in Oswego, Mrs. Electa Perry, in the eighty-sixth year of her age.

Mrs. Perry was, at the time of her death, one of the oldest as she was one of the longest residents of Oswego. Born in Otsego county, she came here soon after her marriage, in 1812, and with the exception of a single year, the place of settlement has been that of her abode during the remainder of her life. There were but few of the old friends of former years left to be present on the occasion of her funeral, which was on the 17th of June last. A large number of neighbors and friends were assembled at her residence, and testified to the universal respect in which she was held. Her life had been eminently of a domestic character, a keeper at home and carefully looking after her children and household. Becoming a widow, thirty-one years ago, she found her duty and her care in the responsibilities of her family. Those responsibilities she discharged with singular fidelity, and her children raise up and call her blessed. Her religious charac-

ter and life were in accordance. Although an attendant upon the services of the Presbyterian church, she did not see her duty clear to unite with any church until advancing years admonished her that the time was short. Her Pastor of many years had gone before. Nearly all of her old associates had departed. Her life had been one of quiet and patient duty which she regarded as to God. Her trust was in her Savior, and in him alone. In accordance with her earnest desire and in hearty profession of her faith and trust in Jesus, she was baptised in the Episcopal church, in the name of the Holy Three, on the 16th of February, 1872.

Daniel Makes Many Changes

Artimissa Perry Fairfield inherited the family home from her mother, Electa, and lived there until sometime in the early 1890's. At that time she deeded the property to her brother, Daniel, for a consideration, and went to live in the smaller house across the driveway. She died about five years later.

At the time Daniel assumed ownership of the house, he made numerous changes in its construction. After the work was completed, the original name, "Rathbone Place", was changed to Perry Inn, and as such, was successfully conducted by Miss Alice Perry, a daughter of Daniel. Alice sold in 1933 the property to Colonel Ward, who has made extensive improvements to the house and grounds. Workmen, then employed, found an attic from which the stairs had been removed. This attic contained the original crane for the fireplace, as well as Electa Perry's spinning and flax wheels.

Neighbors On Perry Hill

Among the neighbors of the Perrys in Union Village, in the period from the 1830's to the 1860's, were "Squire" Fort and his family who lived on the west side of the road, about one-half mile west of Perry Hill. He was the grandfather of the late Miss Kath-

erine Casey, long a well known Oswego resident. *There was an Englishman, Dr. Chillingsworth, who came with his daughter from England to live near "the four corners," on the road to the lake.

Nearer the village was the home of John C. Ives. He was a stone mason and contractor, and came to Oswego in 1826. During many years he was one of the prominent builders and masons of the city. He did mason work on the Varick canal, built the old Kingsford homestead, Alvin Bronson's stone warehouse and the stone block that stood at the corner of Cayuga and Water streets. His oldest daughter, Rebecca Ives, was my paternal grandmother. Near the Ives home, lived the Hawley family. It was said of Miss Hawley, that she was so sensible and strongminded, she insisted her dressmaker fashion her gowns short enough so that the skirt would not touch the ground when she walked down the hill.

Then there was the Lamb family at the foot of Perry Hill, on the north, and across the road to the south, lived Mr. and Mrs. Vauvillez with their son and daughter. Mr. Stevenson, an Englishman, was the miller, and with his large family lived in the mill house. His wife was the daughter of John C. Ives. The Stevenson girls were expert skaters and their father was so proud of their skill, that he sent to England for steel skates for their use.

Noah Newell came with his family before 1816 by ox-cart following the trail from the vicinity of Lake Champlain. They had before that time lived on the East side of Lake Champlain but moved into New York when the Indians became unfriendly. The Newells settled on what is now known as the Kidder farm.**

* Miss Casey died in Oswego, Feb. 17, 1940. She was past 90 years of age at that time.

** Mrs. Richard Desens of West Seneca street is descended from the Newells as are Nelson and Herbert Tanner, both of Oswego.

