Front Cover
The Scioto Country Club in Columbus was only a decade old when it hosted the National Open Golf Championship.
Scioto Country Club, Columbus, Ohio
See: "Golf's Monarch"

Left
Oliver Spencer, an eleven-year-old New Jersey native, spent a seven-month Indian captivity at the Maumee Valley home of a woman whose cultural roots stretched to the Iroquoian peoples of New York. This costume resembles the attire that Spencer described his host wearing.
Ohio Historical Society
See: "Oliver Spencer and Indian Life Along the Maumee"

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DESIGN
Design Communications, Inc.
Columbus, Ohio

PREPRESS
Yaeger Graphics, Inc.
Columbus, Ohio

PRINTING
The Nielsen Company
Cincinnati, Ohio

OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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TIMELINE (ISSN 0748-9579) (Vol. 22/No. 1) is published every three months by the Ohio Historical Society; Editorial and Executive Offices, 1982 Velma Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43211. Correspondence about subscriptions should be sent to TIMELINE, 1982 Velma Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43211. Annual subscription is $30.00 (4 issues); single copies of this issue are $8, plus $2 per order to cover handling and postage; Ohio residents please add sales tax of $0.54 per copy.

Periodicals postage paid at Columbus, Ohio, and additional entry offices; USPS Number 737-830.

Postmaster: Please send address changes to TIMELINE, 1982 Velma Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43211-2497.

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OLIVER SPENCER AND INDIAN LIFE ALONG THE MAUMEE, 1792–95

by Reginald Horsman

THE REGION AROUND CINCINNATI was extremely dangerous in the summer of 1792. The first settlers from the East had begun to arrive in late 1788 after speculator John Cleves Symmes had bought a great expanse of federal land between the Great and Little Miami Rivers. Tiny settlements had begun at Columbia, near the mouth of the Little Miami River, and at Losantiville, which soon changed its name to Cincinnati. The Indians living north of the Ohio River were determined to defend their lands and launched attacks against the infant settlements. In the spring of 1789, Symmes admitted that some in Kentucky were calling his purchase the "Slaughterhouse." The situation worsened dramatically in November 1791 when the military expedition of Arthur St. Clair suffered a devastating defeat in what is now northwestern Ohio.*

Colonel Oliver Spencer by Archibald Robertson. Watercolor on ivory, 1 7/8 x 1 7/16 inches, circa 1798. *Dayton Art Institute, Museum Purchase from the Spencer-Dayton Family, 1944.87.8*

Colonel Oliver Spencer Sr. commanded a regiment in the Continental Army and, after establishing a farm in the Symmes Purchase near Cincinnati, headed the local militia. A widely respected settler of Columbia, he eventually became a probate judge. His counsel against pursuing his son's captors would bear fruit after many months.

One of the more prominent new arrivals in the infant settlement of Columbia was Colonel Oliver Spencer of New Jersey. In 1790 he came west with his family, including his son Oliver, who had been born in 1781. Columbia at the time that the Spencers arrived consisted of about fifty log cabins, protected by blockhouses and a stockade. Cincinnati was also a tiny settlement, but it was given greater importance when, in 1789, Fort Washington was built there to protect the new settlements. In July 1792 young Oliver Spencer was given permission to go to Cincinnati for the July 4 celebrations. He traveled there on the afternoon of the third with his sisters and other women in a barge rowed by eight soldiers. Some officers from the fort had come to Columbia to escort the women to a ball that was to take place on the fourth. By water, the journey from Columbia to Cincinnati took about one hour.

Kidnapped from his Ohio River home at Columbia in the summer of 1792, Oliver Spencer Jr. endured a seven-month captivity more than a hundred and eighty miles away, near Blue Jacket's Town on the Maumee River. *Ohio Historical Society*

*See TIMELINE, December 1984

On the fourth, the day started with a thirteen-gun salute from the fort. Later, there were more salutes, displays by the troops, and fireworks. Young Oliver enjoyed the celebrations and stayed on for two days, but then decided he wanted to go home. Going down to the river, he found a canoe with three men and one woman about to leave for Columbia. He knew one of them, and they agreed to take him with them. From the beginning, they had difficulties. One of the men was drunk. He fell out of the canoe, got to shore, and eventually continued on foot, well to the rear. Oliver, who could not swim, decided he also would walk to Columbia, keeping up with the canoe, which was quite close to the bank.

Suddenly, Oliver saw one of the men in the rear of the canoe fall into the water. He had been shot by two Indians hiding close to where Oliver was walking on the bank, and Oliver saw the man tomahawked and scalped. The other man in the canoe, although wounded, got away. The woman, who was about sixty years old, fell into the water, but was held up by the buoyancy of her ample clothes. She floated for a while, caught on a snag, and was eventually rescued. The drinker, well in the rear, apparently escaped unscathed. Oliver, as he tried to run, was taken prisoner.

