

# NORTHWEST OHIO HISTORY



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**Cover:** Transfer decorated creamware cup fragment, c.1810-30 - Archaeology Laboratory, University of Toledo. *In 1977, archaeologists from the University of Toledo discovered the remains of an early, burned log cabin and its contents not far from the foot of the Maumee River rapids. The artifacts, when coupled with historical evidence collected over the next thirty years, eventually revealed the history of Port Miami, one of the Maumee Valley's earliest settlements. See Patrick Tucker and David M. Stothers, "The Amos Spafford Farm and the War of 1812 in Ohio: A Case of Historic Memory Loss."*

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## **The Amos Spafford Farm and the War of 1812 in Ohio: A Case of Historic Memory Loss**

PATRICK M. TUCKER and DAVID M. STOTHERS

### **Introduction**

In 1908, local historian John E. Gunckel attended the dedication of the Fort Meigs monument, located on the site of the former War of 1812 post in Perrysburg, Ohio. The ceremonies honored the dead who had fallen at the garrison during the two sieges fought at the post in 1813, and formally marked the location of the garrison's cemetery and two smaller burial plots, those of Lieutenant Colonel William Dudley's Kentucky volunteers and the Pittsburgh Blues. A short time later, Gunckel was in Maumee where he was hailed by a young lad who told him that he and his friends were gathering hundreds of "bullets" (musket balls) and other artifacts, including an 1813 copper cent, which had washed out during a recent flood on the Maumee River flats just west of Fort Meigs. Gunckel visited the site and found it to be just as the young boy had described.<sup>1</sup>

Gunckel knew that troops commanded by William Henry Harrison had built Fort Meigs in the winter of 1813 and that the post had been constructed as part of a wilderness campaign waged throughout the Maumee Valley designed to defend the Ohio frontier against British and Indian forces based opposite Detroit. After seeing the site, Gunckel concluded that the artifacts, deposited in a gravelly, stone-strewn bed on the shoreline, were the result of a brief, but hotly-contested skirmish fought on May 5, 1813 between Brigadier General Green Clay's Kentucky volunteers and British and Indian forces commanded by Colonel Henry Procter and Tecumseh during the first siege of Fort Meigs, waged from May 1 through May 9, 1813.<sup>2</sup>

But had Gunckel made his assessment too quickly? Although this stretch of the Maumee had been the site of considerable military activity during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including an earlier raid by American forces commanded by General Edward Tupper against British and Indians occupying the Maumee Rapids in November 1812 and a second investment of Fort Meigs in July 1813, it apparently never occurred to the historian that these artifacts might represent the remnants of some other military activity taking place either prior to or following the first siege.

Further, Gunckel also missed other clues that might have shed light on the artifacts' origins. Twelve years earlier, at an 1896 battlefield preservation ceremony conducted at Fort Meigs by the Maumee Valley Monumental Association, two women, Esther Purdy Green and the daughter of Philothe Clark, who had both resided at the Maumee Rapids at the outbreak of the War of 1812, recounted their experiences during the conflict.<sup>3</sup> Others

*Pat Tucker is an avocational archaeologist with extensive experience at historic and prehistoric sites throughout northwest Ohio and the Maumee Valley. Dr. David Stothers is a professor of anthropology and archaeology at the University of Toledo. Together, they are the authors of The Fry Site: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspectives on the Maumee River Ottawa of Northwest Ohio (2006).*

alive at the time remembered the abandoned and nearly forgotten Spafford family cemetery – the final resting place of some of the rapids’ earliest settlers – and noted that it had been located just a short distance west of where Fort Meigs would eventually be erected. Alfred M. Lorrain, a member of the Virginia Militia, recalled passing through enormous fields of corn as his column neared the fort in 1813. Lastly, Captain Daniel Cushing, in an early account of his artillery company’s stay at Fort Meigs in the days leading to the first siege, claimed that he and his men test-fired a cannon ball from the fort, across the Maumee River, and into the abandoned house of an early settler. These small details, some embedded almost as afterthoughts into more extensive reminiscences, seemed to suggest that Harrison had not built Fort Meigs in a sparsely inhabited and unsettled wilderness as Gunckel believed; but that, instead, residents of a sizable, long-standing, and thriving community founded well before the war already occupied the foot of the Maumee Rapids in 1812. Gunckel had failed to “connect-the-dots.” The artifacts washing out of the river bank were, in fact, the partial remains of an early frontier settlement; Port Miami established in 1805, where, in 1812, men, women, and children suffered the loss of their families, their farms, and their personal property to the fortunes of war.<sup>4</sup>