Nathan Farnham and his family were close friends of the Perry family. The late Miss Julia Farnham who will be remembered by many persons yet living, once told me, that it was a special treat for her to go with her mother to Mrs. Eleazer Perry's home for tea, and that "no one in the neighborhood could make raised biscuits like Mrs. Perry's." Mr. and Mrs. Alexander lived in the neighborhood with their family. They were the parents of Mr. John B. Alexander, long the Editor and Publisher of the "Oswego Daily Times", who also served several terms as Oswego's Post Master. In his boyhood John Alexander attended school at the Cobblestone school.

Plank Road Built in 1846

There were many other settlers in this vicinity, as Union Village had grown to be a prosperous community. The plank road, built from Oswego about 1846, added greatly to its growth and accessibility to other communities.

I have a plate that Electa Perry brought from her home in Springfield. Sugar tongs, and piece of lavender decorated china from a dinner set of dishes are also from the Rathbone homestead, which were owned by Clarissa, a younger sister or Electa. After the death of Clarissa Rathbone, the dinner set was used in the home of Talmadge Perry, who about 1850, built the brick house, across the highway from the Perry homestead, and which is now owned by Mr. Charles Sabin.

Sunday was a busy day in the Methodist home of Talmadge, and a particular Sunday was no exception. In the morning, the family went to church in the city of Oswego for the long service characteristic of those days. On their return, the dinner was hastily prepared, and afterward the many dishes were placed, unwashed, on a drop leaf table in the kitchen, the family departing for another service which was held, every Sunday afternoon, in the

Cobblestone school house. Unfortunately, they overlooked an open window over the table and "Shep" the dog, who had been left outside, jumped through the window, landing on the table, tipping it over and breaking most of the dishes.

Social Life Centered in School

Union Village was not without its pleasures, during this period. In summer, the young people rowed to the lake by the way of the creek, which they also used for skating in the winter time. They picked berries in season, and passed through the Perry farm, to the flat rocks on the lake shore where they enjoyed the swimming. They also went on picnics, and trips to the woods in Spring and Summer.

The center of social activities was the Cobblestone school house, which served primarily as a place of learning. Perry Hill was a perfect "sliding place" in winter, and if any child did not own a sled, there was always a large slate, or one of the large old trays, that could be used. The older people joined in many of these pastimes. One of the greatest enjoyments, for the women of the community, was going to "tea" at a neighbor's house. Tea was a very substantial meal, served before 6 o'clock

There were poverty and sickness, but always kind friends to help. Upon one occasion, the women of the community, taking turns, nursed and fed an entire family throughout a severe attack of typhoid fever.

So, it can be seen from what I have told you, that the Perry family, and the history of Fruit Valley, were one and the same for many years. All the Perrys of whom I have made mention, are buried either in the Settlers' Cemetery, or in Rural Cemetery, but as the name is carried by the hill on which they lived, they will continue to play a part in the life of the community which they helped to found.

Rice Family First to Settle Permanently in Town of Oswego

(Paper Read Before Oswego County Historical Society at Oswego in 1944 by
Asa C. Pease of Oswego Town, A Descendant)

On the sixth day of October, 1897, on the shore of Lake Ontario, near the mouth of Rice or "Three Mile" creek, the descendants of Asa Rice celebrated the 100th anniversary of his settlement in the Town of Oswego. After all had partaken of a bountiful dinner at which about thirty-five were present, Mr. Arvin Rice of Fulton read a very interesting paper giving a sketch of the life of the pioneer, Mr. Asa Rice, which was as follows:

One hundred years ago today Asa Rice and his family landed upon this shore and founded the first permanent settlement in this part of the country. The following facts with regard to his ancestry, his family and circumstances of the journey to this place and the making of a settlement in the then wilderness are from statements made by my father, Arvin Rice, who was then a boy of eleven years of age. I will give the history in his own words:

Served in French War

"My ancestors on my father's side were Welsh. In the early settlement of New England three brothers by the name of Rice emigrated to the "New World." One of them settled in New Hampshire, one in Rhode Island and the other (whose name was Isaac and from whom our family descended) in Connecticut. Robert Rice, the son or grandson of said Isaac, was a farmer. His son, Asa, was my grandfather. He was a lieutenant in the British army in the "Old French War" and after the war was a farmer and a shoemaker. He married

Anna Rice, daughter of Ezekiel Rice, who was probably his cousin.