When Oliver was seized, he began a captivity that lasted seven months, most of it spent along the Maumee in what is now northwestern Ohio. He was a bright boy, full of interest in what was going on around him, and what he saw in these months became permanently etched in his memory. In the days and months after he returned, he undoubtedly described his captivity time and time again. His family and other settlers were vitally interested in what he had seen, as the region he had lived in was the center of Indian resistance to the American advance across the Ohio. Much later in his life, Oliver wrote an account of his captivity whose general accuracy is well supported by other sources. This account, when combined with those of contemporaries, throws a bright shaft of light on a corner of Ohio at a time when a bustling life of Indian villages, traders, and British agents was about to disappear forever.

The man who escaped from the Indian attack carried the news to Fort Washington. The commander there immediately sent a dispatch to Colonel Spencer telling him what had happened to his son and saying that he intended to send troops in pursuit. Residents of Columbia also prepared to follow the Indians, but Spencer's father persuaded everyone that if the Indians were pursued they were likely to kill their captive to make escape easier. If they were not pursued, there was a good chance that the Indians would simply take Oliver with them. The Spencers had to wait until November before a report reached Columbia that Oliver had been seen in an Indian village.

At a steady trot, the two Indians quickly took Oliver north from the Ohio. He was barefoot, having left his shoes in the canoe, but one of the Indians gave him a pair of moccasins. Very quickly, Oliver learned a new lesson in frontier life. These were not simply two anonymous "Indians" with faces painted black; they were individuals with their own tribal allegiances, their own families, and their own personalities. The Indian who first took Spencer was a Shawnee, a man described by Oliver as having "a very cruel and savage disposition." The other, Wawpawmawquaw, or White Loon, was the son of a Mohawk chief. As his tribe had been practically wiped out, he was now living among the Shawnees. Spencer described him as "(for a savage) humane and benevolent."

The two Indians and Oliver moved rapidly north, stopping only to rest and eat. When they camped at the end of each day, the Indians hunted and the three of them ate what was shot — on the first night a raccoon, on the second a fawn. Oliver was suffering from sore feet, but these were eased when one of the Indians found an old, stray pack horse and let him ride. This also gave Oliver a chance to escape. When they stopped on the third afternoon, Oliver was tied up while his captors left to hunt. He managed to struggle out of the cords and flee. It was, however, hardly a flight, because he could not urge the old horse into anything more than a leisurely pace. He went about three or four miles and at sunset stopped, easing his hunger with wild raspberries. Not surprisingly, the Indians found him soon after he stopped, gave him a severe beating with switches, and took him back to their camp.

On the following day, Oliver managed to eat some more raspberries, but he was given no other food. In the course of the day, the Indians ate squirrels they had killed, but they gave none to Oliver. They obviously had decided to make him regret his attempt at escape. The problems caused by this attempt were eased, however, when White Loon bought Oliver from his original captor. For the rest of his captivity he was generally well treated.

By evening Oliver was again eating with his abductors. On the following day, this proved no great advantage, for, when they stopped in the late afternoon, the hunting produced no good results. All the Indians were able to kill was a large hawk. This was plucked, singed, and boiled in a kettle with milkweed. Milkweed was one of many wild "greens" used by Indians and pioneers as a vegetable. The hawk soup was not a success. Oliver was able to eat little of the tough, strong meat, and he found the saltless soup "sickening." The Indians ate "sparingly."

By this time, Oliver and his captors had reached the Auglaize River. They were heading for its junction with the Maumee. Soon they met the first people they had encountered since leaving the Ohio — an Indian hunting party that gave them dried venison in exchange for a small silver brooch. They boiled the venison for supper. The next day they passed Indian villages, huts, and cabins and stopped for the night at the cabin of White Loon's brother. At last, at about noon on the following day, after traveling some 180 miles in six days, they reached "the Auglaize," or simply "the Glaize" (at modern Defiance, Ohio), the famous Indian gathering place at the spot where the Auglaize River flows into the Maumee.

Its telling insight into Indian life and personalities brought Spencer's *Indian Captivity* recognition as a classic of frontier literature in the years after its 1835 publication. Important events, like the youth's initial capture, were illustrated with engravings. *Ohio Historical Society*

Attempting to escape his abductors, Spencer found some hollow tree roots for an overnight shelter. Numbed by both terror and hunger, he rekindled his courage and resolve with thoughts of home. *Ohio Historical Society*

Overtaken again by his captors, Spencer's blood froze when the Shawnee took aim with his rifle. The intervention of White Loon, the Mohawk, kept him alive, but did not prevent him from receiving a severe beating with "large switches from the thicket." *Ohio Historical Society*

Two Ottawa Chiefs who with others lately came down from Michilimackinac Lake Huron to have a talk with their great Father, the King or his representative by Sir Joshua Jebb. Watercolor over pencil on paper, 9⅜ x 11¾ inches, 1813–20. *National Archives of Canada, Bushnell Collection*

The traditional home of the Ottawas encircled Lake Huron, but by the end of the eighteenth century they had a strong presence in the Maumee River Valley. American treaty negotiators in the 1780s refused to recognize any Ottawa rights to territory in Ohio, forcing them to confederate and live with other tribes.

