OSWEGO SD PUBLIC LIBRARY
REF 974.767 3OSPB00010890N
PUBLICATION OF THE OSWEGO..V.1959

1959

Twenty-Second Publication

of the

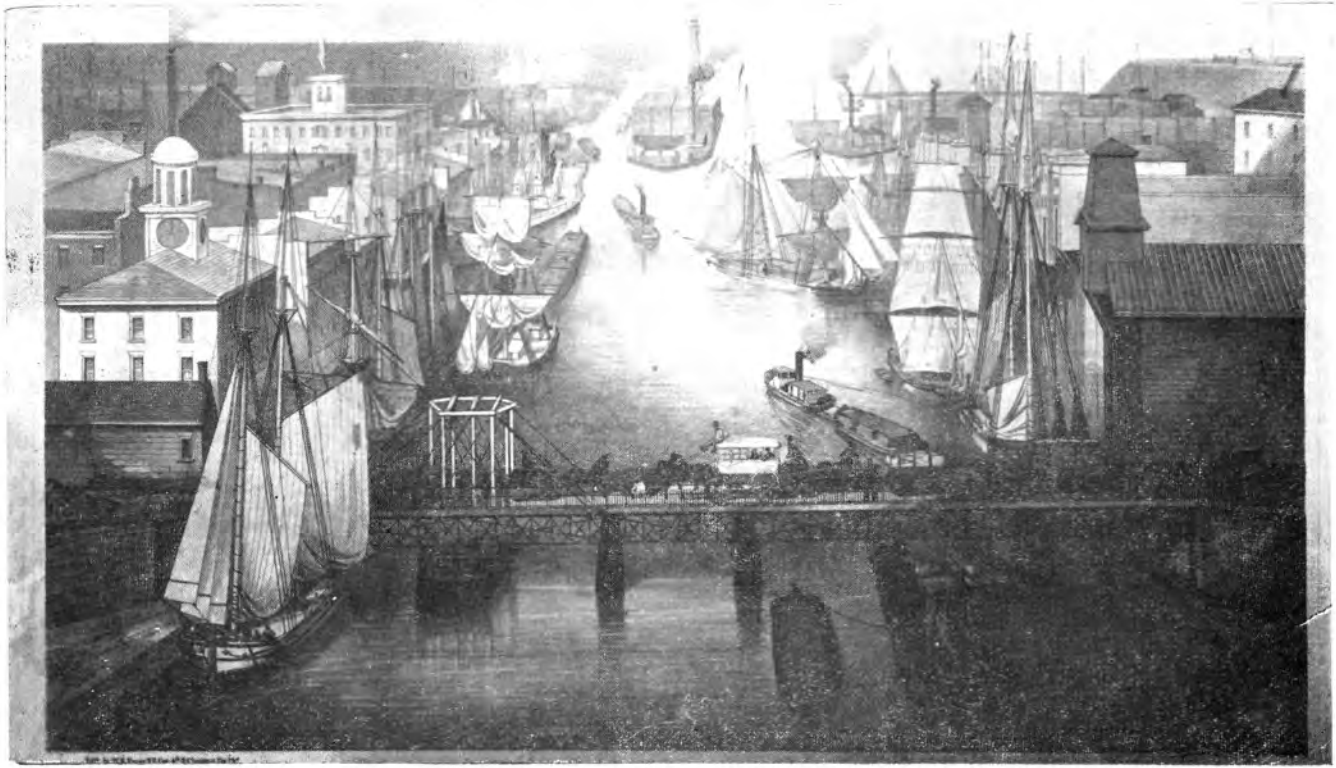
Oswego County Historical Society

1959

OSWEGO COUNTY WEEKLIES

Printers

Mexico, New York



OSWEGO HARBOR — FROM THE SOUTH

List Of Officers

1959

President ..... Dr. Charles M. Snyder

Vice-Presidents .....
- Mrs. Hugh Barclay
- John C. Birdlebough
- F. Hosmer Culkin
- Charles A. Denman
- Grove A. Gilbert
- Rodney Johnson
- Fred S. Johnston
- Frank Sayer, Jr.
- Alfred G. Tucker
- Dr. Robert Weigelt

Recording Secretary ..... Richard Daley

Executive Secretary ..... Anthony Slosek

Treasurer ..... Ray M. Sharkey

Curator ..... Anthony Slosek

Program Chairman ..... Johnson Cooper

Board of Directors .....
- Thomas A. Cloutier
- Mrs. Frank Elliott
- Ralph M. Faust
- Dorothy Mott
- Dr. W. Seward Salisbury

Table of Contents

——— : : ———

BEFORE THE SOCIETY IN 1959

Annual Report of The President

"Through 1959 New York State celebrated the "Year of History," marking the 250th anniversary of the explorations of Hudson and Montcalm in the state. The local highlight of this celebration was the formal opening of old Fort Ontario as a State Museum on July 19. Readers will find the program and Dr. Albert B. Corey's address in this volume.

Programs during the year dealt with the Civil War in Oswego County, and the regiments recruited here. In April at the Annual Meeting of the Society Mr. John J. Vrooman, distinguished Mohawk Valley historian and the author of THE PROMISED LAND, spoke on the story of the Palatines in Germany and early New York. Fall programs included the story of resident of Sandy Creek in the California gold rush and as a filibuster in Nicaragua, and the early history of the Seventh-day Adventists in Oswego County.

During the year the Society continued to make Headquarters House Museum available to the public and to provide conducted tours for the schools of the area. The publication of the Yearbook was continued. Of especial interest to local historians was the microfilming of the early local newspapers by the Oswego Public Library.

The Society is grateful to the County for its continued support in making possible the employment of professional assistance and in the maintenance of the museum."

Charles M. Snyder, President

CHARLES A. DENMAN

Lest We Forget

Charles A. Denman

Charles A. Denman, for more than a decade a Vice President of the Oswego County Historical Society, was born and reared in historic Brewerton. As will be seen, the atmosphere rubbed off on "Charlie." History has always been his favorite hobby.

Educated in the local schools, he worked as a stationary engineer in Syracuse for a few years. Returning to Brewerton he opened a garage and entered the new automobile business. He successively sold and repaired the Dort, the Oakland, and the Pontiac.

Meanwhile, he married Estella Eggleston of Brewerton, who has shared his interest in history and antiques. They are parents of three children, Norma (Mrs. Chester Fergerson), Charles O., and Ray O. Denman, and have four grandchildren. Recently Mr. and Mrs. Denman celebrated their Golden Wedding anniversary.

The Denmans purchased the Smith home on Denman Indian Isle at the foot of Oneida Lake. Here they were the gracious hosts of the Society on a memorable summer pilgrimage; with rides in the ancient cars with the Denmans appropriately clad in dusters and goggles.

Discovering that this island was an early Indian burial ground, Mr. Denman studied archeology, and in collaboration with Dr. William A. Ritchie, State Archeologist, made extensive excavations. Results of their diggings are found in the museums of the state, in the published works of Dr. Ritchie, and in Mr. Denman's article in the 1947 **Yearbook** of this Society. Thousands of visitors to Headquarters House have viewed exhibits assembled by Mr. Denman: the skeleton of a pre-Iroquoian Indian woman; a primitive dug-out canoe; and others.

One of Mr. Denman's most enjoyable hobbies has been the collection and restoration of antique cars. Among his fine aggregation is a rare 1901 model Pontiac, which the Denmans drove on the 1953 Glidden Tour. He also collects steam engines, ranging from stationary miniatures to steam traction engines, and recently exhibited these items at the New York State Fair. Interest in music, also, is reflected in a collection of some thirty-five old music boxes.

In recognition of Charles A. Denman's long and active service to this society, and his many contributions to local history and archeology, the Board of Managers of the Oswego County Historical Society appreciatively dedicate this volume.

William Shirley - William Johnson Conflict in the Niagara and Crown Point Campaigns of 1755 - 1756

Part III

(The Recall of General Shirley)

(Presented by Mr. Johnson G. Cooper, January 20, 1959)

Part II of the Shirley-Johnson Conflict in the seven years' war ended with the long June-July Council between William Johnson and the Six Nations Indians, held at Mount Johnson, in 1755. Johnson and the leaders of the Six Nations, at this conference, concluded it was unnecessary to assign Indians to Shirley for his journey to Oswego which actually began during the meeting. Shirley had sent Colonel John Lydius as his emissary to the Council meeting and a violent quarrel had erupted as a consequence of Lydius' presence. This quarrel erupted at almost the exact moment Shirley took over full command of the English forces, on the death of General Edward Braddock in July 1775. It was to have a profound effect upon the conduct and length of the war. Oswego was in the center of the Johnson-Shirley conflict, and what followed, for it was to be the base of operations for one of the four prongs of the attack against the French—that against Fort Niagara—and its loss to Montcalm in 1756 delayed the taking of Niagara for two years.

Beginning in the middle of July, a series of letters among the principal participants in the conflict confirm the final break. On July 17, 1755, Shirley wrote a long letter to Johnson relating both to the Lydius affair and the hiring of Indians for the Niagara campaign. He ordered Johnson to have Wraxall send him a copy of the proceedings of the June-July Councils and demanded an attested copy of the letters which had been conveyed to Johnson by Lydius. Shirley angrily objected to several of Wraxall's comments on the notes of the Conference, and apparently Johnson had promised to delete them from the records. These notes concerned Lydius's activity at Mount Johnson and Johnson's demands that Lydius forbear from any further interference. Shirley's demand for the attested copies of letters sent with Lydius was apparently prompted by his belief that they clearly explained to Johnson Lydius's position at Mount Johnson and Shirley's orders to Lydius that he work with Johnson and not directly with the Indians.

Shirley expressed keen disappointment at Johnson's failure to hire Indians to go with Shirley to Oswego and objected to Johnson's assumption that there was no necessity for Indians prior to Shirley's arrival at Oswego. He wrote that Braddock's Commission did not give Johnson the sole right to engage Indians for Crown Point and then determine they were not needed by Shirley from Schenectady to Oswego. General Shirley further objected to Johnson offering Captain Staats a commission with Johnson if he would raise a company of Stockbridge Indians to go to Crown Point, at the same time refusing Staats permission to raise a company of Indians for Shirley's campaign.

As a result of Johnson's failure to secure Indians for Shirley, the Shirley agents stopped at every Indian Castle between Schenectady and Onondaga in an attempt to fill the void. Johnson in a letter to his friends in Albany, later boasted that he prevented Shirley's engaging a single Indian on his journey, but at a high cost in presents to the

Indians. The failure to supply an adequate number of Indians for this venture undoubtedly made more probable such later events as the attack at Fort Bull, and the constant desertion of battoemen who feared the trip without Indian support.

It seems clear that Johnson had become convinced he would need every Indian he couled engage for his Crown Point campaign, and that Shirley's need was in competition to his own. Shirley had Bradstreet's letter which indicated that due to low water in the Mohawk River, the troops and supplies had to travel overland much of the way from Schenectady to Oneida Lake, and Shirley wanted guides for this journey. Why he selected Lydius, in the face of Johnson's dislike of the man, is difficult to explain, except that Shirley knew him from King George's War, and there were few men with Lydius's or Johnson's knowledge of the Six Nations.

Peter Wraxall, Johnson's Secretary and aide-de-camp, occupied a peculiar position in the conflict. All notes of the June-July Council with the Six Nations were in his handwriting and Shirley at first vented his anger on Wraxall rather than Johnson. Wraxall had been one of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in New York, so distrusted by Governor Clinton. As such he was one of those investigated by Johnson during King George's War. At that time, James deLancey, an enemy of both Johnson and Clinton, supported Wraxall. Later, when Johnson had become a member of the deLancey group, Wraxall and he began a close association to last many years. Following the Alexandria meeting, Johnson hired Wraxall as his secretary, apparently at deLancey's recommendation, and Wraxall seems have acted to maintain a close association between Johnson and the New York political group headed by James deLancey.

Support for the Shirley contention that Johnson had failed to supply him with Indians, and was in fact doing everything he could to prevent either Mohawks or Oneidas from joining the Niagara Campaign, is given in William Livingston's account of the conflict. 31 Livingstone or Smith, as the case may very well have been—noted that not a single Indian joined Shirley at Schenectady and not one Indian joined Shirley at any of the Six Nations' Castles enroute to Oswego. He further noted that at Oswego, Bant, one of the Onondaga Sachems whose sons were serving with Johnson, told Shirley that there should be no war as it might endanger the Oswego trade, a trade in which Johnson had been the leading figure for years. Bant further informed Shirley, according to this account, that Johnson had sent him on a mission to Canada. Shirley dissuaded Bant and several of his brothers from proceeding on this same mission. Livingstone claimed also that other Onondagas told Shirley that Johnson had agreed to send them pelts if they refused to join Shirley at Oswego. This was in line with Johnsons own letters to Albany in which he wrote it had been an expensive process to outbid Shirley for the services of the Indians. At this point, "Redhead" an Onondaga Chief, one who had attended the June-July Council, told Shirley he was enroute to Oswegatchie and Canada for the same purpose. This report was in direct contradiction to that taken from Wraxalls notes of the same meeting. Wraxalls notes indicated that Kaghswughtioni — "Redhead"—was to go there to force his Onondaga brethren to return to Onondaga and join the English in their war against the French.

The seriousness with which Johnson took this alleged interference in Indian affairs was indicated by a series of letters he wrote during and immediately subsequent to the June-July Council. These letters followed a violent quarrel between Johnson and Shirley which took place in Albany in July. They were written subsequent to the Shirley-Johnson letter referred to above and written on July 17, 1755.

One such letter was written to Thomas Pownall, Thomas was the brother of John Pownall who was at the time Under Secretary of State and Secretary of the Board of Trade. He was, along with Sir Peter Warren and Dr. Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, the principal sup-

porter of Johnson and James deLancey in England. Thomas Pownall had come to America in 1753 as secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne and remained temporarily following Osborne's suicide on a ship in New York harbor. The suicide followed a long meeting on the ship, with James deLanocey, which was to precede Osborne's inauguration as Governor of New York succeeding George Clinton. In this meeting Osborne had been told the Assembly would not follow the Governor's instructions from the King. Pownall wished to remain temporarily in America and Shirley appointed him his representative to New York, prior to the Alexandria Conference with Braddock. Like Johnson, Pownall attended the Alexandria meeting, but also like Johnson, was not invited to sit in on the Council of War of April 14, and 15, 1755. Pownall returned to New York and at once became a close associate of deLancey and a correspondent of Johnson. In either January or February of 1756, Prownall returned to England and represented Johnson and deLancey in a demand for Shirley's recall. This was only two months after London had confirmed Shirley's appointment as Cammander-in-Chief of the English forces, and no military actions had occured which chould have proved Shirley incompetent during the two month interval. The demand nevertheless was successful, and when Lord Loudoun was sent to North America as the new Commander, Thomas Pownall appeared as Loudoun's secretary and ADC. One final note on Pownall; after Shirley's dismissal as Governor of Massachusetts and his return to England in the fall of 1756, Pownall was named Governor of that Royal Colony. Those portions of Johnson's July 1755 letter to Pownall, which pertain to the conflict, follow:

Albany, 31 July, 1755

Dear iSr,

Believe me that my silence has been wholly owing to necessity not choice. . . . but I have been so incessently employed from the time Govr. Shirley came up here and in no very agreeable manner by him, & at the same time the affairs of the Crown Point Expedition. . . not Sufft. time . . . of writing you.

Thus stood affairs when Govr. Shirley arrived at Albany. He was not satisfied that he would get a sufft. number of Inds. at & round about Oswegoe which I assured him of & whc. the Inds. confirmed to me. He employed Lyddius to whom he had given a Colls. Commissn. over the Inds. & a number of agents under him without my knowledge or consent, to bribe, to work by every possible artifice in their power on all the Inds. they would meet with (1 there were great numbers who came down from my house to Albany & Schenectady) to relinquish me & go with Govr. Shirley to Oswego, they spared no money, they spared no reflections upon me in short every trick that could be practiced, was made use of, for all wch. Mr. Shirley's Authority was pleaded. Billy Alexander is as active as any of 'em & tis unaturall to suppose Gov. Shirley was not private to it, Indeed I did in generall lay it before him he wrote me a verry long angry Letter reproaching, menacing me & grosly abusing Mr. Wraxall. I ansered it with Spirit, but cool & decent. The Letters are verry long & its impossible for me to send you to Shew 'em to you. I make no doubt he will endeavor to wreck his Malice upon me & poor Wraxall, who has wrote to Mr. Fox to get quit of his Military Commission so I hope he will be clear of the tunder in that Quarter.

Shirley'Agents are to go to all the Castles as they go along & practice the aforesaid Conduct. They have put the Inds. into great condusion by what they have done & forced Additional expence & trouble & vexation upon me.

Without Inds. I think it will be madness to attempt Crown Point. One Division of the Troops are marched for our grand rendezvous at the Carrying Place about 1100 Men . . . Another Division of about 1100 Men are to march the day after tomorrow . . . & about next Wednesday I hope to follow with the remainder of the Troops & Train. . . . if the Inds. are not thrown into Con-

fusion by Govr. Shirleys Agents. or do not quit us upon the News of our defeat at the Ohio . . . in some measure satisfy our . . . revenge.

If General Shirley plays me fair I will cheerfully rest my Cause & Merits upon them. I have sent a Copy to the Board of Trade . . .

A similar letter was sent to James deLancey containing the same accusations against Shirley. It is of further interest in that it indicated Johnson was in a depressed state over the Braddock defeat and suggested to deLancey - but not to his superior, Shirley - that the Crown Point campaign had perhaps better be cancelled, and the Niagara venture turned towards Cadaraqui at the eastern end of Lake Ontario.

The series of Johnson letters written on this subject were completely unfair to Shirley. In no letter from this point until Pownall's return to England did Johnson actually send copies of all the correspondence between himself and Governor Shirley, despite repeated requests by Pownall. Nor is there evidence that he ever returned the attested copies of the letters Shirley sent to him by Lydius in June 1755. These letters, according to both Shirley and Livingstone, Shirley's defender, made clear to Johnson the purpose for which Lydius was engaged and the orders that Lydius was to work through Johnson. The charge of bribery, which appeared in these letters, can be dismissed for Johnson, by his own admission, was engaged in the same effort to engage Indians and in many cases outbid Shirley. As to the abuse heaped upon Wraxall, Johnson himself admitted that his secretary had inserted remarks in the notes, and that these should be expunged from the records At no time did Johnson ever admit this to Pownall, deLancey or the Board of Trade. (34)

Johnson wrote to Robert Orme, Braddock's Aide, in August 1755, and repeated the same charges. Yet this same letter indicated that Shirley was still cooperating with Johnson to secure funds for the campaign by Johnson to enlist the assistance of the Indians. (35)

I have recd. Genl. Shirley's Order upon the Deputy Pay Master at Boston for 3000 pounds Sterg. in Consequence of Genl. Braddocks Credit to me, that was unlimited but now there is an End to it. Genl. Shirley wrote me that the Colonies are to pay me their Quotas to make up 800 pds. Sterg. the sum appropriated for Presents to the Indians & that I was to be accountable for it to the Genl. Whether they will do so now I know not. The 2000 pds. Sterg. I was to receive from Mr. Oliver deLancey upon Genl. Braddocks. Acct. he has paid me, amounting to 3419 pds:-:-: this Curry. for wch I have given the Genl. Credit & Shall do the same for the Produce of the 3000 pds. Sterg. when it is paid for I sent it forward but am a few days ago. I beg you will please to inform to whom I am now accountable for the Monies lodged with me & all other particulars wch may be necessary for the regulation of my conduct so far as is in your power.

Again the Johnson charges were unfounded. Shirley had never varied in his support of Johnson's demands for men, money, & supplies. Why Johnson should have objected to being made accountable for the monies he received is difficult to understand. There is little question that by August 1st Johnson was aware he was responsible to Shirley in these matters.

There was some feeling among Johnson's Albany friends that he was moving too swiftly in his charges against Shirley. Goldsbrow Banyar, secretary to the New York Council, wrote Johnson on August 3, 1755 and cautioned him on the Shirley affair. (36)

When your letter of the 30th Ulto was brought to the Governor, he was at Willet's where he had din'd being the last day of the Term. He put it into my hands, and I read it twice. He seem'd to be of the opinion not to lay it before the Council apprehending, as I surmis'd, that what you say with respect to the Gentleman's Conduct you mention might reach his ears. (37)
Whether the Governor will alter his Sentiments and lay it before them tomorrow I don't know. If you had concluded your Letter with the same

Sentiments or apprehensions, that you have express in the first part, I should have imagined it to have been the Effect of the powerful Influence of (I may say) the general Panick.

Your proposal of attacking Cadaraqui, is founded I suppose on this reason, that it might draw off the attention & Force the Enemy, & induce them to think we had changed our Plans. Govr. Shirley only can do this, being now I apprehend the Commanding Officer of all the Troops. I think we are too late for that, and Niagara both, and full late enough for the latter. Some suspect Gen. Shirley will leave the operations to the next Officer & return hither. If the Pensilvanians go on again, as I hear they intend to raise 3000 Men to join the Army & make another attempt this year, the Enemy must loose either Fort Duquesne or Niagara I think, if we proceed in the attack of the latter place. Whether their political Difference may not prevent it I can't tell. . . . .

Monday 10 oClock A:Mer: When I wrote the above I went out to the Governor, who has wrote to you. . . You see how much he differs from the Sentiments expressed in your letter. At all events I think we ought to proceed both ways. I have seen your letter to Mr. Colden of Saturday . . . People here who don't know the true Reason of your not marching wonder at the Delay: Every day, I might say hour, you stay, will add to the strength of the Enemy. March then as soon as possible, but aware of Ambuscades . . . if there is no Breach between you and Mr. Shirley or it be not too wide, it's my opinion you had better keep well with him. The Governor proposes to lay only an Extract of your Letter before the Council. . . . Your mt. obedt. Servant

GW. BANYAR

A personal letter was written to Johnson by Banyar on the 5th and 6th of August along the same lines. (38).

An extract of your long Letter was laid before the Assembly in consequence of the Council's advice upon its being laid before them. I was against its going to either but especially the Assembly, and after the Council had advised it . . . I told the Governor I thought it would be better not to do it. He said, seeing the doubtful situation of the Indians, it might animate the Assembly to a warmer Resolutions. It was highly disapproved of (I mean the former part of it, nothing being left out but what related to Mr. S.) and 'tis now mentioned to your disadvantage by some, who seem rather affected to the Niagara than the Crown Point Expedition, for I assure you that's a kind of Party Matter; and by some who were not formerly your friends, I (mean) Dutchmen. The Members said it was your Secretary's not yours & let fall some apprehensions at the Discouraging Sentiments in the Letter: They considered the Letter in one view only . . the difference between you & Mr. S. begins to be talked of. You may judge how Matters stand when the Reflector Paper endeavors to justify him, and cast blame upon You (39). Let them say what they will, it is easy to guess where the Odium will fall: & there are very few but are convinced already. If you write to Mr. Pownall, let it be in your own hand, he told me twould be more satisfactory to him than in anothers, and that you had no excuse but want of time — he added he was prevented from sending a Copy of it to his brother for that reason. You see his meaning and that I intend this for your OWN perusal: The Friendship I profess for you, obliges me to give these hints, of which I intend it as a proof, whatever use they may be of.

