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DEDICATION

Miss Grace E. Lynch

Grace Lynch, a native of Fulton and a 1913 graduate of Oswego Normal School, taught brilliantly in the Fulton school system for many years until her retirement in 1959. Her service as a superior teacher was recognized in 1957 when the State College at Oswego cited her for outstanding service to the children and schools of New York State.

Her influence, however, by no means ended in the classroom. Wherever community service was required, Grace Lynch was there. She was a War Bond speaker and saleslady in both World Wars, member of the Board of Directors of the Fulton Chapter of the American Red Cross, and its secretary, secretary of the War Camp Community Fund, which provided recreation rooms and equipment for troops at Fort Ontario and Camp Drum, a member of the Salvation Army Auxiliary and a member of the Lee Memorial Hospital Auxiliary.

Grace Lynch actively supported the organizations of her church, The Immaculate Conception. She was a charter member and Grand Regent of Court Pere LeMoyné, Catholic Daughters of America.

Professionally, Miss Lynch helped organize the Fulton Teachers' Association and served many terms as its president and as delegate to the House of Delegates of the New York State Teachers' Association. She was elected to Delta Kappa Gamma, international honor society for women in education.

Papers which she presented before the Oswego County Historical Society and other groups were never dull, always clever, always interspersed with the wit and humor so characteristic of her. It was a real experience to be in her audience on such an occasion.

For her lifelong service to her community, to local history and to the Society, the Board of Managers dedicates this volume to Miss Grace E. Lynch.

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ORWELL AS A HEALTH CENTER

by Alice B. Clark

I. Oswego County Tuberculosis Hospital

In 1911 a state law was enacted requiring counties of 60,000 population to build and maintain a tuberculosis hospital. Because of its pure air and high terrain, Orwell was chosen for the site of the new hospital. Work was begun in the spring of 1913. A 136 acre farm was purchased from George S. Loomis. The original farmhouse was built by Seymour Davis. It was one of the largest and most imposing houses in the township. The first dollar that my mother ever earned was in this house when she played the wedding march for the wedding of Mina Loomis. During the rehearsal, the bridegroom would slide down the bannister and hold up the whole procession.

The remodelling for the hospital was done by Clarence Hilton. This was one of his first construction jobs. You probably read in the paper about him a year or two ago when he donated one-half million dollars to Syracuse University to be used for scholarships for boys and girls from our section of the county.

A double veranda was added to the main building and an annex built. An independent lighting plant was installed; also a sewer system and heating unit. The first cost was about \$30,000. Dr. M. J. Terry was in charge with Dr. J. R. Allen the superintendent. When the hospital opened it had 22 beds, 3 nurses, and a matron, Margaret Kavenaugh. The fee was ten dollars a week if the patient could afford it, otherwise it was free. The grand opening was October 15, 1913, with five patients. One of the early patients was Jane Garlock from Oswego. Her husband, Sam, used to walk to Orwell every Sunday to see her. She was there for four and a half years.

The hospital gradually expanded, with the nurses' home being built in 1921 and the childrens pavilion in 1925. Open porches were used for sleeping even in the coldest weather. I know, for I was a patient there for three months. Remember, this was in the days before electric blankets!

Following the first World War, through an agreement with the government, forty ex-service men were treated for which the county received four dollars a day. It was from these funds that the nurses home was built.

The farm had been gradually reforested, until it was covered with 35,000 Scotch pines.

In the children's building arrangements were made for accommodating thirty children. A regular teacher was employed. The district received state aid in the same proportion as other schools. The children had a recreation room and were supervised at all times. Their meals, sleeping hours, and playtime periods were planned so that they received the greatest benefits of the hospital care. Mrs. Mabel Hilton from Orwell taught there from 1930-33. They had a half-day of school and the rest of the time was spent in treatment, recreation, and sleeping. During the time she was there between thirty and forty children were treated, with only one death occurring. The children's building was closed in 1948.

Every case in the hospital was given individual study. A modern laboratory and X-ray equipment was used. A free clinic was held every Wednesday. In 1937 seven hundred and thirty-five examinations were made. At that time, 2,644 patients had been treated; 848 were discharged as arrested cases, and 729 improved.

The personnel consisted of 13 nurses headed by Miss Lucetta Parsons, R.N., and Dr. Leroy Hollis, superintendent. Included in the hospital equipment was a printing shop which printed the monthly booklet, "The Bug." The occupational therapy room was equipped for wood carving, sewing, weaving, needle work and jewelry making.

On January 4, 1949, fire of undetermined origin practically destroyed the Hunt Building with an estimated loss of \$150,000. Six fire companies were called to fight the blaze. The fire was discovered at about noon. Twenty patients were evacuated to the Children's building. Only one casualty was reported. Mrs. Anna Clark, a nurse, fell on the ice while working with the evacuation, and broke her right arm. She continued for some time assisting with the patients before she had it treated. About \$10,000 worth of X-ray equipment was damaged by water. At one time the water was thirty inches deep in the basement of the Hunt Building. Dr. Fred J. Loomis was superintendent at the time of the fire.

He was succeeded by Dr. Warren L. Hollis, who was the third generation of his family to hold the position. Dr. Leroy Hollis, Warren's grandfather, was director from 1917 to 1940. Dr. Harwood Hollis followed Dr. Leroy as director. Dr. Harwood was beloved by young and old; the sick looked forward to his coming as the bright spot in their day, and of him it was said, "He's as good as a dose of medicine himself; he'd make us feel better even if he didn't give us a thing." I remember one winter when the roads were closed by a heavy snow-storm he made the trip from Lacona to the sanatorium on a caterpillar tractor. It was shortly after this that he died from a heart attack.

By 1950 tuberculosis was declining in the county. There were only nine deaths that year. This was a great improvement over about 70 deaths per 100,000 in 1928. With the improved methods of treatment, the number of patients gradually decreased until it was decided to close the hospital, January 1, 1958. The only building kept open was the Children's building where the X-ray equipment was located. The weekly Wednesday clinics were continued until 1960, when it was considered advisable to move the clinic to the Pulaski Court House. In the last few years of operation the sanatorium costs exceeded \$130,000 per year.

In 1960 the supervisors of Oswego County offered the Sanatorium for sale. Mrs. Emily Shepard of Fulton bid \$18,500 for the property. The bid was accepted, but later it developed that Mrs. Shepard was not able to raise that amount of money. Some thought was given to making the hospital and grounds into a county recreational area. Not enough interest was aroused in this project, so nothing came of the idea. The property was again offered for sale and was purchased by Stanley Sanderson. Considerable timber was cut before Mr. Sanderson sold the property to Mrs. Shepard. Mrs. Shepard and her family are now living there. No one knows what future use will be made of the buildings.

II. Ideal Rest

For a number of years the Endicott-Johnson Shoe Company had been sending patients to the Oswego County Sanatorium. In 1919 plans were made for a new hospital headed by Dr. Percival D. Bailey. The former 14 room home of Erwin S. Beecher on the south east corner of the Main street in Orwell, was purchased. This description of the town is taken from a press release prepared by Dr. Bailey. "After an extensive search for a good location, Dr. Bailey discovered a small village in the foothills of the Adirondacks, Oswego County, where ideal conditions of altitude and climate presented to him the location he had long sought. Nestling there in the hills was a quiet little village of Orwell, surrounded by beautiful mountains, cut through by rapid mountain streams, free from fogs and no dust or smoke or noise of a bustling city. It was here that Dr. Bailey established a small sanatorium of only seven beds, and together with a small staff of nurses started in to fight against the disease most dreaded by rich and poor alike. The little sanatorium was like a big home. The spirit of hospital conditions was discarded and gave way to a home-like contentment, which made the patients forget they were ill. In two years the little hospital has grown from seven to 50 beds. During this time 218 patients have received treatment."

The Ideal Rest was incorporated for \$360,000. Many people through the area invested in stock. The money was used to buy equipment, and three additional buildings and a farm. This farm is my present home, which was extensively remodelled by Dr. Bailey. He lived there while he was associated with the hospital.

At about this time the hospital began to have financial difficulties. The head of the American Legion charged that veterans were not receiving proper care. When the veterans were withdrawn from the sanatorium, matters became worse. In August 1923, a meeting of the creditors was called at the Pulaski Court House. Dr. Bailey appealed to the creditors not to press for bankruptcy. When Endicott-Johnson withdrew its support from the hospital, Dr. Bailey was in a hopeless situation, not only in finances, but in his personal life.

Dr. Carnal was brought in to run the hospital, but matters were in such a poor financial state by this time, that it was losing money. This was after the depression had started; maybe no hospital could have survived.

The Ideal Rest was sold at a bankruptcy sale, Sept. 15, 1931. I have been told that my farm was bid in on a tax sale for \$800. The other buildings were torn down, until now only two houses remain, from what was once a successful hospital.

THE STUDY OF DEFENSES AT OSWEGO

by Wallace F. Workmaster

For over two hundred years forts have played a key role in the development of Oswego. Today, no less than yesterday, a fortification commands the outlet of the Oswego River and serves a major purpose in the life of this community.

Fort Ontario now echoes more frequently to the tramp of inquisitive visitors than to the sharp cadence of marching troops, although during the summer months the parade still comes alive to the sounds of bugle calls and shouted orders and to the sight of marching and weapons drills. Between the beginning of 1960 and the end of 1965 well over a half million people visited the restoration area.

We know Fort Ontario as an historical museum property, serving an educational function and giving its visitors a small taste of America's military heritage. The metamorphosis of this one fort from a role of active defense to part of a training installation, a refugee camp, and a housing project and now to an outdoor museum is within the memories of many persons. The inevitability of change is, indeed, one of history's few constant factors.

Literally hundreds of historic forts either have survived the tides of change or have been recreated in North America. The sites of thousands more are known and marked. While the accident of Fort Ontario's survival is unusual, it is not unique. The narrative of its history is, of course, unique and in many ways is a significant illustration of the course of military activities in America; nonetheless, the story of the fortifications on the Fort Ontario site is intimately related to Oswego's other defenses. Together Oswego's fortifications offer an important opportunity for study of both defensive design and use.

A military fortification is not a casual accident. Its form is largely dependent upon its location and the weapons with which it may be attacked as well as upon the time, materials, and other resources available to its builders. Since the Middle Ages a science of military engineering gradually has developed with sets of strict mathematical rules to govern the design and construction of fortifications. For example, a precise formula was available to a military engineer laying out a fortification and even the minutest level, angle, or other part of such a fort was identified by a specific name or term. French pre-eminence in the art of fortification design in the early modern period resulted in use of an overwhelming number of terms of French origin.



The Fort Ontario Guard brings the restoration area to life each summer from July 1 through Labor Day. Uniformed, equipped, and drilled like a United States Army unit of the 1860's, the Guard gives life and vitality to the restoration through performance of such daily ceremonies as dress guard mounting, changing of sentry posts, and evening retreat as well as marching and weapons drills. Firing of 6-pounder Civil War era field pieces on the parade is a highpoint for many visitors.

The most outstanding individual associated with fortification design in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was Sebastien Le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban. A marshal of France and one of Louis XIV's most trusted military advisors, Vauban literally revolutionized the design of defenses by refining the form and application of the bastion.

Strengthened by the additional fields of fire afforded by the bastion system and built out of earth and other materials to absorb the impact of artillery projectiles, fortifications of the modern period reflected depth rather than height in their design and construction. Modern fortifications differed markedly from the soaring stone walls and towers of medieval fortifications that had been outmoded in the mid-fourteenth century by the introduction of cannons, powder, and solid shot. The military engineers responsible for Oswego's defenses had full knowledge of these developments and, even as today, one nation copied freely from military designs originated by another.

Most of the major, permanent forts built in North America, therefore, fall into groupings of more or less similar designs. Obviously, the first fortifications built in the New World --- and they frequently were the first structures to be begun --- closely paralleled European designs for works of similar size and purpose. The rules and formulae governing fortification design and construction were explicit but they also allowed some modifications to fit the location and availability of materials; hence, some differences can be noted between forts of basically similar design but of different time or locale.

Reference already has been made to the inevitability of change but the effect of this factor must be underscored. Any structural complex is subject to major and minor alteration or even to complete replacement over an extended period of time. This is particularly true in the case of military defenses since they by nature are exposed to attack and destruction as well as to a continuing need for modernization. Fort de Chartres in Illinois, for example, was rebuilt in the different manner no less than four times and on four different sites as far apart as four miles. Fort Wingate in New Mexico was established in 1862 but in 1868 the whole post was moved to a new site sixty-five miles further west.

Rather early in the task of searching out the story of Fort Ontario's structural development it became apparent that there really have been three permanent forts and one temporary field fortification all sharing the Fort Ontario name and located on virtually the same site. The structural complex surviving today and undergoing development as an historical museum property is simply the main works of the third Fort Ontario --- that is, the central part of the permanent fortification planned in 1838, largely built between 1839 and 1844, substantially improved by additions made between 1863 and 1872, and partially removed between 1903 and 1905.

Primary documentation for the changing physical appearance as well as for the other aspects of life at the third Fort Ontario is to be found in various records groups now in the National Archives at Washington. For the most part these are records of the War Department and the United States Army; however, they also include some records of the Treasury Department. According to the system used by the National Archives, a records group is composed of those records and other files of a particular governmental unit or sub-unit; therefore, the records of the Office of the Secretary of War comprise one records group, the records of the Office of the Quartermaster General comprise a second records group, the records of the Office of the Adjutant General comprise a third records group, and so on.

Altogether, some twenty-six records groups in the National Archives either contain or give reasonable promise of containing useful information on Fort Ontario. Since this quite literally is a matter of hundreds of thousands of pieces of paper to be examined and often copied or abstracted, complete exhaustion of these sources of information will take some little time and effort. Enough work has been done to date to establish the basic story of structural evolution and use.

The function of research is to define positively and constructively the events, personalities, and surroundings of the past. In practice it is not unlike a very complicated jig-saw puzzle -- small pieces of unrelated and sometimes contradictory information gradually to be assembled with judicious judgment into the mosaic of history. New information is constantly coming to hand --- for example, during the summer of 1965 alone seventy-one additional plans and sketches relating to the third Fort Ontario were discovered in the National Archives --- and this material must be incorporated into the results of the information previously discovered.

The records of the office of the Chief of Engineers are of obvious value. It was the function of the Engineers and their Bureau of Fortifications to prepare plans for and to supervise construction of military defenses; therefore, it is in these records that a large number of valuable plans, sketches, diagrams, and other materials are to be found showing the progress of construction between 1839 and 1844 as well as of the improvements added between 1863 and 1872.

One of the most useful of these plans has been a survey prepared in 1838 by a Captain Canfield of the Topographical Engineers that shows the ruins of the second Fort Ontario, the surrounding ground contours of the military reservation, and the projected plan of the third Fort Ontario. Another very useful plan drawn in 1870 shows the entire reservation including the fortification and all outlying service buildings. Individual plans of each building --- some drawn in the 1838-1842 period by Montgomery C. Meigs, the Army Engineer who later supervised construction of the famous Washington Aqueduct and additions to the United States Capitol and who became the Quartermaster General of the Union armies during the Civil War as well as



An 1841 drawing of the third Fort Ontario shows the defenses before erection of the outer works or interior buildings. Until 1863 the outer face of the third fort's main works was covered with a sloping timber revetment that was replaced by vertical stone facing installed between 1863 and 1872. At far right are Oswego's first lighthouse and light-keeper's house built in 1821. The latter still stands and is the oldest documented structure surviving in Oswego. At left is Oswego's second lighthouse built in the 1830's and made higher in the late 1860's.

some drawn for an 1869-1871 survey of Army posts -- have been invaluable.

While initial construction and major modernization of defenses was an Engineer responsibility, maintenance and minor repairs or alteration at a fort or construction of a training installation were under the control of the Quartermaster General. Annual reports, prepared by the post quartermasters at Fort Ontario, had to be submitted to that Washington office after 1863 detailing the physical condition of the post, any repairs or alterations made during the past year, and any repairs or alterations anticipated during the coming year. These reports, sometimes accompanied by diagrams and cost estimates, constitute a most valuable source of information. Records relating to removal of the third Fort Ontario's outer works and to construction of the battalion-sized training installation on the military reservation surrounding the fort between 1903 and 1905 also are in this records group.

One of the most interesting single items in the National Archives material was the post surgeon's record book for 1868, the first year Fort Ontario had a regular United States Army surgeon to supersede a contract surgeon and a hospital steward. This volume was found in the records of the Army's Office of the Surgeon General. Among descriptions of local weather, geology, history, and other information that conceivably might affect the physical well-being of the garrison is a section describing the post building-by-building and room-by-room. The post surgeon's record book contains information ranging from the kinds of vegetables being grown and picked in the post garden to the types of lighting devices being used in the buildings. In the medical record section are a number of observations concerning health and morale that go well beyond a mere clinical record.

Spanning the period 1848-1911 is a separate records group under the title "Records of United States Army Commands (Army Posts)." Insofar as Fort Ontario is concerned, this source includes some correspondence (letters received as well as copies of letters sent), endorsements, orders, courts martial records, descriptive books, post lyceum records, and additional post surgeon's records. Unfortunately, the "runs" within each of these categories are not complete for the whole 1848-1911 period; however, the quantity, quality, and span of these records are sufficient to constitute another valuable research source, particularly since they are the records and files originally maintained at Fort Ontario.

This records group brings one into perhaps the closest relationship to the everyday human aspects of life at the post --- here is to be found such diverse stories as that of the young second lieutenant at Fort Ontario who Major General George Gordon Meade, commander of the Department of the East after the Civil War, blamed for an indiscretion of his own and that of the attitude of the Army's Washington bureaucracy toward installation of Mr. Edison's new-fangled lighting system at military posts.

As anticipated, records of the officers and enlisted personnel who were in garrison at Fort Ontario are to be found in the files of the Office of the Adjutant General. A basic list of officers at the post between 1839 and 1900 has been compiled and may be expanded as research progresses. In addition to individual service records, the materials in this records group quite possibly may suggest other sources or localities that should be investigated for private letters, diaries, or other personal items.

An entirely separate records group contains the files of the 1944-1946 Emergency Refugee Shelter established at Fort Ontario in the closing phase of United States Army use of the post. The records of the Offices of the Secretary of War per se and of the various territorial commands contain some items relating to Fort Ontario. Records groups relating to the Treasury Department contain information on that Federal department's use of six acres of the Fort Ontario Military Reservation for a lighthouse and a light keeper's house between 1821 and 1841. Some records groups, such as those of the Army Commissary General of Subsistence, are impractical to use because of their present internal disorganization; however, it usually is possible to obtain the information that they contain from copies or duplicate records to be found in more readily usable records groups.

Based upon information gained from these National Archives sources as well as other locally available historical, archaeological, and pictorial evidence, it has been possible to evaluate the surviving structural elements of the third Fort Ontario as they were found at the beginning of State Education Department administration in 1949 with detailed accuracy and to proceed to establish the earliest practical common age denominator as a basis for the development of a museum property program within the restoration area.

A number of minor twentieth century alterations immediately were apparent. For example, the interiors of the major buildings had been altered somewhat by the temporary housing project that followed the United States Army in the use of the buildings. Other interior alterations had been made by the Army itself when the buildings were reconditioned in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Some re-arrangement of interior partitions, modern brick fireplaces, hardwood flooring, overhead hot water heating systems, modern bathroom facilities, modern stairwells, and similar improvements were in this category.

Several exterior features --- installation of concrete hoods at artillery casemate entrances, change of a center door to a window in one of the buildings, removal of some of the banquettes or firing platforms and of some of the interior wooden rampart revetment, installation of concrete stairways to the ramparts, completion of an intended tower with cement blocks on another of the buildings, closing of a side door entrance on the second floor level of the same building,

covering the spaces behind the two officers' quarters buildings with cement cappings, planting of trees close to the fortification, and the like --- represented additional twentieth century changes.

Four small wooden buildings, combination outhouse and fuel storage structures, had been removed from their positions flanking the two officers' quarters and a sizable cement block garage had been built next to Officers' Quarters No. 2. Not the least exterior change in the twentieth century had been the intrusion of telephone, electric, and light poles. At times grass, brush, and trees had been allowed to grow virtually untended and apparently someone tried to plant roses, lilies, and other flowers on the exterior earth slopes of the ramparts as a "pre-Lady Bird" beautification project. There even is some evidence that a nine-hole golf course was laid out on the top levels of the ramparts at one time shortly before World War II.

Extant twentieth century photographs and paintings showing the interior of the fort strongly suggest that the fort was not always as neatly tended at some times as it may have been, according to local testimony, at others. As already indicated, use of its ramparts ranged from a large outdoor rock garden to a golf course. The activities of local children and young adults in the buildings and casemates during periods the fort proper was not being actively used by the Army obviously were neither military or historical.

The changes in function of just one building inside the fort will exemplify the changing fortunes of the structures during the twentieth century. The Enlisted Men's Barracks was used last as quarters and kitchen for enlisted personnel in 1901. Until 1917 the building was allowed to deteriorate and between 1917 and 1919 its first floor served as a mule stable. Vacant during most of the 1920's, the building was reconditioned as an officers' club. It was the scene of social activities such as dances, weddings, and parties --- the one marking the end of Prohibition was by all accounts the best --- until turned into apartments for the temporary housing authority. Today it stands with its exterior almost restored and its interior temporarily serving Visitor Center functions pending the day more adequate and modern Visitor Center facilities along lines developed by the National Park Service can be built outside the restoration area and thus free this building for full exterior and interior restoration to its original appearance and function.

Between 1903 and 1905 the outer elements of the fort's defenses --- the ditch or dry moat, the covered way, and the glacis --- were removed to make possible the construction of the battalion-sized and later regimentalized training installation on the grounds of the military reservation. A number of nineteenth century service buildings also were removed from the reservation between 1903 and 1905. These included: a combination quartermaster's storehouse-paint shop-carpenter's shop-bakery; quartermasters' and engineers' stables;

ordnance storehouse; ordnance sergeant's quarters; laundresses' quarters and coal shed. A portion of the 1868 hospital was moved to a new location on the reservation and enlarged by the New York, Ontario & Western Railroad as a condition to the railroad company being allowed to relocate tracks crossing the reservation and thus maintain service to coal trestles on the east side of the harbor.

The main works themselves and the buildings inside of them survived the 1903-1905 alterations to the post because, according to the judgment of the constructing quartermaster, Captain William M. Coulling, they were "picturesque" and would "serve as a wind-break for the rest of the post."

The most noticeable changes made in the 1872-1903 period included addition of a three story stone tower to Officers' Quarters No. 1, enclosure of the second floor porch at the front of the Enlisted Men's Barracks and addition of two one-story stone wings to that building, commencement of a stone tower of the Post Headquarters, addition of one-story wooden porches at the fronts of the two officers' quarters, and addition of dormer windows, chimney extensions, and tin roofs on all major building. By 1890 or so gas lights on posts stood at the edges of the parade to provide night illumination, although it is not yet known exactly when gas lines and fixtures were installed at the fort. According to a photograph in the files of the Oswego County Historical Society, the parade served a distinctly non-military function as a lawn tennis court for the officers and their ladies on at least one occasion in the late 1880's or early 1890's.

Improvement and modernization during the 1863-1872 period consisted of changes more closely related to defensive function than the work done after 1872. Chief among these improvements were the vertical stone facing begun but left unfinished to replace sloping wooden scarp revetment originally installed on the outer face of the main works between 1839 and 1844, construction of casemates or underground artillery and rifle emplacements behind the facing of the bastion flanks, and erection of two stone guardhouses at the gorge or inner mouth of the entryway. During this period changes also were made in the artillery mounted on the ramparts, a number of the previously mentioned service buildings were built, and water lines apparently were installed.

There would seem to be very little advantage to be gained and much greater cost to be overcome in attempting to remove the still extant major additions of the 1863-1872 period to recapture within the restoration area a physical appearance of not much more than twenty years earlier in time; therefore, the decade of the 1860's is the earliest practical focus of physical restoration of the third Fort Ontario. This period is well enough documented and is narrow enough in time to allow maximum integrated, cohesive appearance and interpretation with desired accuracy.

The design of the third Fort Ontario is a pentagonal or five-sided fortification employing five bastions of the Vauban system. It represents the refinement of Vauban's concepts of defense in depth --- quite evident in a profile view showing its original outer works, ditch, and main works --- and converging fields of fire as adapted to the technology of nineteenth century warfare. Comparison to three other pentagonal five-bastioned fortifications of similar size built in North America --- Fort Pitt (begun 1759), the second Fort Ontario (begun 1759), and Fort McHenry (begun 1798) --- indicates the individual modifications between forts of the same basic style.

In terms other than those of military engineering, a fort is a self-contained social unit capable for at least short periods of independent existence. Restoration of the third Fort Ontario to its appearance during the decade of the 1860's will permit an interpretation of garrison life at an active post during a period not portrayed by any other major military restoration in the northeastern United States and yet a period of great popular interest. Furthermore, the interpretative focus at Fort Ontario is thereby complementary to the story of life in a British Army fortification of the same period as seen at Fort Henry in Kingston, Ontario.

To be sure, a great deal of the historical importance of the Fort Ontario site and its active involvement in various battles and campaigns falls between 1755 and 1814 --- but this is a period not represented by any of the surviving physical elements within the restoration area. It would be impossible to recapture the physical appearance of Fort Ontario in its structural versions during this earlier period without complete destruction of the surviving buildings and defenses of the third fort and complete reconstruction from ground level in one of several other forms. This would be historically and economically impractical.

Understanding of the earlier relationship of Fort Ontario to British, French, and American military activities and to American military activities from the 1860's through 1946 as well as the relationship of the earlier fortifications on the Fort Ontario site to the evolution of fortification design is, nonetheless, an essential part of the story. This long-span role of the post is, in effect, the perspective through which a visitor can be brought toward an understanding both of Fort Ontario's relationship to America's military heritage and of the life focused upon at one specific period within the restoration area.

The interpretation of Fort Ontario's long-span evolution and significance will have to be told effectively through formal exhibits, slide-tape or motion picture programs, interpretative literature, and other means. Ideally, these over-all interpretative activities would be accommodated in a Visitor Center as previously mentioned outside the restoration area. The areas inside the fort proper that are now being used temporarily to house them as well as other

twentieth century administrative and operational functions thus would be freed for restoration and a more balanced interpretation of garrison life would be made possible.

Insofar as research concerning the earlier history of the Fort Ontario site and the appearance of the fortifications that occupied it are concerned, primary materials again are serving as the most valuable sources. Charles Stotz, a well-known Pittsburgh restoration architect who is serving as a consultant to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for the development of a museum property including the sites of Fort Duquesne, Mercer's Fort, and Fort Pitt as well as to the Mellon family on the restoration of Fort Ligonier, says that from his first-hand survey of fortification records in British and French depositories he believes there are more surviving eighteenth century plans and other documents relating to Oswego's defenses than to any other fortified spot in British North America. Be that as it may, the task of tapping foreign archival holdings has been begun.

As previously indicated, it again has been a first concern to gain detailed knowledge of the appearance of Oswego's earlier defenses and it has been known that two earlier permanent forts and one temporary field fortification used the Fort Ontario name and location. Each of the three permanent successive Fort Ontario complexes possessed totally different physical appearances and were built of different materials according to different plans; however, both the second and third forts were of the same general type in that they were five-bastioned pentagons.

If it had been possible for one individual to stand in the center of the parades of the three permanent versions of Fort Ontario, he would not have been able to recognize that he was on the same site without climbing to the top of the ramparts and referring to surrounding geographical features. Adequate defense depends largely upon works built of materials and in a manner to successfully withstand weapons of a given period --- a factor evident in the differing physical appearances of the three permanent versions of Fort Ontario.

The first Fort Ontario was of a design not too frequently seen in North American fortifications, although Fort Brewerton, built at the western end of Oneida Lake in 1759, and a small fort at the falls of the Oswego River, also built in 1759, were similarly shaped. The first Fort Ontario, begun in 1755 and destroyed in 1756, apparently was never completely finished. It was shaped in the form of a small eight-pointed star. Its main walls were of log palisade construction, a typical frontier-type material readily available and capable of withstanding musket balls or arrows. Against artillery of any size, such as Louis Joseph, the Marquis de Montcalm, brought with his army in 1756, this type of construction simply was inadequate. The main works of this first Fort Ontario stood on a wide berme and were surrounded by a ditch. On the outer or counter-scarp side the ditch probably fell off almost from ground level. If there was any glacis

at all, it was short and very low since most of the ground from the ditch was used to form the berme.

It was planned to contain thirteen log structures, eight one-story high and five two-stories high, but evidently not all of these buildings were built. All of the one-story buildings abutted into the palisades of the four major angles and were to be used as barracks. Four of the two-story buildings were to be five-sided or wedge-shaped structures free-standing near the mouths of the major angles and were to be loop-holed for musket fire over the tops of the palisades. The remaining two-story building in the exact center of the fort was to be a large, square blockhouse-like structure accommodating eight artillery pieces on its second floor. Eight other cannons were to be located so as to fire through embrasures in the palisades of the minor angles in the walls of the fortification.

It is not known exactly who designed the first Fort Ontario. The plan that shows the fortification as it was to be built with some considerable detail is unsigned and other research has yet to positively identify the engineer responsible. It is known that work on this fort was being carried forward in the spring and summer of 1756 and the engineer in charge of work on Oswego's defenses in that year was Patrick MacKeller.

The second Fort Ontario was, like the third Fort Ontario, a much larger fortification. As has been said, it utilized a pentagonal shape and five bastions of the Vauban system for its main works; however --- unlike either the first or third forts --- the main walls of the second fort were built of squared horizontal timbers assembled in the form of cribbing, filled with earth and stones, and surmounted by a parapet. Its ditch contained a log palisade as an additional obstacle to enemy infantry before reaching the main works. Beyond the ditch was a covered way that along with the glacis differed in configuration from that of the third fort. The covered way was provided with brick traverses to allow cross-fire along the covered way in the event that an enemy breached the first line of defense and gained a portion of this area. The crest or parapet of the glacis was protected by another palisade that arose from the level of the covered way banquette or firing platform.

The main works of the second Fort Ontario had two entryways, one the main gate and the other a sally port. The main gate opened through the curtain wall between the 46th Regiment's Bastion and the New York Bastion. The sally-port or subsidiary gate opened through the curtain between the New York and Grenadier Bastions. Underground bomb-proofs beneath the terre plein levels of the 46th Regiment's Bastion and the New York Bastion provided respectively for a storage place for provisions and a magazine. The other bastions were named, also for troops in the British service at the fort during the French and Indian War, the New Hampshire and Royal American Bastions.

The twelve one-story timber buildings inside the main works were of two types --- six abutted into the timberwork of the ramparts against the five curtain walls and were covered with earth to form the terre plain levels of the curtains, the other six stood freely twelve feet toward the center of the parade in front of the others and were topped with usual pitched roofs. The six buildings abutting into the ramparts were used as enlisted men's quarters --- the four largest buildings of this type each contained three large rooms each of which in turn accommodated twenty men. Each room contained a large double-sided fireplace in the center.

The six buildings free-standing toward the parade were used as officers' quarters and for other essential purposes --- the four largest buildings of this type each contained four rooms on the ground floor that in turn were divided into four more rooms by partitions and double-sided fireplaces. The buildings at Fort Pitt and those at the second Fort Ontario were distributed almost identically and, if the same practice was followed at the second Fort Ontario as at Fort Pitt, the commandant had one of the smaller free-standing buildings near the main gate as his quarters.

A small row of artificers' huts and a storehouse were located outside the main works on the portion of the covered way near the edge of the lakeside bluff. When, as occasion sometimes demanded, more troops were assembled at the fort than could be accommodated inside the works, they were quartered in huts and tents outside the fortification.

The second fort's post garden --- with fruit trees, vegetables, and one formal section --- was beyond the glacis slope in a spot almost identical to the present Babe Ruth League baseball field. Also outside were two square redoubts or advance-guard posts, the smaller one near the lake at the site of the later quarry and present Post Cemetery and the larger one on a spot presently occupied either by Hawley's coal yard or the Easy Bargain Center. Together with two or three small log huts in the woods to shelter woodcutters from Indian raids, these completed the structures of the second Fort Ontario.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century and extending into the twentieth century, considerable confusion arose over the names and exact locations as well as the physical characteristics of the various versions of Fort Ontario. For example, the remains of the larger of the two outlying redoubts of the second Fort Ontario were sometimes confused with the first Fort Ontario by early residents and mapmakers as far away as London. The confusion was compounded by mapmakers and printmakers who identified the second Fort Ontario as Fort Oswego. In fact, military atlases prepared by West Point faculty members in the 1950's and 1960's have continued this confusion and every year sees a small percentage of visitors to Fort Ontario who are amazed to learn that they are not visiting Fort Oswego.

The first Fort Ontario originally was called "The Fort of the

Six Nations" by Massachusetts Bay colony's governor, Major General William Shirley, who ordered its construction in 1755 while at Oswego acting as commander-in-chief of British forces in North America. An obvious attempt to flatter the Iroquois, this name appears on the oldest plans of this particular fortification that have been discovered. Another name sometimes encountered for this same fortification is East Fort; however, this name appears only in written accounts and not on any plans discovered to date. The name Fort Ontario appears both in written accounts by contemporaries and on plans. It is the name most widely used and seems to have been popular with everyone except Shirley and his immediate staff.

The center of the first Fort Ontario was located, according to the best judgment that can be made from comparison of early plans, very slightly to the true south compass reading from the centers of both the second and third versions of Fort Ontario --- probably bisected by the curtain wall of the main works connecting the 46th Regiment's and Royal American Bastions in the second Fort Ontario.