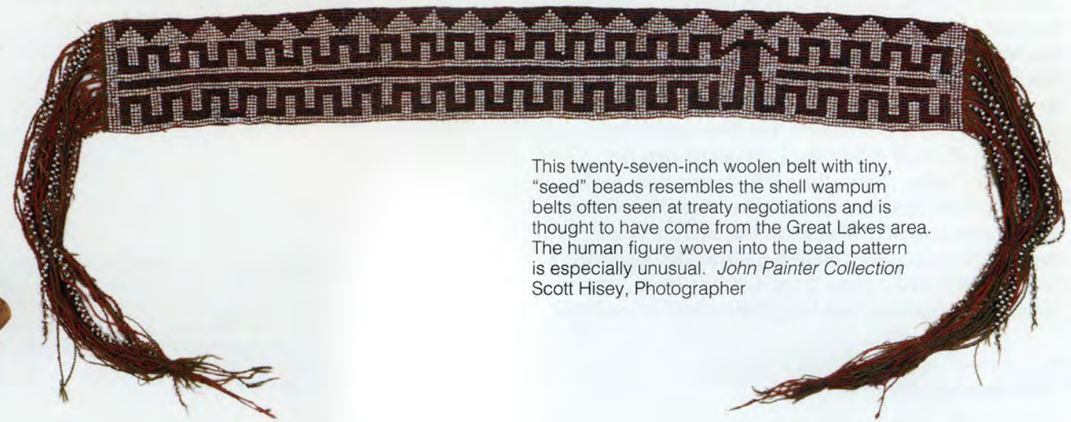
The printed cotton shirt and the wool and silk used in these leggings were common European trade goods in the late eighteenth century. Both these artifacts were acquired by English military officers and taken to England, before finding their way back to North American collections. *Canadian Museum of Civilization, Speyer Collection (shirt), John Painter Collection (leggings)*

Spencer's assignment with his new family included helping Cooh-coo-cheeh with cooking. This wooden ladle with an otter carved on the handle was fashioned by a Great Lakes Indian artisan about the turn of the nineteenth century. *John Painter Collection*

Harry Foster, Photographer

This iron knife has a brass handle inlaid with what appears to be tortoise shell. Both the knife sheath and pouch are leather, display elaborate porcupine quillwork, and date to the eighteenth century. European officials collected the items in the Great Lakes area. The silver ear pendants are trade items made in Quebec during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. *Canadian Museum of Civilization, Speyer Collection*

During his captivity, Spencer quickly became accustomed to leather moccasins. These late-eighteenth-century examples came from the Great Lakes region and feature intricate decoration fashioned from flattened and dyed porcupine quills. *Canadian Museum of Civilization, Speyer Collection*



This twenty-seven-inch woolen belt with tiny, "seed" beads resembles the shell wampum belts often seen at treaty negotiations and is thought to have come from the Great Lakes area. The human figure woven into the bead pattern is especially unusual. *John Painter Collection* Scott Hisey, Photographer

Spencer's attempted escape eliminated all concern for his comfort, and, when the group again stopped for the night, he was bound so tightly that his shoulders were virtually dislocated. With his head bruised and swollen and his arms aching from his bonds, Spencer was unable to sleep. *Ohio Historical Society*

In the years after the Revolution, the area along the Maumee from Lake Erie to its headwaters was the center of Indian resistance to the advance of the Americans across the Ohio River. American military attacks on Indian tribes in southern Ohio forced many groups — Shawnees, Delawares, and others — to relocate on the Auglaize and the Maumee. There had long been Indian villages in the region, but it now became the scene of a whole new level of Indian life and activity. Among the Indians were British traders and Indian agents, who often had Indian wives, and American prisoners who lived and worked among the Indians. For a brief period, the Maumee was a rich example of what historian Richard White has described as "the middle ground," a place where the Indians still exercised power as cultures intersected.

British traders were based at the rapids of the Maumee (near the modern city of Maumee), at the Glaize, and at the portage to the Wabash. The Miamis Company, formed at Detroit in 1786, made the Maumee and Wabash River regions its center of trading activity, and the British Indian department at Detroit was in constant contact with the region. The agent in charge, Alexander McKee, and his assistant, Matthew Elliott, traveled along the Maumee to give supplies and advice to the Indians. They had cabins and supplies both at the rapids and at the Glaize. Both men were married to Shawnee women and had Indian families. They were Loyalists who, in company with the notorious renegade Simon Girty, had fled from Pittsburgh to Detroit during the American Revolution.