The full significance of the artifacts’ discovery would not be realized for more than one-hundred years when archaeological evidence emerged to breathe life into the substantial but widely scattered archival records relating to the community at the foot of the rapids. In 1977, archaeologists from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Toledo surveyed and test excavated a historic site known as 33Wo50 on the floodplain terrace a short distance below Fort Meigs. The investigation would eventually reveal the archaeological remains and material culture associated with one of the homes located at the rapids prior to the War of 1812. Following the excavation, another thirty-two years passed before investigators integrated the archaeological evidence with the documentary sources to fully reveal the site’s history.<sup>5</sup>

### **33WO50 – The Site Discovered**

During the winter of 1976-77, members of the Toledo Area Aboriginal Research Society (TAARS), a local, avocational archaeology group, learned of the site and notified the University of Toledo and the Ohio Historic Regional Preservation Office of its existence.<sup>6</sup> TAARS members routinely monitored construction projects and “pot hunting” activities along the Maumee River at points of historical interest.<sup>7</sup> With the property owner’s permission, G. Michael Pratt, an archaeologist and, at the time, northwest Ohio’s regional preservation officer, and members of TAARS conducted a surface reconnaissance of the site in March of 1977, before dense vegetation could cover the Maumee River floodplain in June and July. Pratt and his crew collected a variety of prehistoric and historic materials, including prehistoric pottery and lithic debitage, historic ceramics, glass, nails, white clay pipe fragments, buttons of various types, and animal bone, but failed to find any standing structural remains or features on the surface.<sup>8</sup>

In the fall, University of Toledo archaeologist David M. Stothers directed test excavations at the site. Stothers and his crew placed a north-south and east-west grid over the area at five meter intervals extending from the property owner’s house north to the Maumee River and east to the west boundary of Fort Meigs State Memorial. The area

measured approximately 336 square meters, of which fifteen percent (50.4 square meters) was excavated before the property owner terminated the investigation.

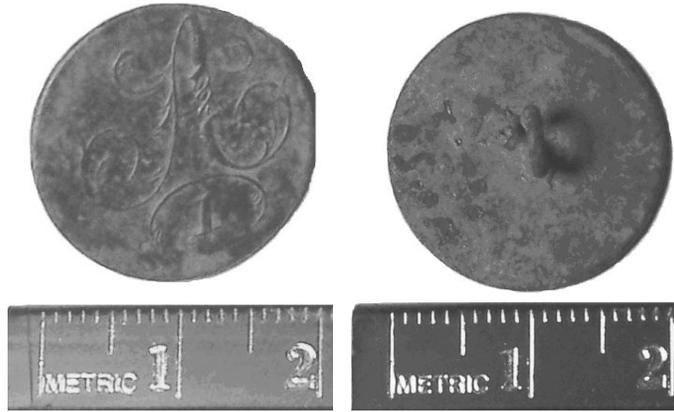
After clearing the dense vegetation and undergrowth, Stother's crew prepared four trenches (1 x 5 meters) and three rectangular units (1.5 x 1.2 meters) and began to excavate. The archaeologists soon uncovered five features, dark black, organic stains filled with building rubble, debris, and artifacts, near the site's northern perimeter. The features appeared to be the remains of a pioneer-era home built over a small, non-intensive and diffusely scattered prehistoric Late Woodland occupation. As Stothers carefully excavated these discoveries, he found them to be full of early 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts including architectural items, construction hardware, tableware, furniture, clothing, military uniforms and accoutrements, jewelry, trade silver, personal items, and money.

Features 1, 3, and 5 contained artifacts from the early nineteenth century, including limestone mortar and hand-made brick, machine-cut iron nails, glazed, hand-painted ceramics, and window glass on top of a thin layer of prehistoric materials that included grit-tempered pottery, chipped-stone (chert) debitage, and some animal bone.