For all practical purposes the centers of the parades of the second and third forts coincide; however, the higher and thicker earth ramparts and bulkier bastions of the third Fort Ontario cause the perimeter of the main works to be of different proportion in plan or trace than the perimeter of the main works of the second Fort Ontario. The fact of different configuration in the outer works of the second and third forts already has been noted, and, of course, the profiles of the second and third forts are totally different. The confusion in names between the various versions of Fort Ontario and Fort Oswego undoubtedly is due to the fact that after 1759 there was only one permanent fort in being at any one time at the mouth of the Oswego River and the name Oswego was widely known because of earlier military and commercial activities.

The most important original plans and other documentary sources relating to the appearance of the first and second versions of Fort Ontario along with those relating to Fort Oswego and Fort George are located chiefly in the King's Maps Collection of the British Museum, the Public Records Office in London, and the Crown Maps Collection at Windsor Castle. The Library of Congress in Washington has copies of some of these materials and the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa possesses additional primary materials. A number of other very probable repositories such as Montreal's Laval University and Paris's Bibliotheque National remain to be examined.

In printed form, contemporary sources appear in a number of places, including appropriate issues of The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle, the London Magazine and Gentlemen's Intelligencer, the New York Mercury, and a number of other periodicals and newspapers as well as in E. B. O'Callaghan's compilations of documents. Other primary sources of major importance,

particularly in connection with the colonial period, are Pouchot's Memoir Upon the Late War in North America, Gabriel's relation of Des Androuins' recollections, Malartic's Journal des Campagnes au Canada de 1755 a 1760, and the description of Vaudreuil, Bigot, Montcalm, Bourlamaque, and Bougainville in Henry Raymond Casgrain's Manuscripts of Marshall de Levis.

The papers of Shirley, Gage, Haldimand, Amherst, Loudoun, Johnson, and others in various depositories or in printed form are equally important sources. The correspondence and reports of many less prominent persons also are of considerable value --- for example, the papers of Captain Housman Broadley of the Royal Navy that are in the Public Records Office and also are reprinted in Volume XIII of the New York State Historical Association's Proceedings.

Despite the wealth of primary source materials, only a comparatively few good secondary sources --- an example is Francis Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, published in 1884 --- deal in detail with even a segment of the history of Oswego's fortifications. In a footnote at the end of a chapter on Oswego in Montcalm and Wolfe, Parkman observed, "The published plans and drawings of Oswego at this time are very inexact." The situation regrettably has not improved either in regard to the French and Indian War or other periods in the intervening eighty-two years since Parkman wrote.

To suggest plans and map of great importance as accurate historical sources, one may point to the Demter-Pownall plan of Oswego's defenses. This plan was prepared by George Demter at Albany in September, 1756, to show the state of the works at the mouth of the Oswego River on May 28 of that year; therefore, it shows Fort Oswego, the first Fort Ontario, and Fort George in addition to the other structures then standing. It was drawn for Thomas Pownall, one of Shirley's many enemies, apparently in relation to questions raised after the fall of Oswego to Montcalm. The plan's chief importance lies in the accuracy of its rendering of the relative positions of Oswego's 1756 defenses as well as in the details of Fort Oswego, the profiles of the first Fort Ontario and Fort George, and the locations of other structures on the west side of the river.

Two other plans relating specifically to Fort Ontario among these earlier materials deserve special mention because of their importance. Both were obtained from a listing of plans of Oswego fortifications compiled by Charles M. Snyder during a visit to London's Public Records Office in 1964. One is the 1755 plan of the first Fort Ontario that bears Shirley's grandiose name for the fortification, the Fort of the Six Nations. This plan shows in large scale the form the first Fort Ontario was to take and it is the best source available for the use and arrangement of the buildings intended to be erected inside. Together with the plan and profile of this fort that appear on the Demter-Pownall rendering and another plan prepared by William Alexander, Shirley's secretary and later the "Lord Stirling" of Revolutionary War fame, a great many of the contradictions posed by contemporary writ-

ten descriptions of the first Fort Ontario can be resolved.

A very important discovery, also in the Public Records Office holdings, is a 1759 plan by Lieutenant Thomas Sowers, the British Army Engineer responsible for construction of the second Fort Ontario. This plan shows the progress of construction on the second fort between August 17, 1759, and the end of work in the fall of that year. It also shows a preliminary configuration for the outer works to be begun in the spring of 1760; however --- most importantly --- it shows as well the outline of the temporary field fortification erected by Colonel Frederick Haldiman that stood on the Fort Ontario site between June and August, 1759.

These temporary works were of irregular pattern to take maximum advantage of topography. Apparently they were constructed of fascines, saucissons, earth, logs, and pork and flour barrels. They were hastily built to protect the supply base at Oswego for the Prideaux-Johnson expedition against Fort Niagara and were attached unsuccessfully by the French and Indians under Saint-Luc de la Corne and the Abbe Francois Picquet operating from Oswegatchie or La Presentation on July 5 and 6, 1759. The field works cut across the probably site of the first Fort Ontario and also across the identical sites of the second and third forts; therefore, their removal was necessary in order to begin construction of the second Fort Ontario in August, 1759.

The Sowers 1759 plan is the only one discovered to date that shows this field fortification, a work whose successful defense by Haldiman with his Royal Americans and New York militia was essential to the safety of the Prideaux-Johnson force and to the eventual fall of Fort Niagara to the British.

Another important re-discovery of a plan was made right in Oswego. This plan, said to have been found in the old de Lery house at Boucherville (near Montreal), was acquired by the Oswego City Library around the turn of the twentieth century. It shows Montcalm's attack on Fort Oswego, the first Fort Ontario, and Fort George. Although consulted by Major W. H. Bertsch during the preparation of his paper on "The Defenses of Oswego" for the 1913 meeting of the New York State Historical Association, this plan has languished, virtually forgotten, out of sight in the Library's files. Neither Bertsch or those historians who followed him made a successful attempt to translate fully the French key and explanatory notes.

With the assistance of Mrs. Charles Wells and others, a translation was made in the fall of 1965 and the notes were found to contribute a number of useful details to knowledge of Oswego's defenses in 1756 as well as of the course of Montcalm's attack. For example, this source confirms that Fort Oswego was a crenelated work with a medieval defensive feature known as a machicoulis to permit fire from above to be directed toward the heads of an attacking enemy. It also indicates that Montcalm's Canadian troops were apparently of the *Compagnie Franche de la Marine*, free companies especially recruit-

ed for colonial service, not militia as sometimes stated, and tells the disposition of Montcalm's units. Of course, Montcalm's regulars were the infantry of the La Sarre Regiment, the Guyenne Regiment, and the Bearn Regiment as well as the cannonniers and bombardiers of the Royal Artillery.

The earliest of all of Oswego's defenses, Fort Oswego, began as "a stone house of strength," to quote the description of New York's governor, William Burnet, who ordered its construction just one year after a so-called "castle" of stone had been begun by the French at Niagara. The post at Niagara had been intended to secure the outlet of the Niagara River passage into Lake Ontario, to establish French control over the Seneca Nation of the generally pro-British Iroquois Confederacy, and to offer a trading post to intercept trade from the Indians of the upper Great Lakes --- Michigan, Superior, and Huron --- that had been attracted to Oswego since 1722 by the larger quantity, greater quality, and cheaper price of trade goods offered by Albany traders.

Fort Oswego, of course, would protect three things --- the activities of the Albany traders, the Oswego-Seneca River access to the home country of the Iroquois, and the Oswego-Oneida-Mohawk route to the settlements of the Province of New York. It also would offer a fortified base for possible disruption of the French line of supply and communication through Lake Ontario to their western posts and a staging area for attacks on the French forts around the perimeter of Lake Ontario or even for attacks on the all-important towns of Montreal and Quebec via the St. Lawrence River. Oswego was the first toe-hold of the British Empire on the inland seas of the Great Lakes and it was point of direct challenge to the dominion of France.

Fort Oswego for many years consisted of a single two-story stone building measuring fifty-six feet by twenty-six feet. There is some uncertainty as to whether or not this building had a flat roof with crenelated side and end walls and several small one-story towers on the top of the roof when first built in 1727; however, a sketch made by a French spy in 1749 shows these features to have been present by that time. Several sources, including the key to the Demter-Pownall plan, mention a covering of wooden shingles, but it is not clear whether this refers to the roof, the side and end walls, or the small towers.

The location of Fort Oswego was on relatively low ground immediately adjacent to the trading area at the west side of the Oswego River's mouth. Because this location was commanded by a ridge to the west and by a bluff on the east side of the river --- both of which would offer excellent artillery positions to any attacking force --- it should have been readily apparent that Fort Oswego's site was of poor tactical defensive value.

Fourteen years passed between the original construction and the first attempt to improve Fort Oswego's defenses. In 1741, funds were appropriated for an addition in the form of a U-shaped

stone wall, fourteen feet high and two and one-half feet thick, with two integral blockhouses. This wall was poorly built of soft stone with mud and clay rather than cement or mortar joining the stones. By the mid-1750's salute guns --- let along artillery pieces used in a sustained battle --- could not be fired from it for fear of collapse.

The previously mentioned French spy's 1749 sketch of Fort Oswego suggests the strong similarity in appearance between that fort and a medieval castle. The once traditional castle type of defensive works had been outmoded since the mid-fourteenth century and was dangerously exposed to artillery fire; however, on the shore of Lake Ontario in the mid-eighteenth century stood a fortification similarly designed, outmoded, and exposed. The British realized this vulnerability virtually from 1727 -- they simply relied on the assumption that the French or anyone else never would be able to transport artillery pieces of any size into the interior of North America.

Still another fourteen years were to elapse between 1741 and 1755 before an attempt was made to construct outer works of earth on Fort Oswego's landward sides to provide a first line of defense and to shield the stone structure from the penetrating effect of low trajectory cannons. During these years Fort Oswego almost invariably was weakly garrisoned and poorly supplied, usually because of internal provincial political problems affecting the governors and the Assembly. Maintenance for the post was a provincial responsibility and on at least one occasion the neglect of the troops in garrison at the post led to mutiny.

Fort Oswego remained little more than a place of quick refuge for the Albany traders and their goods during most of its existence. As late as May, 1756, the blockhouse intended for storage of artillery stores was filled mainly with trade merchandise while military supplies and provisions were piled outside and exposed to weather against the north wall for want of storage space.

The beginning of outer works around Fort Oswego --- first at the order of John Bradstreet and then on an expanded scale at the order of Shirley --- as well as the start of work on the first Fort Ontario and on Fort George was the first attempt to provide the mouth of the Oswego River with an integrated system of defense on both its east and west sides. For scouting and defense as well as offensive action on the lake itself construction also was begun of a small squadron of seven naval vessels, the first British sails on the Great Lakes, in 1755.

The problem, of course, was "too little, too late" insofar as providing an adequate defensive system at Oswego was concerned. It is hard to see how Shirley could have done much more than he did given the situation at Oswego as he found it, the resources at his

immediate command, and the obstacles in his path. Certainly Shirley ruffled a number of Yorker feathers by trying to change the name of Fort Oswego to Fort Pepperrel to honor a Massachusetts hero of King George's War and by other policies. His dispute with Sir William Johnson, always a difficult personality at best, multiplied his already active enemies. Shirley at least tried to provide a measure of badly needed protection with the materials and time available.

It has long been known that Fort George, begun on Oct. 10, 1755, was still unfinished and not readily defensible when Montcalm began his siege operations at Oswego on August 10, 1756. It is often assumed that Fort George was intended to be a typical square fort with four bastions; however, the 1755 plan bearing Shirley's name for this fort, New Fort Oswego, indicates the even if finished it would have been a square with bastions at only three of its four corners.

Furthermore, while the original intent was to erect a steep rampart on the south and west curtain walls, the north and east curtains only were to be palisaded. Of course, the shortage of workmen and the arrival of Montcalm saw the British regulars and the colonial militia hastily trying to complete all four curtains and the three bastions with palisades since the earth sections of the ramparts still were too far from the height needed. Intended to quarter a garrison of seventy men and four officers, Fort George was projected to contain eight buildings and a powder magazine, all abutting into the long curtain or straight sides of the square; however, it is doubtful if more than four lean-to-like barracks actually were built.

Although both Fort Oswego and Fort George were destroyed completely by Montcalm along with the first Fort Ontario in 1756 and no other military works ever were constructed on their sites, the planners of Oswego's defenses continued for some time to entertain thoughts of an integrated system of fortifications on both sides of the river.

The earliest of these post-1756 plans was prepared by William Brasier in May, 1759, as a British army under Brigadier General John Prideaux prepared to reoccupy Oswego during the Niagara campaign. Brasier's proposal was for one large four-bastioned rectangular fort with one or, if possible, two outlying ravelins on the Fort Ontario site. He also projected a small semi-circular battery with demi-bastions on the easternmost portion of the Fort Oswego site and an odd-shaped blockhouse surrounded by earth ramparts of a square design on the Fort George site. The design of the four-bastioned rectangular permanent fort on the Fort Ontario site is strikingly similar to the British-built revision of the former French Fort Carillon, Fort Ticonderoga.

An undated and unnamed plan for the Fort Ontario site some-

what similar to the Brasier-conceived work just mentioned has been found in the King's Maps Collection and suggests in plan or trace a square four-bastioned fortification with numerous multi-story buildings and steep masonry-faced ramparts also shown in profile. A number of buildings shown on this anonymously drawn plan were to be located near the ladside bluff on a covered way outside the main works but inside the outer works as well as inside the main works themselves.

In the 1750's any permanent British fortification built primarily of stone or brick was to have its plan approved in advance in London to prevent a proliferation of posts costly to build and expensive to maintain. It may be that the plan just mentioned was prepared for such an approval --- it certainly would have required London's endorsement before being built --- but such extensive plans usually were prepared and approved well in advance of the actual opportunity for construction to begin. For example, Major General Edward Braddock carried with him on his ill-fated 1755 campaign the already approved plans for a five-bastioned pentagonal fort to be erected on the site of Fort Duquesne after the anticipated capture of that post which were not too markedly different from the plans followed in the erection of Fort Pitt five years later.

Authorization for construction of fortifications of less long-lasting or expensive materials such as wood and earth could be given on the authority of a local military commander or his immediate superior. Upon occasion erection of a fortification and specification of the general type of design to be followed was directed by the commander-in-chief in North America; however, the adaptation of the design to the particular location and other details were left to the designated military engineer. An example of this procedure was Major General James Abercromby's order through Brigadier General John Stanwix in 1758 for the construction of Fort Stanwix.

Brigadier General Thomas Gage --- later a major general and commander-in-chief in North America who most Americans remember only as the officer that sent the redcoats up Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill at the beginning of the Revolutionary War --- returned to Oswego from the recently captured Fort Niagara in mid-August, 1759, to face the decision of a permanent fortification on the Fort Ontario site to replace Haldimand's temporary field works. On August 17, the day after his arrival, Gage approved the plan proposed by Sowers for a five-bastioned pentagonal fort and together they marked out the ground --- events witnessed by Major General Sir William Johnson and duly recorded in his journal of the Niagara campaign.

Additional works at the mouth of the Oswego River were not initially considered by Gage and Sowers; however, another plan, undated but believed to be between 1760 and 1763 and signed by William Brasier, proposed a seven-gun battery adjacent but connected to the second Fort Ontario. Brasier, still concerned with west side defenses, also proposed on this plan submitted to the chief engineer in North America a refinement of his 1759 ideas --- another type of battery on the Fort Oswego site and a sizable five sided, wedge-shaped fortifica-

tion pierced for fifteen guns on the Fort George site. This latter fortification, it was suggested, should be surrounded by a ditch, a covered way with traverses, and a glacis.

Another feature of this second Brasier plan, incidentally, is that it shows an excellent profile view of the second Fort Ontario as it actually was built and the only detailed plans and elevations yet discovered of the main buildings within that fort. Additional features of the second Fort Ontario --- for example, the location of the forty-six artillery embrasures through the parapets of the main works and details of the drawbridge over the ditch --- can be gleaned from a 1763 plan prepared by Sowers to show the progress of construction by that date.

The character of the second Fort Ontario is suggested best, perhaps, by two contemporary drawings. The first was made in 1760 by one of the officers in Major General Jeffery Amherst's expedition against Montreal. It looks from the Fort George site across the Fort Oswego site toward the second Fort Ontario. In the foreground are the remnants of Fort Oswego's outer works, long a west side land mark, and next to Fort Ontario are some of the huts and tents that in 1760 were being used to accommodate Amherst's 10,000 men.

The second contemporary drawing was made in 1761 by Lieutenant Francis Pfister of the 1st Battalion, 60th Foot or Royal American Regiment. It is the only contemporary perspective view of a British fortification in colonial America known to exist. Clearly shown are the structural features of the fortification and the Vauban-inspired adaptation of a fortification to the topography of a given location.

Large scale additions to the defenses at Oswego or new fortifications on the west side of the Oswego River such as those proposed by Brasier were rendered superfluous after 1759 or 1760 by the triumph of British arms at Niagara, Quebec, and Montreal. Permanent fortifications of the nature of the second Fort Ontario were necessary only against an enemy fighting in the European manner of siege warfare and supported by artillery. The French were removed as a threat from the North American continent by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 and the need was ended for additional defenses of this type at Oswego as well as at other places far removed from the threat of European attack.

Indian attacks to which the British frontier was still exposed tended to be of sudden fierceness and short duration and, of course, would not employ artillery. The comfortable prospect of Britain's military planners was somewhat disconcerted by the onslaught of Pontiac's Indian allies in 1763 and 1764. All of the smaller forts to the west fell or were abandoned and only the major permanent fortifications --- Fort Niagara, Fort Detroit, and Fort Pitt --- held. Fort Ontario played only a limited role in this new wilderness war since troops were dispatched from it to permit the relief of Niagara and later of Detroit. Although the tenacity of the Indians

in laying siege to the major western posts was virtually unprecedented, the survival of their garrisons was due to alertness, advanced warnings, adequate provisions and the timely arrival of relief forces rather than to the inherent qualities of the fortifications themselves.

Britain's Indian policy after 1763 seemed to be a policy of disengagement insofar as practicality permitted. Ontario guarded the important line of communication to the small number of western military posts and to the western Indian nations. It served in 1766 as the point for the important conference between Johnson and the defeated Pontiac that ended the Indian rebellion.

The post at Oswego was not needed to enforce the controversial limitation on western settlement set forth in the Proclamation of 1763 and it lay beyond the 1768 Fort Stanwix Treaty line. In the face of increasing difficulty with colonial elements largely concentrated in the seacoast towns and the impossibility of increasing the military establishment assigned to North American duty, Gage, acting as commander-in-chief, was forced to a policy first of retrenchment and then of abandonment in regard to western posts. The line of military supply and communication to the increasingly fewer number of frontier forts that were maintained was shifted through the Quebec-Montreal-St. Lawrence route and away from the old Mohawk-Oneida-Oswego route.

During the Revolutionary War, Fort Ontario served as the site for Colonel Guy Johnson's 1775 war conference with Joseph Brandt and other Iroquois chiefs, as one of the points of exodus to Canada for displaced Loyalists from the Mohawk Valley as a base for St. Leger's phase of the Grand Campaign of 1777, and as a stopping off place for Loyalist-Iroquois raising parties. None of these functions required extensive defensive works.

A detachment of the 3rd New York Regiment of the Continental Line under Lieutenant Thomas McClellan arrived in the summer of 1778 to burn the temporarily abandoned second Fort Ontario and found one woman and a fourteen-year-old boy inhabiting one of the buildings. The extent of real destruction accomplished by McClellan's force is questionable --- certainly the wooden buildings were vulnerable and were at least partially burned but it is doubtful if too much damage was done to the defenses themselves. In response to repeated demands from those Iroquois chiefs still loyal to the Crown that were ignored by Sir Guy Carleton and to the danger of American use of the Oneida-Oswego-Ontario-St. Lawrence route to attack Montreal and Quebec, Halimand --- now governor-general of Canada --- was alert enough to order Fort Ontario repaired and regarrisoned in 1782.

Whatever effect these events had upon the works, it is doubtful if the fortification changed in 1782 in a manner that significantly improved its defensive qualities. British troops remained at Fort Ontario until 1796 as in the case of the six other "Northwest Posts," but the works probably deteriorated markedly as effective defenses. In the

case of an earth and timber fortification the first decay usually became evident within five years of its construction and the average life of such a fort was only forty years. The repairs made in 1782 were principally to buildings burned in 1778 rather than to ramparts, traverses, timberwork, and palisades; therefore, the actual defenses begun in 1759 were nearing the end of their usefulness in the 1790's.

An intriguing print from a 1798 book on the Genesee country shows not only the first permanent civil settlement at the mouth of the Oswego River but also Fort Ontario. It is not known whether or not the artist had seen the scene firsthand now is it known whether or not changes from the original drawing might have been made in the printer's cut; however, the print shows what clearly must be two-story buildings protruding over the top of the ramparts and it depicts the flagpole as being in a different bastion than the flagpoles indicated by earlier pictures of the second Fort Ontario. Perhaps these features constitute changes made in the 1782 repairs, but without confirming evidence this remains only speculation.

From 1796 until 1803 or 1804 the fort was occupied by a small garrison of United States regulars; however, it was abandoned again because of the need for troops to garrison posts in the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase and of the budgetary economies of the Jefferson administration. In 1807 or 1808 the post was used temporarily by New York State militia enforcing the locally unpopular restrictions on trade that were a part of Jeffersonian neutrality policy.

The year 1812 saw the return of militia and the declaration of a second war with Britain. Neither of the two attacks on Oswego and Fort Ontario during the War of 1812 were preceded by much improvement in the defenses. Earthworks on the west side of the river --- possibly the faint outlines of Fort Oswego's outer works --- were used temporarily as a sham camp in 1813 to deceive the governor-general of Canada, Major General Sir George Prevost, and Commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo as to the strength of Oswego's defenses and the feeble British landing force was repulsed by the mixed United States regulars and militia gathered at and near Fort Ontario.

The following year, 1814, the British returned in greater strength under Lieutenant General Sir Gordon Drummond and Yeo. Despite the erection of a one-gun temporary battery to the north or northeast of Fort Ontario, the polygot force of American soldiers, sailors, and militia was overwhelmed after a sharp battle.

Two contemporary prints, both British, picture this latter engagement but neither print is very helpful concerning the appearance of the fortification. The two differ considerably in the depiction of the topography and both indicate in their titles that the attack was against Fort Oswego. A third print of the 1814 battle, published in 1964 and drawn by Robert Steinen, is based on both of the British prints and concentrates on the British landing rather than on the fortification.

The burning of the second Fort Ontario's buildings following its capture by the Drummond-Yeo forces ended that fortification's active

use. Between May 6, 1814, and the news of peace early in 1815, military and naval supplies for Sackets Harbor continued to find their way down the Oswego River and along the shore of Lake Ontario without benefit of a fort to protect them at the point of transshipment. After the War of 1812 mercifully ended, the ruins of the fort were scoured by citizens of the town for useful building materials and what little was left by the British was even more thoroughly stripped or dismantled. Iron hardware, stones from the bastion bomb-proofs, and brick from the traverses found their way into civilian buildings. By 1838 the horizontal timbers had completely rotted off the walls of the main works and the log palisades in the ditch had vanished totally. The dirt and rocks originally contained by the horizontal timbers of the main works had slipped into not much more than a rough scar on the surface of the earth.

A watercolor of the mouth of the Oswego River by James Van Cleve, a Great Lake captain, dated 1826 shows rather prominent defensive works, two-story buildings, and a pole proudly displaying an American flag. Adjacent to the fort appears Oswego's first lighthouse and the keeper's house --- the latter in 1966 being the oldest building still standing in Oswego --- that were built by the Treasury Department in 1821. This watercolor appears in a series of identical scrapbooks that Van Cleve assembled in the 1870's after his retirement; however, there are slight variations in details between the views in the different scrapbooks.

It would seem probable that the date 1826 was arbitrarily assigned at the time the scrapbooks were made and that the rendering of the fort proper actually was drawn after the third Fort Ontario had been built between 1839 and 1844. Copies of Van Cleve's scrapbooks were deposited in major Great Lakes ports, and two different versions of this watercolor may be seen in the Oswego City Clerk's office and in the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

Another view of the mouth of the Oswego River, easily available for the inspection of Oswego residents and out-of-town visitors, is an oil painting presently hanging in the Lamplighter Room of Howard Johnson's Restaurant in Oswego. This painting, done in 1963, shows the third Fort Ontario as it was masked by its outer works; however, it also shows the steamship Ontario, built at Sackets Harbor in 1817 and broken up at Oswego in 1832, seven years before the third Fort Ontario was begun.

In the late 1830's a series of border incidents growing out of Canada's Patriot War and the direct intervention in internal Canadian affairs by some American citizens --- clearly with the hope of eventually being able to annex the British colony to the north --- caused President Martin Van Buren to send Major General Winfield Scott to the northern frontier. Oswego's harbor was one of the main points of departure for arms and volunteers being sent into Canada and it was a part of Scott's recommendations that a garrison be returned to the mouth of the Oswego River and that a third Fort Ontario be

built to check this activity. The action of Canadian officials in seizing the American steamer Caroline and sending her brilliantly burning over Niagara Falls contributed to a demand that the United States go to war and, if the eventuality materialized, the United States also would need defenses for its major Lake Ontario port and for the Oswego access to New York's strategic canal system.

Surveys and plans were drawn in 1838 and Company A, 8th United States Infantry, was sent to Oswego early in November of that year to regarrison the post. Actual construction of the third Fort Ontario was begun in the spring of 1839 under the direction of Lieutenant Danville Leadbetter, United States Army Engineers. Between July 21 and August 30, the summer of 1839 was paced by a parade of prominent personalities visiting Oswego and Fort Ontario to assess the situation and to confer with observers on the scene. Among the visitors were Henry Clay, Scott, William H. Seward, John Forsyth, Joel R. Poinsett, and Van Buren --- respectively the chief figure in the Congress and national elader of the Whig party, the ranking major general of the United States Army, the governor of the State of New York, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the President of the United States.

Peace and calm did not immediately return to the northern frontier --- witness the attempt to blow up the Royal Mail Steamer Great Britain in the harbor at Oswego --- until after the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. Work continued on the third Fort Ontario until 1844 and troops were kept at the post during the 1840's and most of the 1850's.

A print appearing in an 1845 volume of historical collections shows the ramparts of the third Fort Ontario with exterior wooden revetment before the erection of either buildings inside or outer works outside, depicts both Oswego's first light house and keeper's house on the east side and the second lighthouse on the west side, and is labeled "West View of Fort Oswego." This print may be compared to another somewhat better known and later print made about 1850 that shows the buildings and looks toward the fort from the lake. This later print is titled "Fort Ontario, Oswego River, New York."

Another well known picture of the fort and the town, drawn on stone by David William Moody after a drawing by Lewis Bradley and published by Smith Bros. & Company of New York in 1852, is simply captioned "Oswego, New York." In many details it is deficient as a record for structural documentation, but it is certainly among the most appealing treatments in its period charm.

Fear of direct British intervention in the Civil War to aid the Confederacy led to appropriation of funds beginning in 1863 for the already mentioned work on defensive improvements at the third Fort Ontario served as an induction center for volunteers and draftees, as a recuperation post for troops physically unfit for front line duty, as a detention point for prisoners of war and deserters apprehended on their way to Canada, and as a hiding place for Federal government records.

The Fenian activities between 1866 and 1870 continued to agitate northern border relations in the period immediately following the Civil War; however, the end of the Fenian raids and the ratification of the Treaty of Washington between the United States and the new central government of Canada finally ushered in a prolonged period of friendly Canadian-American relations. Although construction at Fort Ontario continued for two years after the ratification of the new treaty, further expenditures for improvements to northern defenses seemed unwarranted under the circumstances. Additionally, the Army's primary attention after the Civil War returned to the western Indian wars; therefore, appropriations for completion of the as yet unfinished vertical scarp facing and casemates ceased. Periodic attempts to secure funds to finish these improvements also failed to win approval.

Upon several occasions during the nineteenth century the concept of additional defenses on the west side of the Oswego River was revived. For example, proposals were made locally for construction of a small battery either on the Fort Oswego site or on the breakwater pier; however, these suggestions were stillborn.

The last complete revision of Oswego's defenses was proposed in 1897 by Major W. S. Stanton of the United States Army Engineers. By the late 1890's the third Fort Ontario was a thoroughly outmoded defensive installation due to the introduction of modern, breech-loading, rifled artillery that could lay open the walls of earth and masonry fortifications with little difficulty. A five-bastioned pentagon with abrupt masonry facing was too vulnerable to modern siege techniques from land and to improved naval ordnance from water.

Stanton's suggestions were for a thoroughly modern defensive complex located on both the east and west sides of the Oswego River and almost totally oriented toward attack from the water rather than toward attack from the land. Envisioned was the complete destruction and removal of the third Fort Ontario and the erection in its place of concrete emplacements protected with earth for a battery of two eight-inch coastal guns. At roughly the corner of East Twelfth and Bridge Streets, another concrete and earth fortification was projected to accommodate a heavy mortar battery of eight pieces. To the west of the river on the Pardee and Emerick estates near the corner of Montcalm and Lake Streets was projected a third concrete and earth complex to be almost identical to the one on the Fort Ontario site and also to mount a battery of two eight-inch coastal guns.

The fate of Stanton's proposals was obvious. During the late 1890's American attention was focused on Cuba rather than Canada. The expense of such extensive modern fortifications at Oswego in relation to anticipated need was prohibitive. The Stanton plans were filed with the Office of the Chief of Engineers and today may be seen in the National Archives.

The obsolescent character of the third Fort Ontario and the lack of any pressing need for further defensive improvement --- the post actually was ungarrisoned between 1881 and 1884 and again between 1894 and 1898 --- as well as the political desirability of not totally discontinuing a military installation at Oswego led Secretary of War Elihu Root to visit it in 1903 and to order conversion of the post from a defensive fort to a training installation.

The physical alteration to a battalion-size training post was accomplished between 1903 and 1905, although after 1904 the work was under the authority of Root's successor in the War Department and close political friend, William Howard Taft. Conducted through the Quartermaster Department, the work was supervised locally by Captain William M. Coulling as constructing quartermaster and J. L. Smithmeyer as inspector. The outer works and ditch were removed, the quarry was filled, extensive grading was done, and a number of red brick structures were built on the military reservation.

The last evidence of thought toward the potential necessity of defensive works on the Fort Ontario Military Reservation appears in a letter of First Lieutenant P. S. Bond, Corps of Engineers, dated November 18, 1903. Bond notes that Coulling's plans would not preclude subsequent implementation of Stanton's 1897 plans and opposes the suggestion that the Post Cemetery be shifted to the filled quarry site near the lakeside bank, a protest significantly lost.

Among the actually constructed as well as projected defenses of Oswego encountered by the historian are a castle-like fort, an eight-pointed star-shaped fort, a three-bastioned square fort, a four-bastioned rectangular fort, a four-bastioned square fort, a temporary field fortification, two five-bastioned pentagonal forts, three masked coastal batteries, and a number of redoubts, retrenched batteries, and other minor works. Taken together, these plans for military installations span the evolution of defensive design from Burnet's "stone house of strength" to fortifications of a type still being built along the coasts of the United States during World War II.

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to contrast the fortifications at Oswego with defenses built at or designed for other locations, it is submitted that these fortifications and their designs are of major significance for study, particularly since they constitute a cross-section illustrative of the main trends in military architecture. Through the works built and planned for the relatively limited geographical area at the mouth of the Oswego River can be seen the changes in the science of military engineering and the art of fortification design from the medieval concept of defense in height to virtually the most modern application of defense in depth.

PUBLIC AMUSEMENT IN OSWEGO: THE EARLY YEARS

by Dr. Alfred E. Rickert

The history of the theatre in Oswego begins in 1801 when Solomon Smith, one of the most notable figures in the theatre during the first half of the nineteenth century, was born in a log cabin in Oswego. His father, a volunteer in the battle of Bunker Hill, was one of Oswego's earliest residents. For his service in the war, he received a tract of military land in the north country. As a young man Sol Smith wandered about upstate New York in search of a theatre company that would employ him. He finally found his way into the theatre in Albany but met with little success. Eventually Sol Smith found fame and distinction as a theatre manager in St. Louis, Mobile, and New Orleans. It is doubtful if the man who begins Oswego's theatre history ever performed professionally in Oswego.¹

Several forms of professional and amateur public entertainments were performed in Oswego before the first theatre was staged. The first reference to any form of professional public entertainment in Oswego was found in the March 9, 1820 issue of the Oswego Palladium. A description of a lecture given by a Dr. Thornton on the effects of laughing gas was given. The medicinal benefits and strange behavioral effects were described at length in the article. The demonstration must have produced quite an effect in the small community. Volunteers, among whom were some of the leading citizens, were used by Dr. Thornton to demonstrate the effects of the gas. The antics of those respected gentlemen may well have been a topic of conversation for weeks. The reaction of one volunteer, the distinguished Mr. F. was recorded in the Oswego Palladium

Mr. F. started forward in a frantic attitude,
crying out 'My love, my dear, my delight, my
charmer' and declared when the effect was over,
that he saw a vision of a most beautiful virgin,
and felt the strongest sentiments of love.²

No doubt other travelling shows and exhibitions came to Oswego during those early days. The newspaper, however, did not record any such events. The unusual and personal effects produced by the laughing gas on the "respected and dignified" citizens probably motivated the newspaper to take note of that particular exhibition. Other shows less startling in their presentation were not noticed.

Much of the entertainment available to the people of Oswego before the village was incorporated in 1828 was provided by the people themselves. Johnson noted that shortly after the War of 1812:

the people of Oswego, still debarred from the more exciting kinds of amusement, determined on a grand concert, to be held one winter afternoon and evening at the school-house, to which people from all the country round should be invited. A good leader was provided, and all the best singers of the vicinity were duly drilled in the good old tunes of those early days.³

Although we are unable to identify them, other such concerts undoubtedly were held for the amusement of the people.