At the end of the 1780s, the greatest center of Indian activity in the region was at the portage to the Wabash, where the St. Mary's and St. Joseph Rivers joined to form the Maumee. This was where the modern Fort Wayne, Indiana, was to grow. The place was known to the white traders as the Miami Towns, but it was also referred to as Kekionga, which was the name of the oldest Miami village there. In all, at least seven villages of Miamis, Delawares, and Shawnees carried on trade with traders from Detroit, while organizing to resist the advance of American settlement. Officially, the entire region, including Detroit, had been transferred from Great Britain to the new United States in 1783, but the British had not withdrawn.

American attempts to take control of this region in 1790 and in 1791 failed disastrously. In the autumn of 1790, General Josiah Harmar's expedition had failed to destroy the Indian forces centered on the Miami Towns. He had burned the villages there, but in two military engagements lost some 180 men.* In November 1791, General Arthur St. Clair tried to redeem Harmar's failure, but his expedition ended in disaster when the Indians routed the American force. More than 600 Americans died.

In the aftermath of the Harmar expedition, some Indians reoccupied villages in the Miami Town region, but many moved down along the Maumee and its tributaries toward the Glaize. Here, they joined Indians who had long lived there, as well as those who had abandoned villages open to American attacks farther south in Ohio. Villages of Shawnees, Miamis, Delaware, Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Mingos, with some Nanticokes, Mohawks, Piscataways (Conoys), and even a few Cherokees and Creeks from the South lived along the Maumee from beyond the Glaize to the rapids near Lake Erie, and on the Auglaize for several miles from its junction with the Maumee. At the rapids and the Glaize, great Indian councils met to organize resistance to the Americans.

When Oliver Spencer reached the Glaize in July 1792, his Indian captors sold their deer skins to a British trader and then took him across the Maumee to be left in the cabin of White Loon's mother, Cooh-coo-cheeh. Her husband had been a Mohawk war chief who had moved west with his family and had died fighting against Harmar's troops in 1790. Cooh-coo-cheeh was respected by the Indians for her skills both in medicine and in prophecy.

With the resilience of the young, Oliver quickly settled into his new life. He was helped by kind treatment from Cooh-coo-cheeh, who quickly and effectively treated his feet, which were in very bad condition after the rapid trek across Ohio. The other occupants of the cabin were Cooh-coo-cheeh's two grandchildren, a boy and a girl who were about Oliver's age. They were the children of Cooh-coo-cheeh's daughter, who was now living across the river with George Ironside, a British trader.

Cooh-coo-cheeh's cabin, which was on a rise on the north bank of the Maumee, was about fourteen by twenty-eight feet. It had a frame of poles covered with large pieces of elm bark. Bark also was used when it was necessary to close its narrow doorway. The inside was divided into two rooms. The inner room was used by Cooh-coo-cheeh as pantry, spare bedroom, and for some of her religious rites; the outer was used for most of the living. On each side it had low frames covered with deer skins. These served both as seats and as beds. Cooh-coo-cheeh

Communities like the Glaize, on the Maumee River at the mouth of the Auglaize River, were a mix of cultures and, like this Canadian Indian village, exhibited both aboriginal and European architectural influences. *National Archives of Canada*

*See TIMELINE, April 1991

cooked over a fire in the middle of the room, with the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. She had two large kettles ("a deep close-covered hominy kettle" and a brass one for washing and sugar making), various wooden bowls and baskets, knives, tin cups, and pewter and horn spoons.

Across the river from Cooh-coo-cheeh's cabin was high ground (the site of the future Defiance, Ohio) with an open area about two hundred yards wide. There, on the banks of the Auglaize, were half a dozen trader's cabins, one occupied by George Ironside and another by Simon Girty's brother James. There was also a cabin that was used from time to time by Alexander McKee and other members of the British Indian Department.

At the Glaize, near the traders and agents, were other cabins, lived in by French and English families, and by two American prisoners — Henry Ball and his wife, Polly Meadows — who had been captured at St. Clair's defeat. They were trying to earn ransom money, he by working on boats moving supplies along the river, she by washing and sewing. Another prisoner, William Moore, who was working in the settlements at the Glaize, was known to Spencer. He was a fellow resident of Columbia who had been captured about three months earlier. He worked on the boats on the river, and he had also built an extension onto Cooh-coo-cheeh's cabin.

This rare wooden beaver-effigy bowl was collected when the Ohio tribes assembled to council with General Anthony Wayne. *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*

Weapons like this horn-handled knife and blackened-leather sheath were often given over to the custody of a sober warrior during celebrations when alcohol was consumed.