This letter is one of the most revealing written by anyone in the Shirley-Johnson dispute. First it indicated that the conflict was to a large degree political; second it gave evidence that Wraxall was not trusted to transcribe literally; and third it indicated with more clarity than previous communications that the deLancey party were determined to eliminate Shirley and fully expected to be successful in their efforts. Already it had become apparant that Thomas Pownall was to act as their

principal advocate in London.

Banyar wrote another long letter to Johnson on August 15th covering much the same ground and on the 16th, Pownall answered Johnson's earlier Letter and requested Johnson to send him all the evidence he could gather against Shirley related to the interference in Indian affairs. Pownall assured Johnson that he would make sure it reached the proper ears in England. (40).

. . . They have thorough knowledge in every particular of ye Abuse & Mismanagement of Indian Affairs to this time. They are sensible of it, they are resolved to Alter it. They hope to have Indian Affairs provided for by a General Fund, ye disposal & Management of which . . . as well as ye Application of all the Kings occasional Presents, the Domination & Direction of all Smith Artificers, Interpreters &c & ye Direction of all their Affairs to be putt into Your Hands in ye Manner & with ye Same Allowance as in last War . . .

Pownall then cautioned Johnson not to move too fast against Crown Point, "so much depends upon Your Life & Safety. It would not be Courage much less Conduct it would ye highest imprudence to hazard your Person more than is absolutely necessary." (41) Pownall suggested perhaps it would be better to build a fort near Lake George from which the enemy could be annoyed. Johnson, always an extremely cautious military commander, followed this advice even after his defeat of the French at Lake George in September, and thus came into being Fort William Henry at the Southern end of Lake George.

Further evidence that Johnson did not wish to send the actual correspondence between himself and Shirley to his colleagues in New York is indicated in a letter he wrote to James deLancey on August 24, 1755. Johnson wrote that there was too little time to put the papers in order on the conflict between himself and Shirley. A few days before the Battle of Lake George, Johnson wrote Pownall that he had received another "vitriolic" letter from Shirley, but as it would not be understandable to Pownall, he had better not forward the letter to New York.

The assurance with which Johnson's colleagues approached the coming struggle over Shirley's leadership was evidenced in a letter Pownall wrote to Johnson the week after the Battle of Lake George. Despite Johnson's failure to follow-up the victory over the French, the deLancey group was now preparing to make him a hero. (42)

. . . All is right in Your Favor. — The Governor has receiv'd from Your friends all the Impressions in Your Favor that your Virtue Deserves. There are two things upon which every Man must rest his Merits, one his own Right Conduct the other the Reality of his Friends . . . . Your interest in the latter is & shall be secured. I have receiv'd such Accts from England as will putt it into my Power to be of Service to you. If I go home I can more particularly. If I stay here I shall have Instructions to appear at the next Congress as a Principal for the Govr of NJersey to which it has pleased His Majesty to appoint me Lt. Govr. with a Destination to the Govr. in a Vacancy . . . . I believe if You have Success I shall carry the Acct of it with me to England, do therefore write Yourself by me, & referr to me for further information it will give an Opportunity of saying and doing for You what I wish to do.

Your's most Sincerely
Affectionately
T. POWNALL

Pownall's letter of October 27, 1755 offered further information as to the desire to secure more explicit evidence from Johnson. Pownall pleaded with Johnson to come himself to New York in order that they might discuss these affairs and further requested a more explicit explanation of what Johnson conceived to be his authority in the administration of Indian affairs. (43)

As to Your Establishment over Indian Affairs it should be I think twofold. The Civil as to the Administration of Council Matters. The Military as to the Command in all War matters, & in this Second

Light I should imagine You should be appointed Col of an Indian Reg't. with Colonel's Rank . . . . I could wish for the sake of Address & that nothing might be misunderstood by the Lords of Trade, that Your Letter had been more explicit (nay I coud even wish for an explanation) on that Point, where You say it is necessary that in the Administration of Indian Affairs You shoud be intirely Independent of All Governors. There is a great deal of Difference betwixt being Independent and Uncontroleable & having a Department of Business intirely within itself so as not be interfer'd with. If you have leisure bestow a thought on this . . . . .

Johnson replied to Pownall's letters within two weeks but apparantly did not clarify the thinking on this point. It is certainly interesting to have Pownall's words in this matter, for that had been the very point which Shirley had tried to explain to Johnson in their correspondence about the Commission from General Braddock. Johnson informed Pownall that he was too busy following Shirley's orders to travel to New York — actually Johnson appeared to be doing everything he could to avoid following Shirley's orders to at least take Ticonderoga. (44)

P.S. If I should not be so lucky as to See You at York before You embark, be assured I shall as Soon as may be write You fully on what You desire to know, or anything else that may be of Service to You. I must confess I look upon Sir Charles Hardy's g e n e r o u s friendship to me in a very kind light.

In our hurry after the Action, and indeed to Save their lives I sent down Severall French Prisoners to Albany, whom I wish to have again, in order to give them in the Room of those Indians killed, as it is much expected of them, and will ease their Minds a good deal, they gave our People whom they took no Quarter, I find. I should be glad you would mention this to Sr. Charles Hardy, & that they were Sent up to Albany as soon as possible. I would not have Mr. Shirley know anything of it, at least he might overset it, as he has tryed to do severall other measures of mine relative to Indn. Affairs. . . . I should be glad you would let me know a little of the Politicks passing there now with You, for I am much in the Dark here, & expect to be kept so by Generl. Shirley & some others.

I am Yrs. Sincerely
WM. JOHNSON

After several other urgent letters, Johnson finally went to New York and was there on the 17th of January, 1756, when he wrote to Shirley and to the Board of Trade. This letter to the Board indicated that Pownall would place before them any information as to Indian Affairs which he had not noted in his letter. There was no indication as to the precise information Johnson brought with him. He had already been made a Baronet and received a purse of 5000 pounds from the King. He was soon to receive his cherished Commission as sole Agent of Indian Affairs. A meeting was held in New York, following Johnson's arrival, among the "party" h eaded by James deLancey. (45) Shirley, it will be remembered, had now been confirmed in the office of Commander of the English troops in America, a capacity in which he had been serving since July of 1755, yet within two months, Pownall had succeeded in securing his recall which took place in February, 1756. The information appears not to have reached Johnson and Shirley until May, 1756.

That Shirley and Johnson still corresponded despite their differences and still agreed on necessary actions was evidenced in January and February of 1756. Johnson wrote to Shirley informing him that the Six Nations had warned of a coming attack upon Oswego and that this attack would come not from Niagara, but from Cadaraqui to the east. Both men agreed this information was correct, and Shirley wrote Johnson, as follows: (46)

. . . As to Arms and Ammunition etc, I leave it to your prudence to supply them with such Quantities as you shall judge necessary.

As to Indian Officers I also

leave it to your prudence to disband or continue such of them as you think proper And to pay them according to the Settlements sent you by General Braddock.

I am with great truth Sir,
Your most Humble Servant
W.S.

Surely Johnson could not have expected greater leeway than this in the management of his assignment. They continued to correspond throughout the spring of 1756 until the arrival of General Abercrombie and Webb who were to assume the command of the English forces, awaiting the arrival of Lord Loudoun. The conclusion seems valid that had it not been for the overriding political conflict, Johnson and Shirley might well have patched up their misunderstandings to the betterment of the English cause, to which both were sincerely dedicated.

An example of the military information which passed between the two men, once they had agreed upon the interpretation of the Braddock Commission, was the letter *Johnson wrote to Shirley on* April 24, 1756. Two letters were written on that day relative to the activities expected in 1756. From March 28th until April 24th, at least ten letters were exchanged by Shirley and Johnson. This was in addition to letters from Bradstreet either en route to Oswego or subsequent to his arrival there; *Colonel Mercer at Oswego and* Captain William Williams at Fort Williams, at the eastern end of the Great Carrying Place near the present site of Rome. This correspondence dealt with a discussion of the dangers besetting Oswego, the dire need of supplies at that post, and the successful French and Indian attack at Fort Bull at the western end of the Great Carrying Place. This attack resulted in the loss of about 23 battoes of supplies destined for Oswego, as well as the death of soldiers, women and battoemen. Bradstreet and Shirley urged upon Johnson the necessity to hire friendly Indians to guard constantly the route to Oswego and Johnson agreed and stated he was doing his utmost to engage enough Indians. Shirley left the method of securing assistance and the rate of pay for Indians to Johnson's judgment, and Johnson never questioned Shirley's authority to request him to secure Indian assistance. Johnson showed his concern for the actions of Pennsylvania in the matter of the Delewares and Shawnese in a letter to Shirley of April 24th and in return Shirley did his best to secure a recall of the declaration of war against these tribes.

General Shirley's major complaint against Johnson concerned the aftermath of the Battle of Lake George, a battle which took place on September 8, 1755. Towards the close of August 1755, Major General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut, Johnson's second in command, was at Fort Edward on the east side of the Hudson River 60 miles north of Albany. Johnson was located at the southern end of Lake George (known to the French as Sacrament) and the French, under Baron Dieskau, were divided between Fort Ticonderoga below Lake Champlain, and Crown Point, a short distance north of Ticonderoga at the foot of Lake Champlain. The French fort at Crown Point was known as Fort St. Frederick. Dieskau had arrived there early in September and almost immediately moved south from Fort Frederick with about 2000 men towards South Bay, on Lake George, 16 miles north of the English position. Dieskau left some of his forces at Ticonderoga and moved on Johnson with about 1800 men; French regulars, Canadians and Indians. Johnson did not learn of the approach of Dieskau until the day before the Battle of Lake George.

Johnson's mood of the moment is indicated in a letter he wrote to Pownall from this camp on September 4th, four days prior to the engagement. The letter opened with another attack on Shirley and then related his preparations at Lake George and all the difficulties which beset him there. (47)

. . . This letter he wrote with all the Insolence of a Man drunk with power, envenomed by Malice & burning with Revenge — His Arguments are Weak & Confused

they bear the evident Marks of Passion overruling Reason — he asserts Facts notoriously false, & Attempts . . . artfully to pervert all my Actions & Arguments . . . however I perceive plainly from the Stile, Temper & Character of the Man that I may expect every thing that can be executed by a bad Man abandoned to passion & enslaved by resentment. . . . .

I am under a good deal of Anxiety lest my future Schemes with regard to the Expedition, should be too much retarded Ye even defeated, by the want of Waggons & Provisions falling short. I have done all in my power to prevent both. There is no due Subordination among the Troops, & the Officers with very few Exceptions a set of low lifed Ignorant People, the Men lazy, easily discouraged by Difficulties, & from the popularity of their Govts. neither accustomed or disposed to obedience.

Great numbers of our Waggoners have deserted, some of them coming up threw the Shot they were loaded with into the Woods, they have plundered the Provisions they brought in their Waggons, in short they are a set of great Rascals.

This then was the army, men and officers, which was within four days to defeat a French force, including many regulars and led by a top European commander, in the Battle of Lake George, with its own commander wounded and taking no part in the engagement after the first skirmish. If the accuracy of Johnson's remarks about Shirley is as disputable as that of his officers and men, much of it may be rightfully discounted. It need only be stated here, that no place in the correspondence of Shirley available to the writer, appears a letter which fits this description. Was it any wonder then that Johnson hesitated to forward to Pownall all the "evidence" Pownall had requested?

Johnson and his supporters, in their defense of his lack of action following the Battle of Lake George, have greatly exaggerated the strength of the French forces arrayed against the English in that battle. The unreliability of reports concerning French strength was indicated at the Council of War which took place on August 22nd and 23rd, 1755. The Council voted to send 2000 men ahead to prepare a road from the Great Carrying Place north of Albany to Lake Sacrament. The returns reported to this Council showed 2932 men fit for duty and expected to increase to 3200 with the arrival of the New Hampshire Regiment, expected daily. In addition, Johnson had about 300 Indians which made a grand total of at least 3500 by September 8. It was further reported that 6000 men had arrived with Baron Dieskau from France and that the Governor of New France had warned the English Indians Dieskau was awaiting them with 8000 troops, a gross exaggeration. It was also noted that the French had exact information of every move the English had made since leaving Albany. The Six Nations Indians, under King Hendrick of the Mohawks, reported the English had far too few to move against the French and that the Indians expected the English to be defeated. The Council apparantly accepted the reported French figures without serious question, for they agreed to write the various governments calling for immediate reinforcements.

A closer estimate of the French strength came from Wraxall himself, two days subsequent to the engagement. (48) Wraxall wrote James deLancey that Dieskau had 3100 troops at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Of these about 1800 came with Dieskau when he attacked the English. This was probably fairly accurate and agreed generally with the reports brought in by Major Robert Rogers and his Rangers, during September and October. Rogers reported there were only 500 men at Crown Point in late October. (49) On September 10, Captain Eyres, commander of the artillery, wrote his cousin that the English lost 200 killed and wounded, compared with 700 for the French. Later accounts indicated the French losses were not that great.

Colonel Israel Williams, Com-

mander of a Connecticut Regiment, was in command of the 1200 men who first met the French, engaged them near the lake and then retreated towards the main body of troops. Colonel Williams, Colonel Titcomb, also of Connecticut, and King Hendrick of the Mohawks all were killed in this first engagement. Johnson was wounded in the early part of the battle with the main body at the English fortified position. Major General Lyman was therefore in command of the English forces during much of the Battle of Lake George. He was in command when Dieskau was wounded and captured and also when the French forces were forced to retire.

The English cannon were drawn up at the English camp and when Dieskau halted outside the camp, presumably to make an estimate of the situation, the cannon opened fire on them. Dieskau's Indians and Canadians panicked, according to the Dieskau accounts, and it was this which forced Dieskau to order the retirement. The French forces were dispersed with most of their officers dead, and Dieskau captured. Captain McGinnis attacked the retiring French later in the day, and routed them. Yet inexplicably the Battle of Lake George ended with the English making no attempt to follow the defeated French, despite Lyman's urgent pleas.

At the Councils of War held subsequent to the battle, General Lyman and the other staff officers urged strongly upon Johnson an attack on the retreating French. Johnson, still suffering from his painful, but not serious, wound, and as ever the soul of caution, refused to abide by their demands. He cited the shortage of waggons, supplies, and the need for reinforcements. This despite the fact that he now had all of Dieskau's papers which proved how few French must have remained at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The Indians returned to Albany to mourn their dead and Johnson called off the campaign and settled down to build a fort on Lake George. He constantly reported the danger of attack by a superior force "with artillery", despite the reports brought in by Rogers and his men to the contrary.

Johnson's report of the battle was sent to his superior officer, General Shirley, via Lieutenant Governor Phipps of Massachusetts who was in Boston. Shirley located at Oswego, heard of the engagement without a long delay because the report was intercepted, and because friends among the New England officers at Lake George wrote him directly. The essential role played by Lyman was completely omitted, and in fact a letter was permitted to reach the press which branded Lyman a coward in the face of the enemy. Shirley wrote Johnson from Oswego, urging him to attack at least Ticonderoga before winter set in, but Johnson was unmoved.

Rogers and his men made a number of intelligence trips during the remainder of the fall and reported there were relatively few French at either Ticonderoga or Crown Point until late in October, 1755. (50) William Livingstone in his defense of Shirley claimed that Dieskau's figures proved he had fewer than 800 of the original 1600 to 1800 troops who were able to return to Ticonderoga and Crown Point. (51) These, according to all reports, were completely disorganized. Johnson in a letter to Governor Hardy on September 16, 1755, reported the French losses at 400 dead plus several hundred wounded. This according to the figures available from Dieskau, would have meant there were fewer than 2000 available to Dieskau at both Ticonderoga and Crown Point together. Johnson had well over 3000 men who on the 10th of September were flushed with a well earned victory. The French, furthermore, had lost their Commander in Chief, his second in command and the great majority of the French Officers. (52) Rogers made a reconnaisance tour on the 24th of September, returning on October 4th, and reported their enemy at Crown Point totaled about 500. By October 7th he re-

ported there were 2000 men at Ticonderoga building a fort — the fort before which Abercromby suffered a costly defeat some months later — and in November Johnson reported he was in danger of attack by 8000 French across the lake from his camp. Rogers Reconnoitred the area and found none. (53).

Governor Hardy wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson in England on November 24th, 1775, justifying Johnson's failure to move following the Battle of Lake George. (54)

. . . I am informed it was expected that the Army when they first moved towards Lake George from Albany, would have carried as much Provisions and Stores as their Battoes could have conveyed, but am told the Waters of Hudson's River were then so low as made that impracticable, this delay before General Johnson was able to march I apprehend to be one principal cause why the Army did not move to Attempt the carrying the Expedition into Execution after the Arrival of Reinforcements.

These posts being so secured after the Arrival of the forces under Baron Dieskau, many of them assembled at Crown Point, leads me to believe, the Army under General Johnson . . . would have met with such a Reception that I doubt whether it would have been prudent for them to have made the attempt, for though it may appear . . . that the Army at Lake George, amounting to 6600 I must observe that the Army at the Camp never amounted to near that number, . . . By the Council of War of the 20th of October would have been 4000, . . . Scouts gave him intelligence that the Enemy were three thousand, besides a body at an advanced Post consisting of One Thousand, mostly Indians. . . .

It seems impossible to support Johnson's and Hardy's reasoning for the failure to complete the victory at Lake George. A study of the reports available on both the French and English sides, and an assessment of the figures as to the troops mustered by both Johnson and the French, lead to the conclusion that Johnson had an opportunity immediately following the Battle of Lake George to capture both Ticonderoga — not at that time even built as a fort — and Crown Point. His forces were superior, they were flushed with victory and had just proved themselves in battle. Johnson's report of insubordination and general fatigue do not square with the eager insistence of all his officers to pursue the French. There can be little doubt, from Dieskau's papers and from the toll taken of the French at the battle of September 8th, that they were demoralized. Governor Hardy's arguments quoted in the letter above, fit the situation before the battle, but not subsequent to it. His figures relating to the French forces are exaggerated, as he should have known from Dieskau's papers by then in English hands. He completely neglected Johnson's failure to act between September 9th and October 20th, the crucial period. However, Johnson' friends had done their work well. Johnson, as a result of the victory, was made a baronet and awarded a purse of 5000 pounds by George II.

Shirley, from his post at Oswego, pleaded with Johnson to advance on Crown Point if at all possible, but admitted he was viewing the scene from a distance. Johnson's officers were much more critical than was Shirley. Shirley wrote to Robinson on October 5, 1755, enclosing all the correspondence which had taken place between himself and Johnson; his own recommendations to Johnson, with the reasons for making them; and clearly set forth both his and Johnson's position in the matter of further attacks on the French forces. (55) Shirley permitted criticism of Johnson only as it appeared in his letters to Johnson and included accounts of Johnson's own officers to substantiate his stand. In no letter prior to the Battle of Lake George, which Shirley sent to England, did there appear any criticism of General Johnson. Shirley's correspondence with the Board of Trade and Sir Thomas Robinson,

Secretary of State for the Southern Colonies, repeatedly praised Johnson. Not until the failure to pursue the victory at Lake George, did Shirley permit his criticism of and differences with Johnson to go beyond his correspondence to Johnson himself. Letters from Shirley to London were written on June 20, 1755, on June 25, 1755, on August 11 and August 12, 1755 In none of these letters was there the slightest hint of criticism of Johnson.

The decision to recall Shirley was made in London in February of 1756, but the information did not reach Shirley and Johnson until May of that year. In addition to the criticism noted in the Johnson and Shirley controversy, Shirley was further criticized for his failure to attack Niagara in 1755; for the serious lack of supplies at Oswego early in the spring of 1756; and the failure to successfully fortify Oswego by the time of Montcalm's attack in August 1756. Only the first of these could have influenced London in the recall for it had already been made by the time information on the second and third charges could have reached the home government. These particular charges are not examined for they did not enter into the Johnson-Shirley conflict as such.

Only one conclusion is possible in the dispute between Shirley and Johnson. The evidence is overwhelming that General Shirley acted at all times in what he considered the best interests of the overall plans, plans which he had fought so hard to have accepted in England. Johnson appears to have been strongly influenced in his criticism of Shirley by his political associates; Wraxall, Thomas Pownall, and James deLancey primarily, and to some degree by his narrower view of the campaign, particularly that against Crown Point.

Bibliography In Connection With The Shirley - Johnson Controversy In The Seven Years' War

1. PRIMARY SOURCES—

O'Callaghan, Edmund B., ed., **Documents relating to the Colonial History the the State of New York,** (Albany, Weed-Parsons, 1861), Vols. VI, VII & X.

Documentary History of New York State, (Albany, Weed-Parsons, 1861), Vols I & IV.

Sullivan, James, & Flick, Alexander, eds., **The Sir William Johnson Papers,** University of the State of New York, (Albany, 1921-1953), Vols. I, II & IX.

Lincoln, Charles H., ed., **Correspondence of William Shirley,** Colonial Dames of America, (New York, Macmillan Co., 1912), Vols. I & II.

Livingstone, William, **A Review of Military Operations in North America from 1748—1756,** Reprinted in New Haven 1758, found in Charles Evans, **American Bibliography A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodicals Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 down to and including the year 1820,** (Chicago, Blakely Press, 1903—1955) found on Microprints at Syracuse University.

Smith, William, **History of the Late Province of New York from its discovery to the Appointment of Governor Colden in 1762,** (New York, first published in 1757, republished for the New York Historical Society, 1830), Vol II.

The Colden Papers 1748—1754, Vol IV of **New York Historical Society Collections 1920,** (New York, 1921).

Pargellis, Stanley McC., **Military Affairs in North America, 1748—1765,** Selected documents from the Cumberland Papers in Winsor Castle, (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936)

Statutes of New York Province,

found in Charles Evans, **American Bibliography**, on Microprint at Syracuse University.

Journal of Major Robert Rogers, (London, for the Author by J. Millan, MDCCLXV), On Microfilm at Syracuse Univ. Library.

Evans, Lewis, **Geographical, Historical, Political, Philosophical & Mechanical Essays**, (Philadelphia, for the Author, 1756), found in Evans, **American Bibliography**.

The New York Mercury, Microfilm No. 27, Reel 1, 1755, Syracuse University Library.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

Gipson, Lawrence H., **The British Empire Prior to the American Revolution, The Great War for Empire**, (New York, Alfred Knopf, (1936—1954). 7 Vols.

Vol VI **The Years of Defeat 1754—1757**

Vol VII **The Victorious Years 1757—1763**

Parkman, Francis, **France & England in North America**, (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., (1870—1896), 9 Vols.