The Oswego Forum provided another kind of amusement during the early years of the settlement. The meetings, held weekly during the long winter months, were for the edification and entertainment of the community. The first reference to the Oswego Forum was found in the March 29, 1822, issue of the Oswego Palladium and notified the readers that the question for discussion at the next meeting would be, "Is lying in any case justifiable?" Lyceum and lecture courses in Oswego, a later development which provided entertainment during much of the nineteenth century, were a direct outgrowth of the Oswego Forum.

Little professional public amusement was available to the early settlers. Aside from the occasional traveling troupe or exhibition which visited the area, the first residents of Oswego provided their own entertainment. Two years after the incorporation of the village, however, enough public amusement was available to the citizens of Oswego for the corporation to pass an ordinance under the heading of nuisances. A license to perform, which was obtained from the Board of Trustees of the village, was required for the exhibition

of wax figures or paintings, any caravan or collection of wild animals or foreign birds, or any puppet show or minor theatrical performance by puppets, or any tame or wild animals, any phantasmagoria, automation figure, artificial fireworks, or other show commonly exhibited by common showmen for money, or for any rope or wire dance, juggler or mountebank.⁴

Interestingly, the theatre and theatrical performance were not mentioned in the ordinance.

The first known theatrical performance to occur in Oswego was staged by the Gilbert and Trowbridge Theatrical Corps. On September 30, 1830, this company presented George Barnwell by George Lillo and Lock and Key by Prince Hoare. Previous to that, probably on September 29, Douglas, The Noble Shepherd by John Home and The Purse by L. Lewis were performed. The company quite possibly played more than these two performances, but no evidence of any additional performances was available. The location of the theatre was not determined. The Oswego Hotel,

which opened in June, 1830, and was used by the Hubbard and Ashley Troupe in the spring of the next year, may have been used. The Welland House, a three story brick structure built in 1828 which had a hall in the upper part of the hotel the size of the building, may have been used. Information about this first theatre is limited.

The Free Press took notice of the Gilbert and Trowbridge company and sanctioned the troupe. The editorial, the first review of a theatre in Oswego, is given in its entirety.

Theatre. - The stage has, without doubt, been instrumental of much harm, and when improperly conducted, its evil is without bounds; but when managed with a view to present virtue in her beautiful dress, and vice in all her deformity - when conducted with a view to laugh at the follies of the day, and countenance that which is praiseworthy, it may and must be instrumental of vast benefit to the rising generation. We may read a glowing description of any passion - of any vice - of any virtue - we may read of the folly of the past, or the wisdom of the present time, but they cannot, they will not make so lasting an impression on the minds as their representation to our sight. Here we see in vivid colours, the fatal end of vice, and the final reward of virtue - the pernicious (sic) effects of indulging in any malignant passion, and the happy results of pursuing an even and consistent course through life, and the last reward attending the exertions of the good. Here, in short, we have the 'mirror held up to nature,' and all her peculiarities reflected in bold relief.

During the last week, we have on several occasions attended the exhibitions of Messrs. Gilbert and Trowbridge's Theatrical Corps, and have been gratified in their selections, and pleased with their performance. Their company are far above mediocrity, and their gentlemanly deportment both on and off the stage, entitles them to general respect. Their pieces appear to have been selected with an 'eye single' to the instruction and improvement of the mind, and at the same time to afford amusement and entertainment. They bring with them testimonials from the most respectable names wherever they have visited, and in Oswego have called together the beauty and fashion of the place. While they continue to pursue the course they have marked out, selecting those pieces only, profitable to the community, and rejecting all that is licentious or immoral, they have our best wishes.⁵

Although the editor of the Free Press wrote in support of the theatre, the Oswego Palladium ignored the Gilbert and Trowbridge company. No mention of the theatre appeared in that paper nor was the existence of the theatre acknowledged in any way.

In the spring of 1831, a second theatrical troupe, under the banner of Hubbard and Ashley, came to Oswego for a theatrical season. Again, the information available is not complete. The season opened on May 11, 1831, with a performance of The Honey-moon by John Tobin. Family Jars by Joseph Lunn was presented as the afterpiece. The Hubbard and Ashley Troupe prospered in Oswego and their season was a long one. The last reference to the theatre found in the newspaper was June 1, 1831. It is not known when the company left Oswego. A theatre season of at least three weeks can be evidence. The support the theatre received from the small village must have been gratifying to the company. While we do not know all of the plays presented, the repertoire of the company included: A Day After the Wedding by Marie Therese Kemble, Fortune's Frolick by John Allingham, Othello by Shakespeare, The Lottery Ticket by Samuel Beazley, Romp by Isaac Bickerstaff, Douglas, The Noble Shepherd by John Home, The Village Lawyer by William Macready, and Sprigs of Laurel by John O'Keefe.

The Oswego Palladium recommended the theatre, although no reviews of any of the performances were printed.

THEATRICAL.- The lovers of the drama will observe that the managers of the Theatre propose bringing forward, on tomorrow evening Shakspear's celebrated tragedy of Othello. The high character of this play, we have no doubt will call together a full house. Mr. Belcour takes the part of Othello, and from his reputed talents as an actor, we have no doubt he will do it justice. We have had occasion to witness the performances of Mr. B. and feel warranted in saying they possess merits far above mediocrity.⁶

After so successful a beginning one might suspect that the presentation of a theatre season would have been established in Oswego. This was not the case. There was no significant evidence to indicate that any theatre existed in Oswego until 1835. On May 27, 1835, the following advertisement appeared in the Oswego Palladium.

THEATRE

Mr. Dyke respectfully informs the ladies and gentlemen of Oswego and its vicinity, that he has opened a Theatre, with a good and efficient company, at the new Hall at the Centre House, kept by J. Smith, in West Oswego. His stay in the place being limited to a few evenings, he respectfully solicits the patronage of the friends of the Drama.⁷

Mr. Dyke's company opened the season on May 29, 1835 with August Kotzebue's Pizzarro, or the Death of Rolla. Comic songs were presented after the tragedy, and the evening concluded with the farce, Spanish Lovers. Admission was fifty cents for the boxes

and twentyfive cents for the pit. The Oswego Palladium wrote of the theatre, "judging from the favorable notice taken of them in other places we have no doubt they will be able to give general satisfaction to the play-going public."⁸ There was no indication in the article either by direct statement or by implication that a theatre in town was an unusual treat or that Oswego had been without a theatre for the past several years. Indeed, the statement, "the play-going public," would suggest that there were people who attended plays regularly. While it is possible that no theatre operated from 1832 to 1835, it is most unlikely that the prospering community of Oswego was devoid of public amusement. A careful search of the newspapers revealed that notice was taken of only one entertainment event during this period by either the Oswego Palladium or the Free Press. This single notice was an advertisement for Purdy, Welch & Co.'s Extensive Zoological Exhibition.

No Oswego newspapers from January 1836 to March 1837, are extant, and again it is difficult to assess to what extent there was theatrical activity in the community. The Records of the Village of Oswego indicate that Mr. W. Blanchard presented a petition for a license "to exhibit the performance of his minor theatrical company at the rear of the American Hotel."⁹ The petition was accepted and a resolution was passed by the village Board of Trustees to grant a license to Mr. Blanchard for a term of nine days to begin on April 27, 1836.

On September 26, 1836, a petition signed by sixty-three citizens was presented to the village Board of Trustees which requested that the Board pass an ordinance "prohibiting the exhibitions of strolling companies, or stage players, circus riders and mountebanks."¹⁰ The petition was tabled and no further action was taken. The petition for a license presented by Mr. Blanchard in April of 1836 was the first notice of such a request found in the Records of the Village of Oswego. Earlier theatres evidently were not required, or simply did not bother, to obtain a license.

The village Records note also that Messrs. Russel and Lyne applied for a lease of the upper story of the Market Building for use as a theatre. A resolution was passed on March 24, 1837, which granted the application. There was objection, however, to the transaction. The nature of the objection was not clear. At the next meeting of the Board of the village the minutes record that "A remonstrance from sundry citizens against leasing the upper story of the market to the theatrical corps and a petition in opposition to the remonstrance were presented."¹¹ Despite the objection, a lease was granted to Messrs. Russel and Lyne for the purpose of operating a theatre and place for public assembly for a period of one year to begin on April 1, 1837.

The Market Building, built during the height of the 1835 boom period, was the pride of Oswego. It was to be a copy of the Albany Market Building with "slight alterations in its internal arrangements."¹² Undoubtedly, the third floor hall of the building was one of the best available facilities for a theatre in the village. The entire third floor was a single room which measured thirty-three feet wide and one hundred twenty-four feet long. The ceiling was thirteen and one half feet high. It was the largest hall in Oswego. The acoustics of the room were described by the Oswego Commercial Herald as being particularly suitable for theatrical purposes. A whisper at one end of the room was entirely audible throughout the hall, reported the Herald. Just what theatrical activity Messrs. Russel and Lyne engaged in, however, was not clear. Again, the newspapers of the time did not note any theatrical activity.

The ordinances of the village were repealed and new ordinances were effective as of March 1, 1837. Essentially, the ordinances governing exhibitions remained the same. The various forms of exhibitions were not detailed to the extent they had been in 1830. As in the earlier ordinance, there was no reference to the theatre or to the performance of plays. The only aspect of the ordinance that could be extended to include the theatre was the phrase "or other show commonly exhibited by common showmen for money."¹³

On November 22, 1841, a resolution was passed by the village Board of Trustees which granted a license to Douglas and Cardwell for their theatrical performances for a period of two weeks on payment of a ten dollar license fee. A similar resolution was passed on April 24, 1843, which granted a license to Dean and Forest for theatrical performances for a one week period for a fifteen dollar license fee. No further information of either of these theatre companies was available.

These constitute the only record of application for licenses for theatrical performances. During the period 1828 to 1848, four applications for a license for theatrical performance were received by the village Board of Trustees. The applications were received in 1836, 1837, 1841, and 1843. Although there was objection to the granting of these licenses in two cases, the licenses were granted. On the other hand, the newspapers which, at this time at least, did not provide either a complete or an accurate account of theatrical presentations, recorded theatres in operation for at least six years. A theatre was in operation in Oswego in 1830, 1831, 1835, 1838, 1841, and 1844. No newspapers are extant for the years 1844 to 1848 to determine if a theatre was in operation during those years. If the years that applications for license for theatrical performance are compared to the years a theatre was in operation, only one year, 1841, is found on both lists. There can be no doubt that the information available is incomplete. There can be no doubt that the theatre was active in Oswego during this period although the records are not

sufficient to present in detail the activity.

There is also no doubt that there were those people in Oswego, as in the rest of the country, who did not approve of the theatre. The newspapers gave only sporadic accounts of the theatre and then, in some cases, only to speak out against it. Not only were the professional theatres and traveling companies under censure, but also any amateur endeavors were frowned upon by at least a part of the community. The editor of the Oswego County Whig, Mr. Oliphant, spoke out against the theatre in general and against an amateur exhibition specifically which was presented by the students of the Oswego Academy. Yet it is interesting to note that the place of performance was the Presbyterian Church. The churches of Oswego were not friendly or receptive to the theatre but evidently did not consider amateur theatricals with the same horror. At least this belief must have been held by the Presbyterian Church. The entire editorial is given.

Last Wednesday evening the scholars of the Oswego Academy gave a public exhibition at the Presbyterian Church. We were not present, and cannot consequently speak from the performance from personal knowledge. We understand, however, the proficiency in elocution and gesticulation, were alike creditable to the instructor and the pupils, and gave general satisfaction to a very numerous and highly respectable audience.

For ourselves, we are opposed to these exhibitions, and as the conductors of a public journal, we cannot but set our face against them. We believe these juvenile displays are pernicious in their tendency, and result in no good that could not be accomplished by other means, and a less dangerous course. We believe them to be deleterious to the youthful mind, because they excite a taste for theatrical entertainments (a taste the most insidious and contaminating that can be found, and we speak from experience on this subject, having once been a devotee of the Thespian Corps.) and calculated to seduce the unwary from real science, to lightness and frivolity of no utility whatever in after life, but on the contrary, which often proves a source of heart-felt regret and bitter remorse of conscience.

Another feature in these matters which to us appears inconsistent, is, that while the application of a regularly educated, and, if we may be allowed the expression, an accomplished company of theatrical performers for permission to exhibit their imitations in the sanctuary, would be viewed with holy horror, - to these minor mimics, the church doors are thrown open, and all is considered innocent and harmless.

Another objection still, is, the time wasted in committing these recitations to memory, might be far more profitably employed, and while acquiring the ability to recite some bombastic flourish of a love-sick fool, or a conceited fop, a fund of information or general knowledge might be obtained that would prove beneficial to the end of life.

We mean nothing unkind in these remarks; we certainly make no personal allusions; and we should not thus obtrude our views of this subject upon the public, but from a conviction of their correctness, and an assurance that only a slight examination is necessary to convince everyone of their correctness, and cause an abandonment of the practice upon which we have thus hastily but honestly commented.¹⁴

A professional company performed in Oswego a month later, and Mr. Oliphant, who spoke out so vehemently against the theatre, permitted an advertisement to be placed in the Oswego County Whig for June 6, 1838, advertising the theatre at the Phoenix Building which that evening performed Douglas, or The Noble Shepherd by John Home and Rumfustian, or The Court of Quodlibet by C. E. Walker. A letter to the editor was also published in that issue.

Mr. Editor. - As you are not of the theatre-going propensity, will you allow a lover of the drama, through the medium of your columns, to recommend the theatrical corps now in our village, and under the management of Mr. Merit, to the favorable notice of those, who, like myself, are gratified with such amusements? Comedies are well performed by this company, and cannot fail to give satisfaction. The company's stay in the village will be but a few nights more. I understand the pieces selected for Wednesday evening, are The Rev. Doct. Home's celebrated tragedy of Douglas, or The Noble Shepherd, and that farce of Rumfustian, or The Court of Quodlibet.¹⁵

No other reference to this theatrical company was found. The Oswego Palladium did not notice the theatre. No advertisement was found in that paper, nor was there any mention of the theatre.

On October 17, 1838, five months after Mr. Oliphant's denunciation of the theatre, he reviewed an amateur theatrical performance which he endorsed. A political parody of Oliphant's political rivals was presented by some of the respected gentlemen of the community who were supporters of Oliphant's political views. If we cannot admire his integrity, we can at least appreciate his dilemma. He chose to support his political cohorts rather than to condemn the theatre. An enthusiastic review of the amateur's endeavors was printed in Oliphant's newspaper.

There was no mention of the theatre in the Oswego County Whig for the next three years. In endorsing a lecture on chemistry, Mr. Oliphant chose to deride not only the theatre but in general the popular forms of entertainment of the day.

On this occasion we cannot forbear remarking, that when a pack of strolling loafers visit our village as a theatrical corps - when a buffoon singer, or a mountebank of the lowest order makes his appearance, large audiences assemble; but let any thing of a scientific nature, anything calculated to improve the mind, be on the tapis and the lecturer may talk to the benches as his only auditors. This shows a vitiated public taste and sentiment, and is alike disrespectful to the stranger lecturer and discreditable to our village. It is with shame we mention the fact, nor should we do so but for the hope that we may thereby remove the ground of complaint.¹⁶

The theatre was not mentioned again in Oliphant's newspaper during the next three years. In the April 2, 1844, issue of the Oswego County Whig, an advertisement for a "Moral and Temperance Exhibition" was found. McDonald and Sprague and Company announced the performance of Widow's Son which "has received the approbation of the Press and the Clergy, and the ready co-operation of Temperance Societies and committees wherever it has been presented."¹⁷ No further reference to the company or to the performance was found in the newspaper. Mr. Oliphant again found himself in a dilemma; he was a temperance advocate as well as a critic of the theatre.

The incorporated village of Oswego became a city in 1848, and a new era in the history of the community began. Oswego developed from a frontier settlement at the turn of the century to an incorporated village in 1828, but traces of the frontier remained. By the time Oswego became a city in 1848, there was no vestige of the pioneer community. Oswego was ready to take her place beside the growing commercial and industrial centers of the developing nation.

As the community grew so did the public amusements available to the community. The early theatre in Oswego, although limited in scope and sophistication, found great popularity. Other forms of public amusement, the circus, exhibitions, concerts, and lectures, enjoyed similar popularity. While there was some resistance to what was considered the more frivolous forms of entertainment, the theatre, circuses, and exhibitions, this resistance was limited. The community did not oppose the concerts and lectures which were prevalent, and opposition to the theatre, circuses, and exhibitions never took sufficient force to deny a license to any performers or to produce infringements. Indeed, the newspaper accounts regularly reported that the beauty and fashion of Oswego were present at all of the popular public amusements.

Incomplete newspaper files for the years 1817-1819, 1825-1830, 1836, and 1844-1848 and insufficient and incomplete records for the entire period from 1800 to 1848 prevent a more detailed

accounting of the development of public amusement in Oswego during the early years. Sufficient material was available, however, to provide some indication of the development that took place.

Major development of public entertainment, particularly through the establishment of resident theatres and stock companies, took place during the 1850's. These years were the golden years for the theatre in Oswego. This later theatre could not have existed, however, without the foundation provided by the public amusements of the period just examined.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Walter Prichard Eaton, The Actor's Heritage: Scenes from The Theatre of Yesterday and the Day Before (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1924), pp. 60-66.
- 2 Oswego (New York) Palladium, March 9, 1820.
- 3 Crisfield Johnson, History of Oswego County, New York (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts and Company, 1877), p. 143
- 4 Records of the Village of Oswego from 1828 to 1848 (Oswego, New York: Daily and Weekly Times Print, 1874), pp. 49-50
- 5 Free Press, (Oswego, New York) October 6, 1830.
- 6 Oswego (New York) Palladium, June 1, 1831.
- 7 Ibid., May 27, 1835
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Records of the Village of Oswego, op.cit., pp. 204-5
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid., p. 231
- 12 Ibid., p. 178
- 13 Ibid., p. 237
- 14 Oswego County (New York) Whig, May 9, 1838
- 15 Ibid., June 6, 1838
- 16 Ibid., June 23, 1841
- 17 Ibid., April 2, 1844

THE IMMIGRANT IN OSWEGO'S HISTORY

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Introductory Remarks

Tonight I propose to take the first step on what I hope will be a long and fruitful journey into the study of immigration on the local level for many of us. I have prepared a statistical study of Oswego's immigrants, focusing mainly on the Irish, English, Germans, Polish and Italians. Where possible, I have tried to relate these statistics to those of New York State and the United States. Next year I hope to follow this study with one treating solely with the Italians. Hopefully, some of you will be moved to contribute meaningful studies on an immigrant group of your own choosing.

Why study Oswego's immigrants? Here our nation's immigration history can be put to the test. One can confirm, reject, or modify generalizations concerning immigrants. Many of these generalizations have come to us from scholars who have devoted their lives to a study of America's immigrants as seen in big cities, Boston or New York, for example. Do these generalizations hold up in smaller communities? How about Oswego, immigration-wise a miniature New York City? Its citizens have come from all over the world. At one time in its history, in 1850, close to 40 per cent of its citizens were foreign born. Thus immigrants quantitatively have played an important role in the city's development as we will demonstrate this evening. One can also determine the qualitative contributions of Oswego's immigrants. Oswego is rich in manuscript materials, particularly census records, land books, surrogate records, church records and the like. Many immigrants came to Oswego in the decade preceding World War I. Some still survive and are able to provide us with rare insights into the who, what, when, why, where, and how of immigration. The city is small enough so that the material available can be handled for one immigrant group by one individual in some time shorter than a lifespan.

But, tonight we will concern ourselves with the quantitative only, who and how many settled Oswego. Hopefully, in the near future, we will be able to discuss why and with what results. For now, the quantitative approach should provide an essential first step and some clues to one attempting a meaningful qualitative assessment of Oswego's immigrants.

Distribution on the National Level

The Federal government began to record the number of foreign born residing in the United States in 1850. For the next eighty years the number of foreign born reached new peaks at every census. Then, in 1940, the number of foreign born dropped. The downtrend continued in 1950 and 1960. (See Table A). This pattern is accounted for by virtue of the fact that as the early immigrants began to die off or return to the old country, or as wells of immigration began to dry up, new groups of people began to awaken to the blessings and opportunities in America unveiled by the early immigrants. Thus, a continuous flow of immigrants poured into the United States throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the 1920's, however, the National Origins Quota system was put into effect. This Act insured that a steady decline in the total number of foreign born would ensue after the 1930 census since the number of immigrants allowed to enter the country each year was hardly sufficient to replace those who returned to the old country and those who died.

The Italian born living in the United States follow the same national pattern--a continual rise in numbers at each census from 1850 through 1930, then a steady decline in the following census reports. A closer look at the figures for the Italians shows that the great majority of them came in a relatively short period of time, just prior to the effective immigration restriction legislation of the 1920's. Fully 70 per cent of the nearly 5 million Italians who came to these shores did so from 1900 to 1922. This amounted to a virtual "immigration explosion" as over 150,000 Italians a year, for twenty-two years, stormed these shores.¹

The Polish follow essentially the Italians' pattern except that they first appear in the census reports in 1860 not 1850.

The Irish, German, and English born all deviate from the national pattern. The Irish increased in numbers in 1860 and 1870, declined slightly in 1880, then climbed to an all time high in 1890. Thereafter, the number of Irish born fell at each census.

The English born became more numerous with each census and attained their zenith in 1890. After a decline in 1900 they edged upward again in 1910 before beginning to decline steadily at each census through 1960.

The German born also increased in numbers with every census to 1890, their peak year. For the next fifty years their numbers dropped at every census. But the downward trend was broken in 1960 when the number of German born increased slightly over the 1950 figure.

The Irish, German, and English patterns show that a significant majority of these people came here before 1900. They indicate several major populations movements from England, Germany, and Ireland rather than one swift, heavy movement.

To cite one group, the Irish rushed to our shores in huge waves of hundreds of thousands in the late 1840's and early 1850's. In 1851 alone, over 220,000 sought refuge in the United States from almost certain death in famine-ravished Ireland. The crush was over by 1854. But, by the early 1870's a second though smaller tide of Irish began to reach America. It ebbed somewhat in the late seventies, but then swelled again in the eighties. From 1880 to 1890 an average of close to 60,000 Irish came each year to join their friends, relatives, and countrymen.

Distribution in New York State

The pattern of foreign born residing in New York State follows that of the nation, a steady increase at each census to 1930, the peak year, then successive decreases in 1940, 1950 and 1960. (See Table B). Once again, the Italian and the Polish born in New York follow the state and national pattern. And once again the Irish, German and English deviate.

The German born were most numerous in New York in 1890, the same year in which they reached their national peak. A steady decline set in until 1930 when the number of German born residing in New York State rose. This increase took place while the number of Germans in the United States was decreasing. Clearly German born were exhibiting a preference for New York. By 1960 this preference has waned. In that year while the number of German born was increasing nationwide for the first time in 60 years, it continued to drop in New York State as it had in 1940 and 1950.

The Irish reached their zenith in New York in 1880. Their numbers in the State fell substantially in 1890, a year in which they reached a national peak. This decrease in New York came at a time when both the number of total foreign born and the total population of New York State showed considerable increases. The Irish were obviously attracted elsewhere in the United States. The decline in 1890 continued until 1930 when the Irish again showed a preference for New York as they went against their national trend and showed an increase in New York State. Like the Germans, the Irish were drawn to New York in 1930. Thereafter, the Irish in New York follow the downward trends exhibited by the total foreign born on the national and state levels.

The English born pattern in New York differs slightly from their national pattern. Their numbers increase steadily to 1890, decline in 1900, then surge to a peak in 1910, fall substantially in 1920 only to press near their peak figure in 1930. But for the rise in 1930 in New York while their

national figure was dropping, the rises and falls on the state level correspond to their national trend. The English, then, like the German and Irish born, preferring New York in 1930. The only difference between their state and national trends is one of degree; that is, their peak year on the national level is 1890 and on the state level it is 1910.²

In general, these decennial figures in Table A indicate that the Irish, German, and English weaved their way in and out of the state as they saw fit. They had mobility and used it to seek out the best opportunities available throughout the nation. On the other hand, the Italians and Polish showed a constant preference for New York. This did not mean necessarily that they were immobile. Indeed, they could be found in significant numbers throughout the United States. But, to many of them, New York was synonymous with opportunity.³

Distribution on the Local Level

The patterns for all immigrant groups in Oswego differ radically from those of the state and/or national levels. The population of the City of Oswego in 1850 totaled 12,205. Within twenty years the population nearly doubled to 21,000. Since that time the city's growth has stabilized between 21,000 and 24,000. For most of this time Oswego's foreign born population has been substantial. In 1850 it was 4,638 or some 40 per cent of its total population. In 1870 the peak year for immigrant residents, close to 7,000 foreign born were included in the total population of 20,910. (See Table C and compare with Tables A and B). Moreover, the Irish, Canadians, English, Scots, and French born all hit their zeniths in 1870. This is indicative of the rapid growth and attractiveness that Oswego had in the 1850's, '60's, and '70's. Thereafter, the number of foreign born followed an irregular pattern until a steady decline set in in 1920.

The outstanding immigrant group over the years has been the Irish. In 1850 the 2,820 Irish born comprised between 20 to 25 per cent of the total population and over 60 per cent of the total foreign born. Oswego might well have been called an "Irish" city. The peak year for the Irish came in 1870 when they made up virtually half of the total foreign born population. Thereafter, the number of Irish declined steadily in the Federal census reports. A quick perusal of the telephone book or city directory reveals the continued "Irish" flavor in the population mix and the prominence that the descendants of the Irish settlers have attained in politics, law, business, church affairs, and the like.

The English pattern has been an irregular one. From 1850 to 1925 the number of English born fluctuated between 300 and 700 with the peak year coming in 1870 and the low in 1925.

For the same seventy-five year period the Germans showed a fairly regular pattern rising from a low of 143 in 1850 to a peak year of 706 in 1892. After a decline in 1905 the number of Germans again rose in 1910.

The number of Polish born who have lived in Oswego over the years is difficult to determine.⁴ Prior to the beginning of the twentieth century never more than two Polish were ever recorded in any one census. By 1905 forty-four Polish born were scattered in three of the eight wards of the city. By 1915 that number multiplied ten-fold to 460. So swift was the influx that in 1908, St. Stephen's Polish Catholic Church was established. After 1915 the number of Polish born declined steadily at each census. The Polish then reached their peak in Oswego a decade or two before their state and national peaks.

The Italians' pattern in Oswego also differed from the national and state levels. The first substantial number of Italians appears in the 1892 census when forty-three, mostly inhabitants of shanties along the Oswego River, were counted. By 1905 Italians increased almost eight-fold to 339. Ten years later, they soared to 1,229 and registered their peak in Oswego. This came a full fifteen years before national and state peaks and indicated the opportunity that existed here for many Italians. In this regard both the old immigrants and the new immigrants were alike. Whether from northern and western Europe or southern and eastern Europe, Oswego pulled in its immigrants much earlier than did the state or the nation.

Distribution by Ward

Many scholars were quick to point out at the beginning of this century the various differences which marked the "old" and "new" immigrants. One difference that found almost universal acceptance touched on the settlement patterns of the immigrants. The "old," it was believed, distributed themselves evenly throughout the nation or at least throughout the cities so as to bring about an orderly adjustment to urban America. The "new" mostly overran the eastern cities and, more particularly, certain few areas of these cities so as to create "ghettos," retard Americanization, and bring upon us many new and difficult problems in an emerging urban, industrial society.⁵ How do the "old" and "new" compare in the city of Oswego?

The English born show virtually no preference in settling the wards of Oswego. Over the years, however, fewer and fewer resided in the second ward as the Italians began to move into it. (See Table D.)

The Irish settlements are relatively even in all the wards in the city though the sixth ward always ranked last in numbers of Irish born.

From 1870 on most of the Germans resided in the seventh and eighth wards. The statistics suggest the existence of two areas of preference, the seventh ward on the west side of the river and the eighth ward on the east side. The Germans were distributed rather evenly in the remaining six wards though the second ward had fewer German settlers over the years than any other ward.

The Italians first settled in the second, third, and fifth wards in 1892. These wards, the second especially, remained favorites of the Italians right through to 1925. As the years went by Italians were also attracted to the first and fourth wards but almost always avoided the sixth, seventh, and eighth wards. In effect, there was no "Little Italy." Italians never were a majority of the total population, native and immigrant, of any one ward. On the contrary the evidence suggests that clusters of Italians were to be found in many wards on both sides of Oswego River.⁶

Of all the groups in Oswego the Polish born showed the greatest tendency to mass together. In 1905 there were forty-four Polish born recorded as residents of Oswego. They were evenly spread out over three wards, the first, third, and eighth. By 1915 the number of Polish increased ten-fold and were represented in all but one ward. However, over 60 per cent lived in one ward, the seventh. Essentially, the same pattern is revealed in the 1925 census.

It is obvious from studying the table on distribution of foreign born in the city of Oswego that no hard and fast generalizations can be applied to the "old" and "new" immigrants. Among the "new" immigrants only one group, the Polish, showed any tendency to congregate in one area for any length of time. The Italians formed many clusters throughout the city but apparently had no more of an inclination to group together than did one "old" nationality, the Germans, who showed a high degree of concentration in two wards.

The data presented on the state and local levels indicates that immigrants on these levels cannot be placed easily into the

moulds in which they have been cast on the national level. The immigrant groups must be studied individually and in their local environment. In this way, and in this way only, can we hope to find out why the foreign born settled where they did, what characteristics attributed to national groups hold true for those groups in one's own locality, and what particular noteworthy contributions have been made in the day-to-day developments of one's own community.

FOOTNOTES TO TEXT

¹For figures of annual arrivals of immigrants see U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, A Statistical Abstract Supplement, Historical Statistics of the U. S. Colonial Times to 1957, 56-57 and U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Title varies over the years.

²The reader will note that English born rose in 1910 on both the state and national levels. However, the rise on the state level is greater percentage-wise (about 9%) than the rise on the national level (about 4 1/2%) indicating a notable preference for New York by English born in 1910 as well as 1930.

³The mobility of Italians is brought out in the author's "Italian Immigration and the Impact of the Padrone System," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Syracuse University, 1967).

⁴For explanation see discussion of Polish, Russian-Polish, Austrian-Polish, and German-Polish at the end of Table C.

⁵For a fresh look at what constitutes a "Little Italy," or "Little Poland," etc. see Humbert S. Nelli, "Italians in Urban America: A Study in Ethnic Adjustment," The International Migration Review (Summer 1967), 38-55.

⁶Census manuscript books record the residences of persons enumerated. Though Italians did not dominate any one ward, they certainly were in the clear majority on certain blocks. But, even here, Irish, Germans, etc., could be found blending into the "Italian neighborhood." However, the same could be said for other immigrant groups. The Irish, Germans, French, and Polish all dominated certain blocks throughout the city. Each group, Italians included, had a "national" church.

TABLE A¹

U. S. FOREIGN BORN (In Thousands)

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
TOTAL ALL FOREIGN BORN	2,214	4,138	5,567	6,679	9,249	10,341	13,515	13,920	14,204	11,419	10,420	9,738
IRELAND ²	961	1,611	1,855	1,854	1,871	1,615	1,352	1,037	744	572	504	338
GERMANY	583	1,276	1,690	1,966	2,784	2,663	2,311	1,686	1,608	1,237	984	986
POLAND ³	N/A	7	14	48	147	383	937	1,139	1,263	993	861	747
ENGLAND	278	433	555	664	909	840	877	813	809	621	554	526
ITALY	3	11	17	44	182	484	1,343	1,610	1,790	1,623	1,427	1,256

TABLE B¹

NEW YORK STATE FOREIGN BORN (In Thousands)

TOTAL ALL FOREIGN BORN	655	1,001	1,138	1,211	1,571	1,900	2,729	2,786	3,193	2,853	2,500	2,289
IRELAND ²	343	498	N/A	499	483	425	367	284	293	236	182	131
GERMANY	118	256	316	N/A	498	480	436	295	340	317	270	250
POLAND ³	N/A	2	4	11	22	69	N/A	247	350	281	254	234
ENGLAND	84	106	N/A	116	144	135	147	135	146	117	100	N/A
ITALY	.8	1.8	3.5	15	64	182	472	545	629	584	503	440

TABLE 1¹

CITY OF SWEDE, FOREIGN BORN (Most numerous groups only)

	1850	1860	1870	1892	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1940	1950	1960
TOTAL POPULATION	12,205	16,816	20,910	-	-	23,368	-	23,626	-	22,652	22,062	22,647	22,155
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	4,638	4,530	6,667	4,467	3,376	4,290	4,451	3,620	2,621	2,507	1,921	1,471	1,072
IRELAND ⁵	2,820	2,773	3,207	1,945	1,067	873	624	480	267	176	111	65	N/A
CANADA ⁴	1,160	896	2,049	1,270	593	457	745	718	462	496	333	229	N/A
ENGLAND ⁵	359	354	673	367	311	457	457	415	313	285	207	146	274
GERMANY	143	334	495	706	438	535	447	361	285	244	148	91	58
SCOTLAND ⁵	94	106	128	64	36	46	54	42	41	32	22	18	N/A
FRANCE ⁵	42	46	55	31	14	12	4	15	9	9	8	11	56
POLAND ³	1	1	2	2	44	N/A	410	335	260	272	242	194	124
AUSTRIA	-	-	10	-	33	308	174	85	49	12	25	20	N/A
RUSSIA	-	4	2	2	26	168	244	158	130	106	82	53	22
ITALY	1	0	1	43	339	809	1,229	900	717	716	660	538	422

TABLE D¹

DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN BORN IN OSWEGO CITY (By Wards)

WARD	1870	1892	1905	1915	1925	WARD	1870	1892	1905	1915	1925
<u>I T A L Y</u>						<u>G E R M A N Y</u>					
1	1	1	27	168	131	1	61	40	15	25	16
2	0	15	141	426	198	2	28	11	17	8	10
3	0	12	68	165	137	3	40	46	38	46	31
4	0	2	37	111	66	4	71	41	34	30	21
5	0	13	113	303	167	5	15	29	22	40	17
6	0	0	1	7	6	6	60	88	65	63	42
7	0	0	12	6	3	7	132	247	184	122	70
8	0	0	0	43	9	8	88	204	113	115	78
<u>I R E L A N D</u>						<u>C A N A D A</u> ⁴					
1	763	364	191	124	63	1	575	324	233	203	127
2	328	211	98	42	29	2	272	184	94	64	33
3	373	249	153	67	35	3	208	179	147	123	81
4	349	212	120	102	38	4	231	142	109	126	80
5	540	396	253	130	46	5	123	88	67	46	39
6	185	108	56	34	8	6	231	135	110	58	32
7	222	153	95	45	17	7	66	58	42	33	25
8	447	250	102	78	31	8	243	160	91	92	45
<u>E N G L A N D</u>						<u>P O L A N D</u> ³					
1	126	74	42	53	44	1	0	0	19	8	3
2	119	54	23	9	5	2	0	0	0	0	3
3	62	62	44	48	48	3	0	2	14	33	10
4	100	56	51	46	24	4	1	0	0	3	1
5	120	54	40	131	72	5	0	0	0	124	40
6	62	25	17	21	10	6	1	0	0	5	15
7	55	69	83	133	98	7	0	0	0	279	158
8	34	24	17	16	12	8	0	0	11	8	20

FOOTNOTES TO TABLES

¹Data presented in Tables A, B and C was taken from published decennial U. S. Census figures (titles vary) for the years 1850 to 1960 inclusive. For the years not ending in "0" the data was taken from manuscript records of the New York State Census books filed in the County Court House. This necessitated a page by page count of the persons listed as foreign born origin.