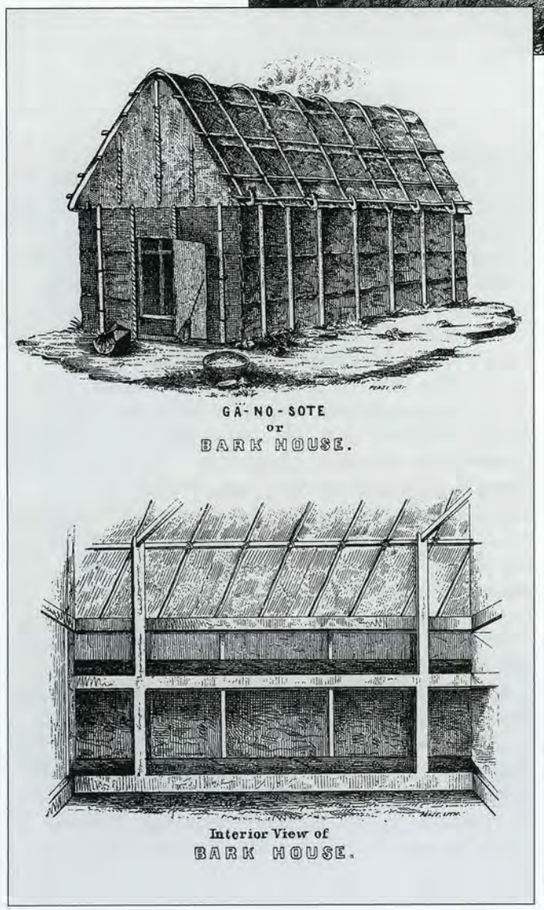
This example, thought to date to about 1780, includes an unusual turtle carving on the pommel of its horn handle. *John Painter Collection* Scott Hisey, Photographer

For those in the East who talked and wrote of the Indians as though they were all nomadic peoples depending on the hunt for their existence, the area around the Glaize would have been a revelation. On both the Auglaize and the Maumee were extensive corn fields. Indian women did the farming, and each had a plot to work on in common fields. When General Anthony Wayne's army advanced to the Glaize in August 1794, his troops were amazed by the Indian farming. One wrote that the banks of the Auglaize and Maumee were cultivated for twenty miles, with an abundance of all kinds of vegetables and flourishing fields of corn. An officer said there were "vegetables of every kind in abundance"; coming down the Auglaize they had marched for four or five miles in corn fields, and he thought there were at least a thousand acres of corn in the area. Wayne wrote that the banks of the Maumee and Auglaize "appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below this place; nor have I ever beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida."

Three of the important leaders in the battles against the Americans from 1789 to 1794 had their villages in close proximity to the Glaize: that of Shawnee chief Blue Jacket was one mile below

Many Europeans and Americans who visited the Glaize commented on the enormous corn fields cultivated by the women. *Ohio Historical Society*

As described by Spencer, Cooh-coo-cheeh's "cabin" was similar in many respects to the pole-frame-and-bark Iroquois dwellings known as longhouses. *Ohio Historical Society*



the Glaize on the north side of the Maumee; Little Turtle of the Miamis, who was given the most credit for the victory over St. Clair, was also on the north side of the Maumee, but a little farther upstream; the village of Buckhongahelas of the Delawares was just to the South along the Auglaize. While Little Turtle's Miamis had long lived in the region near the headwaters of the Maumee and Wabash, Blue Jacket and Buckhongahelas originally lived in villages to the south, on the Mad River at the headwaters of the Great Miami. They had moved north after 1786 when American expeditions made the Great Miami–Mad River region too dangerous.

Soon after arriving at the Glaize, Spencer was taken to visit Blue Jacket. He described him as "the most noble in appearance of any Indian I ever saw." Spencer was far less complimentary about one of Blue Jacket's other visitors on the same day — Spencer described Simon Girty as "the very picture of a villain." This view of Girty undoubtedly was colored by Girty's reputation as the most hated of all frontier renegades.* Spencer was much happier when taken on a visit to George Ironside, Cooh-coo-chee's son-in-law. Ironside had been well educated in Scotland before coming to America. Spencer found him to be "a very sociable and intelligent man, humane and benevolent." He gave useful advice to Spencer about Indian customs. Both he

*See TIMELINE, June 1985

During idle times, Spencer learned to become an expert with a bow and arrow. When he encountered a wildcat and dispatched it with an axe, the villagers gained new respect for his courage. *Ohio Historical Society*

and his Indian wife treated Spencer with kindness in the following months.

Spencer's months of captivity reveal that many stereotypes, not only of the Indians themselves but also of how their captives might be treated, were inaccurate. At times, in war, prisoners would be tortured and burned at the stake, particularly if the capture followed some American act for which revenge or retribution might be taken. Sometimes children were killed by Indians raiding American settlements, and Indian children were killed in American raids against the Indians. Often, captive children were taken into Indian families, as was the case with Spencer. Adults were sometimes kept to be ransomed or to be used as hostages.

The chores Spencer did while a captive of the Indians would have been familiar to anyone living on the frontier. He made fires, carried wood and water, gathered corn, cleaned the ashes from corn after the two had been boiled together to make hominy, and generally assisted in a variety of work. Cooh-coo-cheeh continued to be kind to him. One of the few times she lost her temper was when he had not been quick enough to clean the ashes from the boiled corn. She was fastidious in having her bowls and spoons washed daily and her kettles scoured regularly.