Vol V. **A Half Century of Conflict**

Vol VII. **Montcalm & Wolfe**

Stone, William L., **Life & Times of William Johnson**, (Albany, J. Munsell, 1865)

Pound, Arthur, **Johnson of the Mohawks**, (New York, Macmillan Co., 1930)

Pargellis, Stanley McC., **Lord Loudoun in America**, Yale Historical Publications, Vol VII, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1933)

Winsor, Justin, **Narrative & Critical History of America**, (Boston & New York, Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1884—1889), 8 Vols.

III. ARTICLES

Thayer, Theodore, "The Army Contractors for the Niagara Campaign, 1755—1756", **The William & Mary Quarterly**, Third Series, Vol XIV, No. 1 (January, 1957), 31-47.

Footnotes

(31). William Livingstone, A Review of Military Operations in North America from 1748—1756. Reprinted in New Haven, 1758, found in Charles Evans, American Bibliography, No. 8163, on Microprint in the Syracuse University Library.

(32). Johnson to T. Pownall, 31 July, 1755, The Sir William Johnson Papers, I, 803-806.

(33). Writer's emphasis

(34). The writer has been unable to find any correspondence in which Johnson admitted this to any of his friends.

(35). The Sir William Johnson Papers, I, 813-816.

(36). IBid., pp 823-825

(37). Apparantly Banyar refers to General Shirley and to the danger of its reaching his ears through Cadwallader Colden, a member of the Council and close friend of Shirley.

(38). Ibid.

(39). The Reflector was suppressed in 1753, but Hugh Gaine of the New York Mercury was writing in defense of Shirley in his "Watchtower" column.

(40). Ibid., pp 853-856

(41). Ibid.

(42). Pownall to Johnson, Sept. 13, 1755, in The Sir William Johnson Papers, IX, 239.

(43). Pownall to Johnson, Ibid., pp 283-284.

(44). Johnson to Pownall, Ibid., pp 299-300.

(45). This meeting is noted in histories relating to that period, but I was able to find no primary evidence that it was held.

(46). Shirley to Johnson, 5 Feb., 1756, in The Sir William Johnson Papers, IX, 346-347.

(47). Johnson to Pownall, 4 Sept., 1755, Ibid., II, pp 9-11.

(48). Wraxall to James deLancey, in Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York,

ed. by O'Callaghan, VI, 1003.

(49). Reported in the New York Mercury, November 10, 1755, Microfilm No. 27, Reel 1, Syracuse University Library.

(50). Journal of Major Robert Rogers, (London) for the author by J. Millan, MDCCLXV.

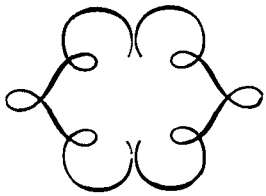
(51). A Review of Military Operations in North America, No. 8163 of Evans, American Bibliography, p. 14.

(52). O'Callaghan, X

(53). Journal of Major Robert Rogers.

(54). Hardy to Robinson (Board of Trade), Nov. 24, 1755, in The Sir William Johnson Papers, IX, 229-233.

(55). Letter, Shirley to Robinson, October 5, 1755 in Appendix V.



The One Hundred Forty-Seventh Regiment, New York Volunteers

(Presented by Mr. H. Edward Oram, March 17,1959)

The war was still going. Nearly eighteen months had elapsed and the North had not won the quick and easy victory that had been anticipated by so many.

A new call for 600,000 men came out of Washington. That meant that the recruiting doors were still open in the cities and hamlets of the North. Once more a regiment of men was to be recruited in Oswego County. This regiment would be commanded by Colonel Andrew S. Warner. The companies were recruited principally as follows: A, B, and I at Oswego; C at Richland, Albion and Williamstown, D at Fulton, Granby and Volney, E at Sandy Creek, Redfield, Boyleston and Orwell; F at Mexico, Palermo and New Haven, G at Oswego and Scriba, H at Constantia, Parish, Amboy and West Monroe, and K at Oswego, Scriba and Fulton. 1

The term of enlistment for men volunteering for this regiment was three years. These volunteers were sworn in on September 22 and 23, 1862 at Oswego. They left their place of muster 837 strong and wrote many glorious pages of history as they participated in such famous battles as Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Spotsylvania Court House and Appomattox.

One of these recruits was a young, country lad from New Haven, Francis M. Pease who was in Company F. He was probably typical of the men who answered their country's call. They went to do a job that had to be done. They went with enthusiasm, perhaps a spirit of high adventure, giving little thought to what terrifying days could possibly lay ahead. Training to be soldiers and military leader ship was something that they could rightfully expect. Both were sadly lacking.

The regiment left by train; journeyed to Syracuse and thence West to Seneca Lake, South by steamboat to Elmira, and on to Baltimore, Maryland. The regiment was equipped at Elmira. 2 Continuing their journey they arrived in Washington, D. C. on September 29th. Until the spring of 1863 the regiment moved about on the perimeter of Washington as a part of the capital's defense.

Training was ineffective, almost nil. The men spent most of their time on guard or fatigue duty. The officers were ineffective and indifferent. Perhaps one of the most unfortunate highlights was the regiment's participation in the Burnside "mud march" that resulted in disaster and demoralization. The entire Army of the Potomac participated, spending from four days according to some reports up to a week, exposed to chilling rains and sloughing through sticky mud. After the 147th returned to camp, scores of their men were prostrate with typhoid fever, pneumonia, dysentery and other complaints from which many never recovered. Forty-four men died in camp within the next two months. The colonel, four captains, and three of the lieutenants resigned between January 25 and February 4th. 3 These officers came to the realization that they were wholly unfit for military life and the trying ordeals of actual war. They were replaced by younger men from the ranks. Many soldiers apparently felt that the appointed officers were frequently inferior to many men in the ranks. 4 This weeding out process through resignation greatly improved the units.

The guard and fatigue duty continued while the unit was a part of Paul's Brigade, First Corps. On April 3rd the regiment was transferred to the Second Brigade which was commanded by General Cutler

and consisted of all well-seasoned veteran regiments. Drill and discipline had at last begun in earnest. The command of the 147th was now in the capable hands of Colonel J. G. Butler. His assistants included many experienced officers, and during the next thirty days transformed the regiment from its indifference and demoralization into one of the "best organizations" in the army. (5). Prior to the end of 1863, the men of this local regiment could boast of a unit whose reputation, military appearance and esprit de corps was excelled by few other regiments in the Union Army.

The first time that the 147th came under fire was on April 29th when Wadsworth's Division was en route to the Fredericksburg - Chancellorsville campaign. Upon arriving at the Rappahannock River, General Wadsworth found that the pontoon bridge had not been constructed. This was not unusual during the Civil War because it appeared that coordination was extremely difficult to effect among the units of the army. Rebel troops were dug in on the south side of the river and were continuously improving their position. A feat that General Lee's Army had mastered. A delay in crossing the river would give the Rebels the opportunity to build impregnable defenses. General Wadsworth recognizing this Rebel advantage, got into one of the pontoons and was rowed across the river to the cheers of 10,000 men. He kept a firm grip on the reins of his horse as the steed swam the river. Lead flew about his head and spattered the water onto his uniform, however with this tremendous display of courage, he was safely landed, mounted his horse and with a few men successfully assaulted the Rebel breastworks. Bridges were then readily constructed and the 147th crossed to have their first engagement with the enemy. A three day engagement ensued, known as the battle of "Pollock's Mill Creek". Six enlisted men were wounded; two of these men died and four recovered. These were the first real battle casualties. This was just the beginning of gallant fighting, untold punishment and a mounting roll of wounded and dead.

On May 2nd, the entire First Corps was hastily moved to the right of Chancellorsville to strengthen General Hooker's shattered lines. This campaign was apparently netting little as the Union Army soon pulled back. There were no casualties reported for the 147th Regiment. (6).

Now the movements of the Union Army depended upon the activity of the Army of Northern Virginia, commanded by General Robert E. Lee. Lee and his soldiers were making a big swing west of our nation's capitol and were headed for the North, driving directly toward the heart of Pennsylvania. The first corps began to move from their camp at Falmouth on June 12th and was paralleling Lee's northward movement. On the 28th of June, the 147th regiment was in the vicinity of Frederick, Maryland. It was here that General Wadsworth endeared himself to his troops by paying a farmer for his rail fence so that the troops might have fuel for fires to dry their rain-drenched uniforms and heat their coffee and rations.

On June 30, the 147th crossed into Pennsylvania and spent the night at Marsh Creek about 6 or 7 miles from the Rebels, a few miles from Gettysburg. On July 1st, the long roll sounded from the brigade headquarters. General Cutler, Brigade Commander, an early riser, had his tent packed and his horse saddled. The order was to pack up immediately and march. Men of the 147th started about 7 o'clock. The brigade led the march up the Emmitsburg Pike toward Gettysburg and the formation was as follows from right to left: 18 men of the 147th, under Sgt. H. H. Hubbard as headquarters guard, followed by the 76th New York Regiment, 56th Pennsylvania Regiment, the 147th commanded by Lt. Col. F. C. Miller, the 147th Regiment and the 95th Regiment.

When within a couple of miles of Gettysburg, shell bursts could be seen in the air. Orderlies with dispatches dashed past the regiment to the rear with the "en-

couraging intelligence" that "the Rebs were thicker than blackberries beyond the hill." Pioneers were ordered to the front, fences were thrown down and as the regiment passed into the fields near the Codori House. About this time the order passed down the line, "Forward, double-quick! Load at will!" This rapid forward movement lasted for some time. However the road became so crowded that a swift pace soon became impossible. Hall's Battery of artillery dashed past the regiment. The regiment climbed a fence and passed to the South of the Seminary and plunged headlong over a hill into a narrow valley between the Seminary and the McPherson House. The Fourteenth Brooklyn and the Ninty-fifth New York Regiments were moved to the front of the McPherson House. Colonel Miller having no orders, halted the regiment near the garden fence of the McPherson House and rode forward for orders. Now the artillery battery passed the regiment, crossed the Chambersburg Pike and went into position between the road and the railroad cut. Lt. Col. Miller returned and ordered the men by the flank to the right at a double-quick in rear of Hall's battery and were now in position on the third ridge. The regiment crossed the railroad bed and the moment the left of the regiment cleared it, the order came, "By the left flank, guide centre" The regiment was now in the line of battle moving toward the west. They were moving through a wheat field when the battle opened up on the right. Enemy bullets were flying thick and fast and wheat heads fell rapidly as the harvest of death continued. The regiment continued to advance in the nodding wheat until the left flank touched the railroad cut. The battle was now on in all its fierceness. Lt. Col. Miller received a head wound and his frightened horse carried him from the field.

The duty of command now fell on Major George Harney, and the battle continued. The firing of the enemy in the immediate front slackened but continued with new fury on the right. Several of the companies moved further to the crest of the ridge and discovered a line of Confederate skirminshers on their front firing on Hall's Battery. The regiment covered the advancing Rebels with fire while the battery pulled out along the Chambersburg Pike.

The battle was everywhere. First on the right and then on the left, the fight was fierce and hot. The air was full of lead. The 147th was supposed to have pulled out, however, the order was not received and they stayed and fought and died. Later, the division commander did get word to Major Harney to retreat. In retreat, many men got into the railroad cut. Here many died and others were captured, some retreated through the village. Major Harney assembled what was left of the regiment on the east slope of Seminary Ridge. After filling their canteens the regiment fought with Paul's Brigade in an attack on a Confederate Brigade. The shelling was too severe and the order came to retreat. Roll was called in the cemetery among the tombstones. The loss had been staggering yet the regiment was to see two more days of the same kind of fighting.

The Confederates made a fierce evening attack on Culp's Hill and the 147th was hurried to the right and down the hill to reinforce Green's Brigade, Twelfth Corps. Here they were engaged for over three hours and remained with Green's Brigade during the next day. The Confederates assualted the lines in wave after wave. The 147th continued to successfully repulse the many desperate attacks made on that part of the line. Just to give an idea of the intensity of the battle, it was estimated that by ten A. M., every man and officer had fired over 200 rounds of ammunition. The numerous Rebel soldiers lying out in front showed the effect of their marksmanship. This part of the fighting at Gettysburg has never been officially recognized, because in the confusion and desperate struggle to conduct the battle, no official report was turned in. Perhaps it was felt that little if any portion of the regiment

was remaining after the severe punishment of the first day. However many men from Oswego were in the fight and many letters from men relating their own experiences on the 2nd and 3rd of July attest to their part in this battle.

The Battle of Gettysburg was to the 147th Regiment its most notable one. Not only on account of its remarkable experience at the railroad cut, but it was on this battlefield that is sustained its largest number of casualties. It carried to the first line of battle, 380 men, of which it lost 76 in killed or mortally wounded and 144 wounded. Most of these men had fallen during the first half-hour of fighting on July 1. 7.

From Gettysburg, the movements of the regiment for the balance of the 1863 season were those of the First Corps. They included many long and forced marches and some skirmishing but no hard fighting. At Haymarket, on October 19, it lost a number of men captured on the picket line. It took part in the Mine Run campaign from November 26th to December 2nd. Here a few were lost but the greatest discomfort was from the cold and want of rations for the last two days.

From January 1 to May 4, 1864, the regiment was in camp near Culpepper Court House, Virginia. This was the most comfortable and healthful camp ever occupied by the regiment for any length of time. For the first and only time, its hospital had no occupants. 8. The huts of the men were all neatly constructed and covered with their shelter tents. Each hut contained a splendid "old-fashioned" fire place, which provided comfort but was also used to do the cooking. 9.

The First Corps was merged with the Fifth Corps. On May 4th, the 147th moved across the Rapidan and participated in the opening battles of the Wilderness. They sustained severe losses in killed and wounded. There were 171 total casualties including 27 enlisted men and one officer killed or mortally wounded. 10. Colonel Miller fell severly wounded and would have been cremated, except that he was recognized and carried off the field by officers of the Seventh Indiana Regiment, who as prisoners were being taken over the burning ground, where he lay unconscious.

On the 6th, the gallant General Wadsworth, commanding the division was killed on the front line with the 147th while urging them on and encouraging the men, saying, "Steady, boys! go ahead; there isn't danger enough to harm a mouse!" He had hardly uttered these words when he was tumbled from his horse mortally wounded.

Through the whole month of May the regiment was under fire nearly every day, taking an active part in the battles of Piney Branch Church, Laurel Hill, Bloody Angle, Spotsylvania, North Anna and Bethesda Church. The work of the month of May 1864 was the severest ever endured by the regiment as it was almost constantly in the immediate presence of the enemy, and half the time under skirmish, artillery or infantry fire.

With the battle of Cold Harbor, June 3rd and the skirmish of Bottom's Bridge, June 7th, the regiment concluded its operations north of the Chickahominy. On June 16th it crossed the James River, and joined in the long and tedious siege of Petersburg. Here the regiment was continuously under fire and suffered losses daily in wounded and killed.

August 18th, with the balance of the Fifth Corps, it moved to the left and fought at the battle of the Weldon Railroad, near the Yellow House, August 19 - 21.

The regiment had a most peculiar and trying experience during this so-called Weldon Railroad raid. After the capture of the railroad, the line was surprised and the center broken. Hofmann's Brigade, which included the One hundred forty-seventh, was on the left of the gap and apparently cut off. Seeing its peril, Colonel Hofmann sent an aide to withdraw his command. He had to go a long distance under fire and only delivered his order to the right regiment, with the imprudent injunction to "Pass it down the line." This was

not done; consequently but one regiment retired. General Warren, from a distance, mistaking the three regiments for the enemy, opened a battery on them. They were successfully resisting the enemy in front and flank, but the shelling from friends was killing more men than the bullets of the enemy. For a few moments, until the battery discovered its error, the men of the 147th were jumping first to one side and then the other of the breastworks. However the failure of the staff officer to deliver his orders resulted in holding possession of the road, which was the main object of the expedition and battle. This was the second experience of the kind for the 147th and recalled Gettysburg, where the failure to receive orders to retire from McPherson's Ridge had compelled them, at great sacrifice, to remain and continue an uneven and desperate fight, which resulted in disaster to the enemy in the loss of a large portion of Davis' Brigade, delayed and broke up Lee's advance division, gaining valuable time and secured to General Meade the advantageous field of Gettysburg upon which to fight the great battle of the war.

September 30th, the One Hundred Forty-seventh participated in the battle of Peeble's Farm, and assisted in the capture of two newly-built forts. The regiment having been used as a decoy for the enemy, lost quite a number of prisoners, but no lives.

At Hatcher's Run, October 27th and 28th, it lost none in killed but a few prisoners, who were captured in endeavoring to find and make connections with advancing lines. This number included Colonel George Harney, a loss severely felt by the regiment. After the Hicksford or Second Weldon Railroad raid, December 6 - 11, which was remarkable for the cold and suffering endured, the regiment returned and went into camp near Petersburg where for some time nothing of importance occurred.

February 5, 1865, the regiment again advanced by way of Dinwiddie Court House to Hatcher's Run where in a three day battle the corps fought a most desperate battle, consisting of several engagements. The 147th sustained severe loss. In this battle the regiment fought near Dabney Mill, rendering such notably good service many officers and men received flattering commendations. Several of the officers were further rewarded by promotion or by citation for gallant and meritorious service.

On March 25th the regiment was on the road before daylight to go to the relief of Fort Stedman which had been surprised and captured in the night. Recapture was effected early in the morning. In the afternoon the division was reviewed by President Lincoln and marched directly from the field of review towards the enemy, who had opened fire on the lines during the review.

On the 29th of March began the closing campaign and about sunset of that day the regiment with the 56th Pennsylvania made a gallant attack and captured White Oak Ridge with little loss. On the 31st, it suffered most severely in the tangled woods and swamp while attempting to take the White Oak Road. It took part in the famous battle of Five Forks and from that time on was constantly on the move in pursuit of the enemy. To the bitter end, the 147th was on the line and when the white flag went down the lines at Appomattox, there they were. Two years of bitter fighting with terrible losses of comrades and friends had taken the edge off victory.

After a good rest, the 147th marched leisurely overland to Washington. Here they participated in the Grand Review and were mustered out of the United States service at Bailey's Cross Roads on June 7th 1865. Returning to Syracuse, they were mustered out of service on July 7th. The job they set out to do had been finished. The cost was high; 837 had left Oswego, 147 came home. Several were crippled or maimed for life. The ranks of the 147th had been filled several times during the war. On the muster rolls of the regiment were nearly two thousand three hundred names.

Copy of a letter written by Francis M. Pease, Private, Co. F, 147th Regt., from West Chester Pa., just after the battle of Gettysburg.

West Chester, Penn.
July 7th, 1863.

Dear Friends at Home:

I now take the opportunity after so long a time of writing a few lines to you to let you know how I am getting along and how I came away up here in Penn. My health is good and has been since last I wrote to you that was when we was in old camp near Falmouth Va. We have made a very long and hard march since then of nearly 200 miles and I have not had much time to write. The last letter I recd from you was dated June 14th. I got it June 21st and was very glad to hear from home but was scrry to hear that Mothers and Grandma's health's was poor.

I was then near Leesburg, Va. I have received all of your mail up to that time since then I have rec'd none. Well we left old camp June 12th marched to Warrenton Junction from there on up to Manassas Junction crossed Bull Run Creek near the battle ground. Went through Centerville marched up near Leesburg. Here we lay a day or two. Started on the 25th of June crossed the Potomac River on pontoon bridge and went into Md. Marched through Poolesville and Barnesville a nice town also Greenville and Adamstown, Jefferson Village and Middletown. We also passed by Frederick City Maryland passed through a place called Thomkins Furnace also a large town called Emitsburg.

I think I never saw so fine a country in my life as that we have marched through since we came in Md. Such fields of wheat was a sight. I saw thousands of acres and it all looked very even and stout. Some of it they have cut. June 30th crossed the line today and went into Penn. Here we stay two days and muster for the next 2 months pay. The Rebels lay up near Gettysburg about 6 or 7 miles from here.

July 1st we was ordered in the morning to pack up immediately and march. We started about 7 o'clock. When we got within a couple of miles from Gettysburg off to the south of the town we saw two or three shells burst in the air. This was the Rebs shelling our Cavalry which was on ahead. We began to think that there was fighting close by. We was ordered to load our pieces which we did. We was then ordered on a double quick. We went so for some ways. The road was so crowded that we could run but part of the way. The horses of the artillery was now on the run. The Reb cannon balls soon began to hum over our heads some pretty close. Our batterys soon began to return the fire. As we came up in a little hollow we was ordered to lay down. The cannon balls flew over our heads pretty thick some of which struck just behind us and made the dirt fly fiercely. We was soon ordered to raise up and march by the right flank off to our right. We marched forward some 40 or 50 rods.

We then left flanked that was coming to a front in two ranks. We now for the first came in full sight of the Rebs. They were not more than 30 or 40 rods off and their colors flying. We was now ordered to get down or partly lay down and commence fire which we did very briskly. The old 147 Regt. N.Y.V. sent volley after volley of balls into the Rebs. The balls whistled round our heads like hail. The men very soon began to fall very fast and many wounded. There was a corporal by the name of Franklin Halsey of Mexico, was shot dead through the head. He stood right by my side to my left. We fought for some 15 or 20 minutes when the Rebels flanked us on our right and commenced to advance on us in large numbers. The fire was very rapid from both sides. We got no orders to retreat until the Rebs got up very close. We then was ordered to retreat which we did at a fast rate. We left an awful sight of dead and wounded on the field as we retreated. We got into an old railroad ravine and was going along as fast as we could but not very for the road was crowded. Besides there was a good many wounded men that had hobbled along and got into the ravine. The Rebels

balls whistled over the ravine like hail. Soon the Rebels came up each side of the bank in large numbers and we had to throw down our arms and surrender our selves up to them as their prisoners. We was then marched to the rear for a distance of one or two miles and put under guard. Well that was the first time that ever I was put under guard. When they marched the prisoners all back that had been taken in this first engagement I found there was about 60 from our regt. that was prisoners. There were Horace Cheever, Chester Drake, Christopher Avery, Benjamin Baker and myself. Baker was shot through the arm. James Darrow belonging to Com. G was prisoner with us. Our Lieut. of our Co. Commanding our Co. was either killed or wounded. Corporal Halsey of Mexico shot dead. Martin Richardson of Palermo killed. Henry Mayo killed of Palermo. Jack Church of Palermo was wounded also Jabe Spaulding of New Haven wounded. All of these was from our Co. Co. F some others both killed and wounded that I did not learn their names. When we was in battle I did not look round much to see who was shot or who was wounded. The balls would buzz by my ears like bees. I experted every minute some of them would hit me but as good luck would have they did not. I did not get so much as a scratch. A good many of the boys of our regt. that are prisoners are wounded some slightly. The rest of the Scriba boys besides Jim Darrow I do not know anything about but I did not hear as they were hurt.