The figures in Table D were also obtained by counting the number of foreign born in each ward of the city as they appeared in the New York State Census manuscript books.

²The figures for Ireland reflect Ireland and North Ireland prior to 1930 on the state and national level. From 1930 on, the data is for Ireland only since figures for North Ireland were recorded separately.

³For the difficulties involved in correctly assessing Polish immigration, see E. P. Hutchinson, Immigrants and Their Children (New York, 1956), pp. 295-301. Briefly, Hutchinson says that from 1860 to 1890 many persons reported Poland as their birthplace although Poland was not then considered an independent country. In 1900, census enumerators were to distinguish between German Poland, Austrian Poland, and Russian Poland. About 5 per cent of the entire number was separated. In 1910, the number of natives of Germany, Austria, and Russia who spoke Polish, was recorded. This "was thought to indicate the approximate number of persons born in the former kingdom of Poland, and an estimate of the 1910 Polish-born population based on this assumption was given in the 1920 census." Poland reappeared as a country of foreign birth in 1920.

In the state census reports for 1905 and 1915, distinctions were made in Oswego between German Poland, Austrian Poland, and Russian Poland. This does not completely solve the problems of Polish immigration, however. For example, Hutchinson quotes Emily G. Balch, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens (New York, 1910), pp. 458-459, The Jews especially affect the Polish data. " 'In 1905 there entered at our ports 92,388 Jews from Russia and 11,114 Jews from Austria; those who came from the Polish provinces of Russia and Austria (that is, doubtless the greater part of them) appear in the census simply as 'natives of Poland' and quite distort the facts. Especially as regards concentration in cities the Polish Jews make the census figures for 'natives of Poland' almost meaningless as regards Poles.' "

Keeping in mind the cautions mentioned above, the reader will no doubt welcome a breakdown of the Poles for 1905 and 1915 as revealed in the census manuscripts. For 1905, the figures are: Polish, 16; Austrian Pole, 19; Russian Pole, 9; German Pole, 0. For 1915, the figures are: Polish, 16; Austrian Pole, 313; Russian Pole, 125; German Pole, 6. Unquestionably the greater part of Oswego's Polish community came from Austria Poland.

⁴There has been no attempt to interpret the data for Canada at this time. The figures represent all people born in Canada without distinguishing French from Other. In 1890 and 1900, enumerators were asked to distinguish between Canadian French and Canadian English. Since then differentiation has been on the basis of mother tongue. The English category has become a residual one, including all Canadians except those of French descent or mother tongue. This makes the data for Canadians in Oswego almost meaningless. One seeking a project in local Canadian immigration history might well embark upon a study to unscramble this date.

⁵The figures for 1960 for England and France in Oswego need some explanation. They are taken from mother tongue figures. Therefore, England's figure includes English speaking people from Canada, Scotland, Ireland, etc. The figure for France includes French speaking Canadians. See U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, New York, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC (1)-34C, p.334.

GERMAN IMMIGRATION IN THE CITY OF OSWEGO

by Carol Fenske

In order to see how German immigration in the city of Oswego ties in with the general German immigration pattern in America, I find it necessary to include as an introduction to this paper the story of German immigration in America.

Although Germans have immigrated throughout American history, the main stream of German immigration can be divided into three periods. The first is the colonial period from about 1710 to 1776. Even though many immigrants made their way to America at this time, their impact was not nearly as great on the American society as that made by those who followed.

The second period was from 1815-1852. Political refugees and intellectuals added greatly to this movement after the failure of the 1848 Revolution. Many were high-spirited young people who desired to be free from the ideals and traditions of the Old World.

The period from about 1852 to 1895 witnessed the greatest flow in the history of German immigration to America. Before 1850, the Irish outnumbered the Germans, but after mid-century, German immigration exceeded all other nationalities. The Germans continued to be the most numerous until the close of the century.

Why did so many Germans decide to leave their homeland and start life again in a strange new land? American railroads and land companies carried on brisk advertising campaigns to lure Germans to leave their homeland.

The German immigrants were in greater demand than those of any other nationality. Their sturdy character, law-abiding instincts, habits of industry, painstaking zeal, honesty and intelligence made them desirable additions to any agricultural and industrial community.¹

Advertisements which often painted a glowing picture of America met with a warm response by the people in the German states who were war weary, tax ridden and persecuted for religious and political beliefs. Because both the revolts of 1830 and 1848 which aimed at setting up a better government had failed, many Germans fled to America. The Homestead Act of 1862 was also a tremendous inducement to the land-hungry German who earned his living from the soil.

Where did the Germans settle? Many of them landed at New York, went to Buffalo by boat, and there crossed the Great Lakes and settled in Wisconsin, Michigan or Minnesota. Some travelled to Iowa, Kansas or the Dakotas by train or oxcart. Still others went up the Mississippi to Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas or Ohio. Before long, all these states

had large German populations. According to the 1880 census, Wisconsin had a larger percentage of German born residents than any other state.²

America has been a greatly enriched country because of the immigrants who left Germany and adopted this country as their own. The Germans helped to improve American education by providing special training for teachers, and improving text books. They also established classes for small children known as kindergartens. Many German foods such as hot dogs, hamburgers, pretzels, pumpernickel, sauerkraut, liverwurst, and coffee cake were quickly adopted by the Americans. The Germans also had a great love for music, Americans' love of brass bands and song-fests is an evident German influence. As strong advocates of physical education, some Germans organized gymnastic societies, hiking clubs and bowling alleys.

There is hardly a field in which the Germans have not made an important contribution. One of the most outstanding Germans who contributed much to America is Carl Schurz. He served as a Union general during the Civil War, was elected as United States Senator from Missouri and later appointed as Secretary of the Interior. His contributions range from the preservation of forests to the adopting of the Civil Service Bill.

Contributions made by other Germans include the opening of the first modern department store by John Wanamaker, the building of famous pianos known as Steinways by Steinweg and his sons, the invention of the linotype machine by Ottman Mergerthah, and the success of Johann Schwerdkopf in developing big, juicy strawberries. German-Americans have also enriched the arts. Edgar Allan Poe and John Steinbeck were great writers while Winold Reiss, Ernest Fiene, and Adolph Weinman made contributions in the fields of painting and sculpturing.³ The Germans taste for fine food has resulted in products bearing the name of Heinz, Gerber, Kraft and Fleischman.

Thus, it is easy to see that German immigration to America has had a great impact on the nation as a whole. However, the study of German immigration can probably better be examined by its influence on small communities. It is for this reason that the study of the impact and problems of German immigration in the city of Oswego can be of significance.

Although the first Germans came to Oswego as early as 1833, official records do not start until 1850. From Chart A, it can be seen that in 1850, only 143 Germans had made their way to Oswego.

In the forty years following 1850, a definite increase was noticed and in 1892 the peak of the German born in Oswego's history was reached. According to the United States Census Reports, the Germans were one of the earliest groups of immigrants to come to Oswego. They were later followed by the Italians and the Poles. Chart A also shows the gradual decline of German immigration since 1892. It is also noticed that according to the census taken in 1960, only 58 German immigrants remain in the city of Oswego.

Although the exact numbers of German immigrants coming to Oswego are known for practically every ten year period beginning with 1850, the exact areas or cities of Germany where they once lived were not recorded. Upon being registered with the city, one was merely asked if he was foreign born or not. If he was an immigrant, only the name of his country of birth was recorded.

It is very difficult to determine exactly why some Germans settled in Oswego. As a small industrial city, Oswego probably attracted some Germans. By 1890 however, we also notice a few German immigrants coming to Oswego to join the members of their family, who had earlier made their way to this city. It is believed that the Oswego Canal was an important factor in transporting many of the early immigrants to the city. However, as soon as railroad connections to Oswego were made, trains became the most popular means of transportation for the immigrants.

By studying the formation and growth of the German churches, German activity in politics, and German businesses, we can best see the impact which German immigration had on the city of Oswego.

Although the first German immigrants came to Oswego as early as 1833, they came in such small numbers that they were not able to secure a church. However, in about 1853 the large group of families coming from Germany enabled the Germans to start planning for the organization of a German Lutheran Church.

In 1854, Pastor D. H. Stahlschmidt of Liverpool, New York, held services for the German Lutherans in the homes of the Kirschner, Kleinschmidt and Schneider families. Then Hart's Palace, located on East First Street just South of Bridge Street was rented. Later they met in the City Hall on Water Street.⁴

On August 25, 1855, the congregation of St. Paul's German Lutheran Church was formally organized. Membership at this time included eighteen families. In about 1858 the corner lot of East Sixth and Lawrence Streets was purchased and "enthusiastically the men and boys dug the cellar, carted away stones, and hewed the beams."⁵ In 1859 the church was completed, and on August 1, 1860, it was dedicated. Pastor Post served as the first minister.

In approximately 1871, J. D. Severinghaus became pastor. During his pastorate the brotherhood, which paid sick benefits to its members, was organized. At the same time the "Frauenverein" or women's organization, later named the Ladies' Aid, was formed.

The Brotherhood was a very active organization, numbering about one hundred and twenty strong by 1895. The lively and enthusiastic spirit which this group reflected on the city, as well as the church can be seen by the account given on the occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Brotherhood. According to the Oswego Daily Times, services were held at the church to mark the occasion and a fine music program was rendered by the Forty-Eighth Separate Company Band. A parade then followed. "The merchants and citizens along the line of march showed their appreciation, and the city presented a handsome appearance being gaily decorated with bunting and flags."⁶ The parade formed in front of the church, and included three divisions. The streets were crowded with city folk and as the procession passed by, it was greeted with applause. "Louis Weigand's wagon attracted no end of attention, for many a thirsty person standing on the sidewalk envied the person representing the German King who was supposed to quaff off a flowing glass of large beer."⁷ Mayor J. D. Higgins commented that the parade was one of the finest parades seen in the city for years. The paper of July 2, 1895, commended those who had the management of the German parade well in hand. It was also said that "the celebration was a grand affair and reflects credit on the Germans of this city."⁸

In 1859 the Franciscan fathers from Syracuse began holding services for the German Catholics in St. Mary's Church in Oswego. On September 16, 1860, the St. Boniface society was organized for raising money to erect a new church for the German Catholics. In 1862, the corner lot of East Albany and Seventh Streets was purchased and on December 6, 1863, the church was dedicated. The Franciscan fathers of Syracuse still kept charge of the mission and Father Oederic Vogt was its first pastor.

Unlike the German Lutherans, the German Catholics built their own school house next to the church. This school house was completed in April of 1866, and was dedicated in September of that same year. The school was closed at approximately 1900 and an orphan's home (later St. Francis Home) was then started at the school. On September 23, 1866, the St. Joseph's Aid society, the men's organization was formed.

The Germans also had an impact upon the politics of the city of Oswego. As the Daily Times of February 12, 1891, puts it "the Germans form a large and respectable portion of the voting population of the city. They have been divided politically, some voting republican and some the democratic ticket."⁹ It is noticed in this same article that practically all German democratic votes were expected to go Republican in the next election.

The German Republicans held "rousing meetings" according to the Daily Times of November 1, 1890, and October 4, 1892. Local members of the party often addressed the group at the meetings and usually the distinguished guests in attendance offered a few words to the topic of discussion. These guests included such men as the Honorable D. E. Ainsworth, Republican candidate for Assembly and Mr. Evans of the Republican State Committee. Usually about two hundred German voters were present at the Republican meetings and great interest seemed to be showed by those who attended. Several times during every meeting the Oswego German Sangerbund under the direction of Mr. C. Daus offered vocal selections which were well received by the Germans present.

The Germans also owned a significant number of Oswego businesses. If you were to have walked down East First Street between Utica and Bridge Streets in the 1890's, you probably would have noticed at least five German owned businesses. These included a brewery owned by Louis Weigand, George Schilling's Jewelry Store, George Benz and Sons' Furniture Store, and another jewelry store owned by Albert King and Benzing's Novelty Shop.

Other German businesses located throughout the city included Carl Daus's saloon, Herman, George and Fred Medlong's Grocery and Meat Market, Herman Brosemer's Brewery and Carl Beckstedt's Florist.

Like all immigrants the Germans who came to the city of Oswego were faced with many problems. Their greatest problem of course was the language barrier. Many Germans could not speak, read or write any English. The formation of German speaking churches enabled the immigrants to continue fellowship with the people they understood. The German churches not only administered to the spiritual needs of the Germans, but served as a social bond among the people. German was spoken at all services, meetings and activities. "With the maturing of the members who were born in this land (America), there came a strong demand for English Services and for a greater use of the English language. In 1885 the English speaking people decided to establish a church of their own."¹⁰

St. Matthew's Lutheran Church was therefore organized for the English-speaking Lutherans. This enabled the German Lutherans to continue holding services in their mother tongue, by which all its members could benefit.

In an effort to deal with the problems of speaking only a foreign language, Germans also tended to settle together in certain areas of the city. From Chart B, it can be seen that the largest number of Germans settled in the seventh ward, located on the west side of the river, and the eighth ward located on the east side. It is said

that because nearly every house on Murray Street, which was in the seventh ward, was inhabited by the Germans that it became known as the "Dutch Settlement." A large number of Germans in the eighth ward settled on East Seventh, East Eighth, Bonner and Duer Streets.

Another barrier to assimilation involved the German adherence to old world traditions. For many years the Germans were not willing to give up their old way of life. The problems that arose by those who wished to keep the German tradition can be seen by an event which took place on the evening of October 6, 1890. Wedding festivities were being held at the home of Herman Breitbeck in honor of his daughter's marriage. Guests were engaged in German round dancing when three neighbors came without an invitation and objected to the style of dance. They wanted it carried on in an American fashion. The Germans refused to change, and the three uninvited guests were asked to leave. Disturbed by the Germans' obstinacy in this matter, the three proceeded out into the yard where they lit a bunch of firecrackers. Carrying a lantern, the brother of the bride's father came out of the house to stop the commotion. One of the uninvited guests struck the lantern with a well pole and knocked it out of the hand of the old man. Before long, a full-scale fight was being waged in the streets. Many were injured including innocent by-passers who became involved in the fight. At the conclusion of this article the newspaper said, "It is a singular affair as there is not a person engaged in it (the fight) who is not of the best repute, generally peaceable and law abiding citizens."¹¹ In some instances the Germans never completely abandoned their traditions and therefore these intertwined and often enriched American tradition. An example of this would be our manner of celebrating Christmas as a colorful, present-filled, joyous children's holiday with Christmas trees and Saint Nicks.

This paper has attempted to study a little-known aspect of local history as a part of the American pageant. These immigrants were a part of the nameless thousands who came to America. They came and settled in Oswego. None of them ever gained national fame, but together they took part in that great drama of America becoming herself.

CHART A

Number of German Immigrants in the City of Oswego

1850	-	143
1860	-	334
1870	-	495
1892	-	706
1905	-	488
1910	-	535
1915	-	449
1925	-	285
1950	-	91
1960	-	58

CHART B

Distribution of Germans in Oswego City

	1870	1892	1905	1915	1925
Ward 1	61	40	15	25	16
Ward 2	28	11	17	8	10
Ward 3	40	46	38	47	31
Ward 4	71	41	34	30	21
Ward 5	15	29	22	40	17
Ward 6	60	88	65	63	42
Ward 7	132	247	184	122	70
Ward 8	88	204	113	115	78

Footnotes:

1. Stephenson, George M., A History of American Immigration 1820-1924 (New York, 1964), p. 51
2. Stephenson, p. 49
3. Maisel, Albert Q., They All Choose America (New York, 1957), p. 63
4. The One Hundredth Anniversary Booklet printed by St. Paul's Lutheran Church for the occasion of their One Hundredth Anniversary.
5. The One Hundredth Anniversary Booklet.
6. The Oswego Daily Times, July 1, 1895.
7. The Oswego Daily Times, July 1, 1895.
8. The Oswego Daily Times, July 2, 1895.
9. Oswego Daily Times, February 12, 1891.
10. Anniversary Booklet published for the One Hundredth Anniversary of St. Paul's Lutheran Church.
11. The Oswego Daily Times, October 6, 1890.

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THE OSWEGO HOSPITAL

by Mrs. Charles F. Wells

The history of the Oswego Hospital is a story of work and sacrifice on the part of many public-spirited citizens who devoted time, energy and money to provide adequate facilities for the care of the sick and infirm. It is a story which covers over eighty years of struggle to secure funds for daily operation and for providing space to accommodate ever-increasing numbers of patients. It covers periods of successes and failures, of strife, controversy and strikes. But it is also an account of devotion to a worthy cause, of triumph over adversity, and of a modern institution which today serves the people of Oswego and the surrounding area.

A forerunner of the Oswego Hospital was the City Hospital, a charitable institution for infirm and diseased paupers, located on the lake shore in the northeastern corner of the city. An item in the Commercial Times of December 9, 1861, reported that though the building was old and somewhat dilapidated, it was neat and orderly, and that the patients were comfortably lodged and well fed. The only complaint concerned the lack of tobacco. Another article in June of 1862, indicated that there were thirty-seven inmates ranging from the aged to infants; twenty of them males, seventeen females; and five of them children. In describing the causes the newspaper noted that intemperance accounted for twenty-four, blindness for two, insanity three, and that three were the "victims of the wiles of seducers." One patient was reported as being a former leader in Oswego; and one, a former saloon keeper, as being insane. The editor noted that the building was a rickety shell and should be removed, and that other provisions be made for the patients.

The first step toward the creation of the Oswego Hospital was taken on November 15, 1869, when a committee of interested citizens met at the City Council chambers with Mr. Luther Wright as chairman and Mr. John A. Barry as secretary. After adopting a set of by-laws, Mr. Wright was elected president of the Board of Trustees, with Mr. A. S. Page, and Mr. T. S. Mott, vice-presidents; Mr. Mannister Worts, secretary; and Mr. Benjamin Doolittle, treasurer. O. J. Harmon, G. Mollison and B. Hagaman were appointed to the Visiting Committee; and Wright, Page, Mott and Doolittle to the Finance Committee. The Executive, or Visiting Committee as it was called was authorized to procure a suitable place for the location and construction of the Oswego Hospital. In reporting the new organization, the Daily Advertiser and Times predicted "this project seems to be fairly on its legs now, and will live and prosper."

This report, however, appears to have been somewhat prema-

ture and overly optimistic since there is no record of further action or development until ten years later.

Early Organization

In 1880, a group of Oswego women began meeting to discuss the possibility of opening a hospital which they felt had long been needed. The first meeting, for which formal minutes are available, of the Board of Trustees was held in October of 1880, but it was not until January, 1881, that the Trustees signed the articles of incorporation. Later that same month these articles were approved by a Supreme Court justice.

Thirty trustees were named to guide the development of the new hospital; fifteen ladies and fifteen gentlemen who were concerned with the health and welfare of their city.

Mrs. Charles Pardee, president
Mrs. William Hosmer, vice president
Mrs. John T. Mott, vice-president
Mrs. Sidney VanAuken, secretary
Mrs. James D. Macfarlane, treasurer

Mrs. J. B. Alexander
Mrs. E. W. Sexsmith
Mrs. E. D. Stacy
Mrs. C. W. Pratt
Mrs. C. N. Butler
Mrs. A. C. McWhorter
Mrs. Charles Bond
Mrs. C. Macfarlane
Mrs. James McCarthy
Mrs. A. H. Failing
Mr. George Goble
Mr. Switz Conde
Mr. George Burt
Mr. M. P. Neal
Mr. J. T. Mott
Mr. C. W. Pardee
Mr. J. F. Johnson
Mr. Athelbert Cropsey
Mr. J. B. Lathrop
Mr. George DeForest
Mr. R. T. Morrow
Mr. W. P. Judson
Mr. J. Clarke Howe
Mr. J. D. Macfarlane

Early meetings of the Board were devoted largely to the question of a suitable site for the new hospital. Two possible

locations were given serious consideration, both of them available without cost. One, on the East River Road, was offered as a gift from the heirs of the Carrington estate, and was favored by some of the Trustees because its location outside the city would be desirable in case of an epidemic. The other site, on West Fourth Street, donated by Thomas Mott was accepted because gas and a drainage system could be installed there with minimum expense, and because the West Park was nearby to provide an exercise ground for the patients.

However, they were a long way financially from being able to take advantage of either offer. In the spring of 1881, the Trustees adopted a plan to solicit Oswego business men for contributions to start the hospital. At the same time they decided to place contribution boxes in the factories and Post Office for public donations, although at that time the average citizen seemed to have been apathetic, if not actively opposed, to the idea of the hospital.

To counteract this lack of public interest, the ladies of the Board of Trustees suggested that a house be rented and a hospital started at once on a small scale, and thus show the need that existed for such an institution. The proposal was adopted over the objections of some of the gentlemen when a Dr. Murphy contributed five hundred dollars to carry out the suggestion.

In April of 1881, the ladies rented the Eagle House on West Second Street for \$175 per year, and hired a superintendent and matron, Dennis and Hannah Dunsmore, for twenty-five dollars a month. This temporary six-bed hospital opened in May 1881.

Appointed to the medical staff of the new hospital were nine Oswego physicians:

Dr. Macfarlane, consulting
Dr. Clark
Dr. Coe

Dr. Stockwell, attending
Dr. Eddy
Dr. Dowd
Dr. Tully
Dr. Burrows
Dr. Elvira Rainier

About this time there seems to have been a division of labor between the ladies and the gentlemen of the Board. The ladies often met separately, in addition to the regular meetings, and cared for all details of operating the hospital including personnel, food, visiting hours, and collection of money for current expenses. They appointed a Visiting Committee, of two members, which rotated among the ladies and assumed a great deal of the responsibility all through the early years. Meanwhile, the men carried on with the major financial burden of establishing the hospital in a permanent building.

In October, the Visiting Committee reported that seven patients had been cared for in the hospital during the month of September, 1881. The weekly rates at that time were: Private patients \$5.00 to \$10.00; paying patients \$3.50; and city poor \$2.50 a week. These terms had been set by the Board and could be changed at the discretion of the Visiting Committee.

A list of gifts donated during this month seemed to indicate that people all over the city were beginning to support the hospital project. These gifts were:

- one stove
- one lounge
- seven cents from Mrs. Pitkin
- insurance policy for \$400 from Mr. McWhorter
- stove pipe and zinc from Mrs. Charles Bond
- Quilts from some girls in the Third Ward
- cups and saucers from Mrs. McCarthy
- two baskets, two sheets, one table and seven towels from
a friend

Finances remained a major problem throughout the early years of the Hospital's existence. The ladies of the Board eventually became quite inventive in their money-making schemes. They inaugurated the idea of a Hospital Benefit which became an annual event, more and more elaborate until it was finally abandoned in 1894. At one time the benefit netted a profit of \$2527 for the hospital. The ladies also persuaded well-known Oswego people to give lectures and other forms of entertainment to raise funds. They had a zither concert, a minstrel show, and an operetta. One benefactor even opened her home to exhibit an alabaster model of the Taj Mahal, at twenty-five cents per customer. For many years the churches were solicited for baskets of food.

The personnel of this small hospital apparently consisted of a full-time staff of three people: a superintendent, a matron, and a cook who was paid \$2.50 a week in wages. Nurses were called when needed.

The first annual election of the Board of Trustees was held in November of 1881. The members had previously drawn lots to determine their terms of office; ten were to serve three years, ten for two years, and ten for one year. This first election was to replace those who had only the one year to serve.

The Board seems to have been self-perpetuating since the only ones who voted were the Trustees themselves. Fifty-three names were proposed and voted on in December, but every person elected was a hold-over from the previous board.

In its infancy the hospital appears to have been primarily a charitable institution. The report of the Visiting Committee for April 1881, more or less typical, records only one paying patient out of six. It was at this time the Hospital was designated by the U. S. Government as a Marine Hospital and \$1.00 per day was paid for sailors who were patients.

The First Permanent Building

In September 1882, discussion of a permanent Hospital building was re-opened with a report from a committee concerning possible use of the Stone house on the corner of West Third and Schuyler Streets which could be purchased for \$6,000. The consensus, however, seemed to favor building a new structure, even though it would have to be built of wood, on the land already offered by Mr. Mott.

At a special meeting called later the same month, residents of West Third Street presented a protest against the use of the Stone house for a hospital. Mr. Mott then renewed his offer of the lot and, in addition, pledged \$1,000 if the Board could raise a sufficient sum to complete the building. His only stipulations were that a terrace be built along the west line together with a six-foot fence. The Board voted to accept the offer, and passed a resolution that \$8,000 was a sufficient amount to cover construction of a new building. Committees were appointed to collect subscriptions; and in February 1883, a permanent building committee was appointed with the following members: J. T. Mott, George Goble, C. W. Pardee, William Judson, Thomas Mathews, Dr. Macfarlane and Dr. Tully. Oswego physicians were invited to act as advisors.

In March 1883, five bids were presented ranging from \$8,214 to \$11,012, and the contract was awarded to James Gibbs as low bidder.

At this late date, Mr. Conde entered a protest because the new hospital would adjoin his residence and property on West Fifth Street. However, the Board, feeling that it had a public trust to build the hospital, voted to ignore the protest and to continue, despite their personal friendship for Mr. Conde. He resigned from the Board later that year but did not give a reason.

In October 1883, the treasurer was required to make a financial report to the State Board of Charities at Albany for the fiscal year ending September 30th. The report showed total assets, including real estate and stocks and bonds, to be \$14,558.87, with an indebtedness of \$3,582. Total receipts from different sources for the year had amounted to \$8,454.53, with expenditures of \$8,075 for operation. Thus they were just about keeping their heads above water. Fifty-four patients had received hospital care during the year, and of these about half were charity cases.

New Building Dedicated

The new hospital building was accepted from the contractor by the Board of Trustees at a meeting held on January 21, 1884, but it was decided not to move into the new quarters until after a formal opening.

The Oswego Palladium of February 21, 1884, described the dedication ceremonies in some detail:

"This afternoon at 2 o'clock, the doors of the new City Hospital were thrown open and soon afterward the building was densely filled with ladies and gentlemen who came to witness the formal opening of the institution and inspect it. The invitation was to all citizens, and it was generously accepted.

"The exercises began with music by Andlefinger's orchestra, the members having volunteered their services for the occasion.

"Col. A. Cropsey, one of the trustees, presided at the ceremony. The Reverend D. Tully of the First Presbyterian Church offered prayer, and then Mr. G. W. Parkhurst read a historical sketch of the hospital from the time the first meetings were held by the ladies to consider the matter in 1880, up to the present. In the first year 32 persons were cared for in the old hospital. At the end of the first working year a balance of \$1,842.44 remained in the treasury, \$500 of which was given to Dr. C. P. Murray of New York to invest and which he has since largely increased. The number of patients cared for during the second year was forty-nine. The land upon which the hospital was erected was donated, together with \$1,000 by Mr. Thomas S. Mott. The total cost of the new building, including fixtures, was \$10,573.83, and is capable of accommodating 30 patients. The corporation owes about \$3,000 borrowed money, but it is hoped to soon wipe out the debt.

"The Reverend Father Griffa of St. Mary's Church followed with a pleasing address. He said the "gap" in our charitable institutions was today happily filled, and the occasion of the dedication of the hospital was one to be recommended. He expressed his thanks to the ladies who have been instrumental in establishing the hospital, for having erected such a charitable monument in the midst of his parish. He hoped the good work would be appreciated by our citizens and that all would join hands and help the work along.

"Dr. Powell of New York was next introduced and read a very interesting address.

"Dr. C. P. Murray was the last speaker. His address was attentively listened to by the audience. The exercises closed with music."

The Hospital Building

The account of the dedication described in detail the building and the facilities it contained:

"The hospital edifice is erected on the lot at the corner of West Fourth and Schuyler Streets, 200 by 100 feet in size, the gift of Mr. T. Mott. The lot is finely graded and drained,

"The building fronts on Fourth Street and is of wood. The floors are of oak; the ceilings are high; and the rooms are well ventilated. The structure is two stories high with an attic, a drying room, and servants' quarters.

"The wards for the patients are located in each end of the building on the first floor, with ten beds in each ward. The rooms are forty feet long by twenty feet wide, and are well lighted with eight large windows. There are large fire-places in each end of the main wards; and bath and wash-rooms attached, well supplied with hot and cold water.

"The first room to the right of the main entrance is the dispensary. It was furnished gratis by Dr. C. P. Murray, and is well supplied with medicines and a fine set of surgical instruments.

"The reception room, across the hall from the dispensary, is plainly but neatly furnished. The matron's room is located just off the hallway connecting the wards, and directly in the rear of this is the dining room for female patients. The dining room for male patients opens off the south ward, and the pantry is between the two dining rooms. The kitchen, laundry and store rooms are in the basement. The two former rooms are fitted out with all modern conveniences.

Second Floor

"There are five rooms on the second floor all pleasantly situated. The children's ward has two beds at the present time. On each side of the children's ward is a private room; one has been neatly furnished by the 'Gleaners' a Sunday School class in the Congregational Church, and the other was furnished by Miss Kate Macfarlane. An elevator in the center of the building runs from the basement to the top of the building. It is run by hand and will be used to convey goods from one floor to the other.

The Builders

"Mr. James Gibbs, the well-known contractor, did the carpenter work; John Smith, Jr., the plastering and masonry; Savage and Skinner the painting and graining; and Scully and Cusick the plumbing. All may well feel proud of their work which has been performed in the most satisfactory manner.

"There are six patients in the old hospital, and their removal to the new building will depend upon their condition and the state of the weather. They will probably be transferred next month.

"Mrs. Rowilson is matron of the institution assisted by her son, Mr. George Prosser. The nurse is Miss Swettenham, and the attending physician at the present is Dr. Elvira Rainier."

Thus, the new Oswego Hospital was opened and operated under direction of a group of public-spirited citizens who saw their hopes

realized for better care of the sick. As time went on, an operating room, the gift of Mr. Leonard Ames, was built, and an isolation ward was added. A separate building, a carriage house, was converted into a morgue. A telephone was first installed at the hospital in 1887 at a cost of \$20.00 per year.

Financial problems, however, remained acute. Although more money was coming in, the extent of the services rendered the public had been much expanded and the quality improved. Besides the large subscriptions, which were collected in installments, the city had been divided into its various wards and a door to door canvass was carried out each year. In 1893, subscriptions netted \$1,351.

By 1890, the Hospital was receiving some comparatively large bequests and gifts. Also by that time, different groups and individuals of the city were endowing beds at \$3,000 per bed. The Board decided to invest these larger sums of money, and to use only the interest for current running expenses.

The major part of this money was invested in stock of the R. W. and O. Railroad.

The annual report for 1894 shows hospital receipts from contributions were \$4,696 and expenditures were \$4,080 to make a small surplus of \$616 for the year. Ninety-five patients had been admitted during that year.

Hospital Policy and Rates

Near the end of the year 1895, the Board of Trustees issued a printed statement stating policy and listing rates for patients. Because of its historical value, the statement is reproduced below in its entirety:

OSWEGO HOSPITAL

It is the desire of the Board of Trustees of the Oswego Hospital that the institution shall receive the support of all the citizens and of all members of the medical profession in Oswego and its vicinity. It is believed that this support will be cheerfully given when the privileges and facilities of the Hospital are understood. The following excerpt from the rules is therefore made:

Cases Received

The Hospital receives all cases of injury or of sickness, excepting insane persons, inebriates, contagious, obstetrical, chronic and incurable diseases.

Prices for Wards

Prices for treatment in the wards of the Hospital are:

For medical cases . . . \$4.00 per week

For surgical cases . . . \$7.00 per week

These prices include board, medicine, nursing, and the services of the visiting physician.