"My father's name was also Asa and he had the honor of taking a part in the struggles of the Revolution; was taken prisoner by the Indians at the North; was at the taking of Burgoyne and was an assistant in placing 'the great chain' across the Hudson river at West Point. After the close of the war he settled in Connecticut and became possessor of four acres of land worth \$40. This land he traded with an old soldier for a lot in 'the military tract,' and when 'the military tract' was surveyed, Lot No. 2. Hannibal (which lot lies upon the lake shore three miles west of Oswego) fell to him. He married Elizabeth Merriam, daughter of Nathaniel Merriam, and about the year 1789, moved with his family from Cheshire, Conn., to Acra, Greene County, N. Y., and in 1795 to Rensselaerville in Albany county. In 1795 while the British were yet in possession of Oswego and when there was no settlement upon the west side of the river, he came on to view his lot of land. In February, 1797, he moved to Whitestown, Oneida county, having then a family of eight or nine children. By selling a part of the land he obtained enough help to move on to his lot, and on September 26th, 1797, left his abode in Whitestown for a wilderness home upon the shores of Lake Ontario.

"The first day we reached the boat on the Mohawk and the next day moved up the river and found a large number of Irishmen digging the canal across from the Mohawk to Wood Creek, a dis-

tance of two miles. We passed 'the carrying place' and entered Wood Creek, two other boats being in our company, and were three days in reaching Oneida Lake, the water being low in some place, all hands dragging the boats, one after another over the shoals. My brother, Heman, then two years old, fell overboard. He had on a red dress and we could see him in the water and soon got him out. Where Wood Creek empties into Oneida Lake the boat struck a log and I fell into the water and was helped out by my father.

Boat Hits Rock, Effects Lost

"We reached the lake at evening and at two o'clock A. M. reached Rotterdam (now Constantia). The next day we reached Three River Point where lived Esquire Bingham, who professed to be a pilot and the next morning he took charge of our boat to conduct it down Three River Rift (opposite the present village of Phoenix). In going down the boat struck a rock in the middle of the river and whirled around across the stream, the bottom upon the rock. The upper side sank and the boat filled with water washing off many light articles which were never recovered.

"All the goods were thoroughly drenched except the upper drawer of the bureau in which were the writings. The family fortunately were placed upon the shore previous to reaching the rift and stayed in a fisherman's camp opposite the boat, where we remained three or four days through a tremendous northwest storm. After the storm a light-boat came along and helped get our things out and our boat righted. We then came down the river and at Oswego Falls found a carrying place of about a mile, thence down the river to the lake (Ontario) and along the shores to father's lot. It was on October 6th, 1797, at about two o'clock P. M. we arrived at Three Mile Creek

and father said, 'This is our land,' and turned the boat toward the shore. I got to the bow and when the boat touched the shore I jumped and said, 'I'll be the first to take possession.'

Tent Borrowed From Garrison

"The goods were taken out upon the beach and the boatmen went back. It was a beautiful day and the first business was to open the goods and spread them out to dry. Not a bush had been cut towards a clearing but father had borrowed at the garrison* in Oswego a tent 7x10 feet which he raised for a temporary shelter a few rods back from the beach.

"Towards night the wind blew hard off the lake and it began to lighten and thunder and a little after sundown it rained and stormed very hard while we, a family of ten, crept into the little tent and stayed all night. The next day father went back about thirty rods from the shore and cut some logs and made a pen 7x10 feet and placed the tent upon it and put some boards or pieces of boats he found on the lake shore across, making a chamber for the boys. Soon afterward we built of poles 12 feet long a pen about six feet high and made a roof by putting hemlock boughs on the rafters and the family moved into it. About that time mother and one of the children were taken sick with fever and ague.