**Unit D looking South**

Feature 2, immediately adjacent to feature 1, also consisted of building rubble and debris rich in artifacts. Unfortunately, Stothers was unable to expand trenches 1 & 2 to uncover the feature's full shape and size before the excavation terminated. Limestone rocks and slabs filled the upper 4 inches (10 cm.); beneath lay an abundance of artifacts consisting of American and foreign coins, War of 1812 buttons and other military artifacts, non-military buttons, creamware and pearlware ceramics, glazed redware



*a. Brass U.S. 1<sup>st</sup> Artillery Regiment Button (1813-1814).*

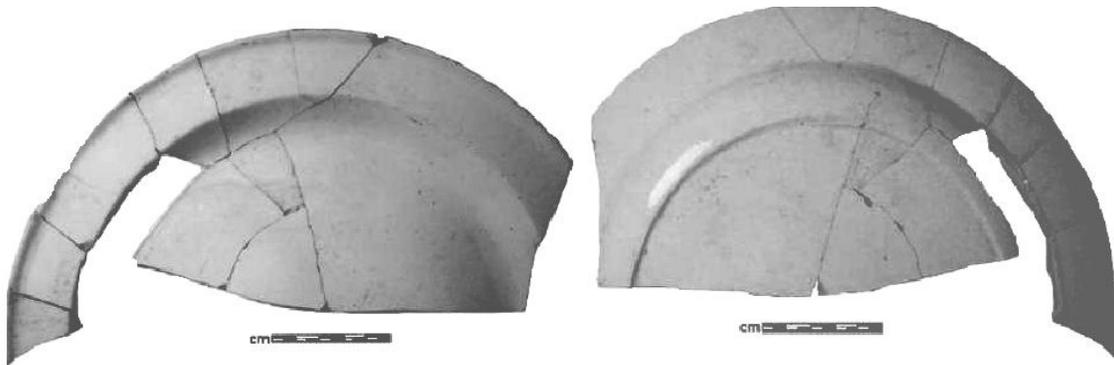


*b. Brass U.S. 3<sup>rd</sup> Artillery Regiment Button (1813-1814).*

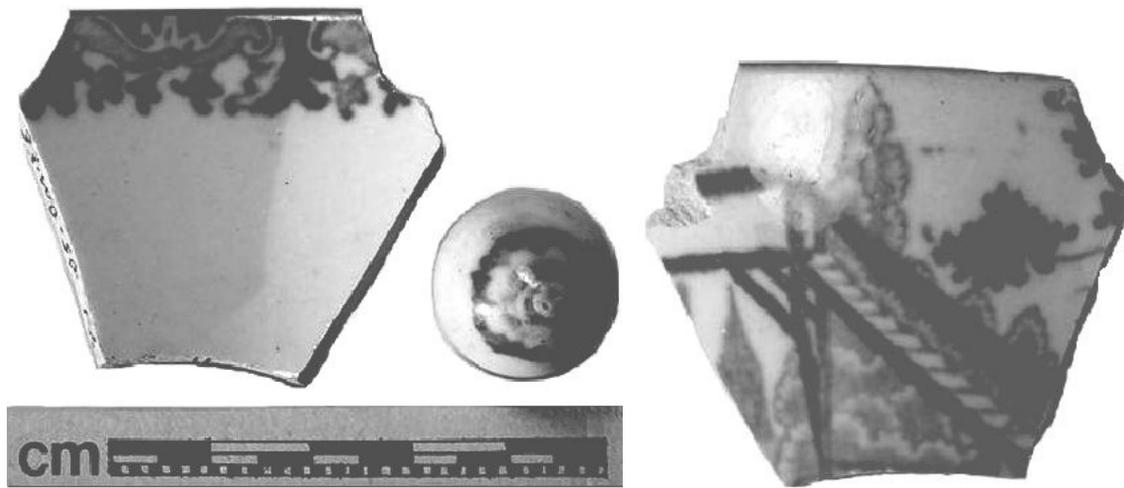


*c. Pewter U.S. General Service Button (1808-1840).*

War of 1812 Military Artifacts (obverse left and reverse right)



*Plain, Raised-Rim, Creamware Plate (ca. 1796-1825)*



*Chinoiserie-style, transfer-printed, pearlware sugar bowl with finial (ca. 1800-1815)*

crockery, cutlery, jewelry, furniture hardware, clothing accessories, construction hardware, architectural materials, and gun parts.