Beneficiaries

Proper patients who are unable to pay these charges in whole or in part, may and shall be admitted, and will receive the same care and attention as others.

Private Patients

Any physician of good standing in any school of medicine can place and treat his private patients in private rooms of the Hospital, subject to the limitations stated above and to the approval of the visiting physician.

Prices for Private Rooms

Prices for private rooms range from \$8.00 to \$15.00 per week, which include board, medicine, ordinary nurses, and services of the visiting physician, unless the private patient is one whom the visiting physician has sent to the Hospital as his own private patient. Private patients can select their own physician at their own expense. Extra charge is made for a private nurse.

Admission of Patients

Applications for the admission of patients should be made to the superintendent of the Hospital, where all information will be given, and patients receiving permits from the visiting physician will be duly admitted.

Emergencies

Emergency cases are received at any time without previous application.

Visitors

Friends of the patients may visit them on Wednesdays and Saturdays between the hours of three and five o'clock p.m.

Visitors to the Hospital are cordially welcomed.

By order of the Board of Trustees.

Oswego, N. Y., December 10, 1895

School of Nursing

To overcome the lack of trained nurses, the hospital inaugurated its own educational program in 1897. The training period was for one year; the first month a probation without salary, and for the remainder of the year the trainees were paid \$10.00 a month. In return for this training the nurses were required to be available for work in the hospital for one year after completion of the instruction.

Later the program was expanded to two years of training for which the nurses received a certificate of proficiency from the physicians and the Trustees of the hospital. In March of 1906, it was announced that the program met the requirements of the State Department and that the school was fully registered.

An Operating Room

An editorial in the Oswego Daily Times, August 3, 1898, commented on a notable addition to the growing convenience of the hospital,

an operating room made possible by a generous gift from Mr. Leonard Ames, Sr. The new facility was described in some detail:

"Leonard Ames' Magnificent Gift
to the Hospital

"The new structure is situated directly over the dining room facing the rear of the hospital, and commanding an excellent view of West Fifth Street.

"It is divided into three compartments, the larger to be utilized for operating purposes while the other two are an etherizing room and a sterilizing room.

"It is finished in pure white with a super-abundance of light; a figured tile floor with a narrow casing of marble; walls and ceiling are plaster; and heavy gas and electric chandelier drops from the center of the room. All of the furnishings are from the Kuy Schuver warerooms at New York."

A New Location

Early in 1906 it became evident that the old hospital was inadequate to meet the needs of a growing population in Oswego and the surrounding area. Because of the pressing need for more space, the Board of Trustees began to consider construction of a completely new and larger building on the same site at an estimated cost of between \$35,000 and \$40,000. In February, the Oswego Daily Times announced that plans and specifications for the new building had arrived, and were available for study by contractors in preparation of bids. The new building was described as being a handsome brick structure four stories high and with a full basement. An architect's drawing of the proposed building printed in the newspaper indicated that it was to be large and modern in design.

Toward the end of March, the Times reported that bids for the hospital had been opened at the office of R. A. Downey in the presence of the Building Committee, and that a combination of the lowest figures made a grand total of \$54,350, an amount which exceeded the original estimate of the cost. Needless to say there were many expressions of disappointment that the dreams for a new hospital might not be realized.

Next day, however, the Trustees held a special meeting to determine a way out of the dilemma. It was then decided to abandon the old site and to instruct architect Williams to prepare new plans for a hospital to be established at the corner of West Bridge and Sixth Streets on what was known as the DeWolfe property which was then available and occupied as the residence of Mr. David Hunt.

Preliminary plans called for the DeWolfe house to be used as an Administration building with reception rooms, physician's consulting room and board room on the first floor; a children's

ward, superintendent's room and private hospital rooms on the second floor. The barn located on the grounds to be changed into a home suitable for the nurses living quarters. It was estimated that the cost of acquiring the property would be \$15,000, plus \$40,000 for the building. The Board of Trustees acted swiftly, and on March 31, 1906, the newspapers announced that the purchase of the DeWolfe property for \$15,000 had been completed the day before. Mrs. Hunt, who had been occupying the residence agreed to move to West Fifth Street to live with her son.

Once a course of action had been agreed upon, the next problem was one of finances. About \$26,000 was available, and it was assumed that another \$10,000 could be raised by mortgaging the DeWolfe property, thus leaving \$19,000 or less to be raised. The newspaper pointed out that "As nearly everybody favors the new site, the added \$19,000 should be easily covered by subscriptions in the near future." The old Fourth Street property could not be sold since it reverted back to the Mott Estate under the terms of the original deed to the hospital.

Funds were received from many difference sources, and on June 1, 1906 the last payment for the new location was made by the hospital authorities who were then able to take possession as soon as the house was vacated. Dr. MacFarlane contributed \$5,000 for the Board to use the entire amount except for the condition that he receive the interest of four percent.

Furnishing the new hospital building gave an opportunity to different individuals to make specific contributions. The Trustees announced their readiness to make agreements with persons who wished to endow a room or to purchase equipment. It was reported that \$7,500 would endow a room, and provide free care and nursing of an occupant to be named by the donor; a subscription of \$5,000 would endow a room to be named after the donor who could designate an occupant for free care not to exceed eight months in any one fiscal year. For \$3,000, a donor could endow a bed in a ward and name a recipient of free care, and also have a nameplate attached to the bed. A donation of \$1,000 permitted the donor to name a room with a nameplate on the door, but included no rights as to occupancy of the room. One hundred twenty-five dollars provided furniture for a private room; one hundred and ten dollars furnished a bed in the children's ward and entitled the donor to a nameplate on the bed. Fifty dollars and up entitled the contributor to have his name entered on the permanent record of those who contributed towards the new hospital.

By mid-June of 1906, hospital nurses were occupying the house, and gifts of furniture and household goods were being received from generous citizens. Mrs. David Hunt kindly gave the bookcases from the library; the Carpenter's and Joiner's Union contributed \$25.00, and the Painter's Paper-Hangers and Decorators Union also donated a like sum.

For the next several years the newspapers reported on many unique methods of raising funds for the new hospital. During Old Home Week, visitors and citizens found glass jars in offices, stores and saloons awaiting their generous contributions toward the building fund. A number of dances and lawn parties were held at the new site, and it was proposed to lease the house for dances, bridge whists, and other social events until the building could be converted. Many generous gifts were received during the year and acknowledged in the public press.

A progress report given at the annual meeting of the Board in October of 1906 indicated that receipts totalled \$36,276.80, for which the members expressed appreciation to the many contributors. The same report listed as officers of the Board: President, Mrs. Carlington MacFarlane; first vice-president, Mrs. John S. Parsons; second vice-president, Mrs. Luther W. Mott; treasurer, Mrs. Walter R. Fisher; and recording secretary, Miss Edith Sloan. Dr. MacFarlane was chairman of the building committee, with Caldwell B. Benson, Thomas Kingsford, and R. A. Downey as members of the Board.

The year 1907 opened with a New Year's Eve Charity Ball organized by the Lend-a-Hand Circle as a hospital benefit held at Condley's Hall with Schilling's orchestra providing the music. This organization carried on the project for many years afterwards and it was always a festive event.

Hospital Twigs

Establishment of the "Twig System," a group of small circles of twelve to fifteen members under the control of the "Parent Stem" board, was an important development in the public support of the hospital early in 1907. Patterned after a similar organization in Rochester, the ladies in the different "Twigs" devoted their efforts to helping the new institution, not only in raising funds for the building project but also as a steady source of money for maintenance. Nineteen twig groups were formed during the year, most of them with names of trees: Spruce, Willow, Laurel, Poplar, Hemlock, Cedar, Oak, Elm, Palm, Pine, Chestnut, Evergreen, Maple and Pine Bud. A few adopted names associated with nature, but not of a tree: Lilac, Holly, Busy Bee, Eastern Star, and Lend-a-Hand.

Members of the twigs set about enthusiastically with the task of raising money for the new hospital. Maple Twig sponsored a new form of public entertainment known as Moving Picture Shows at the Lyceum Theatre, and charged spectators a ten cent admission. Willow Twig organized a benefit card party. Holly Twig held a whist party and Spruce Twig presented two plays at the Richardson Theatre. A newspaper item in September of 1907 reported that the twigs had already raised over \$2,000 and the members were showing great ingenuity with schemes for raising money that ranged from bake sales to theatrical entertainments.

It was expected that a large increase in receipts would result from the combined efforts of the ladies.

Funds for the New Building

As efforts were being made to raise money for the hospital, plans were going forward for the actual construction of the new building. On June 5, 1907, the Oswego Daily Times reported that bids had been opened, and that low bidders for heating the hospital were Oswego contractors T. M. Hennessey and M. B. Crawford. A heating system referred to as direct-indirect steam was expected to cost about \$4,000 to install. But finances continued to trouble the Trustees. In August the Board appealed to the public for more contributions to cover an estimated cost of \$70,000. Mr. M. F. Stockwell, treasurer of the Building Fund reported receipts as \$32,221.45; and disbursements for architect, DeWolfe property and other items as \$26,260.03, leaving a balance of \$26,775.31 still to be raised. An editorial in the Oswego Times made a strong appeal for support, and asked that donations to be made directly to a trustee without personal solicitation. Shortly afterwards the paper reported that an unnamed individual had agreed to make an additional contribution of \$3,500 in addition to the liberal pledge already made provided enough money was raised to make it unnecessary to take a mortgage on the property. This offer encouraged the Trustees to make every effort to raise enough money so the person would make the additional \$3,500 contribution. Later reports indicated additional funds were received from the Sloan Estate and from other donors. At the annual meeting in October the Board announced that \$40,000 had already been raised and expended on the new building, and praised the assistance received from the Twigs and from Oswego citizens.

In 1908, the newspapers announced that the new hospital building was almost ready and was to be a model institution when completed. By mid-March, however, the building was still not occupied and the Trustees were making a determined effort to raise money for the much needed furniture and equipment. A Mrs. Lockarty had been appointed as the new matron and was reported as making many valuable suggestions for furnishing the rooms.

To provide the additional funds, a novel plan was introduced by the Diamond Match Company and other industrial groups in Oswego, a five cents donation weekly from each employee was deducted from the payroll for maintenance of the new hospital.

Open house for public inspection of the new building was held in mid-April, and more than 2,000 visitors inspected the facilities and the operating room located on the third floor. Dr. J. K. Stockwell had donated a cabinet for instruments, a table, and an observation stand for the surgical department. The Pine Twig had furnished the maternity ward. To provide the necessary covering for 100 windows in the building, the Oswego Shade Cloth

Company furnished all of the cloth necessary, and the Minetto Shade Cloth Factory agreed to make the shades and to install them.

Hospital Opens

Moving day came at least on April 28, 1908, and a Mr. Fred Czirr was the first patient to occupy a bed in the new hospital. He had been in the old building for some time following an operation for appendicitis, and is said to have held a record as a result of this operation. The doctors stated that his appendix was the largest ever removed in Oswego.

After corresponding with hospitals in Auburn and Watertown concerning prices charged, the Oswego authorities announced rates for the new hospital. Ward patients were charged \$7.00 per week, beds in semi-private wards \$12.00, and private rooms \$12.00 to \$25.00 per week.

A financial report issued by the Committee indicated that the weekly cost of operation amounted to \$210. To meet expenses the City of Oswego paid \$1,500 a year, or approximately \$30 per week for charity cases. Manufacturing plants paid \$52.00 a week, and receipts from patients averaged only about \$98.90 each week. As a result there was a weekly deficit of about \$28.00 to be made up by donations and contributions from the public.

Donations included supplies and food from area farmers, some of whom paid their bills in produce. Contributions came from many sources. When Governor Hughes appeared in Oswego in August of 1908 to address the Fireman's Convention, ladies of the Hospital Twigs raised \$2,600 by selling souvenir tags to the public.

Nurse's Home

The barn on the grounds was removed and a large brick building was erected facing Seventh Street for use as a home for the nurses, most of the money for the addition having been raised by the Twigs. A 1915 report stated that the Twigs had donated \$1,449.90 toward the mortgage on the Nurse's Home and again a similar report is found in 1920. The 1915 report indicated that costs of operating the Hospital were \$28,248.45, income \$23,569.71 and a deficit of \$4,678.74, also in 1915 Mr. Benjamin T. Chase had presented an X Ray machine.

Influenza Epidemic

The year of 1918 was a difficult time for the hospital and for Oswego. World War I was still in progress, and several of the leading physicians had left to serve in the armed forces thus leaving the medical staff of the hospital somewhat depleted. Also, because of the many demands made on the public for funds to support the war effort, contributions to the local hospital had been drastically reduced. At one time the newspaper headlined a story

"Can for the Hospital," and suggested that housewives donate cans of fruits and vegetables for use by the patients.

In September, an influenza epidemic which swept across the United States struck upstate New York and created a serious crisis in Oswego. As more and more local citizens became ill and were transferred to the hospital, the limited facilities were so overcrowded that many residents had to remain at home for treatment. The doctors were so rushed with calls that it was impossible for them to answer all of the requests that came to them day and night. To complicate matters several hundred patients were sent from Syracuse to the hospital at Fort Ontario. Lt. Colonel Thomason, Commandant at the Fort, reported that there were over 1200 patients treated there and that some had to be housed in tents.

The Welland Hotel, which had been closed after serving since 1867 as a dormitory for students attending the Oswego Normal School, was reopened as an emergency hospital. Mr. Harry J. Cooper, chairman of the local Red Cross chapter, made the necessary arrangements, and recruited Red Cross and New York State physicians to help Oswego during the emergency.

The epidemic continued into October. Schools had been closed, and Mayor Fitzgibbons ordered churches, stores and saloons also to close. Dr. Washburne was in charge of the emergency hospital of the Red Cross. The Oswego Hospital was still overcrowded, and when nine nurses became ill, members of the Board of Trustees worked day and night as volunteers answering bells, washing dishes, and doing all the necessary chores. By the end of the month the epidemic began to diminish, though eighty-five patients still remained in the hospital. Four of the nurses had recovered sufficiently to resume their duties, and no new cases of influenza were reported. The Red Cross physicians and other recruited from around the state returned to their home cities after having given much-needed assistance during the emergency. The crisis was past, but during the three week siege of the "flu" over three hundred deaths were reported in Oswego including Fort Ontario.

In November of 1918, the Board of Trustees made an evaluation of the serious situation which had arisen because of a shortage of nurses and the overcrowded conditions in the hospital. It was at this time the Board began a discussion of the need for expansion of the physical facilities.

School of Nursing

When the new hospital opened in 1908, the training school for nurses was expanded to a three year course including a six month additional training in a specialization at other hospitals in Syracuse, Long Island and New York City to fulfill the requirements of the New York State Board of Regents. Graduates of the Oswego School of Nursing were awarded the R. N. diploma.

This program operated smoothly and furnished well-qualified nurses for the hospital. An incident in 1920, however, interrupted temporarily the instruction. Students enrolled in the School of Nursing decided to strike because of disciplinary action by the Superintendent of Nurses against one student who had disobeyed instructions in performing her duties in both the Oswego Hospital and the Fordham Hospital in New York where she had been taking special training. In protest the students walked out and left the hospital short of help needed to care for the patients. To fill the places left vacant, some of the ladies on the Board of Trustees and members of the Twig organizations volunteered their services and were of great assistance to the hospital.

A new class was started in December and the School of Nursing continued to operate successfully until March of 1927 when the regulations by the Board of Regents became much more exacting and the Oswego Hospital was unable to meet all of them. At that time the hospital was chiefly surgical, and did not provide enough training in medical and children's diseases to meet the new requirements. The Board then regretfully decided to close the School.

Nine graduates in the last class received diplomas at graduation exercises held at the Elks Home on March 15, 1927, with an address by the Reverend T. F. Howard of St. Paul's Church, and the diplomas conferred by Dr. James E. Mansfield, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Medical Board. Of the last nine graduates, three accepted positions at the Oswego Hospital, Mary Isabelle O'Brien, Ruth E. Murdock, and Louella Marie Reed.

Doctors Disagree with Trustees

During part of 1926 a serious controversy between the Medical Staff and the Board of Trustees of the hospital upset the smooth functioning of the institution, divided public opinion, and threatened to bring a new hospital into operation.

For some time there had been a growing dissatisfaction on the part of the doctors over the operation of the hospital, and over the administrative responsibilities. Many changes in hospital administration were taking place all over the country, but were slow in reaching Oswego. The Trustees, some of whom had been responsible for the initial development and building of the local hospital, continued to administer the institution along the same lines as at the old hospital. They were dedicated people who looked upon the hospital as their own charitable life work, and it was difficult for them to see the need for modernizing methods of operation. The doctors became rather impatient, and a short-lived strike by some of the medical staff resulted.

The matter came to the attention of the public early in April when two Oswego physicians (Dr. Wallace and Dr. Halsey) spoke as private citizens and not as doctors before the K. of P. and the Order of Moose concerning unsatisfactory conditions at the local hospital.

In reprisal the Trustees claimed the accusations were false and immediately dismissed the two medical men without a hearing. In retaliation to what was considered unfair action, fourteen doctors resigned from the medical staff of the hospital. Because of the serious situation, the City Board of Aldermen voted to appoint a committee of three to investigate.

In reporting on the controversy, the Oswego Times noted on May 13th that the Trustees had voted to accept the resignations in a resolution which was printed in full: "Resolved that the resignations of J. E. Mansfield, A. C. Calisch, H. S. Albertson, B. P. Quain, J. B. Ringland, M. J. McGrath, G. E. Elder, Sherman M. Burns, Harold LaTulip, D. D. O'Brien, J. T. Dwyer, Thomas R. Cullen, G. H. Wallace and George A. Marsden from the Medical Board of the Oswego Hospital, which resignations were received on May 5th be and hereby are accepted, effective May 15, 1926, signed by Lillyan R. Leighton, secretary." The newspaper also indicated that a copy of the resolutions had been sent to the City Aldermen welcoming a full investigation of the management and operation of the hospital, and appointing Mr. William Penney, Mr. Linsley and Mr. Radcliffe to represent the Board. Next day it was reported that the Councilmen were unable to bring about a compromise, and that the fourteen physicians had left staff duty at the hospital at noon. To care for the twenty-eight patients then in the Hospital, a new medical staff was organized by those physicians who remained on duty with Dr. F. L. Sinclair assigned to the medical service, Drs. Jarvis and Newman to the surgical staff, and Dr. W. H. Kidder appointed to the X-Ray Department to succeed Dr. Wallace.

Reports were circulated of plans for a new hospital with twenty-five beds to be established at the residence of Dr. Wallace, 140 West Fifth Street. Other reports indicated a movement underway for a new hospital to be operated by Catholic sisters.

In an effort to explain administrative procedures to the public, the Board published a detailed account of the organization, and indicated that the Oswego Hospital was not a municipal institution but was supported by donations from many people. At that time the Executive Committee in charge of administration was composed of William Penney, Charles W. Linsley, James P. Doyle, Hugh McGrath and D. T. Wadhams. As a reply to this statement, the physicians who had resigned reviewed the controversy and stated their views of the situation. In brief, they said the Trustees should not interfere with the medical staff, and they urged the election of nine new trustees who shared this point of view.

Peace Restored

One newspaper story was headlined "Citizens Back Hospital Board" and indicated that the Twigs were active in seeking the election of new Trustees who were acceptable to the Board. By mid-August the newspaper was reporting "Dove of Peace flapping wings over the Hospital." A settlement came about through an offer from the doctors who said "If the trustees agree to leave the medical affairs

of the hospital in the hands of the doctors, where they naturally belong, the fight will end immediately." But one question concerning the operation of the X-Ray room remained a stumbling block. The Board of Trustees believed that the X-Ray room should be available for use by all qualified physicians, whereas the Academy of Medicine composed of fourteen or fifteen of the twenty-five Oswego physicians preferred to have Dr. Wallace operate the equipment exclusively. The Board made an appeal to the public to decide whether the facilities of the hospital should be operated on broad lines to serve everyone or turned over to the Academy of Medicine with its fifteen members. The appeal, which had been signed by James C. Merriaman, William M. Penney, Delos S. Radcliffe, H. C. Mizen and E. J. Mizen, counsel for the Committee, brought the matter to a satisfactory conclusion as reported in an editorial on September 20, 1926.

Good News for the Public
Oswego Hospital Controversy is Settled

"After weeks of negotiation it was announced Saturday that no agreement could be reached by members of the Oswego Academy of Medicine and Hospital Trustees on the Question of operation of the X-Ray room.

"Members of the Academy insisted that it be closed to all but Dr. Wallace; members of the Trustees insisted it be opened for use by any qualified practitioner.

"Dr. Wallace now removes this issue by yielding in the interest of the public good and for the purpose of removing the last barrier to the settlement.

"Only the legal details remain to be worked out to start the hospital functioning, probably better than it ever has before, for it may be assumed that the new rules and regulations will improve administration and remove many troublesome features that have arisen in the past.

"Congratulations are due because it insures to the public continuation of an institution that is indispensable, and the public loomed as the principal sufferer in the event of continued controversy and strife."

In time harmony was restored to the operation of the hospital. New by-laws were adopted; an Executive Committee was appointed to head the administration and to work with an Executive committee of physicians headed by Dr. H. M. Wallace as president of the Medical Board, and with Dr. W. M. Halsey as secretary, Mr. W. Penney was elected president of the Board of Trustees with Mrs. James J. Riggs as second vice-president, and Miss Anna L. Driscoll, secretary.

One last reverberation of the controversy was felt when eight of the Trustees who had been involved submitted resignations. Leaving the board were D. T. Wadhams, John C. Churchill, F. A. Emerick, Stanley P. Emerick, Mrs. N. L. Bates, Miss Sara Morrison, Miss Frances Eggleston and Miss Margaret McNeirny.

To replace these members who had resigned, the Board elected Harry C. Mizen, Edgar E. Shannon, Wallace A. Dougherty, John K. Lynch, and Mrs. Udele Bartlett.

Financial problems continued to plague the hospital, and during the controversy between the Doctors and the Board a steady loss was reported.

To reassure the public that all was peace and harmony at the hospital, Mr. Charles Linsley, chairman of the Executive Committee, and Dr. James Mansfield, chairman of the Medical Board, issued a joint statement which indicated that the Trustees and the Medical Board were in hearty accord on policy and management, and united in urging popular support. The statement pointed out that the trustees, thirty in number, were all local people who gave of their time and energy to the charity without pay to administer the business affairs of the hospital, and that the Hospital Board of twenty-five physicians and surgeons were members of the hospital staff.

The physicians pointed out that they attended their private patients in the hospital the same as they would in their home, cared for the poor without charge, and as a board administered the medical affairs of the hospital facilities which were open to all physicians and surgeons.

Hospital Addition Completed

The addition to the hospital was finally completed in 1927 with new facilities including eleven private rooms, a very modern children's ward with an observation ward attached, and a new fire-proof staircase. The maternity floor also was improved with the addition of four private rooms, a new delivery room and a nursery. The bed capacity in the hospital was now increased to seventy-nine. It was opened to the public for inspection during May, and since May had been declared Hospital Month, a fund-raising campaign was started in the form of insurance memberships; the aim of the drive was to enroll every adult resident as a member of the hospital organization to contribute a penny a day to the hospital. A certificate was issued for \$3.65 which could be applied toward a hospital bill.

At the annual meeting of the Board in August, 1927, Mr. A. C. Hall was elected President; Mr. William Penney, vice-president; Mrs. James Riggs, second vice-president; and Miss Anna Driscoll, secretary. Fifteen candidates whose names were presented by the Citizens' Committee of the City of Oswego were duly elected. The complete list of trustees consisted of: For three years' term: Mrs. John S. Parsons, William Allen, Hugh R. McGrath, John K. O'Connor, E. M. Waterbury, Grover C. Boyce, Judge F. D. Culkin, A. C. Hall,

Alfred Tucker, Mrs. A. S. Page, Charles W. Linsley, Mrs. James Riggs; For two years' term: E. E. Whitney, Clair K. Light; For one year's term: Warren M. Carrier, William J. Mahaney, Harry S. Rauch, Kirk H. White, James Sutton, Delos S. Radcliffe. Re-elected were: E. E. Shannon, Harry C. Mizen, William M. Penney, John K. Lynch, W. A. Dougherty, Miss Anna Murphy, Miss Anna Driscoll, and Miss Grace Meagher. Mayor Conway, George Marrin, clerk of the Department of Charity and John Gravely, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Common Council served as ex-officio members of the board.

Changes in Administration

Under the leadership of Mr. A. C. Hall a complete re-organization was started, and the following committees were organized: Purchasing, Auditing, Soliciting, Publicity, House and Grounds, and Endowed Beds. Each committee chairman was responsible to the Executive board composed of E. E. Whitney, chairman; C. K. Light, J. K. Lynch, Wallace Dougherty and E. M. Waterbury.

The drive for \$75,000 to pay for the hospital addition in 1927 and not been entirely successful. An unpaid balance of \$11,084.50 remained and a monthly operating deficit continued. It is reported that a good friend of the hospital, Mr. C. Sydney Sheppard, helped each year to make up the deficit until his death in 1934, and a clause in his will seems to substantiate the report. Members of the Twigs also were of great assistance in collecting the mite boxes placed in the homes during the campaign.

In 1930, Mr. A. C. Hall was re-elected president of the Board of Trustees, and Miss Anna Post was elected to the Board. It was at this time a trained dietician was added to the hospital staff, and Mrs. Marian Gallagher was employed to fill the position at \$90.00 a month. The cost of supplies and services was increasing, and bills covering purchases and salaries in October totalled \$3,143.50 for the month. At this time the Department of Charity paid \$4.50 a day for each of their patients.

The annual fund-raising drive in June of 1931 had a goal of \$12,000, and thereafter the annual campaign was for \$10,000 until the Hospital became a member agency of the Oswego Community Chest.

At the 1938 annual meeting, Mr. Willard J. Hall was elected president; Mrs. J. B. Kessler, second vice-president, and Mr. C. Jermyn, secretary. Mr. George Penney and Mrs. E. J. Mizen were appointed trustees; and Mr. E. C. McCormack, who had been director of the hospital for many years, was replaced by Mr. Chester Jermyn.

Rising Costs

In 1938 the nurses' salaries were raised to \$90.00 a month. Food prices were on the increase, and with monthly expenses over \$5,000, it became necessary to raise the patients' fees. Private rooms were increased from \$5.00 to \$7.00 per day; semi-private rooms from \$4.25 to \$4.50; wards to \$3.75 per day. Charges for the

operating room were \$12.00 for major, and \$6.00 for minor operations.

Nurses' Aid Program

After Pearl Harbor and our entrance in the second World War, the shortage of nurses was so acute in the Oswego Hospital that Red Cross officials approached the trustees and offered to train Nurses' aides to work as volunteers in the hospital. The training program consisted of 10 hours of Red Cross orientation, 40 hours of class instruction under a qualified registered nurse, and 40 hours of supervised practice in the hospital. Each graduate pledged to give at least 150 hours of volunteer service a year. The Trustees approved the program in the fall of 1942, the first class was started and the students received their caps at graduation exercises in January 1943. Four more classes were trained between 1943 and 1946. In all about 50 women graduated and gave many hours of volunteer service to the hospital.

Mr. George Penney was elected President of the Board in 1944, and that same year Mrs. Francis D. Culkin was appointed trustee to fill the unexpired term of her husband. The by-laws had been changed. In 1945 the officers were: President, George M. Penney; first vice-president, Daniel A. Williams; second vice-president, Mrs. J. J. Downey; and secretary, Chester M. Jermyn. New trustees were Mr. W. R. Wright, Frank McDonough and Earl Brown.

Need for Expansion

After World War II it became more and more evident that the facilities of the hospital were inadequate. Space and new equipment were required to meet the demand for medical services. The board and the executive committee spent a great deal of time trying to solve the problem and finally it was suggested and approved to retain the organization known as Hospital Consultants, Inc., of Chicago to make a complete survey of the needs of the hospital. At the annual meeting in 1946, a report made by Dr. Charles E. Remy, who directed the survey, was presented to the board. In order to correct the deficiencies and to add modern equipment it became apparent that necessary improvements could not be accomplished in the old building. To determine possible costs, the Board retained Louis E. Jallade, a New York City Architect, to prepare plans and a cost estimate for a 125 bed hospital, and for adaptation of existing facilities that would meet modern requirements. The report of the architect suggested that \$50,000 would be enough to modernize the old part, and that a new addition was estimated at \$450,000 plus \$100,000 for furnishings making a total of \$600,000. Mr. Hosmer Culkin, Mr. Harry Laskey and Mrs. Charles Wells were elected to the Board as new trustees in 1946.

Hospital Auxiliary

That same year the Hospital Auxiliary was started under the leadership of Miss Marian Mackin. The aims and purposes of the Auxiliary, which met with the approval of the Board of Trustees, were stated as follows:

To render such assistance as may be possible in promoting financial or other campaigns for the institution benefit.

To consider ways and means of adding to the comfort and welfare of patients.

To disseminate such information concerning the Hospital as will be of interest to the community and of advantage to the institution.

To render personal assistance by individual and collective effort.

Any woman a resident of the territory served by the Oswego Hospital may become a member of the Auxiliary.

The Auxiliary does not seek to encroach upon any existing organization presently or in the future connected with the Oswego Hospital, nor will membership in such other organization be a bar to membership in the Auxiliary.

The new organization began to serve the hospital with Miss Marian C. Mackin, president; Mrs. Holman L. Hallock, vice-president; Miss Olive Page, secretary; and Mrs. Ralph Shapiro, treasurer.

During the years since it was founded, the Auxiliary has rendered many services, including a Book Cart to provide reading material for the patients; a Canteen Cart to sell candy, cigarettes, and many small items; and Baby Photography to make a pictorial record for families of their new-born infants. On holidays and special occasions members of the Auxiliary decorate rooms and wards; and until a few years ago, a Production Committee of members made hundreds of surgical packs and bandages. Another committee made baby dresses, tray towels, dresser covers, T-binders, and other useful items. Another group served as desk receptionists during the visiting hours. For several years, a gift shop was operated successfully and the profits used for many worthwhile projects. Today the Auxiliary, with a membership of about 400 ladies, continues to provide very valuable services and support to the hospital.

Modernization and Expansion

In 1947 the Trustees voted to retain the firm of Ketchum, Inc. of Pittsburgh to organize a fund raising campaign to build the new hospital. Mr. George Campbell agreed to be Campaign Chairman and under his enthusiastic leadership many volunteers solicited pledges from the public. Large Corporate gifts, and contributions

by businessmen and individuals brought the campaign to a very successful close with \$835,697.61 pledged. Mr. Frederick W. Barnes' gift of \$50,000 to the fund was the largest single individual contribution. Federal grants of \$300,000 had been promised and brought the total to over \$1,000,000.

On March 24, 1948, the Fort Oswego Chapter D.A.R. and heirs of the Tanner Estate Memorial property deeded to Oswego Hospital the house and the land. To enlarge realty holdings, the trustees also purchased a lot adjoining from Mr. Samuel Hunt on West Seventh Street for \$3,500. Bids for the construction were opened in 1949, and William E. Bouley and Co. of Auburn was awarded the general contract; Ryan Heating and Plumbing Co. of Watertown, heating and plumbing, and ventilation work; Snyder and Mackin Inc., electrical work; and Peter Raby Co., Inc., the boiler house. Ames Iron Works donated three 150 horsepower boilers, a gift representing \$20,000 to be installed in the concrete boiler house. On June 23, 1949, ground was officially broken for start of construction.

Hospital Administrator

Mr. Paul Sobering, a trained hospital administrator and superintendent of the Potsdam Hospital, was invited in 1948 to come to Oswego as Director replacing Arthur J. Vandish. Under plans of the Board of Trustees and following recommendations made in the Remy report, Mr. Sobering was given a free hand in making necessary changes in the hospital to meet Federal and State requirements, and to gain approval of the Hospital by the American College of Surgeons.

New Building

The Dedication Ceremony for the present hospital building was held in the cafeteria on April 17, 1951. Presiding was Hon. George M. Penney who served as President of the Hospital Board throughout the period of planning and building. The invocation was given by the Rev. Patrick J. Hartnett of St. Mary's Church, and Mr. George H. Campbell, chairman of the Financial Campaign, gave a detailed account of the drive. Mr. Harry C. Mixen, President of the Board of Trustees, spoke briefly, and Dr. Olin J. Mowry, President of the Medical Staff, expressed appreciation for the doctors. Dr. John J. Bourke, Executive Director Joint Hospital Survey and Planning Commission, gave greetings. The dedication was made by George M. Penney, and the benediction by the Rev. David Jones, Church of the Evangelists. Present were members of the Board, the medical staff, the contractors and representatives of concerns who had made major contributions to the building fund.

The new building was opened to the public for inspection for several days with members of the Twigs and the Auxiliary serving as guides and hostesses. With the new building, the hospital today is a fully-equipped institution of 126 beds and 24 cribs. Entrance

to the hospital is by ramp and overpass from West Sixth Street for pedestrians to the first floor. Ambulances and vehicles enter by driveway, extending through from Sixth to Seventh Street. On the ground floor of the new building is a fully equipped emergency room, adjoining are the radiological facilities and the therapy rooms. The cafeteria, the spacious and very modern kitchen, and a pharmacy are also located on the ground floor. On the first floor is an information desk, reception waiting room, and on the west along the corridor is the administration center, business office, Doctors' lounge, Director's office, Director of Nurses, and medical record department. To the East are eight two-bed patients' rooms and three four-bed rooms, the nurses' station, and a spacious solarium at the end of the corridor occupying the corner of the building. The second floor is the maternity floor with nursery and delivery rooms. The third floor has two major operating rooms, one minor operating room, one fracture room, surgeons' dressing room, nurses' rooms, sterile supply room, oxygen storage, and a recovery room. There are also the same accommodations for patients as on the first and second floors.