One of Spencer's more pleasant memories of his captivity was a celebration of the feast of green corn, held about a month after he was abducted. In mid-August, Cooh-coo-cheeh invited her three sons, their wives, her daughter and her husband George Ironside, some Shawnee warriors, and several Shawnee women to this annual event. It was celebrated at the time when the ears of corn were grown to full size but still in the soft, milky state, which was excellent for roasting. It was a day for sports and feasting. The guests came in the morning, and a male tribal elder began the day by speaking of the benefits that the Great Spirit had showered on the Indian people in giving them a fine land with ample meat and corn. He also spoke of the dangers presented by the advancing whites. George Ironside translated the address for young Spencer. At its conclusion, the young men ran a race over a short course and took part in wrestling matches. Over the objections of one of the Indian guests, the American prisoner William Moore was allowed to join in the wrestling.

At noon they all sat down to eat a feast prepared by Cooh-coo-cheeh. It consisted of boiled dried meat and fish, stewed squirrels and venison, roasted squash and pumpkins, and, of course, the green corn. Some of the ears were boiled and eaten as they were, but corn also was cut from the cob and mixed with beans to make succotash, a nutritious and popular Indian dish. For bread they had not only that made from the corn meal but also some made from the green corn, which was cut from the cob, pounded in a mortar to a cream like consistency, salted, and poured into an oblong mold made of corn leaves. It then was baked in the ashes. Much of the meal was eaten out of wooden bowls held in the guests' laps, with Coo-coo-cheeh providing horn, wooden, and pewter spoons for the succotash. The meat was picked up in their fingers, the feasters cutting it with their own knives.

With the feast over, the men again returned to their sports. One game was new to Spencer. One of the stronger men lay down on his back with a piece of rawhide, made soft and slippery by soaking and greasing, grasped firmly in his hands between his knees. The other men formed a circle around him, rapidly moving and chanting while each in succession swooped and tried to snatch the rawhide. This all became rowdier because at the conclusion of the meal a small keg of rum had been produced.

Finally, in mid-afternoon, dancing began. An old man used a stick to pound a small drum while the dancers moved rhythmically in a circle, men on the outside, women on the inside. Cooh-coo-cheeh remained sober, but some of the others began to drink too much. One warrior was burned when the wrestling resumed and he was thrown into the fire. Moore and Ironside had left before this happened, and Spencer had hidden in the corn fields to watch what was going on through a hole in a shed.

Spencer commented that the most dangerous time for prisoners was when there had been too much drinking. Once, when he was out with an Indian and Moore spearing fish, he saw the body of a young prisoner who had been killed by his drunken owner. Spencer said that when a group of Indians intentionally started a drunken revel, they selected someone to remain sober and gave him all the tomahawks and knives so that drunkenness would result in punches and bruises rather than knife wounds. Long before there were twentieth-century designated drivers there were eighteenth-century designated knife and hatchet holders.

Toward the end of his captivity, in late February 1793, Spencer went with Cooh-coo-cheeh on her annual sugar-making expedition. She had a bark shelter in the woods about four or five miles down the Maumee. They went there with their household effects, corn and beans to eat, and a large brass kettle

Spencer found Cooh-coo-cheeh remarkably skilled at producing sugar from maple sap. *Ohio Historical Society*

Lieutenant Colonel Richard England, British commandant at Detroit, was instrumental in Spencer's return to his family. *National Army Museum, London*

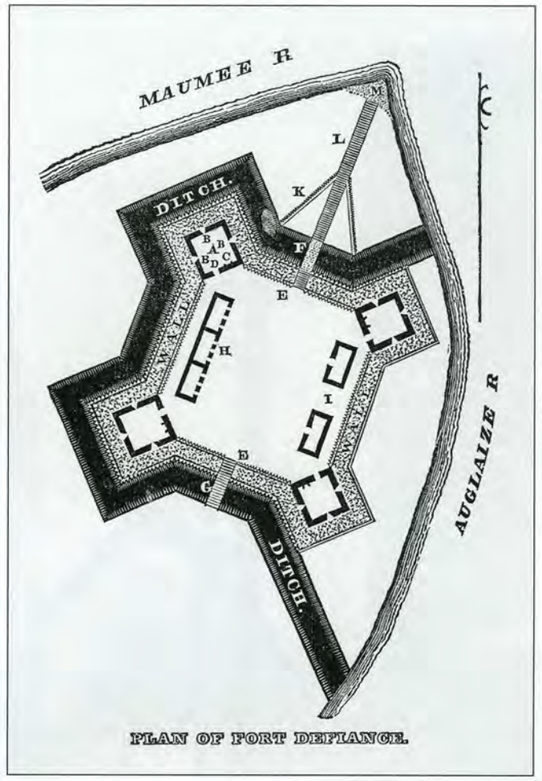
to use for the maple syrup and sugar. Other implements were kept in the shelter year round. Spencer set out troughs, carried the sap, cut wood, and made fires. They collected sap to make about one hundred pounds of sugar. The Indians, like the frontiersmen, took full advantage of the sugar maples.