As the field crew continued their work, they discovered a light scattering of prehistoric Late Woodland pottery, chipped-stone tools, and lithic debitage mixed with a few historic ceramics, brick fragments, and limestone mortar below the base of the “plow zone,” a thin, disturbed layer of soil just below the surface. This feature continued through the base of the plow zone, indicating that intact, cultural deposits still existed at the site below the level of agricultural plowing. Stothers believed that this feature represented the kitchen and fireplace of a wooden house that had collapsed into a cellar possibly containing a trunk with military uniforms and accessories stored by one of the home’s occupants after the War of 1812.

Feature 4 was the most revealing, providing information both about the architectural details of the house and the sequence of cultural deposits at the site. The south end of the unit revealed large limestone rock slabs and cobbles that formed the foundation of the structure, and orange-colored, hand-made brick; probably part of a fireplace and chimney. The sequence of cultural deposits shows the following: 1) plow zone (surface –

16 ½ inches, 42 cm. in depth) filled with structural rubble/debris and artifacts slightly mixed with prehistoric, Late Woodland occupational remains; 2) stratum of dense historic structure rubble/debris representing collapsed walls and floor of a wooden house; 3) stratum containing foundation stone (limestone slabs and large cobbles) and hand-made brick mixed with fire-reddened (heat oxidized) clay. This layer sloped downwards towards the west; and 4) stratum showing a collapsed house foundation and floor slumping into a large cellar hole. The cultural contents consisted of sheet iron heavily encrusted with charred wood, broken hand-made brick (unbranded) with limestone mortar veneer on the exterior, window glass, machine-cut iron nails, buttons made from metal, ceramic and bone, bottle glass, a glass vial, iron and brass hinges, a door latch, limestone mortar (some pure white and porous caused by extreme heat oxidation), amorphous and corroded iron fragments (some attached to heat oxidized limestone mortar), brass straight pins, an iron threaded-screw, and an unmarked stem fragment from a white clay tobacco pipe. Extreme heat and oxidation had deformed and discolored some of the window, or flat glass. Three of the nails were brads (small nails with L-shaped heads) that appeared to have been used in finishing work such as flooring, where the nail heads are driven into the surface of the wood.

Stothers and his crew believed this to be the remains of the northern wall of the house, and that this area contained the home's doorway with one or more windows. The base of the structure had a limestone rock or slab foundation supporting a wooden floor. Hand-made brick from the remains of a fireplace and chimney were present. The structure was destroyed by fire, and the remains and its contents had then slumped into the cellar.

After five days, the property owner visited the site and, after talking with the field crew, learned that the archaeologists had recovered several American and foreign coins. Later in the day, the property owner returned, halted the excavation, and asked the director and field crew to leave and not come back. Over the years, Stothers tried repeatedly to convince the property owner to let the university complete the testing of only the exposed but not fully excavated features, but as yet has failed to gain the permission that would allow the university to complete the investigation.

In summary, the test excavations of 33Wo50 revealed the remains of two separate and temporally distinct occupations – one prehistoric and one historic. The prehistoric cultural remains were not intensive, but scattered and diffuse throughout the site area. The few pottery rim and neck sherds, lithic debitage, and their location indicate that the site represents a small spring-summer fishing station or camp used to seasonally exploit the rich resources of the Maumee River floodplain. Stylistically, the small sample of pottery rim and neck sherds suggested a possible cultural relationship to the *Riviere au Vase* (C.E. 600-900) or Younge Phase (C.E. 900-1100) of the Western Basin Tradition.<sup>9</sup>

The historic component consisted of the remains of a rural, log house with root cellar, stone foundation, wooden floor, brick fireplace, and plastered walls that had been destroyed by fire, and the material culture of an early nineteenth century farmstead. The early nineteenth century artifacts suggest that the site was occupied (*terminus ante quem* and *post quem*), circa 1806 to 1835. One of the coins recovered from the site was a 1742 Spanish “colonial pillar” dollar. The coin, out of context with an early nineteenth century farmstead, must represent some form of curated behavior (*e.g.* heirloom or memento) not presently understood. The War of 1812 military artifacts, particularly buttons originally

from an artillery uniform, also strongly suggest that at least one of the inhabitants served in the military during the war, likely with one or more American artillery units.

The faunal remains indicated that the inhabitants raised domesticated animals such as cattle, hogs, and chickens as their primary source of food.<sup>10</sup> They likely supplemented their diet with non-domesticated food sources such as deer, various species of fish, and ducks. The authors believe that most of the wild animal remains are part of the historic farmhouse component, even though agricultural plowing had mixed prehistoric Late Woodland cultural materials in among the historic debris. The excavation failed to recover cultigens (the remains of domesticated plants), but it seems likely that the occupants practiced agriculture (especially raising grain crops) at the farmstead in conjunction with animal husbandry.