The children's ward in the old section was completely modernized. This change was made possible with money from the Endowment Fund. The Fund had been established in 1954 as a result of a generous contribution from the Fred W. Barnes' Estate and from other individuals. Through the income from the Endowment Fund, the Board of Trustees has been able to provide some much needed services and facilities, and to reduce operating losses which occurred in several years. The Endowment Fund has provided income to carry through a number of projects for which no other source of financing was possible. Among the important projects are: Establishment of Employee Retirement Fund, Equipment for operating room, Physical therapy, Post-Operative Recovery, and Radiology. A parking area for staff and employees was constructed on the site previously occupied by the Nurses' Home on Seventh Street. The original DeWolfe house was torn down and the Oswego County Laboratory was erected on the site.

Working under the capable leadership of Administrator Paul Sobering, is a very competent staff of 180 full-time employees, and about 40 who are engaged part-time. With the co-operation of the Medical Staff and a deeply interested governing Board of Trustees, and with the assistance of Miss Mary O'Brien, Director of Nurses, and the fine staff of nurses, the Oswego Hospital has been and is fully accredited by the American College of Surgeons.

Today it is continuing to serve the people of Oswego as in the past. In 1965, a total of 6,011 patients were admitted for treatment, and a total of 963 babies were born at the hospital.

Civic pride, community spirit, generous donors and tireless workers have marked the establishment and growth of the Oswego Hospital since its beginning. The service provided to the residents of this area can never be measured in terms of dollars. It has been, and continues to fulfill a vital role in the growth and well-being of the entire Oswego area.

NOTE

The material for this paper was gathered from a number of sources, including old record books and newspapers, and the personal recollections of Oswegonians.

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OSWEGO'S CITIZEN SOLDIERS

A History of the Local National Guard

by John Michael Sullivan

The Militia system is older than our nation. A British institution, it was carried to our shores by our forefathers, along with other ideas like belief in a representative form of government and rights of man. In the colonies, where frontier conditions presented many dangers to life and property, the Militia developed into a stronger institution than its European predecessors. This is not to say that it was in any way equal to a professional, standing Army. As a part-time military organization, the Militia was, in discipline and training, inferior to the Regular Army. An important concept to remember about this early period of our history is that there were actually thirteen separate Militias, as opposed to a single unified organization. As a result, there was a high degree of disorganization, and effective, unified action, on the part of the Militia, was seriously restricted. Despite these handicaps the Militia served with distinction in the colonial wars and on missions against the Indians. During our War of Independence the Militia, both in detached units and as a part of the Continental Army, saw much action against the British forces, which at that time were reputed to be the world's finest.¹

The R.O.T.C. Manual (R.O.T.C.M.-145-20) gives an interesting summary of the role of the Militia during the American Revolution. It states:

"The fault of the Militia was seldom lack of enthusiasm, but rather lack of discipline and training to make effective use of that enthusiasm in open field battle. If the Militia ran away on Long Island, Kip's Bay, Camden and Guilford Court House they also gave impressive performances, under difficult conditions, at Lexington and Concord, Bennington, King's Mountain, the Cowpens and dozens of minor guerilla actions. The Continental Army gave the American cause that continued sustenance that only a permanent force in being could, but it was the Militia that more than once provided the essential margin of superiority without which the Americans could never have won."²

During the Revolutionary War, no combat took place at Oswego. Fort Ontario and the surrounding area remained in British hands. Although no fighting took place at Oswego, it was, nevertheless, an important military installation. As a supply center and base of operations,

it was a jumping-off point for British expeditions directed against the Mohawk Valley. St. Leger passed through Oswego in 1777 on his ill-fated expedition which ended in defeat on the bloody field of Oriskany. Following the war, the British, in violation of the Treaty of Paris, retained a number of military installations in American territory. Oswego was one of the frontier posts which remained under the Union Jack until 1796, when it was turned over to the United States.

By the time the Stars and Stripes replaced the British ensign over Oswego, the Constitution had been ratified and was the law of the land. An important area which this historic document dealt with was the role which the military was to occupy in our new nation. The founding fathers, because of bitter experience, were fearful of a large standing Army. They had witnessed, first hand, how such an institution could be utilized as an agent of oppression. Thus Article I of the Federal Constitution advanced the concept that the Militia was to be the nation's first line of defense. Reinforced by the Militia Act of 1792, this concept was to become an important part of American military tradition. The Constitution of the State of New York made the following provision for the establishment of a military force, under Article XII, Sect. 1, which states:

"All able-bodied male citizens of the United States between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, who are residents of the state, and all other able-bodied male residents thereof, between such ages, who have or shall have disclosed their intention to become citizens of the United States, shall constitute the militia, subject however to such exceptions and exemptions as are now, or may be hereafter created by the laws of the United States or by the legislature of this state."

Under Federal and State Statutes the Militia, and its modern counterpart, the National Guard, were to develop. (See Appendix A) The differences between the present organization and its predecessor were great. Basically the early Militia was a body of civilians, untrained and poorly disciplined by professional standards. Their early activities were characterized by lack of unity and hampered by decentralized organization. As citizens they were liable to state and federal draft, which weakened the overall effectiveness of their units. Also, the members of the Militia, our first line of defense, were required to provide their own arms and equipment. The numerous faults of such a system were to be demonstrated on a number of fields in the years to come.

If Oswego had been spared the hardships of armed conflict during the Revolution, it was destined to know a different fate the second time our nation clashed with Great Britain. Twice during the War of 1812 Oswego was to know the roar of cannon and the smell of powder. Twice the British were to lay siege to the city and twice our first line of

defense, the militia, was to be called from civilian pursuits to make a stand against the invader.

The War of 1812, which resulted from a dispute over freedom of the seas, eventually reached to the inland community of Oswego. The Lake Ontario-Northern New York area was an important theater of operations. Control of the Great Lakes was a fiercely contested issue during the course of the war. Because of the shallow harbor at Oswego American naval construction was shifted to Sackets Harbor, where excellent natural features facilitated such activities. To reach this installation, all military and naval supplies had to be transported along the Mohawk-Oswego River system. From Oswego they were dispatched to Sackets Harbor. Thus, by virtue of its geographic location, Oswego became an important transshipment center and, at the same time, a military target of great significance.

Concerned over increased American Naval forces operating on Lake Ontario, the British launched an attack against Sackets Harbor in 1813. After heavy fighting they were driven off and the British fleet, under the command of Sir James Yeo, sailed south to Oswego. The small body of regular troops, garrisoned at Fort Ontario, were outnumbered in the face of superior British force. Col. Mitchell, commander of the Fort, issued a call for the Militia. With great haste, a large number of citizen soldiers assembled at the Fort where they stood, side by side, with the regulars. A fierce artillery duel was fought between American land batteries and British warships. Preparations were made to receive a landing party. However, Yeo broke off the engagement without attempting to put troops ashore. The Battle of Oswego in 1813 was a victory - a successful defense of the fort by the regulars and the militia.

The following year, Yeo, commanding a more powerful fleet, sailed South from his Canadian base. Oswego, an important station in the American supply line, was again destined to have the enemy forces hurled against it. The British strategy was simple. Sackets Harbor, a well defended position, would be a difficult object to take. Oswego, on the other hand, was vulnerable. Cutting the American supply line would disable the shipbuilding at Sackets Harbor. The destruction of Oswego would be as significant to the British war effort as the destruction of Sackets Harbor, for that base was dependent upon Oswego. With this objective in mind, Yeo launched an offensive against Oswego - an offensive of greater magnitude than the previous one.

Again, as in the previous year, Oswego was caught unprepared. Again, Col. Mitchell summoned the militia to assist the regular troops. Many small units, as well as individuals from the area, responded. Three local men who participated in the battle were William Squires and the Hugunin brothers, Abram and Peter. From as far away as Oneida County came a Militia unit under the command of a Major Parkhurst. The safety of a large supply of military stores, at Oswego Falls (presently Fulton), was a complicating factor at this time. Fearing

the loss of these valuable military supplies, Col. Mitchell sent the main body of his forces to Oswego Falls, to make a defense if the British should move inland. At the fort, a small band of regulars and militia, a rear-guard, faced the full force of the British onslaught. Following an intense artillery bombardment, the British landing party stormed and took the fort. After destroying the fort and other military supplies, the British, apparently unaware of the military stores located only a few miles to the south, boarded their ships and set sail. Although the Americans knew defeat in the Battle of Oswego in 1814, their heroic stand more than compensated for it. Though defeated, they made the British pay dearly for their victory.

The Treaty of Ghent brought peace but did not relieve tension on the northern border. A number of filibustering expeditions and intrigues were carried on in the area. In 1838 an actual invasion of Canada, utilizing Oswego as a jumping off point, was launched by a nationalist group called "The Hunters". Known as the Patriot War, this ill-fated venture added to the already tense relations with Canada.

An important date in relation to local military history is July 19, 1838. It was on this date that the 48th Regiment, Oswego National Guards, was formally organized. The "Old Forty-eighth" as it was to be known, came into being as a result of a widespread desire for an established, well-trained militia force on a state-wide basis. Weaknesses of the unorganized militia, evident during the War of 1812, and the tense relations with our northern neighbor were contributing factors. Oswego took a lead in the recruiting of an organized militia force and was one of the first communities in the state to muster such a unit.⁴

During this period it was the custom for officers of militia units to be elected by the troops, rather than commissioned by the Governor, as is the present method. An organizational meeting, held in August of that year, resulted in the election of the following local men to these respective ranks: Sidney H. Hurlburt, captain; James Ransom, lieutenant; and Zedac S. Titus, ensign. A number of non-commissioned officers were also elected at this time by the membership of the "Old Forty-eighth" which included some of the first citizens of Oswego.⁵

It is a well known tradition that our forefathers were peaceful men who shouldered the musket and unsheathed the sword only when danger of war was imminent. One must not, however, overlook another long-standing American tradition, pride in a local company of militia. Oswego was no exception. A good example of this kind of pride and interest was shown by Robert Oliver, Sr., a leading citizen, who was a charter member of the "Old Forty-eighth". Taking an active part in militia affairs he rose to the rank of major. The Oliver family sent three sons, who had received their initial training with the local unit, to fight in the Civil War. One of them, Robert Oliver, Jr., rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, commanding the distinguished 24th Infantry Regiment, N. Y. V., the first Oswego unit

to see action during the war.⁶

Oswego's "Old Forty-eighth" was part of a larger military unit located in the Oswego-Syracuse area, the 24th Brigade, National Guard, State of New York. The 24th Brigade was composed of the following military organizations, with headquarters located at Oswego, 48th Regiment (Inf.), Oswego; Separate Troop (Cav.), Oswego; 54th Regiment (Inf.), Syracuse; and an Artillery Battery, Syracuse. Total Brigade strength was one thousand seventy officers and men, a substantial number for that period.⁷

During the 19th century, local militia units performed a social as well as a military function. Military balls, which were functions intended for the participation of the entire community, were an important militia activity. Much time and planning were put into these events, some of them being very spectacular affairs. Some critics of the period felt that too much attention was given to such functions and not enough to drill and training.⁸ In this area Oswego's regiment was no exception. The annual ball given by the "Old Forty-eighth" in 1844 and for many years thereafter, was held in the ballroom of the Market House, the old city hall. These must have been spectacular affairs as the Common Council issued a ban on the use of the facilities for such purposes.⁹

Not all of the regiment's time was devoted to social functions. Regular weekly drills were held, enabling the troops to develop proficiency in military skills. Such training was to show when the unit was called upon, or rather volunteered, to perform its first military service. On May 30, 1846, the "Old Forty-eighth" offered its services to assist in the garrisoning of Fort Ontario in the event that the regular troops were removed. Their services were accepted and they were reorganized as the 48th Regiment, 22nd Brigade of the 6th Division. During the winter of that year, the "Old Forty-eighth" was called out by the governor as a result of the Rensselaer Rent war. The Oswego men traveled by sleigh to Schenectady, where they assisted other militia units in restoring the peace.¹⁰

The unit's next call to duty was closer to home. On July 4, 1847, a riot broke out at the foot of West Seneca Street in Oswego. The participants were a group of Canadian excursionists on a holiday and some local citizens who were celebrating the anniversary of their nation's founding. The "Old Forty-eighth" was dispatched to the scene and quickly restored order.¹¹

At the outbreak of the Civil War, President Lincoln issued a call to the states for troops numbering 75,000 men. In accordance with long-standing military policy these troops were to be drawn from the various state militias. The New York Militia, like most others, was caught unprepared for the emergency. Hasty efforts were instigated to obtain uniforms, weapons and other equipment for the 13,280 men in the New York quota. The various problems which arose during the early days of the war showed a number of deficiencies in the militia system. However, in spite of such difficulties, the State was able to

dispatch its first two regiments only four days after the initial call.¹²

The 48th Regiment was not called into federal service during the war. The danger of British intervention on the side of the south posed a serious threat to the Union. Thus militia units along the Northern frontier remained at their respective posts, ready to meet the enemy should he move against them from Canada. And so while the question of union or secession was settled on the field of Shiloh and Gettysburg, the 48th guarded the northern frontier, waiting for an invasion that never came.

But the war was not to leave the "Old Forty-eighth" unscathed. Three times during the course of the war the unit was practically dismembered by calls for troops. In addition to those called, a number of members, anxious to get into action, resigned from the 48th and joined volunteer units, which were being sent to the front.¹³ In this manner the importance of military skills and discipline, learned in the militia, was to be proven. A large number of officers and men of the 24th Infantry Regiment, N. Y. V., the first of several Oswego County regiments which went forth to defend the Union, received their "basic training" to use a present day term, with the "Old Forty-eighth". Many were destined to attain high rank and distinguish themselves on the field of battle. All told, the 48th furnished in excess of forty commissioned officers to the Union cause during the course of the war!¹⁴ (See Appendix B)

Following the Civil War, the stature of the militia dropped to an all-time low. By the end of the decade, however, a marked improvement could be noted. This was due, in part, to the interest in the system taken by many distinguished veterans of the war. Of greater significance was the realization by the general public of the importance of maintaining an effective military organization. During this period, the militia was reorganized and molded after the Regular Army. It remained, however, a state institution, with the State providing almost all of the expenses involved.¹⁵ On the local level some distinguished war veterans, who were prominent in militia activities, were Timothy Sullivan, Robert Oliver, Jr., Edward A. Cooke, George Hugunin and others.¹⁶

Although the surrender at Appomattox brought peace to the land, the northern border remained tense. A military expedition against Canada contributed to the friction. The Fenians, an Irish nationalist group, hoped to take Canada and use it as a lever, so to speak, to force Britain to relinquish their hold on their homeland, Ireland. Many of the men involved were combat veterans and, at this time, there were large amounts of surplus military equipment available. A two pronged attack from Niagara and Plattsburg was launched. The Fenians entered Canada and made contact with British troops. After a number of engagements, the Fenians were defeated by the superior forces. There was much ill-feeling on the part of the British toward the United States

government. Although the Americans did not officially sanction the action, they had done nothing to prevent it.¹⁷ Fear of retaliation by the British caused the militia units along the northern frontier to be placed on alert, to meet whatever situation might arise. During this crisis the "Old Forty-eighth" did guard duty in and about Oswego.¹⁸

At this point it might serve us well to divert from our chronological record of the local militia activities in order to consider a closely related matter. The armories of the local militia served not only military functions but were often utilized by the citizens for various civic activities and thus occupied an important part in community life. Before state aid was allocated for armory construction, such facilities had to be rented by the unit or donated by the local city government. Approximately \$3.8 million were allocated for armory construction and repair during the last quarter of the 19th century, which enabled many communities, which previously had no permanent armories, to obtain such facilities. Some criticized the architecture of the buildings, stating that the structure bore too great a resemblance to old European castles and fortresses. Also opposed to armory construction was the anarchist-socialist element, to whom the armories represented a disciplined militia organization, thus posing a deterrent to that group's violent activities.¹⁹

Oswego Militia has had three armories. At its inception, the 48th regiment was quartered in the Market House, the old city hall. The meeting hall on the third floor was utilized for drill purposes and also for the annual military balls. The Common Council was, however, reluctant to permit the storage of weapons and ammunition in the building proper. Thus an adjoining structure, located just to the south, was obtained and utilized as a gun room. Weapons and other equipment were stored there. Today, this structure is utilized as a local radio station.²⁰

After being quartered in the Market House, the "Old Forty-eighth" moved to its first permanent home. The armory, described as a "substantial brick building, with a mortared roof and towers" was situated on East First Street, between Oneida and Mohawk Streets, facing the river. It was 175 feet long and 100 feet deep, having three stories. Most of the first floor was utilized as a drill hall, with some company rooms. The second floor contained company rooms as well as headquarters for the regiment and brigade. The third floor was occupied by the cavalry troops. A number of trophies and awards were found there, testifying to the skills of the Oswegonians in marksmanship and drill. The structure is still standing, minus the towers, and houses the offices for the Cyclotherm Corporation.²¹

In 1903 the unit moved to a new armory which has been utilized up to the present time. The structure, located on West First Street, at the foot of Mohawk Street, is of brick and stone

construction. A massive tower in conjunction with the overall architecture, gives the structure a very impressive military appearance. In recent years, an addition has been constructed on the north side, serving as a garage for the Company's vehicles.²²

During the last quarter of the 19th century, there was a great deal of social unrest in the country. The rise of big business, organization of the labor force, socialist and anarchist activities, were all contributing factors. Such discontent frequently resulted in violence and public disorder. Often the National Guard was called out to quell these disturbances and restore order. The "Old Forty-eighth" saw much service in this type of situation. Oswego's Guardsmen were summoned to Syracuse in 1878 to quell a disturbance arising from a railroad strike in that city. In 1882 the unit saw eighteen days' riot duty on the lumber wharves here in Oswego. Another railroad strike in 1890 again called the local unit to the City of Syracuse. In 1892 a railroad strike in Buffalo required the attention of the "Old Forty-Eighth". The unit guarded the Standard Oil Company's property in Oswego during the longshoremen's strike of 1894. During these disturbances, the local unit protected life and property while helping civil officials restore order.²³

A series of reorganizations sharply reduced the size of the "Old Forty-eighth" from regimental to company strength. In 1882 the regiment was disbanded and, on the local level, reorganized into two companies. These, in turn, were joined together forming the 48th Separate Company. Later, this unit's designation was changed to Company D. Under this title the unit was destined to distinguish itself on many occasions during the years to come.

The destruction of an American warship at Havana brought an abrupt end to that period of American history known as the "gay nineties". With the cry, "Remember the Maine!", we went to war against Spain. Again as in the past, America found herself unprepared, and hasty mobilization efforts were instituted. In order to meet the number of volunteer regiments required by the Federal Government, the Governor ordered the consolidation of a number of separate companies into an organization designated as the 3rd Regiment, Infantry, National Guard, State of New York. Oswego's 48th Separate Company became Company "D" of this regiment's first battalion.²⁴

Following their induction into Federal service, the 3rd Regiment, N. Y. Volunteers, was assigned to Camp Black on Long Island. On May 24th they were ordered to Camp Alger, Virginia. They were stationed there during the summer where they suffered greatly from sickness. This situation became so serious that the regiment was sent to Camp Mead, Pennsylvania, a healthier place, on August 29th. Following the cessation of hostilities the units departed for their respective home stations, receiving demonstrations of welcome in the cities through which

they passed. Though the men of the 3rd Regiment never got to Cuba the hardships they suffered in the service of their country were not forgotten by the people.

After the war Company "D" was attached to the 108th Infantry Battalion. This, in turn, was part of the 27th Division, New York National Guard, an organization covering much of the central and northern part of the state.²⁵ During this period, a number of events transpired which had an important effect on the National Guard. The Dicks Bills of 1903 and 1908 allocated \$2 million a year to the various states to maintain their guard units. This was the first time Federal monetary aid had been provided. Between 1792 and 1903 the maintenance of the Militia had been the sole responsibility of the states. Also, the Federal government provided Regular Army personnel as instructors. This enabled the guard to improve upon and learn new military skills. These were the first steps taken which enabled the Guard to develop to its present state.²⁶ The fruit of this action was to be shown quite vividly when the Guard was next called to active duty.

In 1916 trouble along the border again called for the services of the National Guard. This time the trouble was not with Canada, as it had been in the past. Revolutionary uprisings in Mexico led to trouble with the United States. General Huerta, who succeeded the assassinated Madera as President of Mexico, was confronted by a revolt of the latter's supporters. When the United States recognized the new government and restricted the sale of weapons to the revolutionaries, Pancho Villa, one of the revolutionaries, launched an attack against the United States. From northern Mexico, which he controlled, the bandit leader crossed the border on the night of March 9, 1916, and attacked the town of Columbus, N. M. A number of Americans were killed and much property was destroyed before the rebel band withdrew to their hideout in the rugged mountains of northern Mexico. Outraged by this invasion, President Wilson with the agreement of the Mexican government, sent an expeditionary force, under the command of General John J. Pershing, across the border to capture the bandit leader.²⁷

As General Pershing's force moved into the Mexican mountain stronghold of the rebels, other military activities were underway. Security along our long border with Mexico posed a serious problem. On March 25 the President called about one-third of the National Guard to active service. These citizen soldiers were deployed along our southern border to provide internal security.

Oswego's Company "D" was called to active service as part of the 3rd Regiment (Infantry), New York National Guard. Under the command of General John F. O'Ryan, the 3rd Regiment was mustered into federal service and dispatched to the Southwest.

The Border service is a record of vigorous discipline and long, strenuous marches rather than fighting. The New York troops saw no combat during this period. The local group was stationed at Pharr, Texas, not far from the Mexican Border. This area was sparsely inhabited country. The long marches were made more difficult than normal by a combination of high temperatures and dust storms. When they returned home the men were, to all intents, veterans - toughened by life in the field. (See Appendix C)

By the time the men of Company "D" returned to Oswego, it was clear that relations with Germany had passed beyond the point of no return. It was only a matter of time before the call was to come again, this time taking Company "D" to the bloody trenches of France and Belgium.

The war in Europe, which began in 1914, dragged on, each side suffering heavy losses. The United States remained neutral, although, because of background and culture, the majority of our people identified with the Allies. Strained relations with the Axis resulted from the Zimmerman Note and Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare. When the Germans reinstituted the latter, the United States mobilized and entered the war "to make the world safe for democracy". As a part of our general mobilization, President Wilson, on March 25, 1917, called the National Guard into Federal Service. And so Company "D" like the rest of the country went to war.

Just prior to the start of hostilities, the officers of the local units were: Tory Ball, captain; Clarence Martian, first lieutenant; Eyra Barns, second lieutenant; and Fred Gallagher, first sergeant. Numbering 150 men, Company "D" was dispatched to Utica and Trenton Falls where they guarded power stations to prevent sabotage. Then the unit was ordered to Madison Barracks. While there they helped convert the post from a regular peacetime military installation to a special officers' training camp. This was one of the first training camps of its type set up during the war. The men also did guard duty in and around the Watertown area before being ordered to Pelham Bay on August 16. The men were quartered in a temporary tent camp on the grounds and Polo Field at the Westchester Country Club. Visits were made to New York City, which was a new experience for most of the upstate men. The Guardsmen participated in the parade down Fifth Avenue before being ordered south on September 24.²⁸

When Company "D" arrived at Camp Wadsworth, S. C., most of the men, feeling quite confident of their abilities, expected to be sent overseas immediately. They were disappointed when informed that they were to undergo additional training at the base. But the trench warfare of 1917 was quite different from the open tactics of earlier wars. The Guardsmen, schooled in the tactics of the Civil and Spanish-American Wars, had to learn new skills of Twentieth Century warfare. Many different areas of military science were mastered by the men of Company "D". There was instruction in grenade throwing, automatic wea-

pons, trench artillery, gas defense and camouflage. Patrolling and reconnaissance were stressed as well as communications and liason.²⁹

About twenty-five miles from the camp was a hill named Glassy Rock. A rifle range was located here and this point, frequently, was utilized as a terminus for hikes. It was unique in that the artillery, as well as the infantry, utilized it for training. The artillery, located to the rear, fired over the sector occupied by the infantry. This simulated combat conditions and accustomed the riflemen to the sound and sensations of barrages being fired over them.³⁰

While at Camp Wadsworth the local unit underwent reorganization. The 3rd Regiment (Company "D") was combined with elements of the 74th Regiment (from Buffalo) to form what was to be known as the 108th Regiment. This, in turn, was part of the 27th Division. In the process, a number of Buffalo Guardsmen were assigned to Company "D".³¹ The local unit received actual trench warfare training at Wadsworth, where a system of trenches like those in Europe had been constructed. Also, British and French Army veterans served as advisors to the men of the 27th Division.³²

The 27th Division departed from Newport News on May 10, 1918. Their destination was Brest, France. Company "D" was aboard the S.S. Kurska, a small ship with a mixed crew; Russian, British and American. This was part of a convoy, the standard way to travel at the time, due to the submarine menace. The crossing was difficult, as heavy seas and high waves were encountered and many of the men suffered from seasickness. Of the twenty-one ships in the convoy, the men of Company "D" were sure they had drawn the worst. A local veteran described the S.S. Kurska as an "Old Tub."

Upon arrival in France on May 23, the 27th Division moved into the British sector north of the Somme. Here, they were billeted and, since they were to be attached to the British forces, received instruction in British methods and materials. Gradually, individuals, usually sergeants, went up to the front with British units to become familiar with the trenches, landscape, etc. On July 3, 1918, the unit occupied a part of the line in Flanders where they were attached to the Second British Army, under the command of General Robinson of Australia. Their mission was to protect the Channel port and, although the main German drive was to the North, the local unit saw their first combat action here.³⁴ Company "D" faced the troops of Prince Rupert who was reputed to command some of the toughest forces in the German Army. Under regular artillery bombardment, the men of the local unit became accustomed to the sights and sounds of war. At night the sky was illuminated by searchlights and tracer bullets, directed at German aircraft. The Guardsmen crawled through tangled barbed wire and shell holes to patrol "no-man's land", between the opposing forces. Sometimes, during these patrols they were under fire from enemy gun emplacements.³⁵

When relieved, the 27th Division moved to Anthell near Doullens. Here they joined with the 30th Division to prepare for an assault on the Hindenburg Line. This German fortress was well constructed of steel and concrete, covered with earth. The various units of the system were connected by a series of underground tunnels. Tunnels also led to bunkers and gun emplacements enabling the defenders to move to these positions without exposing themselves to fire. Five times the British had sent their forces against this impregnable fortress. Five times they had been beaten back with heavy casualties. Now it was the Americans who would test the strength of the Hindenburg Line. On the morning of September 29, 1918, under the cover of their own machine guns and British artillery, the Americans went "over the top" launching their attack on the German fortress.³⁶ To trace the entire course of the battle would be beyond the scope of this paper. What follows then are some selected aspects which relate to the local unit and the part they played in the attack.

The men of Company "D" were sacrifice troops. They were to move against the enemy until their numbers were seriously depleted. Then a fresh unit would pass over, "leap frog", them and continue the attack. Slowed down by mud, shell-holes and barbed wire, and under heavy artillery bombardment as well as small arms' fire, it did not take Company "D" very long to get depleted. At this point they were "leap frogged" by Australian troops. A number of the local men pressed on with the Australians and helped take the St. Quentin Canal, an important port of the German defense system. This breach marked the beginning of the end for the Hindenburg Line.

During this battle, Sgt. Merrill Hewitt was killed. A native Oswegonian, he served with Company "D" during the Mexican Border Campaign. Upon his return home he enrolled in the old Oswego Normal. He was in attendance only a short time when his unit was again called to active service. At the time of his death, he was leading his men in the assault on the Hindenburg Line.³⁷ His memory has been perpetuated by the college in naming the Student Union building in his honor.

During this battle, the men of the local company had their first experience with tanks. Company "D" had been assigned one of these vehicles: a British model called a Churchill Tank. The men were impressed with its size and formidable appearance. Surely it would wreak havoc with the German defenses! But this was not to be the case. After traveling only a short distance the tank broke down, then took a direct hit, and was destroyed. After this, the local troop did not put much faith in these modern gadgets.³⁸

Following the assault on the Hindenburg Line, the remnants of the 27th Division were pulled back for a rest. On October 11, 1918, they returned to the front line. In the days that followed, furious engagements took place at Jonc-de-Mar Ridge, St. Soplet and the LaSalle River. The Germans, making a determined last stand, forced the

Allies to pay dearly for each foot of ground taken. On their last day in the front lines, there were but 850 effective rifles in the entire 27th Division.³⁹ Company "D"'s condition was representative of the division as a whole. On September 11, they were at their full war-time strength; approximately 250 men. On November 11, they number had been reduced to approximately 70, and many of these, just released from hospitals, bore scars and displayed bandages. They had suffered heavy losses in the preceding two month period.⁴⁰

During this period, Corporal William S. Monaghan, for whom a local American Legion Post is named, shot down a German airplane. The aircraft was flying low, strafing the troops. Monaghan, who was listed as a sharp-shooter, utilizing only his rifle, fired and killed the pilot. The plane crashed and the crew were taken prisoners. For this act Monaghan was decorated with the Silver Star. The award was made posthumously, as he was killed in action on October 17, 1918.⁴¹

The local Guardsmen say no more combat. When the Armistice was signed they were at Corbie, resting and undergoing additional training. About this time the unit was reviewed by General Pershing, Commander of the American Expeditionary Force. One veteran of Company "D", who saw the famous Pershing, was greatly impressed. The General was "every inch a soldier," the veteran recalled. During the review a humorous incident occurred involving the General and a young corporal of Company "D".

The corporal had been wounded twice and hence wore two wound chevrons on the lower part of his right sleeve. Pershing stopped, pointed to the chevrons and asked, "Where did you get those, soldier?", obviously referring to the battles in which the man had been wounded. But the corporal being somewhat nervous, addressing such a distinguished officer, interpreted the question differently. "From the quartermaster, sir," was the quick (and strictly correct) reply of the young soldier. The General of the Armies, his staff and a nervous corporal all enjoyed a good laugh..⁴²

The men of Company "D" left France on February 26, 1919, aboard the Mauretania bound for New York. Upon arrival, they were sent to Camp Upton where they prepared to be mustered out and take part in the Victory Parade down Fifth Avenue. When on parade, the men of the 27th Division were well received by the people. The event was not as spectacular or the cheering as loud as before, when they had marched off to war. Perhaps this was due to the thinned ranks and the number of marchers who bore visible wounds. Not all of those who left were returning. Thus this celebration had a difference - a sounder, more quiet admiration - the solid appreciation for great things that had been accomplished. An account of the period states: "the crowd seemed spellbound. Their emotion was too deep for cheers. Surely this occasion will never be forgotten."⁴³ On March 31, 1919 Company "D", along with the rest of the 27th Division, was mustered out of Federal Service. As a result of their World War I service they are entitled to fly three battle streamers from their Regimental Colors

to signify participation in the Battles of Flanders, Ypres-Lys and the Somme Offensive.⁴⁴

The period between the two World Wars was a quiet time for Company "D". They were put on "stand-by" alert for the Auburn Prison Riot of 1929, but were not called to that city. A high degree of proficiency in military skills was maintained by regular weekly drill and summer training period at Camp Peekskill, N. Y. During the 1920's and 1930's, Company "D" was well known, both on a state and local level, for its champion basketball teams. Their baseball and rifle teams won trophies as well; many of which are still on display at the local Armory.⁴⁵

War broke out in Europe in 1939. This event, along with concern over Japanese military activities in China stimulated a reorganization of our military forces so they would be equipped to meet any situation which might arise. Basically, this program was aimed at reorganizing the old "regular Army" and increasing it to a 1,200,000 man strength. To fill the ranks of this new Army, the National Guard was called into Federal Service. Many individual guardsmen were drawn from their units and assigned to new organizations composed mainly of volunteers and conscripts, who lacked previous military experience. The trained guardsmen, serving as both commissioned and non-commissioned officers, provided the leadership necessary to make these inexperienced units into functional military organizations.⁴⁶

The initial call came on September 16, 1940. The mobilization was executed over a period of several months as facilities were not readily available for the entire National Guard of the United States. Due to the outbreak of the war the original one year period of service was extended for the duration, plus six months.

When the New York National Guard was inducted into Federal Service, Governor Dewey set up a State Guard. This was to be a home-front replacement for the guardsmen called to active duty. The purpose of the State Guard was to provide assistance to civil authorities in time of crisis. Security for vital industrial installations was an important service provided by the State Guard. Also, they assisted civil defense personnel during natural disasters.

Company "D" of Oswego was inducted into Federal Service on October 15, 1940, and ordered to Fort McClellan, Alabama, where they took part in the Louisiana maneuvers. At this time the officers were: Max Ziel, captain; Harold Wilson, first lieutenant; William O'Niel and William Gallagher, second lieutenants. Fred McIlwaine was the company's first sergeant.

While at Fort McClellan the 27th Division participated in the large scale Louisiana maneuvers. Important training was received in combined armor-infantry operations. Basic infantry tactics were renewed. These included large and small group assaults, flanking and defensive tactics. The local unit also took part in the Tennessee maneuvers and the Arkansas-Louisiana maneuvers as well. During this period

of extensive training, the local unit was attached to the Second Army Corps.

After the war broke out, the 27th Division was sent to California. From here, on March 10, 1942, they departed for Hawaii. Upon arrival the 108th Third Battalion, of which Company "D" was a part, was assigned to Maui. In September of that year, the 27th Division was triangularized. As a result of this reorganization the 108th Regiment was detached and transferred to the 40th Division. Company "D" served with this Division for the remainder of the war. When the 27th Division shipped out for the South Pacific, Company "D", now a part of the 40th Division, remained on Hawaii.