As they finished sugar making, after Spencer had been in captivity for seven months, a French-Canadian messenger arrived to see Cooh-coo-cheeh. He told her that a British Indian agent had come to the Auglaize and, through George Ironside, had bought Spencer from White Loon. When, in November 1792, Spencer's family had learned that he had been seen in an Indian village, they had begun inquiries through George Hammond, the British Minister to the United States. This set off a long process.

Hammond wrote to the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, Colonel John Graves Simcoe. Simcoe wrote to the British commandant at Detroit, Lieutenant Colonel Richard England. England contacted Indian agent Alexander McKee, and, finally, McKee ordered Matthew Elliott to proceed to the Glaize to arrange for the purchase of Oliver Spencer. Elliott reported that the Indians drove a hard bargain and that he finally had to pay sixty pounds in New York currency to buy Spencer. In view of Elliott's later ability to increase his personal wealth while in charge of the Indian agency at Amherstburg in Upper Canada, it is quite possible that some of that money went to Elliott.

Spencer's trip home was long and harrowing. Elliott took him by boat down the Maumee to a Wyandot encampment near Lake Erie. There, he handed him over to a small group of Wyandots who were to take him to Detroit. This nearly turned into complete disaster. The Wyandots drank too much, and one of them stabbed Spencer. The knife glanced off his shoulder blade and his ribs, leaving a gash but not penetrating anything vital. Spencer was delivered to Colonel England, the British commandant at Detroit. He was now well treated, but had to wait nearly a month for Lake Erie to be clear of ice before he sailed to Fort Erie on the Niagara River. While in the Niagara region, he met Lieutenant Governor Simcoe before being taken east in slow stages. He reached New York City early in July. From there he went to his relatives in New Jersey,

During the summer of 1794, troops under the direction of General Anthony Wayne erected Fort Defiance on the south bank of the Maumee River at the mouth of the Auglaize River. The site of Cooh-coo-cheeh's cabin was directly across the Maumee. *Ohio Historical Society*



stayed for about a year, and set out for Ohio in September 1794. He finally reached Columbia and his parents in mid-October, more than two years after his capture.

The way of life that Spencer had seen along the Maumee was about to come to an end. In August 1794, General Anthony Wayne and his army won a decisive victory over the Indians, British militia, and volunteers from Detroit at the Battle of Fallen Timbers.* The battle was followed by the destruction of the Indian settlements along the Maumee. For three days, Wayne remained near the battlefield, sending parties of troops along the river to burn and destroy Indian homes and cornfields. On August 23, the army began its march back to the Glaize, reaching Fort Defiance, erected earlier in the campaign, on the 27th. On the same day, Wayne wrote to the secretary of war to tell him that, while returning from the rapids, the army had laid waste the Indian villages and fields all along the river, but that there were still villages and "a great quantity of corn" to be destroyed. This was systematically and thoroughly done, and Fort Defiance was strengthened. On September 14 the army began a march to the Miami Towns, cutting down trees and opening a wagon road for the distance of nearly fifty miles. At the Maumee-Wabash portage, the army built Fort Wayne.

The Indians who had survived the defeat at Fallen Timbers were in a desperate condition because their food supplies had been destroyed. British Indian agents McKee and Elliott gathered them together at Swan Creek, on the north bank of the Maumee near its mouth (near the site of modern Toledo). Six months' provisions for 3,500 Indians were requisitioned to save them from starvation. The Indians also were provided with ammunition so that they could hunt.

When Spencer arrived at the Glaize in July 1792, the Indians still believed they were in control of their own destinies. They had defeated Harmar and St. Clair and enjoyed a flourishing life of prosperous villages, abundant fields, and available hunting grounds. But with Wayne's decisive victory at Fallen Timbers, the Indians knew that their last chance of resisting the American advance south of Lake Erie had gone.

*See TIMELINE, May 1997

In the winter of 1794–95, parties of Indians went south to Greeneville to make their submission to Wayne and the American government. On August 3, 1795, Wayne signed the Treaty of Greene Ville with representatives of twelve northwestern tribes. It gave large parts of Ohio, and even part of Indiana, to the American government. The United States also demanded and received sixteen grants of land on the Indian side of the boundary lines for the establishment of military posts, with complete freedom of communications between them. Among these detailed cessions were lands at the Glaize, at the rapids, and at the mouth of the Maumee, as well as the Miami Towns.*

The process that had begun when Wayne's army won the battle of Fallen Timbers and destroyed the Indian villages and fields along the length of the Maumee and the Auglaize had been completed. A rich Indian way of life had come to an end. Spencer had experienced Indian life at the Auglaize on the eve of its destruction.

*See TIMELINE, April 1988

The Authors

Merton L. Dillon ("John P. Parker and the Underground Railroad") is the author of several books and articles on slavery and antislavery, including *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority* and *Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies, 1619–1865*. Since retiring from Ohio State University's history department in 1991, he has lived on a farm in southern Michigan.