The boatmen who left us the day we landed were to have returned in three weeks with provisions for the Winter but did not return for six weeks.

Wrested Food From An Eagle

"We had a little bag of flour, about twenty pounds, and father caught a salmon and took another

*At the date given Fort Ontario at Oswego was in the control of the Americans having been yielded by the British July 15, 1796, through arrangements for the transfer completed by General Anthony Wayne under the provisions of the Jay treaty. The garrison was a very small one.

one from an eagle. That was all the provisions we had. Father went to Oswego and bought for \$6 a barrel of flour which had been under water and was wet and mouldy; no light bread could be made of it and it made the children sick when they ate it.

"When the boatmen returned, probably about November 20th, they helped father build a log house 16x18 feet, covered with basswood bark, about 100 rods back from the lake and then the family moved in, drawing our sick mother upon a sled as Winter had already set in.

How Village Was Named

"After we had moved in the boatmen said we must name the village, and they drank wine and named it, 'Union Village.' In February, 1798, my brother, Horace, died, aged about one and one-half years. During the Winter my brother Joseph, aged 14, and myself, cleared about four acres and in the spring some corn and potatoes were planted and a pair of oxen and a heifer were brought from Whitestown. Once during the Summer the cattle strayed away and were gone some three weeks.

"During the Winter but one family remained at Oswego, and a man by the name of Hudson lived up the river about a mile and hunted during the Winter. From Oswego west to Big Sodus Bay, thence south to the Seneca river and down the river to Three River Point and thence to Oswego, there were only two or three families and they were at the Point and the Falls.

Pioneer Life Hardships

"In the fall of 1798 the children were all taken sick with lake fever and father who was of feeble constitution was sick for three months. In 1799 the family were well and some progress was made in clearing. For two years we pounded corn in a maple log for our bread and puddings. In 1800 the family were all sick

again. About this time the bears began to trouble us by catching calves and pigs. We also suffered for lack of clothing, and the ticking of our beds and pillows was cut up, the feathers being emptied into barrels and boxes.

Long Distance To Mill

"Wild game and fish were then plentiful, and we began taking grain to the mill to be ground, sometimes to Sodus Point or to Ellisburg in Jefferson county, and once to Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg. Once father and mother and one child started to go to Oswego in a log canoe, and there being a south wind, they hoisted a sail. When they were about half a mile out the wind shifted and the canoe was turned bottom upwards; they got upon the canoe and a boat went after them so they arrived safely at home.

"In 1798 the townships of Hannibal, Lysander and Scipio were organized into one town and Asa Rice, my father, was supervisor. He reported fifteen inhabitants and the valuation of taxable property at \$1500. He continued as supervisor until 1806.

The first marriage in the town was of Augustus Ford and my sister, Damaris Rice, in the year 1800."

"Here closes the history as I find it in papers written or dictated by my father.

Indians Few and Friendly

"From the year 1800 the family history was similar to that of other early settlers in a new country but their perils and privations and the struggles and hardships they endured for the first two or three years of their residence here were equalled by very few, if any, in our state. In one respect only did they suffer less than those in some other localities, and that was from the Indians who at that time were few in numbers and friendly.

"How different were their experiences from those of the emigrant or new settler of the pres-

ent day. Then ten days were necessary to make the journey of less than 100 miles; now a few hours are sufficient to carry them several hundred miles. Then in their want and distress relief was six weeks in coming; now in cases of destitution or great calamities, distant towns and cities respond in a few hours with assistance and supplies.

"Notwithstanding their exposures and the hardships they en-

dured our family survived most of them, living to be a good old age. Asa Rice lived twenty-six years from the time of his settlement here, and though not rich he was in comfortable circumstances. He saw some two-score of grandchildren and died at the age of 69 years, and was buried, together with his wife, Elizabeth, and four children, in a small plot of ground directly north of Fruit Valley in Oswego Town."