Company "D"s first assignment in the Islands was to provide security in case of Japanese invasion. In this capacity, they did guard duty along the beaches and around vital military installations. Following the Japanese defeat in the Battle of Midway, the danger of invasion was diminished. The local unit was then assigned duties related to the construction of defense installations. Beaches were given priority; consentinas, double apron-fences and other barbed wire devices erected. Machine gun bunkers and rifle pits were constructed. Such installations were important parts of the island overall defense system.

In December 1943 the unit shipped out for Guadalcanal. This island was secure and the men did garrison duty and engaged in training exercises designed to familiarize them with jungle operations. They were prepared for the invasion of New Ireland. At the last moment, after much of their equipment had been put aboard ship, the operation was cancelled. New Ireland was to be by-passed and Company "D" was shipped to New Britain. It might be noted that the local troops saw some "action" while on Guadalcanal. This was not with the Japanese but with the Marines - a case of inter-service rivalry. The relationship between the two groups was not exactly cordial!

Company "D" landed at the Gloucester Bay area of New Britain, an area which was already secured. On the opposite end of the island in the vicinity of Rabal, the strategic Japanese naval base, American forces were engaged in heavy contact with the enemy. Deep in the jungle was a small airstrip and radio relay station which figured prominently in military operations in the area. Company "D" was sent to this installation to perform guard duty. A perimeter was established and regular patrols sent into the surrounding area to prevent Japanese infiltration.⁵⁰

While on patrol, the local guardsmen encountered a number of cows. These animals had been turned loose by European plantation owners when the Japanese invaded the island. Roaming in the jungles the cattle had abundant foliage to eat. Regulations prohibited confiscation of the property of civilians. However, as a veteran re-

called, these particular cows were "unfriendly." Since there are no regulations protecting "hostile" cows, the animals were shot. This provided the guardsmen with fresh meat - a welcome change of diet from the canned rations to which the men were accustomed.⁵¹

On January 9, 1945, the local unit took part in the Invasion of the Philippines. Company "D" was in the first wave of the amphibious assault. Moving inland, heavy Japanese resistance was encountered. The local unit saw action on Luzon, Leyte and Mindanao. They were serving here when the Japanese surrendered and the war ended. After the cessation of hostilities, Company "D" was ordered to Korea where they served as part of the Army of the Occupation. It was here that the unit was demobilized in March, 1946. The regimental and company colors were returned to headquarters at the Jefferson Street Armory, Syracuse.

The problems of national security in the post World War II were numerous and demanding. As the heirs of the old militia system, the National Guard had played an important part in the war. Since it was not economically feasible to maintain standing military forces of the magnitude necessary, the National Guard was reorganized as an integral part of the nation's defense system. The Army's long range goal was a highly mobile reserve component which would be capable of immediate mobilization in case of emergency. In accordance with the program, the National Guard was stream-lined with priority given to Infantry, Armour and Regimental Combat Teams. This makes the organization more flexible.⁵²

Under its present program, the National Guard provides a ready reserve force to back up the Regular Army. Guardsmen train at forty-eight weekly drills during the year and take two weeks' summer field training.⁵³ Opportunities for regular Army training are available in all military occupation skills. All members are required to serve some period of time (minimum four months) on active duty for training.⁵⁴

The local unit, today, is Company "A", First Mechanized Infantry Battalion, 108th Infantry, 27th Armored Division. The old regimental system of organization has been replaced by separate battalions, giving more flexibility in deployment. During the gas shortage of 1957 and the blizzard of 1958 the local unit was active assisting civil defense officials. Race riots in Rochester called the unit to that city for several days' riot duty in 1964. At present, with three officers and one hundred-three men, the unit is at full authorized strength. Under a new Army policy, recruits are receiving part of their basic training with their home units before being ordered to active duty. This program will be expanded during the active duty summer training period. Company "A" has been assigned an important position in the recruit training program at Camp Drum this summer.⁵⁵

At this point some type of summation is in order. The author feels that the National Guard's Creed sums up the theme of this paper

much better than he could. It is entitled: "I am the Guard."⁵⁶

"Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War...of security and honor, for three centuries I have been the custodian, I am the Guard.

I was with Washington in the dim forests, fought the wily warrior, and watched the dark night bow to morning... At Concord's bridge I fired the fateful shot heard 'round the world...I bled on Bunker Hill...My footprints marked the snows at Valley Forge...I pulled a muffled oar on the barge that bridged the icy Delaware...I stood with Washington on the sun drenched heights of Yorktown... I saw the sword surrendered...I am the Guard...I pulled the trigger that loosed the long rifle's havoc at New Orleans... These things I knew - I was there!...I saw both sides of the War between the States - I was there!... The Hill at San Juan felt the fury of my charge...the far plains and mountains of the Phillipines echoed to my shout...On the Mexican Border I stood...I am the Guard...The dark forests of the Argonne blazed with my barrage...Chateau Thierry crumbled to my command...Under the arches of victory I marched in legion - I was there...I am the Guard ...I bowed briefly on the grim Corregidor, then saw the light of liberation shine on the faces of my comrades... Through the jungles and on the beaches, I fought the enemy, beat, battered and broke him...I raised our banner to the serene air on Okinawa - I scrambled over Normandy's beaches - I was there - I am the Guard...Across the 38th Parallel I made my stand...I flew MIG Alley...I was there ...I am the Guard.

Soldier in War, Civilian in Peace...I am the Guard.

I was at Johnstown, where the raging waters boomed down the valley...I cradled the crying child in my arms and saw the terror leave her eyes... I moved through the smoke and flame at Texas City...The stricken knew the comfort of my skill...I dropped the food that fed the starving beast on the frozen fields of the west and through the towering drifts I ploughed to rescue the marooned...I have faced forward to the tornado, the typhoon and the horror of the hurricane and flood - those things I know - I was there!...I am the Guard...I have brought a more abundant, a fuller, a finer life to our youth...Wherever a strong arm and valiant spirit must defend the Nation, in peace and war, wherever a child cries or a woman weeps in time of disaster, there I stand... I am the Guard...For three centuries a soldier in war, a civilian in peace - of security and honor, I am the custodian, now and forever...I am the Guard."

Appendix A

The name "National Guard" was first assigned to the State Militia August 16, 1824, on the occasion of an official visit to the United States by the Marquis de Lafayette. Officers of the 11th Regiment of Artillery, New York State Militia (presently 1st Battle Group, 107th Combat Arms Regiment, N. Y. Army N.G.) were, at this time, in the process of organizing a new infantry battalion. To honor Lafayette, who at one time commanded the "Garde Nationale", the new battalion was called the "National Guard." The name belonged exclusively to this unit from 1824 until 1862 when the legislative made it standard for all Militia units in the State. By the turn of the century, the term "National Guard" became universally adopted for all organized Militia units throughout the United States and its possessions.

Source: Legislative Manual N.Y.
1959. p.423.

Appendix B

The following members of the 48th Regiment, Oswego National Guards, became commissioned officers during the Civil War:

Brig. General S. S. Hurlburt	Col. George Hugunin
Col. Timothy Sullivan	Col. Samuel R. Beardsley
Col. Frank C. Miller	Col. Augustus G. Bennett
Col. Ward G. Robinson	Col. James Doyle
Col. E. M. Paine	Lieut. Col. Edward A. Cooke
Lieut. Col. Hiram Duryea	Lieut. Col. Wm. P. McKinley
Lieut. Col. Robert Oliver, Jr.	Major George Duryea
Major John McAmbly	
Major Alexander Penfield	Capt. Wm. S. Morse
Capt. Daniel O'Brian	Capt. John S. McNair
Capt. John Ratigan	Capt. John B. Edwards, Jr.
Capt. Bellenden Hutchinson	Capt. Maurice P. Tidd
Capt. Wm. L. Yeckley	Capt. Lemonte L. Thorpe
Capt. Samuel H. Brown	Capt. James McKinley
Capt. Leverter C. Adkins	Capt. Joseph Shalkinback
Capt. N. A. Wright	
Capt. John A. Judson	Lieut. Daniel C. Hubbard
Lieut. Patrick J. Brown	Lieut. Gail Kingsley
Lieut. Charles H. Peavey	Lieut. Orrin M. Sterns
Lieut. Orville M. Morse	Lieut. John W. Oliver
Lieut. Joel H. Warn	Lieut. John G. Phillips
Lieut. John Dunn, Jr.	

Source: Landmarks of Oswego. p.412

Appendix C

NEWS REPORTS of COMPANY D on the MEXICAN BORDER, 1916 taken from the Palladium-Times

- June 28 Many women fainted when the train carrying Company D off to war pulled out of the New York Central station, creating such a scene as has not been seen here since the 48th Separate Company left for the Spanish-American War in 1898. There were 10,000 persons present for the leave taking, many of them weeping, cheering, praying aloud and pressing gifts upon the soldiers. Edgar Brown, a popular young man who hung around the Brunswick tonorial parlors, got 52 packs of cigarets and \$12.30 spending money, while Sgt. Fred Gallagher, the patrolman, got more loot than anyone.
- June 29 The New York Central Railroad, in an unprecedented burst of generosity, has promised to pay full salaries to its men called to duty with the National Guard. There are 12 Central workers in Company D, and they need worry no longer about the support of their dependents.
- July 10 The employees of the Oswego Candy Works here forwarded to Cpl. John Stone of Company D, an automatic pistol purchased with funds secured by popular subscription for the popular young man.
- July 13 Company D is speeding about ten miles per hour toward the Mexican Border aboard the most rotten, dirty, hot day coaches the railroads of the nation could bring together in a single train. The food car got lost and the men went without food for 15 hours before the citizens of Warwick, N.J., threw them some bread.
- July 22 The boys of Company D are getting restless as evidenced by a letter from one of them today. He called Texas a "God foresaken, cactus-covered, lizard-infested, scorpion-eaton hole." It has been 134 degrees in the shade. Moreover the boys have not been paid and have no money to buy cooling drinks.
- July 24 A Company D trooper writes from Texas that the camp at Pharr is infested with reptiles and insects... They have killed more than 100 scorpions in their area so far plus **one rattler..**

- July 25 The men of Company D are bombarding the folks here at home with complaints that they are broke. They write that Pharr, Texas, is a wide open town and they would like to enjoy some of its vices, but are powerless to do so without money.
- July 29 Things are going better with the boys of Company D on the Mexican Border. They have found a saloon that will give them beer on credit.
- Aug. 3 The United States is shipping vast quantities of shirts and slacks to Europe, with the consequence that there are not enough left for the boys of Company D guarding the nation from Mexican Bandits.
- Aug. 17 The camp at Pharr, Texas, has been broken and the boys of Company D sent off on a 100 mile hike. It is said that the hike has been ordered because the boys have been restless doing nothing but visiting the local bars and chasing the senoritas who are easily caught.
- Aug. 21 The boys in Texas with Company D got drenched and their tents blew away in the hurricane last week.

Footnotes

- 1 Dept. of the Army, American Military History 1607-1953 p.19
- 2 Dept. of the Army, Ibid., p. 101
- 3 Simon, Caroline ed., Legislative Manual, New York, 1959, p.158
- 4 Centennial Committee, Oswego: A City for a Century 1848-1948, p. 30
- 5 Churchill, John C. ed., Landmarks of Oswego County, p.410
- 6 Snyder, Charles M. "The Olivers and the Civil War; Import of the War on our Oswego Family," p.18
- 7 Johnson, Crisfield, ed., History of Oswego County, p.131
- 8 Isreal, Fred L. New York's Citizen Soldiers, p.147
- 9 Oswego Palladium Times, May 17, 1963, p.4
- 10 Churchill, John C., Landmarks of Oswego County, p.411
- 11 Churchill, John C., Ibid, p.411
- 12 Isreal, Fred L., New York's Citizen Soldiers, p.148
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- 16 Johnson, Crisfield, ed., History of Oswego County, p.131
- 17 Orich, George T., On to Canada, p.47
- 18 Churchill, John C., Landmarks of Oswego County, p.412
- 19 Isreal, Fred L. New York's Citizen Soldiers, p.152
- 20 Oswego Palladium Times, May 17, 1963, p.4
- 21 Johnson, Crisfield, ed., History of Oswego County, p.131
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- 30 McDonald, John, Col., Interview, 5/7/66
- 31 McIlwaine, Fred, M/Sgt. Interview, 5/8/66
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- 35 Riley, Joseph, Sgt., Interview, 5/5/66
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- 43 Sullivan, James, ed., History of New York State 1523-1927, p.1297
- 44 Salyer, Kermit, ed., 27th Infantry Division Yearbook; 1948, p.105
- 45 Sullivan, John, Corporal, Interview, 4/29/66

- 46 Dept. of Army, ed., American Military History 1607-1953, p. 373
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51 Ibid
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p. 452
53 (Pamphlet), "Take Six." NG-62-125(5/62) 250M, p. 3
54 (Pamphlet), "Army National Guard" NG-65-89(6/65)500M, p. 14
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THE SHEPARD FAMILY OF NEW HAVEN, N.Y. AND THEIR HOME (LA BERGERIE)

Presented before the Oswego County Historical Society
on February 21, 1967

By Grant Lindsley

Sidney Shepard, son of Jesse Shepard, Jr., and Savinnie Hamilton Shepard, was born September 28, 1814, in Lawyerville, Schoharie County, N. Y., and was of the seventh generation of his family in America. His first ancestor in this country was Ralph Shepard of Stepney Parish, London, England, who emigrated with his wife and daughter to America in 1635 and settled in Malden, Mass. From them the genealogy is clearly traced to Dr. Jesse Shepard, Jr., father of Sidney and nine brothers and sisters. The doctor was a prominent man in his community and was a very good physician, a witty lawyer and a judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Schoharie County. He was frequently called upon as a public speaker and was a member of the Masonic fraternity and a master of his lodge. At early ages and with only common school advantages the boys in the family of necessity went out into the world to seek employment. The life of a country doctor at that time was not an easy or well-paid one. Quoting from a letter from Dr. Shepard to his eldest son Clarence he said, "Sidney has assumed the occupation of Cain, a tiller of the ground." This was about the only thing available to him at the age of twelve. Two years later he went to live with his aunt Elizabeth in Dansville and worked there in a hardware store with his brother, Clarence, who had preceded. He wrote of the long trip that it was cold and snowy and fraught with many difficulties over poor roads and trails and the journey took several days. He had very few possessions and no money and was able to carry everything he owned tied up in a large kerchief attached to the end of a stick and toted over his shoulder - very much like we picture the hobo of the days gone by. He worked in Dansville with his brother for about three years and by that time had saved up enough money to buy a small tinsmith business in the village of Bath. He had no financial backing or references and was only seventeen and looked his age. As indicating his youthful appearance and as was the custom then prevalent, he went to New York to buy some goods, but the seller told him he was only a boy and could not trust him. Mr. Shepard responded, "I am getting over this objection all the time." The credit was granted. This business, like most of his future ventures, made quite a success. However, after about five years with this one-man outfit, and this being the year 1836 and he having reached the ripe old age of twenty-two years, he was prompted to visit Buffalo for the purpose of investigating its possibilities. He had heard of this booming little city on the shores of Lake Erie with its population of around 16,000 which was well toward the

front rank of the march of civilization westward. Buffalo at that time had one paved street about one-fifth of a mile in length and a single railroad--that running only to Niagara Falls. However, situated at the foot of the Great Lakes, when they were the only means of rapid and comfortable transportation toward the vast regions inviting the earlier settler to the Mississippi and beyond, it was recognized as the probable location of a great distributing center. Many farsighted and progressive men came there and took advantage of these natural resources. Mr. Shepard, being such a man, and realizing the possibilities of such a location, looked around for a business along the line for which he was trained. At that time there was a man in the stove and tin business by the name of Thaddeus Crane who was making rather an uphill fight to keep up his establishment. Mr. Shepard invested enough money to buy a half-interest in the concern which then went under the name of Crane and Shepard. This was in the year that Buffalo was enjoying the excitement of a real estate boom based largely on the hopes and desires of its people and stimulated by a "Napoleon of Finance" in the person of one Benjamin Rathbun. It was said that he was a brilliant and versatile promoter, possessing a fine flow of language and nothing else. Certain spectacular successes he had made attracted the people to him, and he plunged forward into a riot of so-called development and speculation, and many followed him. His enterprises were everywhere in evidence and his credit was unimpeached. The end came when it was discovered that his ventures had been bolstered up by forgeries to the extent of more than a million dollars. From the crash that followed it took Buffalo thirty years to recover and it made hosts of people bankrupt and penniless.

The young firm of Crane and Shepard were creditors for work done to the extent of many thousands of dollars and Mr. Crane was so individually embarrassed that it became necessary for him to dispose of his interest, which he did, to Mr. Shepard who then continued the business under the name of Sidney Shepard. The depression following was severe but the business, which was even then a large one for the time, held its own and by careful management strengthened its position.

In the following year and under the new firm name of Sidney Shepard, the enterprise developed from local to one of large dimensions with a factory for making French ware, as seamless tin ware was called. The process, although crude, was new and attracted considerable excitement and interest. The power was furnished by two men standing behind the drop press, who, by means of a rope over a pulley, raised the punch or "force" and let it fall upon the sheet of tin plate interposed over the die. This crude system proceeded by repeated dropping of the force which extended farther into the die than the previous one until the metal was finally coaxed into the shape of a milk pan or such other utensil as it was desired to make. Later a horse was substituted for manpower to lift the force and after that a steam engine was installed. The building was extended to accommodate the new machinery, and a line of stamped japanned tinware of creditable proportions was created,

Here we will divert a little from the business affairs of Sidney Shepard which were prospering and expanding to affairs of the heart.

In Utica there lived a prominent man of those times Pascal Charles Joseph DeAngelis who married Elizabeth Webb. Eleven children were born of this union, but we will deal with only four at this time. These will be Beulah Mary and Hannah LeMoyne. Beulah married George W. McConnell and Hannah married Chester Wells. both moved to New Haven, N. Y., and lived on adjoining farms there around the year 1830. Farming was a means of livelihood but few grew rich from such operations. About the same time two other sisters of the DeAngelis family moved to Buffalo. Elizabeth married Bela D. Coe, a wealthy widower of Buffalo, and Millicent married Oramus Marshall, a distinguished lawyer of that city. Mr. Marshall numbered many influential clients; among them his good friend, Millard Fillmore. The Coe's lived in what was called "The Mansion House" which was a show place of the city. The Wells family had a daughter named Elizabeth after her aunt. Mrs. Coe, feeling that she could give her niece greater advantages in Buffalo than could be given her in New Haven, invited her to come and live in the spacious home that she was occupying alone as her husband was now dead. This bid was accepted and Elizabeth Wells lived with her aunt from the time she was thirteen years of age until her marriage to Sidney Shepard. During the years spent in Buffalo she was given every advantage of education. She was spoken of as a vision glorious and that her beauty, her voice, speaking and singing, her splendid personality, made an impression never to be forgotten. Many prominent men visited "The Mansion" and the niece usually acted as guide and hostess. On the guest list were Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and Jay Gould. The story goes that Mr. Shepard accompanied by Mr. Morse of the telegraph company were making a tour of the Coe Mansion and both were most favorably impressed by the beauty and gracious manner of their hostess. Upon leaving Mr. Morse said, "Sidney, why don't you marry that girl?" Mr. Shepard replied that he thought he would. From this beginning followed a courtship and a wedding on July 12, 1851, and the grandest that Buffalo had seen in many a day. They purchased a beautiful home on Main Street where they lived until 1866. A daughter was born to them in 1855 and a son in 1856.

The business continued to prosper and in 1856 Mr. Shepard established the Shepard Iron Works which afterwards became the King

Iron Works which came to be one of the largest machine and engine building concerns of the world.

During these early days several workers in the concern were taken into partnership and the firm name was changed to Sidney Shepard & Company.

It seemed that the nineteenth century was full of depressions and, in spite of our country being new with rich resources, many of these bad times were very severe. Not the least of these was the period around 1857 which was often referred to as a panic. This persisted until many of the stronger houses, not only in Buffalo, but everywhere, were forced to compromise their obligations. Business was absolutely dead. Grass grew green between the cobblestones of Main Street. Salaries were cut in half and forces reduced so that salesman, order boy, invoice clerk, packer and shipper were one and the same individual. A little anecdote of the times was told of Mr. Shepard who had left the office bound for his uptown home. One of the employees of the concern started likewise up the street and was stopped by a neighboring merchant who asked if Mr. Shepard was at the store. The reply was, "No, he has gone up." The man whose mind was filled with rumors of failures and difficulties exclaimed, "My God, Sidney Shepard gone up too. Well, then there is no hope for anybody." Previous to that time business had been done, as was the custom, by issuing notes in payment for merchandise, but when the financial skies had finally begun to clear and it was apparent that the storm had been weathered, Mr. Shepard one day turned to a book to which he had often referred, in which on the left pages were listed "Bills Receivable" and on the right "Bills Payable" and drawing his pen through the remaining blank of the right hand page said, "Hereafter, we will not buy anything that we cannot pay for at the time it is bought. This business will execute no more notes from this day." And it never did.

The years that followed this period until the outbreak of the Civil War were busy and prosperous ones. The country was developing rapidly, good prices were readily obtained by everyone and the house of Sidney Shepard and Company developed from a retail hardware, metal and roofing business into a large wholesale jobbing concern covering all of the state east of the Mississippi with large extensions to their factory. An incident that happened in the factory about that time might have changed the history of the telephone had the story circulated more widely.

ELISHA GRAY'S FIRST TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

A Mr. V. C. Gilman of St. Paul, Minn., was perhaps one of the first men in the world to have heard and seen a conversation carried on by means of an electric telephone. He related that in 1874 or 1875 he was in the employ of Sidney Shepard & Company

of Buffalo. It was an old and wealthy house, established in 1836. The firm at the time mentioned consisted of Mr. Sidney Shepard, Mr. Augustus F. Tripp, and Mr. James G. Forsyth. Mr. Shepard lived in New York and had no active part in the business which he had established. Mr. Tripp looked after the manufacturing part of the business which was about two miles from the main offices which were managed by Mr. Forsyth. The stores and factories were connected by telegraph. He further mentioned that in the office his desk was next to Mr. Forsyth and that he was the official telegrapher. One morning he said there was a sudden commotion and that "a tall man wearing a very high silk hat -- like that shown in pictures of Mr. Lincoln -- a long linen duster, came striding towards me with a very determined air. He looked like a crazy man and without preliminaries asked, 'Where's the telegraph key?' When it was pointed out to him he said, 'Get away, I'm going to disconnect it.' Continuing to address Gilman he went on: "You do all the telegraphing at this end, don't you? Good deal of bother; constantly interrupting your other work, isn't it? Be a good deal easier if anybody could talk directly to the factory, wouldn't it?"

"He was advised that we did not have speaking tubes that length yet, but his retort was that we could talk right over the wire -- anybody -- just like we are talking now. Mr. Forsyth motioned me to let him have his way as we both thought he was crazy."

"It was then that Mr. Gray removed the key very deftly, took a parcel from a small bag, and laid it for a moment on the desk. It was a perfectly square box, about three inches in size, made of an old cigar box and put together with pins; had a hole about three-quarters of an inch on one side and a wire attached to the opposite side. After connecting it with part of the telegraph instrument, he looked at his watch, then left it and began pacing around in a nervous way. Some of the clerks were inclined to laugh but with a frown from Mr. Forsyth they restrained themselves. Mr. Gray would stop often to look at his watch and when it showed eleven he grabbed up the box and placed the hole near his mouth and kept repeating 'Hello, Hello, Hello.' He continued this for about three very long minutes, then his whole expression changed and extreme joy spread over his face when he said, 'That you Mr. Tripp? Do you hear me all right?' 'Yes, Yes, I hear you perfectly.' 'Yes, yes, Thank God.' Then he turned around and asked, 'Who's Victor? Mr. Tripp wants to talk with you.' " Mr. Gilman (Victor) said that no one in the office knew that Mr. Gray had previously been at the factory and connected his little box to the key there. He expected when he picked up the little box from his desk in the office only to appease the apparently demented man

by pretending to hear the voice of Mr. Tripp on the wire. When he actually heard what he knew to be Mr. Tripp's voice, cold chills ran up and down his spine and he nearly collapsed. He asked Mr. Tripp where he was, and when he said at the factory he could hardly believe it. After that, most of the other men in the office took turns speaking into the mysterious box. Mr. Forsyth was persuaded to take a try, which he did with an air of preventing trouble with those lunatics. After he had said hello, the next instant he staggered and exclaimed, "My God, is that you Tripp?"

Mr. Gray explained that he had been at work on this talking machine for a long time but had only tried it out on a short wire in his house as no one previously would let him try it on wires out of doors, but through a friend in Buffalo he had been able to get Mr. Tripp to agree to his experiment. Three or four years later an exchange was established in Buffalo at a private resident rate of \$1.25 a month. Mr. Gray later became president of the Western Electric Company.

Although Mr. Bell is considered to be the first inventor of the telephone, this is the first recorded evidence of a telephone conversation being carried on between distant points. Whether Mr. Gray did not get his machine and ideas patented I do not know but, as the foregoing account appeared in the Iron Age and Telephony magazines, it would seem that Mr. Gray must have had good evidence of his invention.

Things went well for the Shepard family until the year 1865 when their only daughter at the age of ten was taken by death. Elizabeth (Lily) as she was lovingly referred to was very dear to Mrs. Shepard, and her grief was unbounded.

In 1866 the family started on an extended trip to Europe. It was on this journey that a son was born to them at Frankfort-on-Main, Germany. He was christened Ralph Hamilton Shepard and he was born on Oct. 15, 1867.

The eldest son, Charles Sidney, who was then eleven, was put under special tutors and received his early schooling on the continent.

Mrs. Shepard's father died while they were abroad and her mother was now living alone in the large farmhouse so that in 1871 the family returned to New Haven. They purchased the farm and many adjoining tracts of land in the village. On one of these they built a little home (called the cottage) for Mrs. Wells. The Buffalo home was then sold and many choice items were moved to the home in New Haven. Most of the management of the Buffalo property was now turned over to the partners, but Mr. Shepard retained chairmanship of the board.

Charles Sidney was now completing his school and he graduated from Yale in the class of '78 with an A. B. degree. He then studied law at the Columbia Law School as well as at Hamilton College where he graduated L. L. B. in 1879. The following year he entered the law office of his uncle

in Buffalo and was admitted to the Bar in New York in 1879. In 1883 he became a partner in the firm of Sidney Shepard & Company and two years later succeeded his father as senior partner on the retirement of the latter in 1885. His brother, more than ten years younger, went to school in New Haven when he was a boy and later chose Harvard as his college where he graduated in, I believe, the year 1889. He was not at all well and was under special doctors until his death in 1893. He was never able because of ill health to participate in the management of the family fortune.

Sidney Shepard after turning over most of his business interests to his son, C. Sidney, lived quietly at the New Haven homestead until his death in 1894.

Thus it was that Sidney Shepard in a time interval of less than fifty years of active work had become a multimillionaire entirely on his own initiative, had built up the largest business of its kind in the United States with branches in New York, Chicago and Boston. He had been one of the chief promoters of the early telegraph lines to the West and many of the railway systems of those early days. The fortune went equally to his widow and only remaining son, C. Sidney Shepard.

The latter part of this paper will deal with the times and life of Charles Sidney Shepard (C. Sidney) a subject upon which I can write more knowledgeably as I sat at the elbow of this gentleman for about a third of his active business life. When I use the word "Gentleman," this appellation is, I believe, everything the word implies.

My association with him began actively in 1914 when I took a position in his office, and, for a time--actually what seemed like a long time--my desk was directly under his eye about one arm's length away. It was only my second position since graduation from Chaffee's Business Institute in Oswego and it was, to say the least, rather nerve-wracking. I had only to turn my chair (a revolving one) a quarter turn and I was ready to take dictation or to perform any reasonable service as might be required. This was a stipulation for anyone employed in any capacity, whether he be houseman, gardener, chauffeur, carpenter, or whatnot. "Reasonable" was subject to wide interpretation, although I must say I was never asked to black boots and I do not remember ever being asked to perform any service I was not ready and willing to undertake. This might include the driving of a car in an emergency when the chauffeur was otherwise engaged, the tracing of minor electrical problems and many other things that might be needed to be done in such a large establishment. His was both a household and a business and the duties could be extremely varied. I remember at one time there was need for an experienced gardener. Mr. Shepard himself worded the advertisement, which was inserted in many papers including two in New York City. It became my duty to sort the replies and to interview possible prospects. This took me to many places around New York State and even to New York City where many gardeners from large estates made application for the job. I remember one

particularly from the estate of Theodore Roosevelt at Oyster Bay. However, after much deliberation the position was given to a prospect from Syracuse.

Though Mr. Shepard was qualified for a law career, he did not practice actively as he went to Buffalo and became a partner in the firm of Sidney Shepard & Company. This was about 1883 and two years later he succeeded his father as senior partner. He occupied that position until 1905, when Sidney Shepard & Company was succeeded by the Republic Metalware Company. Mr. Shepard retained his dominant ownership in the latter until 1931 when he disposed of his holdings and resigned from the chairmanship of the Board of Directors, which office he had held uninterruptedly since the formation of the new corporation. Long before the death of the elder Shepard, the son had taken over the direction of his father's extensive business affairs.

Continuing the many business associations established by his father, C. Sidney used his vast means in increasing his interests. The companies in which he held directorates were many and varied and included many railroads and trust companies. He was a major stockholder in the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Mr. Shepard served as trustee of Cornell University from 1896 to 1927 and was a member of the finance committee from 1914 to 1927. Why he was trustee of Cornell instead of Yale I never knew, but he was a very good friend of the Tremans of Ithaca and it may have been through their influence that he was made a member of the Board. There is no question of his keen interest in this nearby college, and he seldom failed to attend meetings.

Neither the elder nor younger Shepard ever went bankrupt. A story is told of C. Sidney in Sunday School class in reciting his favorite 23rd Psalm. He started it off, "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall never want." One other member of the class commented, "He never did."

Not everything that Mr. Shepard touched turned to gold. In fact he kept in steady employment a civil engineer and business man to work on so-called "Lame Ducks." Among many of those was the Lombard Governor Company of Ashland, Mass. This company manufactured governors for water wheels and these in the early days were in great demand for every stream of any size was harnessed to a wheel to say lumber, grind feed and to furnish power for a new and growing country. When steam and electricity took over for this purpose, the small water wheel and its governor lost its market. The Lombard was converted to the manufacture of diesel engines. Two only very large size diesels were manufactured; one of these was put in use on the Twin Cities barge and the other on the Twin Ports both of these were owned by the Standard Oil Company and frequently went through the locks in Oswego. Although diesel engines later came into their own, this first venture became a costly failure.

The Clinchfield Coal Company in Pennsylvania was entirely owned by Mr. Shepard and after a time became impractical to operate. It was put on a caretaker basis with all outgo and no income. On Mr. Shepard's death this was a part of his estate. In the Saturday Evening Post a few years back, an article appeared relating to this property and the surrounding countryside and described the discovery of gas and oil there and how the old timers were now driving expensive automobiles instead of mules. There were many others such as the Macon Veneer Company, the San Marcos Farms, The Warren Clock Company, and this list later extended to The Republic Metalware Company (later Savory, Inc.) into which thousands upon thousands were pumped. A lesser fortune would not have withstood these large inroads. There have been many accounts of the wealth of the Shepard family. Quote from a New York paper at the time of his death,

"Mr. Shepard was reputed to have been one of New York State's wealthiest men. He received upwards of ten million from his mother's estate and his wealth has been estimated at more than fifty million."

Quote from Oswego paper on December of last year,

"Mr. Shepard died in New Haven more than 32 years ago leaving an estate of an appraised value of fourteen-and-a-half million."

In the first place Mr. Shepard died in New York City and not New Haven, and in the second place I have seen a balance sheet of 1933--one year before his died--where he estate was valued at over thirty million.

Whether they were worth 50 or 30 or 15 makes little difference for in any language the Shepards were rich in this world's goods.

Mr. Shepard never married. After the death of his father in 1894 he devoted his life to the care of his mother and the management of their combined interests in the vast estate under their joint ownership. He spent the greater part of his life in New Haven preferring the quiet and regularity of this small community to the hurry and strife of more populous centers. Although required by many and diverse business interests to spend a good deal of time away from home, he would often cut his business trips short and return on Saturday night in order to be in church and with his Sunday school class on Sunday.

Although a member of the Presbyterian Church of Buffalo, after he came to New Haven to life, he became an ardent supporter of the Congregational Church of the village. Both Mrs. Shepard and her son taught their own Sunday School classes and many of the older residents pleasantly remember those days and the rich experiences they derived from these weekly meetings.

Both Mr. Shepard and his mother gave most generously to the Church, not only in their time, but with their means. A bell was donated to the society as well as a new parsonage, and Mr. Shepard presented to the Ladies Aid Society a beautiful addition called "The New Rooms." After the death of his mother Mr. Shepard gave in her memory a very fine Skinner pipe organ.

After many of his Sunday Class had graduated, he formed a group called "The Men's Club." This club met once each week and was furnished entertainment and refreshments. It was one of my duties to provide the "eats" at Mr. Shepard's expense. This usually consisted of several kinds of pies, fried cakes, rolls and coffee--all home baked,

It was to be expected that at one of the earlier meetings of this club that the men might be a little ill at ease. When refreshments were served, the dishes were first passed to Mr. Shepard who sat at the head of the table. He asked the blessings and told lively stories throughout the meal. When it came to the doughnuts, Mr. Shepard took off one (and they were very large) on his plate and proceeded to cut it in two for easier handling or perhaps he did not want a whole one. As the plate was passed along the table, each man took one off and, following suit, put the cake on his plate and cut it in two parts. I could see the amused twinkle in Mr. S's eye as he could not help but observe this nervous aping. Fortunately, he was not a dunker or I guess everybody would have dunked. After all, Mr. Shepard ought to know what should be done in such a situation, both he and Emily Post, and she was not present.