Carl M. Becker ("Golf's Monarch: Bobby Jones at Scioto") is well known to TIMELINE readers, who may recall his contributions on World War II, the Civil War, evangelist Homer Rodeheaver, and several previous sports-related articles. Dr. Becker, professor emeritus of history at Wright State University, is the author, coauthor, or coeditor of more than one hundred publications.

Reginald Horsman ("Oliver Spencer and Indian Life Along the Maumee, 1792–95") is professor of history emeritus at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He is the author of twelve books and numerous articles, including two earlier articles in TIMELINE. He has written on a variety of topics, including westward expansion, American Indian policy, the War of 1812, race and racial thought, and medical history. He is a past president of the Society for Historians of the Early Republic.

Cheryl J. Lugg ("Finest Baby") earned a BA from the University of Scranton in Pennsylvania and an MA from the Ohio State University. She has worked for the Ohio Historical Society since 1995 and is currently a history curator. Among her writings are *Wallpaper Documentation and Reproduction at Adena: The Worthington Estate.* This is her first TIMELINE article.

John Vacha ("He Saved Nome...Cleveland Saves Balto") is a frequent TIMELINE contributor. Since retiring from teaching history and journalism in the Cleveland Public Schools and at Cuyahoga Community College, he has been associate editor of the *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History–Dictionary of Cleveland Biography*, coordinator of District Four History Day, and the author of *Showtime in Cleveland* and *The Music Went 'Round and Around: The Story of Musicarnival.*

Notes

A brochure containing useful information for potential contributors is available upon request. The information is also available online at www.ohiohistory.org/resource/publicat/timeline/infocontrib.html. All unsolicited manuscripts and photographs submitted must include return postage (in stamps) and suitable packaging to ensure their safe delivery. Although reasonable care will be taken with materials received, no responsibility can be assumed for unsolicited materials, including photographs.

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Looking Ahead

Art, it is said, imitates life. For some it is more than an imitation: it is a way of life. Never was this more so than for the men who formed the Kokoon Arts Klub in early-twentieth-century Cleveland. With skills honed by long apprenticeship and/or formal training, most found employment with graphic-arts firms in the Forest City. But it was the desire to pursue more personal visions that drew them together to push beyond the boundaries of the marketplace. Embracing all that was new in rapidly changing international trends with a bohemian gusto that brought new vitality to the Cleveland art scene, these artists both shocked and inspired their fellow citizens. Watch for their story in the next issue of TIMELINE.

This drawing was prepared by a Kokoon member to advertise a Halloween Party in the 1920s. *Kent State University Special Collections and Archives*

Caroline Miller, Dena Green, Jackie Walker, and George Scheek. Numerous university archivists located and copied images, including Jeanne Pardee at the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, Michael Plunkett at the University of Virginia's Tracy W. MacGregor Library of American History Special Collections, Patricia Albright at Mount Holyoke College, and Roland Baumann and Tammy Martin at Oberlin College. Institutional support came from Ann Sindelar at the Western Reserve Historical Society and Priscilla Lawrence of the Historic New Orleans Collection. Greg and Becky Tunis went out of their way to help us photograph a painting. Aid with historic golf images came from Bill Kientz and Lisa Link at the Scioto Country Club, Linda Deitch of the *Columbus Dispatch*, and Nancy Stulack of the USGA Museum and Archives. Access to the Bobby Jones Papers in the Special Collections of the Robert Woodruff Library of Emory University was made possible by Teresa Burk and Naomi Nelson. Ed Hathaway assisted us during the photography of Adena. OHS colleagues Betsy Butler and Vernon Will discovered and "smoothed the way" for use of a rare manuscript. Katherine White and Sally Kurtz opened the doors of the Dayton Art Institute. Scott Hisey of the Cincinnati Art Museum introduced us to the extraordinary collector and scholar John W. Painter. Frédéric Paradis and Martin Villeneuve enabled us to use the remarkable collections of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Art also came from Teresa Watts of the National Army Museum in London and Julie Brown with Harvard University's Peabody Museum. Balto's story was illustrated with the help of Carol Butler of Brown Brothers, Melinda Schafer of the Cleveland Public Library's Photograph Collection, Bill Barrow and Lynn Bycko of Cleveland State University Library's *Cleveland Press* Collection, and Kathleen Hertel-Baker of the Anchorage Museum of History and Art. Rose Speranza of the Alaska and Polar Regions Department and Librarian Elmer E. Rasmuson from the University of Alaska Fairbanks searched for just the right images in the E. A. Powell Collection (Acc. # 64-54-17) and Otto Nordling Collection (Acc. # 74-135-4). The earthly remains and spirit of Balto are well cared for by a host of Cleveland Museum of Natural History staffers, including Maria Graf, Jennifer Souers Chevraux, and Steve Misencik. Thanks to all!

Additional Reading

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