State Budget Estimates Of \$38,265, For Preserving Old Fort Ontario As Historical Site, Submitted in Albany

President E. M. Waterbury Of Historical Society Tells Members Of Plan To Maintain 20 Acres Of Former Reservation

(Palladium-Times December 18, 1947)

Application has been made by the State Education Department to John E. Burton, Director of the State Budget, for inclusion in the budget, which will be recommended to the State Legislature by Governor Thomas E. Dewey in January of funds that will permit the department, operating through State Historian Albert B. Corey as Director of Historic Sites, to take over about 20 acres of the former Fort Ontario military reservation and maintain the area as an historic site.

Included with estimates filed with the Budget Director are sums which would be needed for doing preliminary development and maintenance work during the year 1948, together with figures giving estimates as to probable long-range expenditures necessary in later years to repair, restore and preserve the walls of the old fort, and five stone buildings therein, formerly used as barracks and officers' quarters, and to provide for permanent care of the old military cemetery which is a part of the former reservation.

Information as to the present status of the move, launched by the Oswego County Historical Society two years ago to bring about permanent preservation of that part of the old military reservation and its accompanying buildings which have historic interest, was given members of the Society meeting for their December session at Headquarters House in Oswego Tuesday

evening by E. M. Waterbury, president of the Society. "Just what progress can be made in 1948 towards the attainment of the Society's goals in relation to the Fort Ontario's permanent preservation as an historic site of state-wide importance and interest, will depend almost entirely upon action taken by the State Division of the Budget and by Governor Thomas E. Dewey on requests of the State Education Department for funds," the president told members of the Society.

Appropriation Requested

"Without funds," he continued, "little or nothing of a permanent project can be accomplished next year. However, if the state can not or does not grant all the funds asked, even a small appropriation for the forwarding of the project will permit, at least, a start to be made next year in the direction of removing the former, temporary barracks at the fort originally built to house National Guard regiments which then came to Fort Ontario for summer training, but now are rapidly becoming unsightly due to the ravages of time. Seeding with grass areas which include the former battle grounds of Montcalm and Mercer in 1756, and of Yeo and Mitchell in 1814, and the rescuing the military cemetery from becoming overgrown with brush and weeds will also be possible. That cemetery includes graves dating from 1755, and many graves of Revolutionary War veterans.

Funds Sought For 1948

Included in estimates of the State Education Department of funds which it would be desirable for the state to disburse during the state's next fiscal year are \$16,000 to provide for removal of the 10 former barracks which now encumber part of that portion of the area intended to be preserved an historic site, and \$14,000 to provide for grading, seeding and creating parking spaces and walks in the area sought. These items would care for all renovation work projected for next year.

As permanent caretakers at the site a superintendent would be appointed, and one laborer. Salaries and wages for these men, and an additional \$600 to provide for temporary labor would cost \$4,440 according to estimates. Maintenance cost are estimated at a total of \$38,265.

The estimated cost of the long-range program in connection with maintenance of the fort as an historic site were prepared by representatives of the State Architect's office who spent several days at Fort Ontario in the early fall. Estimates as to costs involved in staffing the fort, and providing for maintenance work

were prepared by the State Historian. In connection with the long-range program, estimates have been placed in the hands of the director of the budget covering the cost of restoring some of the old stone barracks within the walls of the old fort after the buildings now occupied by veterans of World War II and their families, have ceased to be so occupied under the lease the City of Oswego holds to the fort buildings for a period of five years. Two of these buildings would then be converted as living quarters for the superintendent and his family and as living quarters for the staff. Two others would be restored to their original state and utilized for exhibition purposes, housing eventually according to plans under consideration a Regional State Museum that would have a distinctly military background, in view of the fact that Fort Ontario has an active military and naval history covering nearly 200 years.

As this book goes to press, Governor Dewey has not sent his budget estimates to the Legislature. Nothing is known locally, therefore, as to what Governor Dewey's budget recommendation for Fort Ontario will be.



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