There was also a Sergt. of our Co. by the name of Wm. Edmonds badly wounded. One of our assistant surgeons of our Regt. Dr. Stillman was taken prisoner but they won't keep him on acct. of his being a doctor. I heard, I expect it is true, that our Lieut. Col. Com'd. the Regt. Miller of Oswego was killed. Our Major Harney was shot through the arm and it had to be taken off. Major Gen. Reynolds commanding our corps was wounded soon after the fight commenced mortally so that he died in a little while. While our Rgt. lost a great many men killed and wounded in the first days fight. When we went into the fight we was over 400 strong, and I know well enough that the Regt. must be reduced more than half what they have been in, since the first day I know nothing about. We was taken prisoners about 10 o'clock I should think in the forenoon.

I saw a number of Rebel Generals after I was taken prisoner. I saw old Gen. Lee, Gen. Longstreet, also Gen. James Lane. Lee is a smart looking old chap and is grey as a rat. He wears a long grey beard. The fight continued all day the first of July where we fit was south of Gettysburg. The Rebs finally drove our men so they took possesion of Gettysburg.

July 2nd: The Rebs dealt out rations to us to day fresh beef and a pound of flour apiece. They also let us have their pots to boil our meat and their bake kettles to bake our dough after we had got it wet up which we did with some old dishes they furnished us with we wet it up with cold water and salt only and put it in the bake kettles and baked it. After it was done I took a biscuit cut it open I thought to myself it would make good whetstones but rather poor bread. But we was hungry so we ate it very well. We have been used to getting some very nice bread coming up through Md. and Penn. The battle continued July 2nd all day. There are some 1500 or 1800 prisoners in the squad that I am in and enough to make up the no. 2500 or 4000 in another squad and they are nearly all from the first army corps. Our corps is pretty well used up as it was in the first engagement and lost so many in killed and wounded and such a large no. of prisoners taken by the Rebels. Our Regt. fought the 42nd Regt. Miss. Vols and some of the 42nd boys that guarded us after we was taken to the rear, said they never saw a regt. stand and fight any better than ours did. The Rebs. are a tough looking set of men but they have not much uniform. The clothes they have are nearly all grey but all kinds of grey some snuff color some have caps some hats some straw some

woolen all kinds. Their guns do not look near as nice as ours. They have a large amount of artillery.

July 3: The fight is still going on today very hard. We saw a great deal of their wounded as they fell back to the rear near where we were. There was terrible heavy cannonading heard all day the 2nd. We was paroled the 3rd day of July, took oath not to take up arms against the Confederate States until we were properly exchanged as prisoners. Along in the P. M. we were started on a march under a flag of truce towards Carlisle to be delivered up to our forces a distance of 20 miles or more. We marched some 5 or 6 miles and stopped for the night.

July 4th: This morning we passed through Benderville. Here the people brought out plenty of good victuals for us to eat which we took in our hands and marched along. We marched to within 8 or 9 miles of Carlisle and met a lot of our cavalry. We was then delivered over to our forces. The Rebel Guard which was a number of the 17th Va. Cavalry then went back with their flag of truce. Here came up a very hard rain or thunder shower and lasted for 2 or 3 hours. Had Cheever, Chet, Drake and myself humped up under our rubber blankets side of the fence but we got nicely soaked. But that was no more than we was used to. While we were with the Rebs we was treated well as prisoners. We had the same kind of rations as they have themselves. They are a determined set and have more confidence in their general as a general thing than what we do. Well some of the men went into Carlisle on the night of the 4th. I stayed at Holleyville all night some 5 or 6 miles from Carlisle.

July 5th: This morning we started for Carlisle. On the road we met Ret. after Regt. of N. Y. Militia men out for 20 days. Arrived in Carlisle about 11 o'clock. Here the Rebs burnt the R. R. bridge and destroyed some buildings but a short time ago. Got on the cars and left Carlisle for Harrisburg at 12 o'clock noon arrived in Harrisburg at 1 o'clock stayed there for ½ an hour. We are now to be sent to West Chester to go into Parole Camp. Left Harrisburg half past 1 o'clock passed through Middletown. Halted at Banebridge passed through Marietta. Halted at Columbia. Halted at Lancaster passed through Leaman Place and also Christiania. Halted at Parkesburg passed through Steamboat. We arrived at West Chester at 8½ o'clock P. M. This is a large and splendid town and about 30 miles from Philadelphia. The wounded was stopped in town where they was well cared for while we went up to Parole Camp about ½ mile from the Depot. It is on an old fair ground and makes a fine camp. We have good news from the Battle ground. Our forces are whipping and driving Lee. He is retreating as fast as he can. We think it will be almost impossible for him to cross the Potomac as it is very high and we have destroyed his pontoons. I will send you to days Phil. Inquirer which is full of news. There was a telegraph dispatch came into town today that Vicksburg surrendered to Gen. Grant July 4th. If so things look very encouraging. You need not direct any more letters to the Regt. till I tell you to as I would not get them. Direct your next to my name West Chester, Chester Co. Penn. I want you to answer this letter as soon as possible to let me know how you are getting along. I kept my knapsack, tent and rubber blanket and have it now. Horace Chet, and myself tent together. There is a little prospect of our having a chance to get furloughs to go home when we get camp organized etc. If so I shall get one if possible and come home. I send my best respects to you all, to all of the neighbors and to the boys in the shop. Tell them that I have been in one big fight and that we gave the Johnny Rebs as we call them the best the shop afforded. Write soon if but a few lines and write all the news. This is all at present.

Your Truly
Francis M. Pease

(The Oswego Daily Palladium reprinted this letter on April 11, 1898 with following caption: "He Fought At Gettysburg. A Letter That Was

Written on the Field.")

An Oswego Soldier, Who Went Out with the Gallant 147th Regiment Wrote to His People of Some of the Horrors of War --- Was in the Thick of the Fight.

The following letter, written upon the field of battle after the three day's fight at Gettysburg, thirty-five years ago, is one of the relics of the late war highly prized by Mrs. Hiram P. Dutcher, of 106 East Sixth Street. The writer, Mr. Frank M. Pease, was Mrs. Dutcher's husband, and a private in the famous 147th Regiment, New York Volunteers, that went out from Oswego County. He was a resident of the town of Scriba, and though long since dead, is remembered by many of the residents of that town as of Oswego as well. The letter was posted at West Chester, July 7th, 1863, as is as follows:")

* * * * *

1. Frederick Phisterer, compiler, New York in the War of the Rebellion, p. 3705.
2. Francis M. Pease, personal diary.
3. New York at Gettysburg, p. 1005
4. Gifford D. Mace, Letter, dated January 28, 1863, Belle Plain, Virginia, soldier in 147th Regiment.
5. New York at Gettysburg, p. 1106.
6. Frederick Phisterer, Loc. Cit.
7. Ibid.
8. New York at Gettysburg, loc. cit.
9. Letter, Oswego Daily Palladium March 9, 1864.
10. Phisterer, loc. cit.

Walter Stewart and the 184th Regiment, New York Volunteers

(Presented by Mr. Joseph Nero, March 17, 1959)

The 184th Regiment, New York Volunteers, owed its inception to President Lincoln's call for five hundred thousand troops on July 18, 1864. The great Civil War had already taken thousands of lives, and General Grant's ceaseless pounding against Richmond was exhausting the reserves. Oswego County's share was one regiment, or about 1200 men. They might be recruited through the enlistment of volunteers, but should this means fail, it would be necessary to invoke the unpopular draft.

The Honorable, Elias Root, Chairman of the local War Committee, initiated the action with a series of meetings in the villages and towns across the County. That he was hopeful that bounties would play a key role in attracting the recruits is evident in the following advertisement which appeared in the county papers:

1,000 Volunteers Wanted

OSWEGO COUNTY MUST AVOID THE DRAFT

$700 Bounty for One Year

Pay - $16.00 per month with rations and clothing.

VOLUNTEERS

will be received at any of the recruiting offices in the County and will be paid bounty on being accepted by the Provost Marshall.

Elias Root, Chairman War Committee Oswego County.

The $700 bounty, in might be noted, included $100 from the Federal Government, $300 from the County, and $300 from the City.

With an assist from the bounties, recruiting proceeded briskly in the City, and in six weeks the quota was filled. Elsewhere it moved more slowly, but the threat of the draft eventually filled the ranks. With success assured, Wardwell G. Robinson was named commander with the rank of Colonel.

After a brief sojourn at Fort Ontario the regiment moved by companies to Elmira the rendezvous center: Company A, August 30; B, August 31; D and F, September 5. Transportation to Syracuse was supplied by the Oswego and Syracuse Railroad. Other companies followed a few weeks later.

Among the members of Company D was Walter D. Stewart of Oswego. He had been born in England, in Lancashire, on September 12, 1847. At the age of eight he emigrated to America with his family and settled in Oswego. William Stewart, Walter's father, developed a florist business on Sheldon Avenue and later on West Second Street at Albany Street, where the business flourished for a number of years. Walter did not work as a florist as a young man, but followed the machinist trade as an apprentice. At seventeen, however, he left it to become a soldier.

Through Walter's letters it is possible to follow the story of companies A, B, D and F. After arriving in Syracuse, the companies continued by rail to Binghamton. During the night the men either slept in their cramped quarters or carried on loud, boisterous conservations with laughter and singing. The general feeling of the group was a happy one. But guard duty was not over-looked. Men were stationed at each car door for an hour of duty. Arriving at Binghamton about five a. m. on the 6th of September, they awaited transfer to Elmira. No one was allowed to leave the train or to enter it except a baker with his goods. They resumed their ride at noon and arrived in Elmira late that afternoon.

Companies A, B, D, and F remained at Elmira until about September 13; whence they proceeded

to Washington, arriving on September 16. After a night at the Soldiers' Rest, they marched to Fort Corcoran on Arlington Heights, just across the Potomac from the Capital. Here they received rubber blankets, tents, guns, forty rounds of ammunition and other accoutrements.

About September 23 these companies were forwarded from Fort Corcoran by train to Harper's Ferry, and marched to Bolivar Heights near by. Here they became a part of a provisional brigade commanded by Colonel Heine. Then about 3 P. M. on September 27 they struck tents and proceeded to a camp site near Winchester, Virginia, a hike of 22 miles. A few days later they continued their march and camped near Strasburg twenty-two miles distant. Two days later took them to Mount Jackson, about twenty-five miles; and by October 1 they were camped at Harrisonburg, another thirty-five miles south. This forced march up the Shenandoah Valley required many hours of guard duty since they accompanied a supply train destined for General Sheridan's army there. During the entire march the detachment viewed unaccustomed sights: Burning barns, houses, mills and stacks of hay, presumably fired by Federal cavalry as a part of Sheridan's "scorched-earth" policy. On Sunday, October 2, the troops enjoyed a day of rest, though cleaning and polishing absorbed most of the hours. Food was abundant here, and they enjoyed fresh pork and mutton procured by the units escorting the wagon train, who had foraged the neighboring countryside. Song and jest was heard about the campfires; others busied themselves writing letters to the loved ones at home.

The next day, without prior notice, the brigade began a forced march back to Winchester. They escorted a large group of refugees, white and colored, some on foot and others in all sorts of vehicles. There were also Confederate prisoners and droves of sheep, horses and cattle. After several days of hard marching they made camp near Winchester.

A week later, on October 12, the brigade again headed southward to Front Royal and a rendezvous with Sheridan's army. Here they were attached to the First Brigade, Third Division of the Sixth Army Corps.

On October 14 the Brigade left Front Royal, destined it was supposed, for Petersburg. However, enroute, General Sheridan suspended the order, and a countermarch began. Camp was made that night at Millwood. At 3:00 a. m. the next morning the bugle call "fall in" sounded and they set off on a forced march through woods, fields, ditches and across stone fences for 16 miles until Newton was reached. After a short rest the march was renewed through Middletown and thence to Cedar Creek. The position of this camp was in the low hills behind a little stream just north of Strasburg.

A period of uncertainty followed. Finally Sheridan took off for Washington to resolve the matter.

Meanwhile, General Early of the Confederate Army was camped below Cedar Creek with some 15,000 men in an area which had been thoroughly ransacked by the Federal troops. They were on short rations. Early on October 19 in the misty dawn the Confederates attacked the well stocked Federal camp, taking them completely by surprise. Routed from their tents and their campfires where some were preparing breakfast, they retreated in disorder, and Early occupied their camp site which was strewn with baggage.

While all this was taking place Sheridan was enroute from Washington to Winchester. As he rode up the valley he picked up sounds of continued firing. Soon he witnessed a wagon train in complete disorder. He also saw stragglers from his corps which he had left at Cedar Creek. Riding hard, he shouted, "Come on men; turn about, and we will be in our own camp tonight." His confidence electrified his men, who turned about and reformed. In the ensuing conflict General Early was routed, and the Sixth Corps billeted that night on their former camp grounds at Cedar Creek.

Incidentally, Sheridan's ride has never lost its luster, and it remains one of the most colorful incidents of the war.

Companies A, B, D, and F of the 184th Regiment lost one officer and five enlisted men, killed, and thirty-eight wounded.

Three weeks after the battle they broke camp and marched to Camp Russell near Winchester. Here they did guard and picket duty until December 3.

And how was Walter Stewart faring, meanwhile? He wrote of picket duty and of their losses in equipment in their retreat from Cedar Creek. The boys made the best of a bad situation, he noted, by sharing tents and blankets. They were watchful for supplies, and most of all for mail.

Then, with out warning, Walter was stricken by a fever. Obtaining relief from picket duty for medical attention, he was confined to his tent. Pills and castor oil failing to restore him, he was taken to a field hospital, where his illness was diagnosed as typhoid fever. After spending some days here lying on the cold brick floor, he was carried by ambulance to the Frederick City Hospital in Maryland. It was a harrowing experience, which he later pieced together from bits furnished by the nurses. It is interesting to note that while he was gravely ill, he expressed concern for his family, and suggested that they take money from his savings account if needed for food and clothing for the younger children.

In a letter written on January 3, 1865 he described the hospital. He was impressed with the cleanliness; the thirty beds on the two sides of the long room reminding him of long snow drifts. As his appetite returned he enjoyed the food. A dinner menu included: two pieces of meat, two slices of bread, rice, cooked apples, milk and a pint of soup. His report of the daily routine noted: breakfast at 8 a. m., the doctor's visit at 10:00; dinner at 12:00; inspection at 3:00 p. m., and supper at 6:00. Time in between was taken up with chequers, cards, dominoes, and reading from a "good library."

After a lengthy recuperation at the hospital, he was dispatched to his company, which had been transferred from the Shenandoah Valley to Harrison's Landing on the James River below Richmond. He arrived there on March 13, 1865.

It will be recalled that Companies A, B, D, and F departed for Virginia without waiting for the other companies in their regiment. The latter entrained for Baltimore on September 16, 1864, and shortly thereafter proceeded to Bermuda Hundred near City Point, on the James River in Virginia. City Point was the principal base of supplies for the Federal forces now converging on Richmond and Petersburg. Upon their arrival these six companies performed camp, guard, vidette and picket duty. Scouting parties, company and battalion drills, and inspections an dress parades provided variety.

It is of interest to observe how the long separated companies of the 184th finally reunited. On December 5, 1864 while companies A, B, D, and F were being transported up the James River they passed the camp of the other companies. Spotting their comrades they let out a shout with sufficient volume to arouse the interest of Colonel McKinley, who investigated. Learning their identity, he appealed to General Grant that they be united, and the request was duly honored.

The regiment remained at Harrison's Landing until the surrender of Lee, and for some weeks thereafter. At length they boarded transports for Baltimore, and proceeded from that point by rail to Elmira. The following day, July 4, found them in Syracuse. Eight companies were paid and mustered out on July 12; the others two days later. Special trains returned them to their homes in Oswego County.

A few words about Walter Stewart through the years following the war. His fever left him almost totally deaf. He worked for several years with the Bay State Iron Works, Noble and Hall Founders, machinists and boiler makers in Erie, Pennsylvania. He later returned to Oswego and entered the florist business with his father. On November 15, 1871 he married

Maria L. Brooman. When his father died in 1880 he took over the business, and in 1882 moved to the present site of the Stewart Greenhouses on West Cayuga Street. As a florist for a half-century he combined a deep love for flowers with a skill in growing them. He produced a number of new varieties. He was naturally adept in arranging flowers and won a widespread reputation for his artistry. Death ended the career of this soldier and florist on February 17, 1931.

"This Is God's War: An Oswego County Boy Interprets the Civil War"

(Presented by Mr. John Demos, May 19, 1959)

Francis G. Barnes was a resident of Phoenix, Oswego County, New York. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was thirty years of age. He was married to Frances Gilbert Barnes and the father of two girls. He enlisted as a private in the Twenty-first Independent Battery, which was recruited in the Phoenix area, in the fall of 1862. The battery left New York for Louisana early in 1863, and spent several months with the army of occupation at New Orleans. In May and June they participated in the siege of Port Hudson.

Barnes was later stricken with Malaria and sent home on leave. Returning to his battery he was discharged so that he might accept a commission as Second Lieutenant in the Eighth Regiment of the Corps d' Afrique, recruited among the freed slaves of Louisiana. Subsequently, he was transferred back to the Twenty-first Battery with the rank of Frst Lieutenant.

The article is based upon some seventy letters written by Barnes to his wife.

Editor

Broadly speaking, there were two ways in which Francis Barnes brought his religion directly to bear on the Civil War. He applied it to interpreting the War as a whole, to the momentous issues which were said to be at stake. And he used it to explain and render less harsh the tragedies of his own personal situation in this great national conflict. To a very substantial degree, his thinking in both respects was formulated as he went along. His rationalizing about the War and his own place in it came AFTER he enlisted, and thus took shape only gradually and somewhat unsystematically.

Barnes seems to have had two general ways of looking at the War — which he adopted alternately, as circumstances dictated. One of these may be very briefly summarized as follows: The South alone is at fault in this War; the sole purpose of the whole business is to punish and 'purge' the South; God is working with the North to achieve this purpose.

Barnes expressed this kind of view in January of 1863, when he declared that "I want to go somewhere where I can be of service in wiping out this cursed rebellion . . . (I want) to help bury it so deep that neither the Secesh, or their father the Devil, can ever resurrect it . . . I firmly believe that, **God fighting our battles for us,** we as a nation shall soon emerge into the pure light of peace, purified from our stains and healed of all our infirmities." Barnes gave vent to similar sentiments in another letter three months later. "It is high time," he wrote, "that we were striking heavy, telling blows at this monstrous iniquity, for there seems to be but little sense in protracting so suicidal a contest . . , I have no fears as to the final result, none at all. We have God and the right on our side, and 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' It may be a question of time, but 'truth is mighty and will prevail." And in November ,1864, Barnes interpreted the re-election of Lincoln as an event ordained by God, to accomplish the following purpose: "Secession now knows that it must cave in and come back repentent, or experience the deathhug . . . Providence and the free men of the North have so willed it."

This sense of God (and 'the right') being on the side of the Union, 'fighting our battles for us,' was very widespread among religious people in the North. For evidence of this I would refer you to a book called **The Attitude of the Northern Clergy Toward The**

South, 1860-65, written by a man named Mr. Chester O. Dunham. Dunham has assembled a huge number of clerical pronouncements on the War, the great majority of which violently condemn the south and proclaim the moral rectitude of the Northern stand. Perhaps one example will suffice for the present — the simple declaration by the Congregational Conference of Massachusetts (September, 1864) that "we believe God is on our side and will give us in due time full and crowning success."

If Barnes agreed with the bulk of Northern clergymen to this extent, he did NOT go so far as to enumerate the specific 'sacred' causes for which, according to the ministers, the North was supposed to be fighting. In their eyes the Federal government itself was a Divinely-ordained institution, the Constitution a Divinely-inspired document, and Negro slavery a sin, an obomination before God . . . Francis Barnes seems to have possessed no such views. In his letters the Negro question is never discussed in a religious context — he does not speak of the "higher law" which was thought to require abolition; and when he supports the plan to use Negro troops in the Union Army, he does so purely on grounds of expediency (it will help the Northern war-effort), rather than in terms of religious imperatives.

There can be no question, however, that Barnes did associate the South with 'sinfulness' and 'iniquity' — in a more general kind of way. His most frequently-used metaphor in discussing the proper Northern treatment of the South is that of "purification," of "purging." At one point he frames this idea in medical terminology and expands on it at some length: "Violent diseases require, often-times, rough remedies and harsh treatment, and God knows that I believe in physicking this Southern Confederacy till it shall be thoroughly purged from its manifold iniquities and in condition to begin to grow strong and healthy. Lead pills are just what will do the job in time, if taken in sufficient doses. Give it to 'em allopathically, and they will come out all right. Thank Heaven they are getting pretty good doses from Sherman. Grant will give Lee a purge one of these days that will make him see stars."

In interpreting the War in this medical way, Barnes was mirroring an attitude held by many of his fellow-Northerners. Among Yankee soldiers it was only natural that the South's sinfulness should be conceived in terms of disease - because so many of their number were actually afflicted with disease while fighting there. A leading authority on the Union Army has calculated that: "In the Federal forces four persons died of sickness for every one killed in battle, and deaths from disease were twice those resulting from all other known causes." Malaria, diarrhea, and dysentery were perhaps the most common of the ailments (particularly among those soldiers who campaigned in the swamplands of eastern Virginia and along the Gulf coast); and Barnes suffered from at least the first two of these. It was probably his own illness that inspired Barnes' elaborate "purge" analogy.

But the popular conception of the War - which saw God fighting together with the North simply to purge the iniquitous South - was not the only one to which Lieut. Barnes subscribed. At times he leaned away from this relatively narrow view toward something considerably broader. The 'broader' notion differed from the one already discussed in postulating some more general purpose for the conflict than just the punishment or purging of the South — a purpose with a reference to the whole country, to the North as well as the South. The difference between the two conceptions is, to some extent, illustrated by a paralell difference in the phrases which Barnes used to refer to the War. When expounding view No. 1 (the narrow one), he was wont to call it "this wicked uprising;" when arguing view No. 2 (the broad one), he chose to employ, instead, "this miserable war."

"This miserable war" still involved punishment of the South,

but it recognized more explicitly - and tried to explain - the fact that the North was absorbing some punishment, too. At first Barnes tended to be rather vague about just what God's purpose with respect to the North might be; but as time passed, he evolved some more specific ideas on the matter. In May, 1864 he wrote of the way in which "this war was necessary to bring us to our national senses;" but it was in a letter written the following December that he developed this thought most clearly: "If the War have only the effect to make us who are in the army and those we leave behind better understand and appreciate e a c h other, and the blessings and privileges of peace, it will have accomplished a great work. We had lived so long in a state of uninterrupted quiet that we had forgotten to be thankful, and we needed just such a shock to awaken us to a realization of our comforts." It is worth noting, in passing, that Barnes used very similar reasoning to explain to himself the **p e r s o n a l** tragedy of a keenly-felt separation from wife and family (This is a subject that we'll be discussing in more detailed fashion later on).