Mr. Shepard had many fine musical recordings of that time, and he frequently brough selections to play to the group. One night, I shall never forget, he took over his carefully picked platters and selected one of the men to place them on the machine--first cautioning him to use extreme care in placing the needle so as not to injure any of these master-pieces. One was put on under his supervision and he himself put the rest in an adjoining chair and, when he had finished admonishing his deputy, he turned around and sat down on the rest of the lot. He was a heavy man and there came a loud crunch with consequent pained expressions all around the room. I was so startled that I do not remember his remark, but I do recall that it brought smiles to all the faces and broke the tension.

Mr. Shepard loved to have people around him and was in no sense a hermit or recluse. He loved a good joke, even if it was on him, and his hearty laugh could be heard throughout the house if anything particularly amused him. He disliked publicity of any kind and preferred anonymity in his many benefactions. At one time he was visited by a young woman reporter from a paper in Syracuse. He received her graciously, as was his custom, but told her he did not care to have an article published about himself or family. Unfortunately, she did not heed his request but picked up all kinds of information around the countryside, a great deal of it without substantiation, and an article with pictures covering over a page of the paper went to press. This is about the only time I ever saw Mr. Shepard show grave concern. As a consequence of this article appeals were received in large numbers. These were not ignored as many persons might have done but were given attention according to their merit and as a result many were benefitted. This did not alter the fact that he was greatly perturbed over the whole incident, and, as far as I know, no other reporter after than received an audience.

Many prominent persons visited La Bergerie at various times and, as I acted more or less as family photographer, it gave me an opportunity to have fairly close contact with them. I think Sir Wilfred and Lady Grenfell were among the most interesting. John Skelton Williams as well as other members of the Williams family from Richmond visited in New Haven several times. This was at a time when John S. was comptroller of the currency of the U. S. To name all the prominent people that were guests at one time or another would take up too much space. There is one incident I would like to relate and this is told by Dr. Joseph Riley of Oswego. When Presidential candidate William Howard Taft accepted an invitation of his friend and Yale classmate, C. Sidney Shepard, to visit him in New Haven, Mr. Shepard prepared for the advent of his distinguished guest by buying the largest bathtub which Edward Crawford of Oswego had in stock. Dr. Riley, who as a young man worked for Mr. Crawford, said that because the tub was too big to be carried up any of the stairways, a second floor window and an adjoining section of the house wall were removed. Through this opening and with the aid of tackle and blocks and several men, the tub was hoisted up and into the room where it was installed. This room was reinforced by steel plates running along all the floor joists. Perhaps Mr. Shepard was out of town during the process of the placing of the fixture, but Dr. Riley was greatly impressed when the room was ready for inspection, to see Mr. Shepard and Mr. Crawford come in to look over the work. Mr. Shepard, as was his usual custom dressed in a Prince Albert swallowtail coat like a concert pianist, flipped up the tails and sat in the tub and, himself no sylph, tried it out for size. After meticulous calculations, "No," he announced, "it won't do." At his insistence the tub was torn out and a custom-made super-colossal replacement was hastily requisitioned and later put in place. Mr. Taft, pressed by the exigencies of getting elected, spent at the most only one night in New Haven; and it is claimed by some that he only came as far as Syracuse where he met his would-be host at the Hotel Onondaga. Therefore, it is not on record that he took a bath in this tub, but, after all the plans, it is to be hoped that he did. The preparation for the visit had cost Mr. Shepard a pretty penny but, perhaps he was partially rewarded, by being one of the Presidential electors. As is well known Mr. Taft served his country with great dignity in important capacities for many years, ending that service as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

In addition to his own private charities Mr. Shepard continued many of the philanthropies of his father and mother. In his many and various gifts it was usual that only he, the recipient, and his Maker knew of them and the community was a better place in that a man such as he had quietly chosen to make his residence there. He presented the property for the Boy Scout camp at Twelve Pines. This was not generally known until many years after his death. A history was read of the Boy Scouts in Oswego County at a camporee by George Corse, and, as I noticed this fact was not mentioned, I inquired and found that it was not of record. I wrote to Don W. Moyer who was scout executive at the time of the gift

and he replied, "It is true that Mr. Shepard made available the purchase price of the property of Twelve Pines. A check for this purpose was submitted to our home office in New York by the Chase National Bank which in turn was remitted to the County Scout Treasurer in Fulton." This was his method of dealing with matters he wished to be strictly anonymous. Similarly, few knew that he made up the yearly deficit for the Oswego Hospital for many years and, after his death, an endowment was left to this Institution of a hundred thousand dollars to be known as the Sidney Shepard and Elizabeth D. Shepard fund. His own name was never perpetuated in any of his gifts.

His devotion to his mother was given without stint and after she broke her hip in, I believe, 1916, she was surrounded by a retinue of nurses around the clock until the time of her death in 1922. A large tower was built and a large telescope installed for her pleasure. This is now located at the College in Oswego. The first commercial radio was purchased for her from his friend Mr. Westinghouse and a special engineer was sent here to install it. One of the finest flag poles in the state was erected so that a huge flag could fly for her benefit. During the war one of the army tanks was sent out to New Haven, and she was wheeled to the window for a view. These little attentions were endless. No expense was spared for any comfort or pleasure that could be given to her.

Before the intercom became such a widespread means of office communication, here in New Haven there was an intricate telephone service, not only around the dwelling itself, but to the barn, the garage, the greenhouse, the shop and to several other houses owned by what was called "the estate." Most of these were connected by a master switch. There was also a private line to the New Haven station as well as ten miles of private line to Oswego. The station master and telegrapher at Demster (New Haven Station) Mr. Edward Prior became quite a wealthy man by reason of his own good judgment and it is said tips over the wire as to good lucrative investments. When Mr. Shepard made a recommendation of stocks or bonds, one could not lose for he invariably made up the difference if the market went below the cost basis. With the Oswego phone the office was in instant touch with all the mercantile and banking places there as well as New York City. Getting to New York in those days was a simple matter: a sleeper could be boarded in Oswego, and one woke in the morning in the Grand Central Terminal in New York. One could return by Watertown sleeper and on the same train walk forward one car to the coach going to New Haven. There was no wait or delay. It is said of a drummer who was twenty-five years on the road that he waited in Richland fifteen of those years.

Mr. Shepard was one of the leading alumni of Yale '78 and attended practically all the reunions of his class--and he had the office walls to prove it. At one time, there not being any more space, about half were removed. They almost filled a closet in the back room.

His affiliations with national societies were many: Metropolitan Museum of Art, The American Museum of Natural History, The American Philological Society, and many others. He was member of the Delta

Kappa Epsilon and the Phi Beta Kappa fraternities. He was a member of many clubs in Buffalo, and New York, and the Fortnightly in Oswego.

Back in the early part of the century Mr. Shepard purchased one of the first cars produced by the H. H. Franklin Company and, until 1911, changed models yearly. On one of these changes which were made directly through Mr. Franklin, who was a personal friend, an agency was established by a Mr. Everts of Mexico. Mr. Everts was very much surprised to receive a thousand dollar commission on practically the day that he signed his contract on a car he did not even know he had sold. Mr. Shepard wanted something very different as a gift for his mother and he drew the specifications himself and in 1911 this luxury limousine was delivered to her in New Haven. It became a familiar sight around the countryside and in Oswego for many years. The same chauffeur drove the car throughout its life and he was allowed to travel at a maximum speed of thirty miles per hour although the car would make double that speed.

After Mrs. Shepard's death in 1922 the car was put up on jacks in the garage where it remained until 1934 when it was sold to James (Jimmy) Melton the famous opera singer and collector of old-time automobiles.

There are several things of interest about the premises at New Haven. Some of these I have mentioned. Mr. Shepard was always aware and concerned that there might be prowlers or burglars about such a prominent place with no police protection. Therefore the house was fitted with alarms everywhere: halls, windows, doors, and every means of entrance were fitted with electric buttons. These were battery controlled so that an interruption of electric current would not affect them. The annunciators with which they were connected were made to operate audibly and visibly. His bed was equipped with a protective steel plate where it faced a group of windows. I have never heard of a break-in. We were also our own fire department. There were all kinds of chemical extinguishers from forty gallons down, quick-action hose lines up-stairs and down, portable extinguishers as well as fused automatic outfits, even buckets of sand placed in the halls. A more recent installation was a large siren placed on the top of the shop. Until our local volunteer department purchased their own outfit this was used for general alarm for fires.

Mr. Shepard died in his apartment at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York in 1934.

The bulk of his great fortune went to the Presbyterian Church Board. There were many bequests to friends, relatives and institutions and the Congregational Church of New Haven was left, under certain conditions, maintenance in perpetuity.

Thus in two generations a fortune made--a fortune given away.

C. Sidney Shepard held directorates in:

First Board of Trade of Buffalo
Oswego Traction Company of Oswego
Sidney Shepard & Company of Buffalo
Republic Metalware Company of Buffalo
Savory, Inc., of Buffalo
Warren Clock Company of Ashland, Mass.
Lombard Governor Company of Ashland, Mass.
Macon Veneer Company of Macon, Ga.
Seaboard Airline Railway Company
Ft. Dodge, Des Moines & Southern
Mobile & Ohio R.R. Co.
King Iron Works of Buffalo
The Western Union Telegraph Company
Alabama Central Railroad
New Jersey Central Railroad
Boston & Maine Railroad
Continental Trust Company
International Trust Company of Maryland
Savannah Trust Company
Westinghouse, Church Kerr & Company
Electric Properties Co. of N. Y.
Cumberland Corporation, N. Y. C.
Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio R.R. Co.
Clinchfield Coal Company
Nevada Consolidated Copper Co.
United Railways Investment Company of Sa. Francisco

Special partner of:

Loring & Company, Inc., Boston
San Marcos Utilities Co., San Marcos, Texas

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN OSWEGO

April 18, 1967

by Weldon M. Grose —
182 West 2nd Street
Oswego, N. Y.

It was 1931 when I came to Oswego to live. Being a musician, I naturally looked for other musicians - and as I now recall them, from that time, I can mention Stephen C. Healy, pianist, organist, composer, and at that time proprietor of a music store on East First Street, just north of Bridge St. on the east side of the street. It was in Healy's Music Store that I met and became acquainted with Professor F. Neary Schilling, who at that time may have been organist in Christ Episcopal Church. Professor Schilling (as he was well known) was a very proficient musician. He had received his professional training in Germany, and his father was a musician and leader of the Kingsford Band. He worked professionally as a violinist, as an organist, and as a teacher.

Mr. Healy and Mr. Schilling were both well known in the musical community of central New York, for each had plied his trade in theatrical work, in concertizing, and in teaching.

There were also the musicians about town who had lately been displaced in the theatres by the "talking pictures." Lee J. Springall, violinist and leader of the Strand Theatre Orchestra (on West 2nd St.); Mr. Sidney Stockwin, cellist; and his wife, Mrs. Pearl Stockwin, pianist, comprised the nucleus of the "pit-band" that played the musical accompaniment for the old silent movies. Others who also played in the Strand Theatre Orchestra were Clark Robson, drummer; Porter Waugh, trumpet; and when occasion demanded a larger group other musicians would join the Theatre Orchestra. Some of them I remember are Carmelo Sterio, clarinetist (a shoemaker who lived and had a shop on East Bridge St.), Glen Smith, clarinetist and bandmaster who is still living in Mexico, Richard (Art) A. Fox, trombonist, whose father was a musician in the famous Kingsford Band of an earlier time.

By 1931, when I arrived in Oswego to live, the theatres had dispensed with live musicians entirely, and there was no steady employment for a musician in Oswego. There were, of course, church organists employed either full time or part time, and Clifford Bennett was then organist and choir director at St. Paul's Catholic Church. Mr. Bennett came to Oswego from Rochester at about the same time I came here. He founded the music school located in the Richardson Theatre Building, which was incorporated as "The Oswego Institute of Musical Art." Among the teachers there, besides Mr. Bennett, were Miss Lucielle Bach (now Mrs. Karl Stewart of Fulton), John Wade, violinist, and his wife, Mary, a pianist and organist. I was the brass-wind teacher. Courses in applied

music were offered, including both vocal and instrumental instruction. Dancing and art instruction were also offered. During this time, the Oswego Institute of Musical Art (actually, Mr. Bennett) produced a very creditable home talent version of Vincent Youman's "No No Nannette" with a full pit-band and a well-rehearsed ensemble on stage. However, the school could not survive the depression, and it closed after only 2 or 3 years. Mr. Bennett lost heavily in the venture and he soon thereafter left Oswego. He continued his work as church organist and is now one of the foremost publishers of liturgical music in the country.

Mr. James Lally, who is now organist at St. Mary's Catholic Church was known to me later on, and his choral work with St. Mary's choir, and other groups such as the Rotary Club's Chorus, is wellknown. In the 1930's the Richardson Theatre under various lessors or operators (E. 1st and Oneida) ran movies with vaudeville, generally on what is called a "split-week basis," with live acts booked on weekends (2 or 3 days), and straight movie programs for 3 or 4 days. I played most of these shows (with the pit band) until the Richardson was again leased by the Schine people and closed permanently.

It was in 1932 and 1933 that an adult education program was undertaken under auspices of the N. Y. State Department of Education, and the local School Boards, and financed by Federal funds which were channelled through The Temporary Emergency Relief Administration (T.E.R.A.) and later on by the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.)

In this program I was engaged as music teacher by Mr. Frederick Leighton, Superintendent of Schools. My job was to teach music - as one facet of the program - in any way that was appropriate. It was plainly a make-work project, and as such it was a big help for me. It was a job, and it was most welcome!

It was during the tenure of this project that I became acquainted with hundreds of people in Oswego. Although it was an adult education project, Mr. Leighton permitted the teachers to admit anyone who might benefit, or at least be interested in participating. With such latitude permitted, I was able to teach many younger people and a "community band" was organized in 1934 and 1935 for playing summer concerts. There was no instrumental music program in the public schools then. As I came to discover, Oswego had boasted many bands and orchestras during its history. In the early 1930's the Phillips family were all very active in band work. John Phillips, who lived on West 6th St., was a veteran of the circus and tent show world. His career began about 1905 when he joined the Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus. He was an excellent cornetist, and a good band leader. His brother, Harry Phillips, the tinsmith who had a shop on W. 5th and Varick St., was an A-1 tuba player and also an excellent drummer. Robert (Bob) Phillips was a drummer and there is another brother, Henry (Slim) Phillips, who didn't

play much - although he told me that he had "doubled in brass" when he was a young man, working on a "Tom" show (Uncle Tom's Cabin), circuses or a dog and pony show, as the case might be.

In the late 1920's the New York Central Railroad established a band among the employees at their shops in Oswego, and John Phillips was the leader. Sadly, when the New York Central Railroad shops moved from Oswego - that ended the band.

The Whango Grotto Lodge of the Oswego Masonic organization sponsored a band, mainly for lodge conventions and ceremonies, and John Phillips was also the leader of this band on these performing occasions.

The Dante Alighieri Lodge, Sons of Italy, on W. 4th St. in Oswego, also sponsored a lodge band and the leader at that time was Benedetto Cardali, who was a good clarinetist. He lived on West Utica Street. Only these two "lodge" bands were in existence in Oswego in the 1930's and both bands suffered the same handicap. There were not enough capable musicians to complement a workable ensemble and there was no incentive, nor financial support, for any such musical organization.

Carrying on the Adult Education Project, I undertook to bring together all of the bandsmen who could play with a consolidated group for the sole purpose of performing public band concerts, and thus provided some incentive for rehearsal and performance of band music. Fortunately, nearly all of the musicians liked the idea, and we started giving free, open air concerts in the summer of 1934, and except for the World War II years, we have kept the Summer Band Concerts going every since.

It was also at this time that the City Schools added a teacher of instrumental music to the faculty. The teacher was John S. Hurley, born in Oswego, and at that time a resident of East 2nd St. Jack Hurley was an excellent musician, playing violin and wood wind instruments, and well known in Central New York having worked at Loews Theatre in Syracuse for some time prior to the elimination of live music and vaudeville from the theatres. Jack had then attended Crane School of Music at Potsdam and subsequently earned his degree at Syracuse University in Music Education. He taught instrumental music in Oswego Public Schools until the war began in 1941. He served in the U. S. Army and after his discharge moved to Rochester, where he now lives.

Jack Hurley made great contributions to the musical life of Oswego both as a teacher and as a musician.

For the duration of World War II, the musical activities were slowed almost to a halt. Most of the younger musicians were in military service and teachers, both in private and public school service, were hard pressed for time and for instruments to keep their programs going.

By extension of my work in Oswego, I had organized and established a program of instrumental music in the public schools of Hannibal, Parish, Mexico, Minetto and Fulton. E. L. Freeman (Jake), formerly a tuba player with the Sousa Band and The Pryor Band, was band director in Pulaski Academy and Central Schools; D. A. Wagner was music supervisor of Fulton Public Schools; Mrs. Beryl Lewis Hill was vocal teacher at Oswego High School; and Paul Rogers, presently on the music staff at S.U.C. Oswego, was band director at Phoenix High School. Instrumental Music in the schools was just beginning in Oswego County in the late 1930's and its growth was greatly hindered by World War II.

However, all of the public school districts in Oswego County, including cities of Fulton and Oswego, now have well established music education programs, which at the least meet New York State requirements, and in many instances far exceed them. Outside of the schools in Oswego County, musical organizations include the functioning church choirs, with organists who usually are also choir directors, and a few quasi-professional instrumental groups.

There are private tutors, especially piano teachers, in nearly all of the communities in the County who give private instruction to students who are interested.

And then, there are professional musicians, consisting of those instrumentalists who perform as occasion demands. This group of musicians is mostly unionized, with an organization in Oswego, and another in Fulton. Both of these local unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Musicians International Union of the United States and Canada.

The work opportunities for these musicians are limited to single engagements, such as playing for dances, social affairs, weddings, and some commercial club work. There is no full time work for any one musician in Oswego County. All of our local musicians, even those who play professionally, earn their livelihood by some other means, and are "moonlighters" in the field of music.

The Student Association of the State University College in Oswego provides for many excellent musical concerts, as well as other cultural events, and the general public is usually invited to see and hear most of these stellar attractions. This provision by the College in Oswego certainly accommodates most local people who are music lovers, art lovers, etc., but this area of musical performance is primarily for educational purposes.

Music in the Oswego Centennial - 1948

To me, the celebration of 100 years existence by the City of Oswego in 1948 was a most rewarding musical experience. Of all the old cities in these United States Oswego has the distinction of having

celebrated its 100th birthday with music especially composed for the occasion. The composer, and also the guiding spirit of the Centennial Celebration was Charles Davis, who came to Oswego in the mid 1930's, not as a musician, but as a furniture dealer. Charlie, however, was a professional musician, band leader, and composer before he came to Oswego and it was his talent that made the Centennial Celebration a success.

For Oswego's Centennial Celebration, Charlie composed some most appropriate music emanating from the theme of the pageant - Let Flow the River and Fort Ontario March and Back in 1892 (All I had was my mule and you and the Coronation March. This music highlighted the week-long Centennial Celebration, and the Pageant that was presented on an improvised site facing Oswego River from the west shore (just north of West Seneca St. between West 1st St. and the river). Collaborating with Mr. Davis, Mr. Kirk M. White, a local attorney, contributed lyrics for Let Flow the River that had merit far beyond the time of the function. The Centennial Celebration in 1948 made use of a band of local musicians who played for every performance of the pageant, including the opening concert on a Sunday. A large, and very well balanced chorus of mixed voices was most heartily greeted by the audience at the opening performance, and the music highlighted the seven day pageant.

Music education in the public schools of Oswego County has grown tremendously since 1930. Never before have there been so many fine performers of music at the high school and college level. Young musicians have an intense personal involvement that is surprising - even to the teachers who see it every day. Here in America the band has become much more than it had ever been in Europe.

Here in Oswego County there are the nine city and central districts of 1. Sandy Creek, 2. Altmar, Parish, Williamstown, 2. Central Square, 4. Phoenix, 5. Pulaski, 6. Mexico, 7. Hannibal, 8. City of Fulton and 9. City of Oswego, plus the S.U. College in Oswego, each of which provide instrumental music instruction on an elective basis, and each has its high school band and its elementary band. The instruction provided is not considered as vocational but is rightly oriented to the cultural development of each child. Competition in performance is keen enough among the music students as well as between the bands that participate in the New York State Music Festivals that are held annually. Many school bands actually perform better than the old time professional bands did.

The vast majority of the high school musicians become our most cultivated music consumers. Aside from participation in college bands, the adult musician can perform as a quasi-professional, as an amateur, or simply as a devoted listener, a concert goer, or a record collector.

Whatever the "post-school" disposition may be musically, the musical climate of our schools is healthier than it has ever been and it is being steadily improved. The negative comment we so often hear

about young people today does not apply to their interest in band music.

It is readily apparent to any one acquainted with the history of bands in America, that a very interesting metamorphosis has occurred in this century. The military bands, the circus bands, the lodge bands, and the industrial bands have mostly disappeared as their functions became obsolete. But since about 1920, the bands of America are found in our schools and colleges. And this growth in educational music has been phenomenal.

What was the band music establishment in Oswego in the 19th century? From old editions of the City Directory, newspaper files, and also from conversations with Oswegonians who had personal knowledge of earlier days, I gathered these significant notes about bands in Oswego.

May 5, 1854 - The Mechanics Saxhorn Band was organized. G. T. Stone, Leader; R. H. Green, Pres.; E. Brown, Jr., Secretary; G. A. Blaire, Treasurer; Trustees: A. R. Gilmour, Mr. Green and Mr. Blaire. The "Saxhorn" was not a saxophone at that time but derived its name from the noteworthy inventions of Adolph Sax, intrepid inventor of the Saxophone that later became the "rage" in popular music. The Saxhorn referred to was a brass instrument, played with a cup mouth piece and upright in design, being practically the same as the present day alto, and baritone horns.

In 1857 - The Oswego Guards supported a band of 13 pieces under Capt. Timothy Sullivan; with presumably the same leader as the Mechanic's Saxhorn Band. The drum major of this Oswego Guards "Regimental Band" was a Mr. J. A. Brown.

These are the earliest references I have found to the existence of organized bands in Oswego but from other recorded note, it is certain that there were bands functioning in Oswego from 1800 to 1850. One such interesting reference is the biography of David W. Reeves, a world renowned cornetist, composer of band music, and a celebrated bandmaster who was born in Oswego on February 14, 1838, the son of Lorenzo and Maria (Clarke) Reeves. (The Bicknell History of Rhode Island furnishes this information.) Mr. Reeves was bandmaster of the famous American Band of Providence, R. I., from 1866 until his death in 1890. To perpetrate his memory, a fountain was erected in Roger Williams Park, Providence, R. I. The only music of Mr. Reeves that still survives is his "Second Regiment of Connecticut National Guards March," and it is a classic among military marches.

David Wallace Reeves was educated in "Oswego's public schools," afterward attending "the Academy" (possibly a local, private, or parochial school), then a year at Wells College in Aurora, N. Y. He became a member of an Oswego band at age 14 (1852) and continued in Music, doing the best he could in "a small community with little opportunity." In the mid 1850's, the Dan Rice Circus played Oswego, and young Reeves auditioned for a job. The band leader was the celebrated Mr. Tom Canham, who was a virtuoso on the E Flat Keyed Bugle, and he promptly

hired Reeves to play with the circus band and thus he started on his road to fame. In 1860 Reeves became prominently known when he toured England as Cornet soloist with The Rumsey and Newcomb Minstrels. His fame and renown as a virtuoso cornetist led to his close association with Patrick S. Gilmore, America's first impresario of band music, Herbert L. Clarke, John Phillip Sousa, and most other musicians who were also internationally known American bandmen in that era. It must be remembered that the 19th century nurtured and adored the military, and band music was the most popular form of musical entertainment.

In 1878 the famous Kingsford Band was established in Oswego by the very prominent industrialist, Mr. Thomson R. Kingsford. The Kingsford Cornstarch Company founded in 1848 by Thomas Kingsford was Oswego's largest employer at that time, and its products became nationally known and accepted. In this atmosphere of growth and optimism, following the Civil War, Mr. Kingsford established the Kingsford Band by naming Mr. Frank Shilling as musical director. (The Schilling family were all prominent in Oswego's musical affairs.) W. I. Rasmussen was Secretary and Treasurer and Thompson R. Kingsford himself was president of the band.

The musicians were enrolled from among Kingsford employees, who were able and willing to qualify as bandmen. Other musicians were brought to Oswego by Mr. Kingsford to enter his employ and to augment the band (double in brass, as it were). Each bandman had his job in the factory, but a regularly scheduled portion of his time (for which he was duly paid) was assigned to rehearsal. The Kingsford buildings (part now standing at West 1st and Erie St.) contained a band room with library space for music; storage space for instruments, uniforms, and equipment. All of the larger and most expensive instruments were furnished by Mr. Kingsford, as well as all of the necessary equipment.

From first hand information given me by some of the Kingsford bandmen who were still living in the 1930's and 40's - Mr. Herbert Fox, trombonist; Mr. John Zimmer, hornist; Mr. Jake Anderson, drummer; and F. Neary Schilling, son of the director, I learned that Mr. Kingsford regarded the band as a valuable "public relations" venture as well as a sound advertising medium. The band journeyed to Washington, D. C., for presidential inaugurations; appeared at all New York State Fairs, Expositions, and celebrations; and in Oswego, the band played open air concerts in the summer and indoor concerts in the winter.

There was provided both a summer uniform and a winter uniform, with appropriate accessories for each musician. The administration of the band was along military lines, with professional standards applied to deportment as well as performance. No nonsense was allowed. When the band was on tour, the musicians received their regular pay, and travel expenses.

The Kingsford Band was one of the first notable industrial bands in the U. S., and enjoyed a very respected and admired position for years. With the change in management of the Kingsford industries at about the turn of the century the Kingsford band was dissolved. Perhaps the 1893 "business panic" had something to do with the fortunes of this business, as well as with music.

However, there remained in Oswego many fine band musicians who continued to seek opportunities to perform.

In 1887 - while the Kingsford Band was still in full bloom there was another band organized by a priest of St. Louis' Church in Oswego. It was first known as "St. Louis Temperance Society Band," with Rev. J. J. Auger as president and treasurer. It was also known as the "French Band," according to my informant, Mr. George Herron, who was reporter on the Palladium Times staff, and who wrote under the pseudonym of "Jay Knox." Fred Farron was listed as musical director of the French band; Joseph Dano as recording secretary; and George Murray was financial secretary. This group was probably short-lived. They met every Monday and Thursday at St. Louis' Church.

In 1888 there is notice of the Oswego City Band being organized with John J. White as director; Edward Cavert, secretary (who was a clarinetist); F. Preston, treasurer. Announcement was made that meetings (or rehearsals) would be every Monday and Friday night in a building at Market and Water Street.

And then, in 1890, this same band continued at 83 E. Bridge St. with Joseph Dano, president, James Battomy, secretary-treasurer, and Harry Haller, director.

These bands were probably more social or recreational organizations than they were functional, because I can find no reference to noteworthy performances. They no doubt lacked financial backing and found job prospects rather scarce.

In 1890, the 29th Separate Company of the State Militia headquartered at Oswego State Armory, added a band to its roster, directed by John Schwartz; with W. T. McLoughlin, president; F. Preston, secretary and James E. Colbert, treasurer. Being attached to a unit of the militia was a good means of existence for a band of quasi-professional status, because the militia provided a functioning sponsor, by paying at least for minimum services rendered.

In 1889 we find James E. Colbert listed as director of the 3rd Battalion Band in Oswego, with Bert Murray, president, Michael Harrigan, secretary, James W. Aikens, treasurer, and the manager was Christopher J. Vowinkel (probably the father of late Johnny Vowinkel of baseball fame in Oswego).

I know from conversations with F. Neary Schilling and others that there was also a 48th Separate Company band at about this time, or a little later, but I have no details of its history.

From George Herron (alias Jay Knox) and Bert Fox (referred to above) and others I learned that various brass bands came into existence during the period from about 1890 to 1910 or 1915, identified only by names remembered, such as Father Matthew's Band (which was headquartered at St. Mary's Church and dedicated to the cause of Temperance, The Painters Band, and the Oswego Masonic Band. Mr. Bert (H.H.) Fox, who was a member of the Kingsford Band played with several of these later organizations, including the Elks' Band and the Knights of Pythias Band, which was active in the early 1920's.

A prominent Oswego musician of that era was Professor E.E. Faverau, listed in the 1888 directory as residing at 106 E. 8th St. in Oswego. Professor Faverau was an organist and a violinist. He furnished an orchestra for many social occasions, including small ensemble concerts, wedding receptions, fancy dress balls, and occasional theatre work when occasion demanded.

The Schilling Orchestra also played for most theatrical offerings at the Richardson Theatre, sometimes as the "pit band" used by smaller traveling theatrical attractions; and at other times augmenting the orchestra that traveled with the big shows.

In addition to Mr. Faverau and Mr. Schilling, the 1888 directory lists the following music teachers, with the assumption being that private instruction was offered on a tuition or fee basis: Carrie L. Bullis, 37 Lawrence St.; Julia C. Cooke, 208 W. 2nd St.; F. J. Garland, 262 W. 5th St.; Bessie S. Keefe, 14 West 4th St.; Celia Kelly, 28 W. 9th St.; George D. Mailloux, Ringland House(hotel); Charles F. Muttar, 82 W. Seneca; and, surprisingly, Elmina Spencer, of Civil War fame, in the Richardson Block in E. 2nd St.

Other sections of Oswego County also were proud to have local bands or orchestras in their midst. In the city of Fulton, there was a band sponsored by the Elks Lodge that still functioned in the 1920's, and the director was a Mr. "Dutch" Pooler. I never knew his given name, but remember meeting him shortly before he died. Also in Fulton, early in the 1930's, the American Legion sponsored a band, primarily to attend American Legion conventions, and secondly, to play for public entertainment in Fulton. This band was well uniformed, and played mostly military marches. Among the many musicians of this band, I remember only a few. "Tip" Tilden, trumpeter; and a Mr. Wilcox, another trumpeter, and his son, Sid Wilcox, a clarinetist; Allie Buel, baritone horn; Mac Rozak, trombonist; Homer Ludington, a valuable bandsman who "doubled" on various brass instruments; Leonard Youman, saxophonist; and a Mr. William Woodward, who managed the band and kept it going until about 1939 when World War II brought about many changes in everything. Harold Palmer, a well-known trumpeter of Fulton, has been continuously active in various bands since about 1912.

The village of Mexico has a long tradition of band music, centered around the very enduring efforts of Mr. Glen Smith, whose father before him led the village band. Although Mr. Smith is now

a retired postmaster, still living in Mexico, I understand that he is active as a band leader. "Smithy" played summer concerts in Mexico for many years, in addition to furnished bands for Firemen's Field Days, fairs, parades, or any occasion where band music was appropriate. In these later years, the Parish Oil Co. and Mr. Hadwin Fuller of Parish acted as sponsor for "Smithy's Blue Sunoco Band."

The village of Colosse was proud to have a band many years ago. I met only one or two of the remaining bandmen in the 1930's. One was Norman Alger, who played the tuba, and was by trade a blacksmith. The other is Fred Spafford, who now lives at Sandy Pond. Fred played cornet in the old Colosse Band. Fred is still active as violin maker, and is a widely respected craftsman throughout upstate New York.

During the 1930's the villages of Hannibal and Parish sponsored community bands. They played summer concerts in the village square but due to the scarcity of competent musicians and very small financial support, these community bands dissolved with the coming of World War II.

I know that there were notable bands, orchestras, and choral groups in Pulaski, Sandy Creek, Phoenix and other smaller communities in Oswego County during the past century, but I do not have the names or pertinent information.

Here in Oswego, where we live and work, there is evidence of optimism toward our so-called "cultural life" that did not exist in an earlier day. I am particularly proud of the public support given our City Band in presenting the Summer Band Concerts every year.

We also have in Oswego the Art Guild, and the Players, little theatre group, both vigorously functioning in a municipal building. The Historical Society of Oswego County with this magnificent headquarters house, Old Fort Ontario Museum, and The Heritage Foundation.

The City of Oswego, as well as the City of Fulton, and also the County government of Oswego are more aware of the importance of "the arts" in developing this community. The New York State Council of the Arts, established by the legislature a few years ago, has proved itself to be a most practical means for encouraging cultural growth in any community.

NECROLOGY

1964

1. Miss Marie A. O'Grady - June 30, 1964 - Oswego
2. Darius T. Wadhams - July 7, 1964 - Bryn Mawr, Pa.
3. Gail M. Smedley - August 1, 1964 - DeLand, Florida
4. Charles A. Denman, September 6, 1964 - Brewerton
5. Mrs. Lyman F. Hull, November 13, 1964 - Oswego
6. Walter Hiler, December 23, 1962 - Phoenix

1965

1. Mrs. Grace May Linsley - February 2, 1965 - Oswego
2. Mrs. Frederick (Lilyan Redfern) Leighton -
April 10, 1965 - St. Petersburg, Florida

1966

1. Jean Switzer - ? - Pulaski

1967

1. Miss Elizabeth M. Simpson - Feb. 9, 1967 - Mexico
2. Mrs. Henry E. (Lydia Lyman) Sayward - Jan. 29, 1967 -
Sanford, Maine
3. Florence R. Dennin, May 26, 1967 - Oswego
4. John M. Sullivan, July 25, 1967 - Oswego
5. George M. Lannin , September 13, 1967 - Fulton

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