This broader view of the War - emphasizing the dual purpose of purifying the South of iniquity and of "shocking" the North into a proper appreciation of "our comforts" — is best understood when set in the context of Burnt-Over District Millenial concern. Prof. Cross has carefully traced the growth of this phenomenon in upstate New York, through the revival "ultraism" of the 1830's to his maturation in movements like Millerism and the "Oneida experiment" in the 40s. Although the extreme forms of millenialism had been largely discredited well before 1860, something of the old feeling doubtless survived. Millenialists had built their faith around a conception of history whose three basic parts were the following: (1) a time of sinfulness, followed by (2) some event - usually very abrupt and violent in nature - which prepared the faithful for the "new life" to come; and (3) the establishment of the millenium. The analogy between this formula and Barnes' 'broad view' of the War should be obvious. His idea of "national purification" is clearly related to the old notions of individual (and community) purification prior to the advent of the Kingdom. And the post-war period corresponds to the millenium. This analogy is legitimate, I think, even if Barnes did not expect completely Utopian conditions after the War's end. At very least he foresaw great improvement over the pre-1860 situation; and the really significant thing is that he looked on the War as a process whose internal structure bore a clear resemblance to the traditional millenial framework.

With respect to the relative merits of the narrow and the broad views of the War, two things need to be said. The narrow view was better able to minister to the patriotic, and also to the vindictive feelings in Frank Barnes. Here it had a clear advantage . . . However, the broader conception was better adapted to explain the great length of the War, and the suffering and death of Northern soldiers. For if God's purpose in this War were simply to whip the South, there was, as Barnes noted, "but little sense in protracting so suicidal a contest." Why not, in that case, get the job done with; why exact such a toll of misery from the North, as well as the Confederacy?

In lieu of these considerations, it is not surprising that Barnes tended to adopt the narrow view when most angered at the South, or whenever the prospects for a speedy Northern victory looked good; and the broader one when the Union cause seemed bogged down. In neither case, however, did he ever contemplate any other end to the hostilities than a complete triumph for the North.

Lieut. Barnes came in contact with individual members of the Confederacy only rarely, and consequently tended to think more in terms of "the South" than of "Southerners." However, on the few occasions when he did refer (in his letters) to individuals on

the enemy side, he showed an unbending hatred for them. This hatred seems to have reached its peak intensity following the assassination of President Lincoln, an event which Barnes felt very keenly. In 1863 he condemned a group of Southern plantation-owners (whose property he had recently visited) for being "Secesh to the backbone" and asserted that "nothing less than having a bullet-hole drilled through them or a halter round their necks will cure them." And in May of 1865, after a trip into Mobile where he had seen a good many paroled Rebel officers "swelling around," Barnes had this to say: "People may talk of a brotherly feeling and all that sort of stuff, but I can't see it; and when I see a Grayback and especially one putting on airs, I feel a great deal more like shooting him than shaking hands . . . I only wish that the whole race had been exterminated." No Christian charity there!

But Christian charity and forgiveness were not the only things that were suspended with respect to the Rebels. For Barnes also placed them beyond the pale within which the most basic rules of social conduct are normally operative. In March, 1863, when his battery was occupying an old Southern college, Barnes wrote of carrying off books from the library and of requisitioning food from the settlers nearby — practices that were hardly short of common looting. "Everybody here is Secesh to the backbone," he wrote in justification of all this, "and I feel just like spoiling them every chance I get. I would protect a loyal man and his property to the ultimate extent of my ability, but a rebel! - if ever I am tempted to swear, it is when I think of them!"

* * *

Historians recalling our Civil War have stressed - with good reason, perhaps - the broad "issues" and "movements" which precipitated the confict, the enthusiasm for "causes," the grand strategy of battles, and so forth. But regardless of the overall wisdom of this emphasis, it has tended to obscure the fact that the War was, for the individuals who participated in it, primarily an intensely personal kind of experience. This experience was compounded of separation from loved ones, of new friends, of practical jokes, of hardtack and salt-pork, of sickness, of mud, of wonderment at Southern landscapes, of anxiety induced by a mounting arrears in pay - in short, of a multitude of things many of which were only indirectly related to the overall war-effort.

In the mind of Lieut. Barnes, as also in the minds of most of his fellow-soldiers, these personal concerns were of the very first importance. And, not surprisingly, there was much more of suffering and tragedy in them than of happiness.

Among the major personal discouragements connected with Frank Barnes' service in the War, some of the following were especially crucial: the simple fact of separation from his wife, and the series of illnesses that plagued her during most of the time that he was away; his own struggle with malaria (the disease recurred sufficiently even after the acute stage was passed to cause him nearly continuous discomfort); the death of his youngest daughter, in 1863, while he was in the field; and the widespread suffering and death which he observed all around him.

In addition to misfortunes of the sort just listed, Barnes was faced with an awful uncertainty about the future - in regard both to his own life and safety, and to the health and general welfare of his family. There was little he himself could do to control this future; the decisive influence in determining what course it would take had somehow passed from him. And, in his letters home, he frequently complained of feeling as if he were "tied hand and foot."

In a general sort of way, then, he had to comfort and explain: (1) all the uncertainty, and (2) all the suffering and evil, that was attendant upon the War.

The first of these things he met chiefly with a massive assertion of religion determinism, a faith in the over-ruling power of God. De-

prived of the chance to control his own destiny, Barnes attempted to save his peace of mind by throwing the matter into the lap of his Lord. God directs all human affairs, he declared; and, furthermore, He directs them so as to serve Man's own best interests. A few quotations from Barnes' letters will, perhaps, indicate both the exact nature and the strength of this conviction . . . In December '62 (just a month after he had left home, and at a time when he was feeling anxious about his wife and family, because he had received no word from them in nearly two weeks): "I am most thankful that I can trust God to take care of my little family in my absence and of me, too." In April '63: "God knows best what we want, and when I am weary of speculating on the probabilities and have exhausted conjecture, it is a blessed relief to fall back on that thought and to realize that 'Man deviseth the way, but God directeth his steps." Also in April '63: "I don't worry myself about what is to happen to me or to you. God knows best - and there I try to leave it." In December '63 (immediately following the death of his daughter): "Isn't it a comforting thought that **nothing comes by chance**, and that our dear friends and loved children are not cut down by a blind, unreasoning fate, but that our Father's hand is always visible." In April '64: "How little we know of that true trust of God which brings light out of darkness, and order out of confusion, which steadies and assures the soul in the utmost confidence and cheerfulness, because **it is God who works.**"

In August '64: "I speculate very little on my future. I try to be content to do today's duty as well as I can and leave tomorrow to be provided for as God sees fit." In January '65: "I get to feeling discouraged and blue sometimes when I look ahead and try to study out what is before us, and then comes so pleasantly the thought that only today is ours, tomorrow God's."

It should be noted that Barnes' religious determinism was coupled with a faith in God's goodness, and love, and mercy towards Man. God not only directed Man's destiny (he thought); He directed it in Man's own best interests.

This type of belief was typical of Yankee Congregationalism during the War period. The original harshness of orthodox Calvinism had been steadily softened in the years since 1800, until the milder kind of doctrine found in the Barnes letters had become generally prevalent. This softening was due partly to the gradual acceptance of "the New Haven theology," worked out by men like Timothy Dwight and Nathaniel Taylor; and partly (within the Burnt-Over District) to the rise of revival religion. For revivalism necessitated a discarding of the doctrines of eternal damnation and predestined "election." Man had to have the ability to improve his spiritual state; otherwise the aim of revivals - to induce individual souls to be "converted" and thereby "saved" before God - would be rendered pretty much impossible of achievement. Cross demonstrates how, in some instances, revivalism ran the whole gamut from the old Calvinism to the "sanctification" doctrines of Charles G. Finney and the Oberlin school. The more moderate Congregationalists did not go so far in the direction of perfectionism; but, nonetheless, much of the severity of the old Orthodoxy was lost for good.

In asserting his faith in the Divine direction of the Universe, Barnes was attempting to mitigate his anxiety about his own inability to control the future. But, as he grew in this faith, he had occasional recourse to another idea which enabled him, after all, to have some say in determining his destiny. Having given to God all power over human affairs, Barnes subsequently found a way of getting some of it back. This alternate line of thought clearly smacked of the old New England "covenant theology."

He decided that if men trust that God works out all things according to their best interests, than they have God's promise that it will, in reality, be so. This 'promise' notion is elaborated in many of the letters that Lieut. Barnes wrote dur-

ing the latter part of his term in the army. In March, 1864 he declared that "if we love God and trust Him as we ought, we will not be troubled to our future. We have the promise that we shall be provided for." And in January, 1865 he wrote: "All my cares and worryings fly away . . . (when I realize) . . . that the promise is certain in its fulfillment, if we but fulfill the conditions on our part."

Note the difference here from the earlier belief: In the first case Man is simply comforted by knowledge of the fact of God's benevolent dictatorship over human affairs; in the second, his trust actively secures God's **promise** of this same fact. Put in simplest terms, the latter idea comes down to the followings: (A) I believe that God is all-powerful and good; (B) this belief elicits a promise from God to me that He really is (and will continue to be) all-powerful and good. This reasoning may be suspect from a purely logical point of view, but still it did much to sustain Lieut. Barnes in the face of the uncertainty of his Civil War situation. For not quite secure in the belief that God, "who doeth all things well," would direct his future, he succeeded in returning to himself a small portion of influence over this same future. And thus he found himself doubly fortified against the anxieties that had threatened to overwhelm him.

Reconciling himself to the uncertainty of events resolved only one of the two great problems (see above p. 8) that Barnes faced. Still to be dealt with was the fact of suffering, of personal tragedy, which he both knew in his own experience and observed in the affairs of those around him. It is not, I think, stretching things too far to say that this was only another form of the 'problem of evil' which has provoked much thought among religious people for centuries; and in the next few pages I shall occasionally refer to it as such, for lack of a better name.

In an attempt to cope with the problem of evil Barnes tried out several ideas, none of which seem to have been completely satisfactory to him. In the first few months of his service he had no real answer to it, and was simply content to say: "We shall always be safe in (God's) hands and I feel perfectly safe to leave all my troubles and anxieties there and the welfare of my little family." And sometime later he wrote, "I cannot see how I should have struggled along with adverse circumstances, if I had not the privilege of casting off all my cares on one who cares for us." This type of statement was little different from the assertion of 'religious determinism' with which, as we have seen, Barnes combatted the uncertainty of his war situation. But a faith in the Divine direction of the world's affairs could **not** be made to do double duty, to answer to both the problem of uncertainty and the problem of evil. With respect to the latter, this view was clearly of little real help-because, however comforting it might be to 'cast all one's troubles' into the lap of an omnipotent God, this left the existence of 'troubles' still unchallenged, still unexplained. Indeed, religious determinism rigorously applied to this 'second problem' might well lead to a rather bleak pessimism; for to acquiesce in the existence of evil and, at the same time, to declare that God was responsible for all the events of the Universe would seem to cast serious doubts on the extent of His goodness.

Therefore, not long after leaving home, Barnes began to grope for another, more substantial way of meeting the fact of suffering, of explaining the 'problem of evil'. Fortunately, an idea that answered to his needs was not far to seek; it was consistent both with God's omnipotence and with God's goodness. Liberal nineteenth - century Protestants, especially the famed Hartford pastor, Horace Bushnell, had been moving toward it for some time. The heart of the idea was simply this: Evil is not really evil, after all; it only appears so to human minds.

The trouble, Barnes decided, lay in the view men take of things. From their own shortsighted standpoint, a particular event may seem

to be 'bad' or 'evil'. But they are not, then, seeing it in 'a true light.' If they would only make a genuine effort to view it from a 'loftier' vantage-point, they would realize that this, like everything, is "for the best." God ordained it for a definite purpose and all his purposes are based on a careful estimate of man's best interest. Sometimes men cannot comprehend these purposes, no matter how hard they try. In such cases they must comfort themselves with the knowledge that their view of things is erroneous, and that matters are not really as bad as they seem (in fact, not bad at all). More often, though, men **can** discover the Divine intent behind events, if they sincerely wish to attain the 'higher' point of view.

Barnes was already beginning to think along these lines in December of 1862, when he suggested to his wife that "God knows what is best for us both, and perhaps he has separated us to make us feel our dependence on Him, and to strengthen our trust in Him." Another letter written a year after bares the central core of the idea: "When we can see clearest God's hand in all the events of life, when we realize most fully that He grants our desires or withholds them because it is best for us, when we can be thankful for disappointments as well as for blessings, then we are most happy."

Barnes was always anxious to emphasize that men's illusion of 'evil' was their own fault, that their "failure to see things in a proper light" was at the root of all their unhappiness and doubt. He dramatized this idea with a metaphor to which he returned again and again . . . "Ah, this is a very beautiful world of ours," he wrote in October of 1864, "albeit we are inclined to look at it through blue spectacles sometimes. Because we do so, it is nonetheless beautiful in reality, and all we need in order to perceive it is to clear away the fog which we ourselves have raised, take off our goggles, and look." Two weeks later he declared his faith that "if we but look at things as they are," we can never fall prey to "despondency and despair." Most of the time, however, (he continued) we fail to do this, "we know but little what is good for us." For this once, Barnes had a specific example to prove his point. He recalled his initial regret (and also that of his Batter-mates) at being ordered to the Department of the Gulf, instead of to Virginia or 'someplace nearer home.' "Just see how shortsighted we were," he exclaimed. "God has placed us where we have been exposed to comparatively little danger and has surrounded us with blessings and comforts which we could not have hoped for under other circumstances. What a contrast to what we should have had in the Army of the Potomac."

Such were the mechanics of this essentially optimistic line of thinking. These ideas are, however, interesting not so much in themselves as in their application to individual problems. They constituted Barnes' chief stock-in-trade for coming to terms with specific kinds of misfortune.

The thing about the War that pained Frank Barnes most constantly was the separation from his wife; and he never tired of expounding on the lessons to be learned from this separation, on the various purposes of God which converted it from an apparent misfortune to an actual good. To pick just one of a hundred discourses on the subject: (from a letter of July, 1864) "Ah, my dear wife, how much you and I have to be thankful for in this long separation - all cause for gratitude and rejoicing, none for discontent or repining. This war was necessary . . . for us as individuals, to make us appreciate our blessings and privileges, which we had enjoyed so long and uninterruptedly that we had forgotten to be thankful, forgotten that they were all the undeserved, free gift of our Father in Heaven. You and I needed this discipline - I am thankful for it. And I sincerely hope and pray that its effects may be permanent, leading us not only to a better and nobler sense of our duty to each other, but also to God."

The tragedy of Lincoln's death

was softened, for Barnes, by a similar type of thinking. On April 25, 1865 he wrote of the great sorrow that the event had caused him, but concluded with the following: . . . "And yet I know that it is all right and for the best, dark as it looks; for this is God's war and He will carry it on in His own way and He will have the glory of it, too. It needed but this atrocity to place the crowning infamy on the Rebellion and the crowning glory on the head of 'old Abe'."

But it was the sudden death of his daughter, Lucy, in the winter of 1863 that caused Barnes the most intense grief of all. And his stubborn reaffirmation of God's goodness, of the benevolence of all God's actions towards men - this when facing up to an awful personal tragedy - is truly remarkable. On December 1, 1863, soon after receiving the bad news, he wrote to his wife an extremely moving letter which should be read in full to be fully appreciated. Perhaps I can convey its general tenor by reproducing a few of its most crucial sentences . . . "Tears will come - and it is right that they should - for our house is indeed made desolate . . . Still, I cannot mourn for her, wish her back . . . We ought to rejoice instead of mourning . . . It is for her good and ours that she is taken to Christ's bosom so early . . ." In what sense "good?" First, Lucy "is safe forevermore . . transferred to the bosom of our Saviour, the peculiar friend of Little children." Furthermore, "as our souls are drawn closer to each other by this baptism of sorrow, so may we be drawn closer to God and our Saviour - our faith and trust in Him strengthened, and we made better Christians, better parents, better members of society. So will the mission of our darling to earth, have been fully accomplished. "In another letter written more than a year later, Barnes added a footnote to this discussion. He had been remonstrating with himself for failing to 'lead Clara (his remaining daughter) to God,' when he suddenly returned to the subject of Lucy's death. "I can see it all so clearly now," he wrote. "When we had been so neglectful in regard to Clara, how could we expect to be allowed to tamper with the eternal happiness of our darling Lucy . . . Dear wife, it is right, it is best . . . And we ought to rejoice in the loving kindness of our Heavenly Father to us and to her."

As I have already indicated, this kind of belief (belief that things which seem bad are actually good and "for the best") was not unique with Francis Barnes. He may have carried it a little farther than others; but still, it represented a type of thinking in which many of the more liberal nineteenth-century Protestants indulged. Horace Bushnell, a notable example, wrote a book shortly after the War on **The Moral Uses of Dark Things** (specifically - by chapter headings - "Of Night and Sleep," "Of Physical Pain," "Of Want and Waste," "Of Plague and Pestilence," "Of Things Unsightly and Disgustful," etc.). The idea appears to have been descended from the old Calvinist doctrine of "the calling" - of men being appointed by God to perform certain tasks, to be "saved," and so forth. A famous Bushnell sermon, entitled **Everyman's Life a Plan of God**, attempted to prove that "God has a definite life-plan for every man; one that being accepted and followed, will conduct him to the best and noblest end possible . . . And so it made clear to you that whatever you have laid upon you to do or to suffer, whatever to want, whatever to surrender or conquer, is exactly best for you." Bushnell exhorted his parishioners to be fully convinced of these truths - in consequence for which "no room for a discouraged or depressed feeling is left you . . . " "You are never to complain of your birth, your training, your employments, your hardships," he asserted. "God understands His plan and He knows what you want a great deal better than you do . . . The very things that you most deprecate, as fatal limitations or obstructions, are probably what you most want."

For two years Francis Barnes attempted to satisfy himself with

the Bushnellite 'explanation fo. evil.' Time and again we see him struggling to convince himself that all the suffering and pain with which he found himself surrounded was actually "for the best." So insistent are his pronouncements to this effect that the whole business appears, to modern eyes, almost a kind of self-induced brainwashing. On some occasions it really does seem to have been the source of considerable comfort to the man - as, for example, in facing up to the death of his young daughter. But there were other times when, despite protestations to the contrary, he was clearly pained by the goings-on around him; and in such instances, his 'explanations' have a kind of desperate ring about them. Once he even admitted having temporarily surrendered to the powers of blackness. Writing after "the storm" was mercifully "over and passed away," he described how he had "kicked and rebelled . . . and felt like adopting the advice of Job to 'curse God and die . . . when I got to thinking over your almost helpless situation at home, and my own, equally so, in the army." He never completely abandoned the 'apparent-bad-is-actual-good' formula, but a new line of thought becomes evident in the letters written toward the end of his service.

For Barnes evidently could no longer be satisfied with an explanation of evil which simply (in effect) denied its existence. The various kinds of suffering that he and his comrades-in-arms experienced during the War - these were **real.** One could not gloss over them by saying that some inner purpose of God's rendered them beneficial, after all - much less could one honestly rejoice in them. No, these things were **bad;** they were to be avoided wherever possible. Misfortune is misfortune; dark things are dark things - no more and no less. These were the harsh facts of life that Barnes was forced to recognize by the calamities, personal and otherwise, attendant upon the Civil War.

A hint of this can be found in a letter written in October, 1864. "There are many, many things worse than a bare separation from each other," Barnes then declared. But the implication of this statement was that separation was 'bad' all the same. What of the old idea that separation was essentially 'good' - willed by God to achieve the 'best possible results' for Barnes and his wife!

In the same month he wrote that "we are ungrateful beings at the best, always inclined to grumble and study our few discomforts, forgetting how vastly they are overbalanced by our manifold blessings." And again, a few weeks later: "It is when we look at our many blessings instead of our few discomforts that our hearts are eased of their load of care . . . Yet it comes so naturally to forget our benefits and magnify our grievances." But did men, then, suffer actual discomforts? Were 'grievances' a reality after all?

Clearly this represents at least something of a departure from Barnes' earlier thinking on the 'problem of evil.' Evil - one might better say pain - is to be borne by remembering that it is "vastly overbalanced" by "our many blessings." There are more good things under the sun than bad ones - this is the comforting thought now.

But on one occasion at least, Barnes went even farther than this. Temporarily abandoning the earth to the forces of evil, he wrote in a rare moment of Otherwordly concern: "Oh, Frank, isn't it a glorious thought that although we may be deprived here of home and friends and go through turmoil and strife perhaps to the ends of our lives, nothing can deprive us of our Heavenly home. . . It is a very pleasant thought to me that (in Heaven) families will never be scattered and broken up; schemes and sorrow, suffering and death will never enter to mar our happiness; but all will be peace and joy forevermore."

With a statement like this one, Barnes had (for the moment) travelled the whole distance from a fully optimistic to a fully pessimistic confrontation of evil. Or-

iginally he had denied its reality by saying that those things which seem bad are actually good when viewed from a 'higher vantage-point.' The intermediate step was to admit the existence of evil, but to point to the fact that it was outweighed by good. And the end of the process was the assertion that evil and suffering are rife upon earth; but that in Heaven at least, men can be truly happy.

I should not pretend that this was an orderly progression, revealing itself clearly and step-by-step, in the Barnes correspondence. Indeed, the whole business was quite haphazard. Barnes continued to return to the 'optimistic' view - at least occasionally - right up to the end of the War. The newer (and more pessimistic) ideas grew up **alongside** the old one - they did not altogether replace it. But the significant thing is that the optimistic view was now far from completely satisfactory to Barnes. And he was forced to try, albeit not very successfully, to find some new means of interpreting his experience.

PROGRAM

Presiding .....THE HONORABLE THAD L. COLLUM
Regent of The University of the State of New York

Raising of National Colors
Color Guard from Division 3—86 New York Naval Milita

Singing of "The Star Spangled Banner"

Invocation .....THE REV. HAROLD J. QUINN

Greetings by—

VINCENT A. CORSALL
Mayor of the City of Oswego
EWALD B. NYQUIST
Deputy Commissioner of Education
New York State Education Department
THOMAS A. CLOUTIER
Member of the Board of Managers, Oswego County Historical Society

Remarks—BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES G. STEVENSON
The Adjutant General, New York State
Vice Chief of Staff to the Governor
BRIGADIER T. E. D'O. SNOW, OBE, CD
Commander, Eastern Ontario Area
Department of National Defense, Canada

Introduction of Honored Guests.....REGENT COLLUM

Drill—

Exhibition of the use of Civil War Arms
108th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment
Rochester, New York

Address—

"Arms, a Fort and a Frontier"
ALBERT B. COREY
State Historian
New York State Education Department

Formal Opening of Fort Ontario to the Public

Barbara Jean Murabito, Winner, First Prize
Oswego County Year of History Essay Contest

Richard Millis, Winner, Second Prize
Oswego County Year of History Essay Contest

Benediction .....THE REV. DAVID JONES
Rector, Church of the Evangelist (Episcopal), Oswego

Music through the courtesy of the Oswego Federation of Musicians Band

FORT ONTARIO

Oswego, New York
July 19, 1959

Arms, A Fort and a Frontier

An address at the formal opening of Fort Ontario, July 19, 1959 (by Albert B. Corey, State Historian)

Three years after Fort Ontario was turned over to the United States. Lieutenant Nanning John Visscher who was in command of the fort wrote to Major General Alexander Hamilton, the Inspector General, "I need not observe that this is one of the great keys to the United States, and perhaps of more importance than is generally supposed; it is in my opinion more than Niagara". He continued to say that if it is "to be inhabited any longer, it will be absolutely necessary that it should undergo some repairs, it is indeed in a very defenseless state". He was concerned about a report that the post was to be evacuated because that would "retard the settlement of the country in this quarter".

Visscher's statement about the importance of Fort Ontario is to be interpreted in terms of the geographic location of the fort; in terms of the western trade in which furs and Indians played an important part; and in terms of international rivalries first between the French and the English and later between the United States, Great Britain and Canada.

It must be remembered that prior to 1763 an immense struggle took place between the English and the French for the control of the continent. Intent upon controlling the St. Lawrence valley and the interior the French built a line of forts from Quebec to New Orleans. Among these forts were Frontenac at Kingston (Ontario) and Niagara where that river flows into Lake Ontario. to counterbalance these the English built three forts at Oswego in order to cut the French fur trade with the west, and to direct it to Albany and New York and in order to establish an out post for defense and for attack against the French.

The first fort at Oswego, whose location is marked by a metal plaque, was built in 1727 as a counterfoil for the French post at Niagara which was built in the same year. Known os Fort Oswego, it was buttressed by Fort George which was established on the hill a half mile to the west. It was not until 1775, when increased tensions between the English and French were about to break out in the French and Indian War, that the English built Fort Ontario on the east bank of the river where it empties into the lake. A contemporary description which appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine" in London in 1775 says:

"The fort is 800 feet in circumference and will command the harbour; it is built of logs from 20 to 30 inches thick; the wall is 14 feet high and is encompassed by a ditch 14 feet broad and 10 feet deep; it is to contain barracks for 2oo men. A hospital and another barracks were also building".
The second barracks were never completed.

With the beginning of the French and Indian War in 1756, the French adopted a plan to destroy every British fort on the frontier. According to the standards of the day the three forts at Oswego were well garrisoned and defended but they were no match for the well organized, well supplied, and superbly led army that descended on them in August 1756 under the command of Marquis de Montcalm. Casualties were not large but the French did take 1700 prisoners, 100 of whom were wantonly massacred by the Indians attached to Montcalm's forces. The three forts were utterly destroyed.

The French, however, greatly overextended themselves in the next three years. The English, on their side, under the incomparable leadership of William Pitt, built up their military and naval resources and launched an attack which drove the French from the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. Although the English did not perfect plans to

rebuild Fort Ontario until 1759, and the new fort was not completed until 1762, this spot became the starting point for military expeditions which captured Fort Frontenac at Kingston in 1758, Fort Niagara in 1759, and Montreal in 1760. Three years later the Treaty of Paris ended the war.

The second period of Fort Ontario history began in 1763 and ended with its surrender to the United States in 1796. The Fort was important in the first place because it filled a basic need of the English as a frontier post. The French had lost their empire but French traders still stirred up dissatisfaction among the western Indians. Two consequences flowed from this. The western trade was interfered with and the Indians led by Chief Pontiac rose against the English all the way from Michilimackinac to Oswego. Once the Pontiac uprising ended in 1766, Fort Ontario remained a garrisioned outpost.

With the coming of the American Revolution the British used Fort Ontario as a base for supplies and kept a strong garrison here. Here it was that Colonel Barry St. Leger coming from Montreal led strong forces by way of the Oswego River in an attempt to take Fort Stanwix at Rome in July 1777. When he withdrew in the following month because of the victory of the American forces at Oriskany, he came back this way on his retreat to Montreal. The English then practically abandoned Fort Ontario and led to its destruction by an American force under McLellan. The British commander, General Frederick Haldimand, recognized the strategic importance of the fort and being urged by the Seneca and other Indians, recommended its reconstruction. Joseph Brant and some 300 Indians came in June, 1782, to help rebuild the fort. Major Ross, the commander, was simply amazed at what Brant and his Indians accomplished and wrote to Haldimand saying: "I cannot say too much in his (Brant's) favor, his conduct is surprising he rules the Indians as he pleases and they are rejoiced at seeing this place occupied. I can assure your Excellency that we are much indebted to the Indians for assisting us to work, a circumstance which I believe never before happened. Joseph showed them the example. I never saw men work so hard, and it greatly encouraged the troops". The work of rebuilding was never completed. Haldimand ordered the work to stop a year later because he expected to abandon the Fort on July 1, 1783 as a consequence of the end of the Revolutionary War. As it turned out, the British did not abandon Fort Ontario for thirteen years, that is, until July 15, 1796, when it was transferred to the United States under the terms of the Jay Treaty.

The sad condition of the fort at the time of its transfer is to be seen by the numerous reports of British officers in the 1790's. That its condition was not materially improved once it was acquired by the United States is shown by Leiutenant Visscher's report to Alexander Hamilton three years after its transfer.

The condition of supplies, to say nothing of the health of the troops, is shown by a survey made on September 13, 1792, 353 pounds of flour, 695 pounds of pork, 13 bushels of peas and 75 pounds of butter were "found unfit for use and condemned" But no action was taken until September 14, 1793 when they were ordered to be destroyed. But the order was accompanied by this interesting note: Above quantity of butter retained in store to be sent to Niagara at first opportunity".

This was not a very happy augury for the development of the fort in the third period of existence which lasted until 1873. When the war of 1812 began the United States started to rebuild the fort but it was not well reconstructed and its garrison and armament were much too small. In fact, the story of Fort Ontario from the beginning was always that it had insufficient garrison, guns and supplies to meet the concentrated attack of an enemy. The period of the war of 1812 was no exception for in May 1814 an English fleet under Sir James Yeo attoacked and demolished the fort and than withdrew. The end of the War of 1812 brought a lull in difficulties on the frontier

and Fort Ontario was not immediatley needed as a defense outpost. Although a small garrison was maintained there the fort was allowed to go to ruin until the 1830's.

By that time, tensions which involved Canada had begun to arise between Great Britain and the United States. These tensions came to a head along the St. Lawrence River and Lakes Erie and Ontario between 1837 and 1842. The Canadian Rebellions of 1837 and 1838, which sought to redress grievances in what are now Ontario and Quebec, were mistakenly thought by Americans to be a second American Revoultion. The result was that a series of border incidents coupled with organized filibustering expeditions led to the increase of armaments on both sides of the line. So it was that the post at Fort Ontario was reestablished on November 23, 1838. Plans for the stone buildings within the fort were drawn up in 1839 and the entire fort was rebuilt within the next six years. It had earthen walls and ramparts and was built with a moat around it The land on which the fort was established was ceded by the State of New York to the United States with the understanding that if it ever ceased to be used as a military post it would be returned to the State of New York.

Border tensions decreased after 1842 as a result of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty which settled almost all outstanding differences between the United States and Great Britain. Once again there was peace along the border. But the Civil War brought a new threat to the continuance of peace between Canada and the United States and as a result there was a considerable strengthening of posts on both sides of the border once more. The stone scarp revetments and casemates of Fort Ontario were all built between 1863 and 1872. It is a commentary, however, on the building of fortifications, that at the very time the stone walls were being built, guns were being developed which were capable of destroying that type of fortification.

The fourth period which lasted from 1872 to 1901 presents a sorry story. During these years, examples of the War Department's attitude toward modernization were to be seen in the refusal to replace candles with kerosene lamps as the means of lighting until 1887, and the refusal to install a telephone in 1890. The fort was abandoned twice, once in 1889 and again in 1894. It was almost denuded of troops in 1899 when they left for Manila. In the year 1900 it was again ordered to be abandoned, but on December 18 the Secretary of War directed that it be not abandoned and that it be reoccupied in the spring of 1901.

The year 1901 saw the beginning of the fifth period in the history of the fort, for it was in that year that consideration was given to a permanent establishment and to the construction of an enlarged post.

Actually, approval for such construction was not given until August 1903. Construction of the new and improved post to accomodate an entire regiment was finally completed in 1907. From this time on Fort Ontario became one of several regimental posts in the United States. One must remember that the United States Army remained small. We had not begun to develope the great military traditions of the old world. We relied rather upon the quick mobilization of our resources in case of need. Until the First World War, Fort Ontario was used as a base for training troops. During the Second World War, in addition to being used as a regimental base, it was used as the one center in the United States which housed European refugees.

By the end of the Second World War it was quite obvious, because of the very large numbers of men involved in modern military maneuvers, that Fort Ontario with its 66 acres was too small to serve as a military post. The War Department declared it surplus and eventually the post reverted to the State of New York in 1946.

1946 therefore begins the last period in the last history of the fort. There was a great need for housing for the civilian population immediately after the war which could not be supplied by existing facilities

and which could not be built fast enough to meet essential needs. The buildings within the fort were divided into 22 apartments while the main buildings on the outside were divided into 161 apartments. All were placed under the jurisdiction of the Division of Housing. This was the condition of affairs when Fort Ontario was turned over to the State Education Department.

During the past ten years much has been done to restore the old fort and to set up a planned program which will interpret its history. The work is not finished and is not likely to be for a long time to come.

We have many lessons to learn from the history of Fort Ontario. One of them is most pertinent today, now that we are faced with threats of attack from abroad. Fort Ontario was gallantly defended against vastly superior forces. But it was never adequately garrisoned and never adequately supplied. And yet it formed a major link in a chain of defense at a time when border defenses were regarded as important. Today we have a joint defense system with Canada which is unequalled anywhere. We shall do well to see to it that throughout the entire chain every link is forged strong enough to withstand a major assault. Nothing less is good enough.

"Uncle Dave" Hamer, Gold Digger, Filibuster and Story Teller

(Presented by Nannette Hamer, October 20, 1959)

Uncle Dave Hamer was my great uncle, my grandfather having been his older brother. He died in 1910 at the age of 77, leaving behind him a fascinating legend of adventure and tall tales that may not have been so tall as they seemed to the stay-at-home, poorly educated and little read members of his generation. It must be admitted, however, that Uncle Dave was a born story teller and probably didn't let a few unimportant details stand in the way of a good story.

Be that as it may, he claimed adventures as a 49'er in California's gold rush days, during which he knew Kit Carson, fought the Indians and served as a vigilante, following this up with an enlistment as a filibuster with William Walker in his ill-fated expedition against Nicaragua in 1856, and finishing up with service all through the Civil War. After that he settled down on a backwoods farm in the town of Boylston and had a family of 13 children, five, all girls, by his first wife; four boys an four girls by the second.

To start with, the Hamers were Welchmen. Uncle Dave and my grandfather were sons of David Hamer, Senior, who was born in 1806 in Radnorshire, South Wales and left the Old Country for America in 1832 with his young wife of about a year. Charlotte Evans. The voyage to New York took them 43 days, after which they traveled by boat up the Hudson River to Albany and then by the Erie Canal into the Mohawk Valley. They settled at about the present town of Frankfort in Herkimer County where my great grandfather became a charcoal burner. The family later moved to the Town of Sandy Creek.

David Lewis Hamer, their second child, was born on the second day of October 1833 in the old Bellinger tavern on the Erie Canal, near the present village of Mohawk. He grew up on his father's small farm in the hills near Frankfort Center. As so often the case with a stern, unyielding father and a reckless, headstrong boy, two personalities, probably much alike, clashed from the start and Dave, after a quarrel with his father, slipped out of his bedroom window one night when he was 16 and ran away from home.

He made his way to New York by catching rides at night on the railroad and attempted to sign aboard a sailing vessel bound for the Isthmus of Panama. There was then of course no way for ships to cross the Isthmus as there is now by the Panama Canal. The usual sea route to California at that time was by sea from New York to San Juan del Norte (Greytown), Nicaragua on the Atlantic side and then by way of the San Juan River to Lake Nicaragua, and then overland from Virgin Bay to San Juan del Sur and Bretto on the Pacific side, where the ships from San Francisco discharged and took on passengers and cargo. The Atlantic side of this traffic was controlled by a corporation called the Transit Company, of which Commodore Vanderbilt of New York was the chief spirit; a San Francisco firm controlled the Pacific end. The Transit Company was under contract to pay the Nicaraguan government $10,000 a year and a percentage of the profits.

So as soon as he got to New York Uncle Dave tried to sign aboard a ship bound for the Isthmus of Panama, but he made the mistake of telling the truth when asked his age and the captain said he was too young for the job. The next time he tried, Uncle Dave added on the necessary years, and being big and strong for his age,

was readily signed on as a seaman. Whether or not he sailed for awhile before continuing on to California I do not know, having been unable to reconcile some of the dates mentioned in his writings at this point in his career.

Of his trip across the Isthmus and on up the coast to California, Uncle Dave in after years wrote: "We crossed the Isthmus on foot, fully one-half of our number dying of the fever while crossing, for the country was very unhealthy. I saw the dead and dying, lying under canvass shelters. Going on up the Pacific Coast by ship, we subsisted sometimes on less than half rations of sea biscuit, mouldy rice and poor water." He arrived in San Francisco December 28, 1849 or else 1852, (I do not know which as there seems to be some discrepancy in his writings here) and mentions that San Francisco when he first saw it was merely a town of ragged tents.

Describing California then he says: "The land was inhabited by wild Indians, by whom a deadly war of extermination was carried on with the miners, and on the overland route from San Jose it was almost a constant battle with the wild tribes until the Valley of California was reached. To add to our sufferings, there was often a scarcity of provisions, which had to be shipped around Cape Horn taking from eight to ten months in the old sailing vessels of those days. I went to the northern part of the state, to the mines on the South Fork of the American River, in what is now El Dorado County, and while there was fairly successful." (About $4,000 better off than when he commenced, one source says).

In a letter written to his father back home on September 10, 1854 he said: "I am mining near Dry Creek, the place from which I write. I gave up the notion of going on the rivers as being too risky. I am doing very well at present, although the water is scarce and the rivers I think will be a failure this year. We had some very warm weather here in the month of August and it melted the snow on the mountains to such an extent that the water carried away a great deal of the works. The mines are paying well generally to those that work steady and stick to it. The greatest trouble with folks here is they want to make a fortune in a day. You know that many think the mines are nearly worked out in the other states, but I think that mining is only just begun here. The creeks are nearly all worked out and they are now beginning to trace the gold into the hills from whence it came and they throw the water on the hills by cutting ditches from the higher levels above and some of them are beginning to melt down in fine style and find their way to Old Ocean. There is no news of any importance here at present. Provisions of all kinds keep very low; flour is only 4½¢ and 5¢ in the city and other things in proportion. Give my best repects to my mother and all the rest of my brothers and sisters. I received your letter of July 14 and was glad to hear that you were all well and prospering. I began to think that I was not going to get any more letters from home."

Uncle Dave revisited California in September 1903 and at that time wrote a number of articles in reminiscent mood. He says: "I left Coloma on the south bank of the south fork of the American River in 1855, a thriving town of 3,000 people; now I could see but six houses that had people in them; the rest had fallen down or were in ruins. It used to be the county seat of Eldorado County, but the mining all played out; the people left and the county seat was removed to Placerville and there is nothing left to mark the spot where gold was first discovered. Even the location of the first gold find is in doubt, and no two men can be found that agree in regard to it. I was sure that I could tell but found that I was mistaken. I am told that the state would raise a monument to mark the spot if it was known. James Marshall, the reputed discoverer of gold here, lies buried on the top of a hill; the state has erected a fine monument to his memory.

"Now the story of the first discovery of gold has been told in many different ways. In 1853 and 1854 I well knew Marshall, who at that time was a drinking, worthless fellow. He came here with Captain Sutter, who obtained a grant of land from Mexico where the city of Sacramento now stands. Marshall worked for him and was sent up on the river to build a saw mill. He took with him his squaw wife and two little girls. While Marshall was away at Sutter's fort, the oldest girl picked up a piece of gold in the mill race. This she showed to her father when he came home, and none could tell what it was. Other pieces were found, which Marshall took to Sutter who was not certain of its nature and sent or took it to Fort Alcatraz in the harbor of San Francisco. The officers pronounced it gold, and the rush for the mines soon began. Sailors left the ships and the soldiers deserted the fort in the mad rush for gold, and your scribe was not better than the rest.

"This information on the discovery of gold I got from Marshall and from one of the girls, when I danced the fandango with her and the other boys and Mexican girls at Texas Ellen's Sailcloth Hotel. After diligent inquiry I could find out nothing as to what became of the two girls. Sutter as well as Marshall died complete wrecks. Sudden wealth overcame them and they died, supported by charity."

Writing of revisiting Placerville, which he locates as some 60 miles from Sacramento, he says:

"Placerville boasts of being the oldest mining town in the state and of having the first man hung by lynch law, which gave it the name of Hangtown in the early days. The first thing I missed on entering the town was the Hangman Oak, the old tree on which 14 men had left this world by order of the Committee on Public Safety. Things are now so changed that no one can tell where the tree stood.

"This place was much noted in the past for the swift and sure punishment that criminals received at the hands of Judge Lynch in the early days, when prisons and penitentiaries were not in existence and prompt punishment on the spot was a stern necessity, knowing no law and no bounds. The first that came under my observation was one, Scott, of Auburn, who was caught red-handed in the act, as was proven and admitted by him. He begged hard, promised to do better and leave the country, but he had to hang on the old oak across from the hotel. The next was a Mexican woman who stabbed and killed a miner, whom she claimed had insulted her. The boys heard the evidence and took a vote; it was a clear case to hang. She wanted a glass of whiskey and time to smoke a cigar, all of which was given her, and she went off, satisfied. The next to try the great unknown by way of the rope was Mickey Free, of Danville, N. Y. and a pardner in crime, Jerry Crain, for the murder of a young woman at Ringold on the creek above Placerville. He was insane, beyond all doubt, but there was no asylum at hand for him and he said he wanted to go to heaven, we voted to let him go by way of the rope. Free was reckless and admitted his guilt, and told us of the murders of 11 men, all by his own hand.

They both swung from the same limb on the old oak. Free wanted to dance before he went off, and gave us a splendid jig and pigeon wing, then threw away his hat, which did not come my way as I hoped it would. After they were dead they were taken down and the ropes preserved for future use, and their bodies thrown into a grave already dug under the tree. Only a short time after, while I was at work there, two other murders were committed. One, Lipsey, killed a man over a game of cards and Logan, a prominent man from Indiana, shot a man in a quarrel over a claim. Both were kept safe under guard and in irons until Sunday, when we all had time to attend to the case. Both were convicted and hanged at the same time, but the one that tied Logan's noose forgot to pass the end of the rope through the loop, and the knot slipped and he fell to the

ground about eight feet. He was Badly hurt but got up and objected to being hung again, saying he had been hung once and we ought to be satisfied, but he had to climb up again, and the next time it worked all right. Jacob Ormsby, formerly of Boylston, was with me in the last two named executions as guards with guns to keep and preserve order and prevent any interference by the friends of the convicted men.

"Yankee Sullivan, a noted prize fighter in his day, was one that was to be hung while I was a member of the Vigilance Committee in 1856. He was taken in charge by the Committee but opened a vein in his arm and bled to death, and so cheated the gallows. Sullivan died May 31, 1856. This was at the time of the hanging of Bruce and Hethrington of Syracuse for the murder of General Richardson, a U. S. Marshall who was trying to preserve law and order in the city. As I now remember, 17 gamblers, thieves and murderers were hanged inside of 24 hours. Hundreds were hanged throughout the state; two shiploads were banished to the Isthmus, and one to the Sandwich Islands. Such was the State of society in California in the early days.

"I well remember the $2.50, the 25 and 50 cent pieces, but think I never saw a $3 gold piece. The old octagonal $50 gold pieces of California were made in San Francisco as I remember, in the latter part of 1851. Gold dust was all the circulating medium that we had and was estimated by the ounce, according to its purity; ravine and surface gold at $16 per ounce; creek gold at $18; Webber Creek and river dust at $22. All debts, dues and demands were paid; in dust at market value. The nearest mint was at Philadelphia and it took a long time to ship dust there and get returns in those days. At last an arrangement was made with the express companies in the mines to ship the dust to the city and at the Assay Office there it was melted into pieces to the value of $50 each in octagonal form and returned to the mines and put in circulation. It continued until about 1854, when it was found these had been reduced in weight to about $38 or $40 each, which was done by boring holes in the coins and taking out from $10 to $12 worth of dust from each one and putting in plugs, leaving the inside hollow. Even the $20 gold pieces were tampered with in the same way. They went rapidly out of circulation. After that, while I was there, coin and dust went by weight. After a time a mint was established in San Francisco and the trouble came to an end."

Uncle Dave claimed to have known Kit Carson, having served in the militia under Carson and his brother, Robert, against the Indians. He also took part in a number of skirmishes against the Rock River Indians, since known as Modocs. In one instance he states, "I left Placerville in 1855 after I had assisted Kit Carson to drive his flock of 6,000 sheep across the divide over into the Valley of the Sacramento, in the fall of 1854." Uncle Dave's obituary states that he was four years in the mines and then spent two years with Kit Carson, fighting the Indians.

Now began his adventures as a buccaneer under William Walker in Nicaragua. Uncle Dave tells the story thus:

"I began life in the old Bellinger tavern in the village of Mohawk on the second day of October 1833. I was reared in the town of Frankfort and in 1848 removed to Oswego County. I was determined to go to California and left for there in 1849, getting free rides on the cars at night to New York, where I took ship. We crossed the Isthmus on foot, fully one half of our number dying of fever while crossing the Isthmus and going up the Pacific Coast. I went to the mines on the branches of the American River in what is now Eldorado County, and while there was fairly successful. In 1853 I served against the Indians and was in the battle of Snake Creek and Chimney Rock, and in 1854 fought against the Logtown Indians. In 1855 I went to San Francisco, where I fell in with some old comrades going to Central America with Walker, the fili-

buster. The wages were to be $100 per month and 300 acres of land for one year's service; and of course I enlisted.

In view of the present attempt (1904) of the United States government to build a ship canal on the dividing lines of North and South America on what is known as the Isthmus of Panama, it may be interesting to have some reminiscences of history in regard to the route proposed by way of Nicaragua. On the line formerly occupied and operated by the Vanderbilt Transit Company by a line of steamers from New York to Graytown on the Atlantic and from there across the country of Nicaragoa; then by way of the San Juan River and across the lake to Bretto on the Pacific for the convenience of passengers in 1849 to the newly discovered gold fields of California. The wonderful excitement of that time had attracted thousands of adventurers from all parts of the United States and the world. Among them was one William Walker, from the state of Mississippi, a printer by trade and born in Nashville, Tenn., in 1824.

He went to California in 1850 and not being successful in the mines, went to San Francisco where I first formed his acquaintance. He was short in stature, being five feet in height, weight about 125 lbs. and had very bright and small gray eyes. He was afterward known as the gray-eyed man of destiny. He seemed to be a born leader of men, and had he lived until the Rebellion, would have been a thorn in our side in the north.

He soon formed a party of about 800 men to conquer the province of Sonora in Lower California and annex it to the United States. He was very successful for awhile, and easily drove out the Mexicans, but having no provisions to feed the men, or money to pay them, they soon deserted him and the expedition was a miserable failure.

Walker, however, had gained notoriety, and about this time a revolution occurred in Nicaragua and the defeated party invited Walker and all the men he could muster to help reinstate the Liberals, as they were termed. He sailed from San Francisco with 58 picked men and arrived at San Juan, now Bretto, on May 4, 1855. The Serviles, as the other party was called, marched from Rivas to meet him with 400 men, intending to crush him before he could meet his friends at Grenada. Walker's men were all old mountaineers and Texas Rangers, armed with the best rifles then known, Sharp's muzzle-loaders, and they were the best marksmen then living. Five times the Spanish General charged, trying to break Walker's line, the screech of the Spaniard answered by the deep cry of the mountaineer. Walker now formed his men and charged, and swept the Spaniards from the field in wildest confusion. One hundred and eighty of the enemy were left on the field of battle, and strange to say, Walker lost only one white man killed and four natives and eleven men wounded. The Spanish gereral could not again rally his men, and Walker's march to Grenada was not interrupted again.

The place where the battle was fought is now known as Virgin Bay, on Lake Nicaragua, twelve miles from Bretto."

This was where Uncle Dave came on the scene. In his words:

"A short time before this, Albert Wright of Richland, Hamilton Lillis and Ansel Harding, son of Grove W. Harding, with your Scribe of Sandy Creek enlisted as recruits for Walker in San Francisco and sailed in the ship Sierra Nevada. As we neared the Pacific Coast, we were caught in a cyclone and nearly foundered. Our mainmast went by the board, sails being blown to rags. Our bulwarks stove in, and all one night we were forced to scud under bare poles, at the mercy of the tempest. At last, in a truly demoralized condition, we cast anchor in the Harbor of San Juan. There were about 80 of us, and after two days of rest we were marched over a rough and rolling country twelve miles to Virgin Bay, where the battle had been fought a short time before, as already described. The dead were yet unburied, and

the stench from the decaying bodies was awful as the wind blew from off the lake to the ocean. On a rise of ground we had a good view of the field, and we estimated that at least 300 bodies lay on the ground, and the buzzards in flocks were having a fine feast. It looked as if the Americans had not wasted a shot.

For a short time Walker was busy drilling the new recruits from California, together with a few he had picked up from the homeward bound Americans on the boats that crossed the lake on the Vanderbilt route. To supply them with arms he committed an act that led to his ruin. He took by force all arms and ammunition the Transit Company had to defend their property on the lake and confiscated the boats of the company on the river.

Corral, the enemy commander, massed his forces at Rivas and about the middle of October marched out on the Transit Road; no suspicion of a possible attack on the Capital seems to have entered his mind, but Walker determined to take it and about the last of October took up his line of march to Virgin Bay with a splendid body of men about 400 strong; generally tall and good looking, with a bright red ribbon around their slouch hats. Walker determined to outwit Corral and swing around him by way of the lake and take possession of the city of Granada.

About two o'clock one night Walker silently drew in his pickets and marched to the lake, where a small schooner was in waiting, and embarked his men and steered straight for Granada.

We anchored about two miles from the city, and in the strictest silence marched up the road to the doomed city. The time was well chosen, as the day before there had been a great celebration in honor of some saint, as all are strict Catholics; for which Walker had little regard. The city the evening before had been given to gaiety, drinking and dancing the fandango, which is a great native amusement. As we entered the city, two sentinels were found asleep on their posts at the entrance, and were promptly silenced by the butt of the musket on the skull. They never awoke from their pleasent dreams. We were first discovered by a Spanish woman on the street, who shouted "Americanos' Filibusters". The surprised garrison fled in panic but rallied and made a short stand on the plaza, where an impromptu charge swept them away, and we carried by assault the city of Granada without losing a man, only one small drummer boy being killed and six men wounded. One of the wounded was Ansel Harding from Sandy Creek. The enemy did not lose over thirty or forty at most and we did not put weeds in our hats for them.

The possession of the city was of great importance to Walker as it was the captial of Nicaragua and he was in a position to dictate terms to that part of Central America. Corral agreed to treat for peace and in the conference that took place, Walker was made general of the army and Corral president. Walker's ambition now knew no bounds, and in a short time Corral was accused of conspiracy against him. A court martial was commenced, composed of Walker's officers who had no love for Corral, and he was sentenced to die. His friends made an urgent appeal for clemency but Walker firmly refused the petition, no doubt on account of his inhuman conduct to our prisoners before, and the dread of him as a rival in power. It was told, and no doubt was true, that the two sisters of Corral begged piteously for his body to give it the rite of burial but were strictly refused. The Padre or Priest begged hard to save his life but of no use; at eleven o'clock at night he was led out on the Plaza and shot to death by a platoon of soldiers and was buried before daylight. Not one of us believed him guilty; and so perished one of the best citizens of Nicaragua.

Walker now proclaimed himself dictator, and for awhile had everything his own way. He published a paper proclaiming the

territory open to slavery, and invited southern emigration to the state. So far as I know, all his men were dissatisfied, but dared not say a word as Walker enforced discipline to the letter, and we were in a country with enemies on all sides of us.

Costa Rica now took alarm and declared war on Walker, and 3,000 men were soon in the field. Walker sent a detachment of about 500 men to meet the foe on their own soil under Colonel Schlessenger. After marching to Guanacaste he allowed himself to be surprised, and many of his men were butchered; those who escaped were followed closely by the Spaniards and at last reached Grenada in a wretched and demoralized state. Charges were preferred against their leader, but he escaped while his trial was pending and was not heard from again.

Walker determined not to be attacked, but at the head of about 800 men marched upon the city of Rivas, where the Costa Ricans, over 3,000 strong, were posted, commanded by English and French officers, and armed with Minnie rifles. They thought Walker's men would be easy prey.

We attacked at 3 o'clock in the morning. Street after street was fought through, barricades were overthrown, houses were fired, and carnage reigned supreme. Many of the best of Walker's men were left dead in the street on that eventful day, and as the Spaniards gave no quarter, it nerved the most timid of us. To retreat meant certain death, to be conquered, meant instant execution. The greater part of the battle in the streets of Rivas was fought hand to hand and muzzle to muzzle, the contestants often falling dead side by side.

At last the enemy, unable any longer to withstand such punishment, broke and ran in all directions, pursued by Walker's men until dark, when they returned through the streets made red with their blood and soon put the wounded Spniards out of their sufferings or need of medical attendance; in fact, it was one of the worst sights I had ever seen. Our loss in this terrible encounter was reported at only 96; the enemy not less than 1,200. Many of the wounded crawled into the houses not burned and escaped death by not being discovered. As our ammunition was running low, Walker fell back in the night to Granada. The Costa Ricans were forced to retreat, as they did not dare to meet the Americans again. They did not wait to bury their dead, but threw the bodies into the wells of the city, and from the decaying corpses, sickness and cholera broke out, and hundreds of lives were lost by the unsanitary conditions, and this I believe is as near the truth about the battle of Rivas as has ever been told.

It may be well to add that there were many brave and good officers under Walker who were not satisfied with his actions, in his greed for power, and were also much opposed to his views on the slavery question. One of his officers was Colonel Anderson, a noted scout who had served with Freemont and Carson, and one of the best shots, except Carson, I ever knew. In time of battle he was always in the front, and the boys near him always gave him their guns to discharge, he handing them back to be reloaded; and it is needless to say that a bullet fired by him never failed to find a victim.

Another man who joined here was Captain Abner Doubleday a graduate of West Point, a man well liked by all of us. Doubleday served with much honor in the Civil War and commanded the First Division of the First Corps, in which I served in the Battle of Bull Run. After Reynold's death at Gettysburg on the first day of the battle, Doubleday was in command until the arrival of Howard on the field.

These officers of Walker's seemed to be disguested with him and took the earliest opportunity to resign and leave. The Americans and English consuls on both sides of the Isthmus used all their influence against him, and the enemy were now commanded by English and French officers.

Still Walker was defiant and proclaimed himself dictator, and tried to set up an empire for himself, founded on the wreck of the Spanish provinces. But the death knell of Walker had sounded; the Transit route had been broken up and no more reinforcements could reach him. Reduced to the narrow limits of Granada and Rivas, yet he could have escaped had he so desired, by way of the San Juan, but he would not retreat. His last recruits were 48 in number from San Francisco. With these and 400 picked men he made the foolhardy attempt to storm and take San Jorge by surprise. The Costa Rican force there was fully 5,000 men, well barricaded. The surprise was complete and Walker's men entered the town at daybreak, with not a sentry on the alert. Three cheers awoke the Spaniards, who rushed into the fort for protection. The Americans were upon them before they could close the gates, and the Spniards ran out on the other side as the Americans came in.

The fighting round the fort and in the streets all day was desperate and bloody; the enemy, driven in one direction, would advance in another, and at night Walker retreated with the loss of one half of his force. We here lost Captain Higby, Colonel O'Neil and Captain Blackburn. All the wounded were murdered, as neither side took prisoners.

About ten days after this bloody repulse, Walker, recruited by 400 men from Granada, advanced again to San Jorge with three pieces of artillery, but the enemy would not come out of the fort, and after doing much damage to the town he again fell back to Rivas, which was a strongly fortified place, and the Costa Ricans and Hondurans did not dare attempt its capture.

But the career of Walker was drawing to a close. The American consul on the coast denounced the course of Walker, the English government had taken alarm and was landing its marines in the Bluefields, as they had interests there and claimed a protectorate over the Mosquito Kingdom.

Colonel Anderson with less than a hundred men held Granada, and Fort Carlos at the foot of the lake was occupied by the Spaniards; this fort commanded the river. Colonels Titus and Lockridge were below at the Castillo rapids, and seeing that the game was up, they took their men and boarded a boat and went down the river to Graytown, where they were taken in charge by the English officers and sent home to the States.

The garrison at Granada under Anderson and about 100 men that were left there to defend it were besieged by about 500 Costa Ricans. Anderson knew very well that it could not be successfully defended and was determined to cut his way out and join Walker at Rivas; this he did with a loss of over half his men. Walker fought his way to the coast, after burying from $12,000 to $18,000 in the old churchyard at Rivas when he returned after the destruction of Granada. He could no longer hold Granada, and he was bound it should not shelter his enemies, so the order was given to destroy the city. The order was faithfully carried out, and a board set up on the site with the inscription, "Here stood Granada".

Much has been said about Walker robbing the churches of Granada. They numbered about 15 in all and were rich in gold and silver ornaments, crosses, images and the like, and were highly prized by the natives. This country is rich in gold and silver mines, and it is no doubt true that Walker took the treasures out of the churches before ordering the city destroyed, and put them on board a ship in the lake. We were told they were sent to New Orleans to procure arms and ammunition for the filibusters, and I think it may be so as Walker had no veneration for the Catholic Church. The spoils were said to be all that five mules could carry to the wharf.

As to the number of men that Walker had under him in his expedition to Nicaragua, I never knew, but it was not far from 2,500 all told. We had no way to

take care of the sick and the wounded in any proper manner, and many died who with proper care would have recovered, and I think it is safe to say that not half that went over there ever returned.

Some of our best men in the Civil War learned their lessons here, but it must be admitted that most of them were on the Southern side. These were the bravest and most reckless men that ever lived; men who would give their life any time to save that of a friend in peril, and seemed not to have the slightest fear of death. I was in the Civil War, but I believe that it at the end of that war, 5,000 of the best and bravest Union or Confederate soldiers were picked out, and 1,000 of such men as lie beneath the orange trees of Nicaragua faced them; I feel certain that the thousand would have scattered and utterly routed the five thousand in an hour. All science fails on men who rush to victory or death; where every shot finds a victim.

After the loss of the greater part of his force, Walker reached the coast and surrendered to the English, where they were all paroled and sent to the States.

He organized several other expeditions to Nicaragua, which were promptly broken up. The last one was in 1860, just before the Civil War, when eluding American war vessels on the coast, Walker landed a force in Honduras. The British captured him and turned Walker and his offcers over to the Houndurans, who shot them, and so ended the career of the noted buccaneer and filibuster.

It may be well to state here that I was with Anderson at Granada when he determined to try to join Walker at Rivas. He called us all into line and told us of the condition we were in and that there was no hope of life if captured by the Spaniards. He proposed that we cut our way out that night and join Walker at Rivas, and to this we all agreed. We were to start at two o'clock.

However, at dark, six of us on guard at the wharf thought it would be best to swim the arm of the lake, get outside the enemy's lines and go down the lake and the San Juan River to Graytown on the Atlantic, well knowng that if we got there we would be safe. We stripped off our clothing, and tied this in a small bundle in our shirt with the sleeves tied around our necks. We were to swim low so as not to splash the water as that would be sure to attract the attention of the alligators that were very numerous in those tropical waters and said to be very dangerous. The distance to the point was said to be a mile, and I think it was.

I started first, the others following. I was nearly exhausted before reaching the shore, but by swimming on my back, and so resting, I finally reached the shore, and in a short time a sailor from New Bedford,, Mass., one of our men, joined me and we waited until morning, but hearing nothing of the others, gave them up for lost and we never knew whether they turned back, were drowned, or were eaten by the alligators. Until after midnight we could hear the sharp reports of the rifles of our comrades and their pursuers on their way to Riras and we envied them then as we thought hundred and eighty miles from the Atlantic, with the enemy on all sides of us and no arms, only those that nature had provided, and no food except that which grew in the tropical climate.

We concealed ourselves through the day, and finding some wild bananas and sweet oranges, we did not suffer from hunger. We were busy during the day fitting ourselves with good clubs for protection against alligators nd other wild creatures. The sailor had a good sheath knife, such as sailors carry, and I had a good stilletto, taken from a Spaniard who did not want it any longer. Living on wild fruits during the day and traveling at night, swimming many arms or bays of the lake and wading creeks, we got along much better than we expected. We had several encounters with the alligators and soon found that one good blow on the head or nose with our clubs would put them out of busi-

ness in a hurry. They did not seem to trouble us only in wet or swampy places, where it is said they raise their young. The snakes, of which there were many of large size, almost always left our path. If they did not, we threw sticks or stones at them. Monkeys in the trees above us were leaping from tree to tree and through the vines. Some had short tails, others long, others no tail at all, and some cropped off short - regular bob tails. They nearly always told us where the alligators were as they set up a great hue and cry over them, like our crows after a hawk or owl. There were flocks of parrots, of all kinds and colors. All the tropical fruits grow here, wild, but not as good as the cultivated. The country is slightly rolling and elevated, and the water is good.

One morning, just as we were going to hide for the day, we came to the cabin of a fisherman near the the lake, who saw us first. We were discouraged, but he seemed friendly, speaking to us in Spanish and inviting us into his hut. He appeared to know that we were hungry, and told his wife to cook for us. She baked some yams for us and cooked some of the fish that they have in plenty, and gave us cocoa to drink, and it seemed that I never had so good a breakfast or a better appetite. The man seemed to know what and who we were for he said, "No wanno filibusters, mucha marlow", that is, "No good filibusters, they are very bad", which we well understood and agreed to. As he pointed up the lake he must have known well that we were deserting Walker.

We asked to be allowed to take the yams and fish that were left, which they gladly gave us, and some cold frijoles. After leaving them, we went into a thicket to hide and for several hours kept strict watch on the cabin to see if they would go to inform on us, but they did not, and we went to sleep for the day. We traveled for the next two nights and came to Fort San Carlos at the foot of the lake. Here we lay in hiding all day, and about ten o'clock at night a heavy rain set in, to our great delight, as we had concluded to our best to steal a boat and go down the San Juan river. The banks of the river and the country through here are mostly a tangled mass of vegetation, trees and vines that nothing but wild beasts and alligators and serpents can penetrate. It is called a jungle, and is well named.

The sailor did not wish me to go with him in search of a boat as he said I was a landlubber and had no experience with boats, to which I agreed. He told me to go around the fort to the river below and to wait for him there. I did so and soon heard the crash of a rifle, then others, and was fearful that my partner had been killed or captured. At last I heard a whistle, and my joy knew no bounds. I answered, and he pulled down the stream, took me in, and we paddled on down the stream in the darkness. He had found a splendid yawl boat locked by a chain to a post, almost under the wall of the fort. He took two stones, and holding one under the lock, he smashed it with the other and released the boat. The sentinel discovered him by the noise and fired his piece almost in his face, but missed him. The sailor instantly raised his club and dealt him a fearful blow which he thought killed him, then jumped in the boat and pulled out into the lake. Others fired at him, but only one shot struck the boat.

We pulled on the oars all night, and at daylight pulled the boat into a small cove where we lay all day, sleeping in the boat, subsisting on some wild bananas and other wild fruit. After another all night ride on the river, we came in sight of the Castillo rapids about sunrise. We ran down as near as we dared to the old fort, only to find it in ruins. Lockridge had blown up the magazine and fired the buildings before he left for Graytown, and we did not know whether the Spaniards occupied the place or not. The Transit Company's buildings were just below the bend of the river on the bank We drew cuts to see which should find out, and the choice fell on me. If things were all right, I was to return; if not, my comrade would govern himself accordingly.

I went, and was well received. I inquired when a boat was going to Graytown, when an officer accused me of being one of Walker's men. This I indignantly denied, but he went on to tell me that I was in good hands, as Walker's men at Graytown had been sent home the week before and the Transit Route would soon be open again, as they expected to hear of Walker's capture at any time. I then confessed, and all hands gathered around me, asking questions. I told them finally that I was too hungry to answer questions and that there was another man out in the brush as hungry as myself. Men were dispatched immediately to bring him in, but he could not be found. I then went alone, and soon found him.

We feasted and rested, told our stories over and over, at which the sailor was by far the best man. We sold our boat for twenty dollars, which more than paid our board for two weeks. At the end of that time a boat came up the river from Graytown, to which we took passage and after a stay there of about three weeks were sent to Aspenwall with a free ticket to New Orleans.

The Transit of Vanderbilt Route being broken up was the reason of my going to Aspenwall to catch a boat for the States. There being none in port, I hired out to the Panama Railroad and worked in the Culebra Cut for two weeks, but the death rate was so bad that I went to Panama and hired as a deck hand on a vessel and made a trip down the coast to the Island of Toboga, returned and recrossed the Isthmus and took passage on a vessel through the West Indies to New Orleans and got back in time to rest before the Civil War."

On the 28th of April 1861 Uucle Dave enlisted in the 24th Regiment, which was the first Oswego County regiment to be formed when the Civil War began.

Uncle Dave was said to have been in more than 30 battles and skirmishes and was wounded several times, once on the chin so that in after years he always wore a full beard to conceal the scar. At another time the forepiece of his cap was torn away by a bullet. Among his writings are many vivid descriptions of Cival War battles and skirmishes in which he took part.

After the war was over, he came back to the town of Sandy Creek and settled down to farming. The old house and barn are completely gone now, only the foundations remaining; a few old fashioned flowers which persist year after year; lemon lilies and peonies; and a giant old lilac bush near the ruins of the old cellar.

Uncle Dave was married twice, the first time to Emmaline Coffey of Boylston, probably after he first got back from the Walker expedition. She was born in 1841 and died December 8, 1868, leaving him five daughters. The second wife was Cena M. White, who was from Frankfort. She was born in 1844 and died January 7, 1905. She was the mother of four sons and four daughters.

Uncle Dave and Aunt Cene moved to Frankfort Center in 1895, where some of their children were then living. He died in 1910.

Uncle Dave was said to have been a man of rugged physique and great power of endurance, and judging from the adventurous and dangerous life he led in his early years, this must surely have been so. Even in his old age it was said that he was a remarkaby well preserved man and gave no intimation of his true age. His obituary mentions the fact that he tried to enlist in the Spanish-American War but was refused on account of his age, although whether this was true or not I can't say, never having heard it from any of the family.

To the end of his life Uucle Dave was much interested in the Grand Army of the Republic and in Masonry. He claimed to have been made a Mason in California in 1850, under an oak tree, by means of a special dispensation from the state. Another thing which he took a deep interest in was the building of the Panama Canal, which he always stoutly maintained should have been built in Nicaragua, and which in fact was at one time considered as an alternate route.

Yes, Uncle Dave was quite a charactor. Now, after the lapse of time, retracing his life story and his vivid accounts of his experiences, one can only conclude that if all this did not actually happen as he told it, then Uncle Dave had a gift of imagination and a talent for writing which should have made him a highly successful author in his day.

Personally, I think that most of it may be true.

History of the Seventh-Day Adventists Church In Oswego County

(Presented by Rev. Roger H. Ferris, November 17, 1959)

Coming to Oswego County a little more than two years ago, to pastor the four Seventh-day Adventist congregations, I had the opportunity to follow out an interest which had been developing for several years concerning the history of my denomination. The former pastor, Ralph E. Neall, had left for Cambodia as a missionary in July of 1957. He had left a note to the effect that the Roosevelt Church was about to complete 100 years of service.

Delving into the history of the church I turned to denominational archives to find nothing. Then local sources were tried. In Crisfield Johnson's **History of Oswego County** this paragraph came to light under the section on The Town of Schroeppel:

"An Advent church also exists in the town, but no one of its members to whom we applied took sufficient interest in it to furnish the data for a historical sketch; hence the ommission." p. 332."

Like so many other sources, the ommissions were greater by far than the inclusions and chronicled details.

Leading eventually into letters, papers, old periodicals and word of mouth, the following facts and events were reconstructed and documented in as scholarly a way as possible.

Johnson also says by way of observation in a bracketed note on page 333:

"We wish here to compliment the efficient clerk of church (Free Baptist of Gilbert's Mills), Deacon G. W. Turner, for the admirable manner in which he has kept the church records for nearly half a century. There is so great a laxity in the churches generally that when we meet with a well-kept and accurate record, we feel as though those who have been instrumental in its preservation deserve an everlasting crown of glory, or some other inestimable reward.---Editor"

This researcher would add a hearty old time "Amen" to that staement!

Since Oswego County served as the first headquarters of the church, the residence of its first leaders, and the location of some of its first printing ventures, some little detail concerning the general origins of the church will be given. Only thus can a complete picture of the important part Oswego County played in the establishment of the Seventh-day Adventist church be gained.

Ever since Christ established the Christian church many denominations through the centuries have had their origin through one of three major avenues. (1) Through some division within the church. An example of this would be the Catholic-Luthurenschism which eventually resulted in the Reformation and many fragmentary religious groups. (2) Through the personal ambition of one man, such as Joseph Smith and the "revelations from the angel Moroni" upon which this man built a church or Mary Baker Eddy and Christian Science as another example. Some denominations have been formed by petty personal ambitions of a man who led a portion of a congregation into following him, subsequently to form an independent church. (3) Through needless quarrel over doctrine and church polity. The general classification of Protestants called Baptists illustrate this point, especially in the field of divine polity. Several major Methodist groups (Methodist Nazarene and Weslyan Methodist), two Mormon groups, (Reformed and Salt Lake), are but three examples of this origin.

Other churches have come into

being through a spiritual revival or doctrinal reform. These become a rallying point around which some leader or leaders emerge and gather new members into an ecclesiastical organization.

The birth of religious organizations generally follows a pattern. Spiritual upheaval brings about a deep longing for and after God. Divine proclamations of truth stir the hearts of men and brings about genuine reformation of life. Then follows the gathering together of those who have similarly responded, into a spiritual brotherhood dedicated to preserving and extending the same message to others that has stirred their own hearts.

When one examines the beginnings of the Seventh-day Adventist church there emerges no single Luther or Calvin or Wesley, standing out as the "founder" of the church. There are rather a group of strong, God fearing men and women from three areas of the eastern United States who were the pioneers of this new movement. They had passed through great religious revival, perhaps the greatest since the reformation. But, then, let us take a look at the background and environment in which 19th century America produced such a movement.

Colonial America had been very much interested in religion. The Puritans of New England wished to escape the religious oppression of 17th century Europe. It was not, however, in their purposes to grant this same freedom of religious thought to those who wished to reside in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Hence the expulsion of Roger Williams from the colony and his founding of Rhode Island. The Hartford Convention, granting tolerable freedom of thought, drew Connecticut into the ranks of those developing the great American principle of freedom of religious thought. In Virginia, the Church of England held sway and Maryland was predominantly Catholic under Lord Baltimore. It was this colony, in which the Act of Toleration in 1649 was made, that a real concept of religious liberty as we know it was begun. Religion was not a test of citizenship here. William Penn and the quaker idea of free individual religion expression also contributed much.

Thus 18th century America was the climax of several centuries growth of the great adventure in liberty. Strong men, rugged individualists and clear thinkers were found literally everywhere. Isolation, rugged and rockey land gave a man time to think and reflect on a lot of matters. The Bible was the universal book. Where no other literature could be found there would always be a Bible. It was only natural then that the thoughts should center on matters of religion.

One of these religious thinkers was William Miller. Born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts in 1782. He served as a captain of the Army during the War of 1812. After the war he settled on a farm at Low Hampton, New York (near the Vermont line at the tip of Lake Champlain). As a farmer he had leisure time for reading. His previous reading of Voltaire, Hume, Volney, Paine and others had left him an avowed deist. Now on the farm, he turned to a detailed and exhaustive study of the Bible. He soon changed his former views and in 1816 became a Christian, of Baptist affiliation. His Bible study continued and by 1830 he had become convinced that the prophecies of Daniel pointed to the literal and immenient return of Jesus Christ to this world in about 1843.

The next decade was one of continual preaching and writing. The 2,300 days or years (see numbers 14:34 and Ezekiel 4:6) of Daniel 8:14 were to end in the seventh month (of the Jewish Calendar) at the 10th day in 1843. As the time neared more than 100,000 "Advent believers" anticipated this event. Miller, restudying his positions, now advanced the date to 1844 in the spring. When these dates proved inaccurate some of Millers followers set October 22, 1844 as the day for Christ to visably reappear. Many sold their earthly possessions as they gave their all to the proclaimation of the Millerite message. On the great day they

had waited for, some gathered in congregations, others by families or groups and went to high points of land. Singing and praying occupied the day. When night fell many sorrowfully departed for home. Others still clung to the hope that Christ would appear and take them to heaven, until the late hours of the night.

You can imagine the grief, dismay and ridicule they were subjected to. Many went back to farms and jobs, endeavoring to forget about their dissillusionment. Yet not all gave up the Advent hope. They felt that Bible prophecies pointed to some great event which was to take place at this time.

This is the setting in which the three-fold antecedents of the Seventh-day Adventist church had root. The next decade was the formative period, when two permanent religious groups were developing out of the great Second Advent Movement just outlined. The first group held to the integrity of the Seventh Month Movement with its terminus of the 2,300 year-days of Daniel 8:14 on October 22, 1844. This smaller body accepted additional doctrines concerning the seventh-day as Sabbath, the heavenly sanctuary as a type of the earthly Jewish sanctuary and a blueprint of the complete redeemptive process of God, and what was called the Spirit of Prophecy to ultimately became known as the Seventh-day Adventists. The other, and at first the larger, group rejected these three fundamental doctrines, denied the October 22, 1844 termination of the 2,300 days and the validity of the positions they had held just prior to that date.

The Advent believers who continued to worship at the rural church in Washington, New Hampshire, were soon to be introduced to a Seventh-day Baptist woman, Rachel Oakes later Preston. Through her conversations with the minister, Frederick Wheeler, this entire congregation began to worship on the seventh day or Saturday instead of on the first-day or Sunday.

Near Portland, Maine in December of 1844 a young woman, Ellen Gould Harmon (later united in marriage to Elder James White) began to have what seemed to be supernatural dreams or visions pertaining to spiritual matters at first, and as years progressed, concerning other practical daily matters. This was known as the "Spirit or Gift of Prophecy".

In Port Gibson, New York (between Palmyra and Rochester on Route No. 31), Hiram Edson and O. R. L. Crosier gathered regularly to study the Bible. They had been followers of Miller and sought to determine his error. In the early spring of 1845 they walked through a cornfield one morning praying and talking about their study. Suddenly both men seemed to seize upon the same idea. They concluded that Miller's time was right but the event wrong. Eighteen hundred and forty-four (1844) had seen the beginning of the judgment phase of Christ's typical ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, and signaled the beginning of the "time of the end" which would climax with the second coming of Christ.

Thus, from three widely separated parts of the country, three ideas sprang up which were destined to combine with basic Christian philosophy to form the Seventh-day Adventist church, although that name was not adopted officially until 1861.

What part did Oswego County play in this development? Names make history. James White and Ellen Harmon (they were married in August 1846), Frederick Wheeler, Hiram Edson, David Arnold and Joseph Bates are a few who played important parts in the development of the Seventh-day Adventist church. All of them visited, lived and worked in Oswego County at some time during the period from 1848 to 1854. Three of them are buried in this county; Hiram Edson and second wife in Roosevelt Cemetery, Frederick Wheeler, wife and daughter in West Monroe Cemetery, and David Arnold in the Mount Pleasant Cemetery.

How they happened to come here, what they did and what they accomplished here makes an interesting saga.

David Arnold was a farmer and lived on the land owned by the late Irvin Clark east of Mount Pleasant, one-quarter (¼) mile. In the rear portion of the large barn on the north side of the road, many Adventist meetings were held, one of which I will describe in detail later. (See 1958 **Oswego County Historical Society Year-book**, page 7ff).

Hiram Edson lived at Port Gibson on the western division of the Erie Canal. Here he farmed very successfully selling his farm in the mid 1840's for $3,500.00, a good price in its day. This money he gave in total for the work of the newly forming church. Moving to Centerport, located on the old canal bed two miles west of Weedsport, he again worked a farm selling it in 1847 or 48 for $2,500.00 giving all of this money to the church. He lived at Roosevelt, Oswego County and farmed here. Shorter residence was made at Port Byron in early 1850 but he lived in Schroeppel and Palermo townships until his death in 1882 of "lingering consumption". Neither of these men were ordained clergymen although each was ordained as a local or lay elder serving specific churches.

Frederick Wheeler, however, was an ordained minister. In the early 1850's he was called to become the pastor of the Western New York District of Adventist Churches. This district was comprised of that portion of New York State west of Utica **and** the State of Pennsylvania. Headquarters were at Roosevelt, Oswego County. I have a letter and his conference report of labors for the denomination in 1892, found in an old church attic in Rome, New York. His total expense account for railroad fares was $4.92. Frederick Wheeler lived in West Monroe in his later years. He had one desire and that was to live to be one hundred years old. Born in 1811, he died in 1910 at the age of 99 years, seven months and 14 days. Mrs. Carlton Spooner, now of West Monroe, recalls sitting on the lap of this bearded patriarch as a girl. His son, George G. Wheeler was born in 1834 and died in 1936 at the age of 102 years. Fred B. Wheeler, his grandson (by George) now lives in Syracuse and if all indications prove right may well live to be as old as his father and grandfather. Kate Wheeler, Brookfield, New York (relationship unknown) solicited members of the family, two of whom were former Adventist church workers, in 1950 for a new tombstone upon which is the simple inscription "Elder F. Wheeler, 1811-1910, A pioneer minister of Seventh-day Adventists".

Now let us trace the actual events connected with the church in Oswego County.

While at Topsham, Maine in the winter of 1848, James and Ellen White received a letter from a Brother Chamberlain at Middletown, Connecticut urging them to come down for a conference of Sabbath-keeping Adventists. This was done on April 20, 1848, as the first conference was held of the newly emerging church at nearby Rocky Hill, Connecticut. Joseph Bates, a retired sea captain was also present.

"Soon after this we were invited to attend a conference at Volney, New York, August 1848," the autobiographical record states. Hiram Edson had written the invitation and stated that "the brethern were generally poor, and that he could not promise that they would do much toward defraying expenses." This is typical of the condition of the times. Clergy were entertained by those they visited and provided with transportation to their next point of service. Thus these men and women, interested in spiritual matters, traveled often by faith that their needs would be cared for.

To earn money to come to Volney, James White mowed hay with a hand sythe earning about $40.00. Clothing was purchased and fare paid for the trip. Leaving their ten month old child, Henry, at Rocky Hill, James and Ellen White, with Joseph Bates, took the steamboat down Long Island sound for New York City, an overnight journey. Here they took a river boat to Albany and then canal boats to Seneca Hill on the Oswego Canal.

It is important to note here the

fact that DeWitt Clinton's "ditch" was largely responsible for Adventists coming to Oswego County. Hiram Edson had lived at Port Gibson, Port Byron, Centerport, and Headquarters were made in Oswego, Volney and Roosevelt because of the ready accessibility with points both east and west, by canal. Also Oswego County gave use of lake sailing vessels to go to Canada East, Rochester and Buffalo. The importance of the canal to the general development of the region cannot and should not be underestimated.

"Our first conference in Western New York was at Volney in Brother Arnold's barn. There were about thirty-five present . . ." recall the Whites in their book **Life Incidents.** In this barn long discussions on Bible interpretation were held. They here celebrated the Lord's Supper (Communion) for the first time in recorded Seventh-day Adventist history. Even then, David Arnold had some objection as they were about to begin. An immediate discussion was conducted, the objection answered and the service continued. These two "Sabbath Conferences" were largely responsible for the stabilization of Adventist doctrine still held to this present time.

From Volney they traveled to Port Gibson and had another meeting in Brother Edson's barn. They intended to return from here to New York (about one week's journey). This incident was recalled:

"We were too late for the packet, so we took a line boat, designing to change when the next packet came along. As we saw the packet approaching, we commenced making preparations to step aboard; but the packet did not stop, and we had to spring aboard while the boat was in motion. Brother Bates was holding the money for our fair in his hand, saying to the captain of the boat 'Here, take your pay!' As he saw the boat moving off he sprang to get aboard, but his foot struck the edge of the boat, and he fell back into the water. He then commenced swimming to the boat, with his pocket-book in one hand and a dollar bill in the other. His hat came off and in saving it he lost the bill, but he held fast to his pocket-book. The packet halted for him to get aboard."

Back in Oswego County, members of the newly developing denomination were found in West Monroe, New Haven, Scriba, Mexico, Union Square (Maple View), Pulaski, Sand Banks (Altmar), Salmon River (Pineville), Oswego and other places in only a few years. They multiplied quite rapidly until there were more Sabbath-keeping Adventists in Oswego County by 1849 than in any part of the country.

Eighteen hundred and forty-nine (1849) found the Whites back in Oswego County. On November 3rd they had attended at Conferrence at Oswego where tobacco and snuff "were cleared from the camp with very few exceptions". On November 13th they attended meetings at Volney. Here they found many who were poor bringing their whole families to conference, furniture and all. They then prevailed upon local brethern to feed and care for them. "They seemed to possess a careless, loafing spirit . . ." the record states. After meeting these problems and paying visits to Lorraine (Jefferson County), the Whites settled in Oswego. (Early 1850).

"My husband felt a burden upon him to write and publish. We rented a house in Oswego, borrowed furniture from our brethren, and commenced housekeeping. There my husband wrote, published, and preached," wrote Ellen White.

Seventh-day Adventists have always used the printed page to teach their beliefs. During the summer of 1849, James White began to print a paper called **The Present Truth** published semi-monthly at Middletown, Connecticut. Numbers 1-4 were published here from July to September. This was the first periodical or any attempt at publishing, by Adventists. In December of 1849 volume 1 No. 5 was printed at Oswego, New York. Numbers 5 through 10 were issued from Oswego between December 1849 and May 1850. On the

last page of No. 10 appears this announcement:

"We now expect to leave this state in a few days, to spend some weeks . . . in the east; therefore, the brethren may not expect to receive the 'Present Truth' for a short time, at least. There is on hand all the back numbers, and a large supply of the hymnbooks . . The above can be had without money or price by addressing (post paid) . . . Elias Goodwin, Oswego, New York."

The next number of the **Present Truth** was issued at Paris, Maine in November of 1850. Of the numbers issued at Oswego, Nos. 7-10 carried on the head "R. Oliphant, Printer." Little data is available on this man, except one reference pointed out to this researcher by Nick Todaro, Society member of Fulton and reference to him in Oswego County Historical Society Yearbooks of 1941, 1942. In the book **Prison, Camp and Pulpit** by Edward Lee, the title page inscription is "Printed by R. J. Oliphant, Printer and Stationer, Oswego, New York, 1889." **"The Advent Review** was issued from Auburn, New York in August and September of 1850 (No. 1-4) by "H. Oliphant, Printer, Auburn." Whether these two men were related or not is an interesting but unanswered question. (They were brothers—see Yearbook of the Society 1942 p. 27). Number 4 of this paper directs that "all communications, orders and remittances for the 'Review' should be paid direct to Elias Goodwin, Oswego, New York (post paid)." Number 5 was issued from Paris, Maine, November 1850 as was the **Present Truth. The Advent Review** became the **Advent Review and Sabbath Herald** published continuously from 1850 to 1959 and is the denomination's official journal.

The **Review** served as a general information exchange as well as a theological, organizational and testimonial forum. Elias Goodwin, the Oswego agent mentioned previously, reported one Benjamin, who tried to get free lodging and food, posing as a member. He turned him out and when it was discovered that Benjamin was going to other members "mooching" Elias Goodwin "published" him in the **Review** that others would not "be so deceived."

The hymn-book mentioned in the above citation from the **Present Truth** was also a first. They had used other hymnbooks published by Joshua V. Himes an Adventist (but not Sabbath-keeping) minister and long time supporter of William Miller. James White had assembled a collection of hymns (no music, only metrical symbols--cm, lm, sm, etc.) and published them during his 1849-50 stay in Oswego. It was also printed by Richard Oliphant.

The hymn-book's title is very interesting. It was called **Hymns for God's Peculiar People That Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus.** They measured about 3½" x 6" and contained 53 hymns. Price was 12 for $1.00 or 12½¢ a single copy. The 53 hymns were of interesting title, some samples, "Washing Feet", "The Joys of Eden", "Fall of Babylon", and "This World is Not My Home". From its selections grew a series of supplements and hymn-books. The current hymnal contains a section of these original hymns.

Leaving Oswego, the White's journeyed to Maine, returning to Oswego for another conference. From here they moved their home to Centerport where publication of the **Advent Review** began . By April of 1852 the **Review** had been published in Auburn, New York, Paris, Maine, Saratoga Springs, New York and in Rochester, New York. While in Rochester a Washington Hand Press was purchased with $600.00 given by Hiram Edson. Thus the first denominationally owned press began to work. In October 1855 the press was moved to Battle Creek, Michigan. Here the church was to establish a permanent head-quarters from 1854 to 1901. In 1901 a transfer was made to Takoma Park, Washington, D. C.

It may be of general interest to mention here that the Battle Creek Sanitarium under the direction of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg was there established. The Seventh-day Adventist concept of

physical medicine, diet and rest cures was developed. A medical college, now replaced by College of Medical Evangelists, Loma Linda, California, was established. W. K. Kellogg was Dr. John's younger brother and worked for the Sanitarium for a quarter century until in mid-life he stepped out, taking the food recipes of the Sanitarium Food Company, developed and improved them into the multimillion dollar breakfast food industry. Like cereals, peanut butter was developed as a high protein food to replace flesh foods in the diet. These items are the peculiar contributions of Seventh-day Adventists to America's eating habits.

From 1849 to 1862 many important events took place in Oswego County among Adventists. A conference convened in Oswego City on November 3, 1849, which definately helped establish Seventh-day Adventist membership and led to many accessions to membership. It was while the Whites resided at Oswego that a special work was launched on behalf of children and youth. The report is given that "a considerable number dedicated themselves to the service of the Master".

G. W. Holt was a traveling minister and in the fall of 1851 he spent some time working in Oswego, Sandy Creek, Redfield, Boylston and Lorraine. S. W. Rhodes visited several congregations in September of the same year, some of which were Albion, Camden, Lorraine, Oswego, Volney and Schroeppel (Roosevelt).

The church in Oswego in the summer of 1851 had a visitor who was a Mormon preacher. He was requested to leave the room since his words were not from the Bible but other sources (Book of Mormon). Objecting and claiming the right to speak for "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty", he was ejected, and the meeting "resumed in peace."

Some members were claiming that dreams were special revelations from God and should be followed in matters of business, etc. A long article appeared in **The Advent Review** of 1851 written by James White and G. W. Holt condemning this attitude. It concluded with these words: "The above is the position of the church at Oswego, New York." This was typical of the manner in which problems were met by collective study and exchange of ideas on the forum pages of **The Advent Review.** The Oswego Church was looked to for opinion of weight in these matters. No one person decreed Adventist doctrinal position but consecrated students of the Bible attempted to discover God's "truth" in His book, the Bible.

In 1851 a conference was convened at Oswego. More than 100 were present. The report states that many felt this meeting was as spiritually moving as the Millerite meetings of 1843-44.

Other large meetings were held at Oswego in 1854. On February 4 and 5, 1854 about 150 gathered in "Brother Carpenter's new building" which had a commodious hall. The topics discussed included a rather introspective examination of problems within the church. This personal examination and resultant catharsis seemed to accomplish much for the report of the meeting convened with these words: "The prospect now looks fair for a good work."

It was at a conference in Oswego in December of 1855 that church order or polity was further discussed. Prior to this, organization was loose. Increasing size meant more leadership needed to be designated. "Bro. J. Hart of Vermont was chosen chairman and David Arnold of Fulton, recording secretary. It was first proposed to take into consideration the propriety of establishing further order in the churches in Central New York. Brn. Hiram Edson and David Arnold were then chosen, and afterwards set apart by prayer and the laying on of hands, to act as Elders in the church." This same process as first recorded at this conference in Oswego prevails today.

In 1858 the congregation at Roosevelt were given permission to build a church building on lands

of Lyman Drake. In 1861 he sold one-half (½) acre on which the church stood to the congregation for $32.00. The trustees were Alexander Ross, Levi R. Chapel and William Treadwell. The actual building was done in the fall and winter of 1858-59 and the building was dedicated on June 17-19, 1859.

It stands today as the oldest church building built by Seventh-day Adventists still in use. The **Central Square Citizen** of June 11, 1959 carried a detailed history of the church, a copy of which is presented to the Society with this paper. A special centennial program was conducted on August 30, 1959, with nearly 1,000 persons present. A re-dedication took place on June 20, 1959.

Some announcements of meetings held here will be of interest.

"Providence permitting, there will be a conference in Roosevelt, Town of Schroeppel, Oswego County, New York, to commence 6th day evening (Friday) February 5th (1858) . . . Brethren who may come by railroad will stop at Syracuse, and take stage for Central Square, four miles from Roosevelt."

"General Conference and Tent Meeting at Roosevelt, Oswego County, New York, August 27-29 (1859). It will be a general gathering for the state. Five hundred can be accomodated in the warm season at Roosevelt."

Of this meeting it is recorded that too many were present to get in the new church so meetings were held in the large tent, used for evangelism, across the road. At other meetings, people crowded the windows to hear the speakers. Many large and spirited meetings were conducted here.

October 25, 1862, witnessed the organization of the New York Conference (present headquarters 528 Oak Street, Syracuse, New York) at a Roosevelt meeting. It included in its membership then the Adventist churches in Pennsylvania. Now it is only upstate (Metropolitan New York City is a conference itself) New York. It was the third conference organized in the denomination, Michigan in 1861 and Vermont early in 1862 being earlier. It was organized one year before the General (World) Conference and was a charter member at its inception at Battle Creek, Michigan in 1863. The first president of the New York Conference was David Arnold and a trustee was Hiram Edson.

Adventist church groups have met in Martville, Hannibal, Roosevelt, Minetto, Fulton, Oswego City, West Monroe, Dexterville, Pineville, Altmar, Pulaski, Williamstown and other points. Names like M. W. Milks, Caster, Twitchell, Job Lodge, Fred Church have played important parts in the church development.

Camp meetings have been held in Fulton, 1891; Pulaski in 1917, 18; in the old ball park at Port and Jefferson Streets; at Maple View about 1899 or 1900 and several times during early years in Roosevelt.

At meetings in 1862 and 1863 in Roosevelt the denomination's non-*cambatant military position* was defined. The Civil War was the first conflict in the denomination's experience. Adventists will not bear weapons to kill but will serve in the medics as life-saving members of combat teams. Desmond Doss received the Congressional Medal of Honor in World War II for bravery while unarmed.

In summary, should the events concerning the seventh-day Adventist denomination, that took place in this county, have not occurred, the Seventh-day denomination would not be in existance today. Oswego County, once the meca for pioneer spirits has imparted its heritage not only to industry, government and military campaigns, but to this religious movement which now numbers 1¼ million members in 185 countries, operates nearly 100 colleges and a thousand other schools, supports nearly three thousand missionaries who minister to the physical, mental and spiritual welfare of mankind. Humble beginnings, yet great accomplishments. To the church the words of scripture take on

added meaning—"With God all things are possible".

November 17, 1959
Roger H. Ferris, Minister

Oswego District SDA Churches
Historian, New York Conference of S.D.A.

Necrology

1958

MRS. GEORGE CHESBRO

Phoenix, New York, December 13, 1958

JULIA GILBERT

Fulton, New York, Decmeber 13, 1959

MRS. CHARLES D. PARTRICK

Mexico, New York, April 29, 1959

CHARLES W. LINSLEY

Oswego, New York, May 16, 1959

CHARLES GILMORE

Oswego, New York, August 20, 1959

WILLARD J. HALL

Oswego, New York, September 17, 1959

MAXWELL R. BATES

Grosse Point, Michigan, November 7, 1959