### **The Farmhouse Architecture and Construction**

What type of farmhouse was 33Wo50 and what did it look like when it was inhabited during the early nineteenth century? There are no known paintings, drawings, sketches, or lithographic prints of the structure in the historical records. Photography was not invented until the 1840s, after this house ceased to be occupied according to the material culture retrieved at the site. Without a detailed description of the property made by its owners or tenants within the extant property records, we need to compare what we know about the house at 33Wo50 to ethnographic data for similar structures built nearby at about the same time to gain some insight into the building's physical appearance.

How was the house at 33Wo50 constructed, and what did it look like? Log structures were prevalent in Ohio from 1785-1860. They constituted many of the buildings used by our earliest pioneer settlers. Early settlers' memoirs and reminiscences make abundant references to log cabins, log houses, and other log structures throughout the Maumee Valley. In 1821, Reverend James Finley built a log cabin measuring twenty feet by twenty-three feet, at old Camp Meigs, a former War of 1812 encampment located a mile south of Upper Sandusky, Ohio, and converted a nearby abandoned military blockhouse into a log stable. Finley later built a larger house by hewing the logs and hauling these to a saw-mill where he had joists and planks cut for the construction of a story-and-a-half "double house" measuring forty feet by twenty feet. In January 1814, Albert Cavalier *dit* Rangard/Ranjard moved with his family from the mouth of the Maumee River to Lower Sandusky (Fremont), Ohio and occupied an abandoned log house after the battle of Fort Stephenson. And David Hull and Thomas McIlrath, who traded with the Indians, were said to have had taverns in their log houses on the hillside between Fort Meigs and the Maumee River in 1815. Log structures varied widely, taking many forms including lean-tos, huts, shacks, cabins, and log houses. But despite differences in appearance, they varied only slightly in their construction and architectural details.<sup>11</sup>

There is a fine distinction between a log "cabin" and a log "house." Log cabins were first generation, temporary structures used by the frontier's earliest settlers. Builders constructed cabins with unhewed logs laid horizontally one upon the other, then filled the interface between logs with moss or straw, and daubed the gaps with wattle and mud or mud alone. Early pioneers notched the ends of the horizontal logs in various ways to make them immovable when locked to the timbers above. These early structures commonly had a dirt or compacted clay floor, no windows, and only a hole in the roof for

smoke to escape. Builders covered the roof with thin staves split from oak or ash and held the staves to the roof by laying heavy poles upon them.

Log houses were substantial, second generation structures built with hewed logs shaped by axe or adze and laid horizontally one upon the other. Settlers stopped the cracks between logs with stone and filled them with limestone mortar. They also covered the interior walls with a thin veneer of plaster painted with white-wash. Builders created log house roofs by neatly arranging shingles fastened with nails to wooden sheeting. Log houses commonly boasted a wooden floor, a door with a milled frame, glass windows with milled sashes and frames, and a fireplace with chimney. Settlers from New England inspired both styles of horizontal log construction found within this area.<sup>12</sup>

A drawing created by Mrs. John Graves Simcoe, the wife of the Lt. Governor of Upper Canada, in 1794 is one of the earliest graphic renderings of the lower Maumee. The drawing shows several structures along the Maumee prior to their destruction by Anthony Wayne following the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The picture displays what is undoubtedly a log house on the left with three windows and horizontally-laid planks or timbers. The farmhouse at 33Wo50 was probably similar to this structure. A building in the painting on the right is unusual and somewhat exotic in appearance. This may have been a wooden frame house with portico, double-doorway, and a window just barely out of view. It is tempting to think that this structure was one owned by British Indian agent Alexander McKee who maintained a house and trade store on the river, and who would have had access to sawed lumber for the construction of such a structure. And, perhaps, the log house with three windows was that of *Canadiens* [Jacques] Gabriel Godfroy and Jean Baptiste Beaugrand who maintained a house and store on the opposite side of the river for trade with the Indians.<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately, the architectural materials recovered at 33Wo50 neither tell us how large the building was nor the number of rooms within the structure. Feature 2 contained the largest amount of ceramic tableware and hand-made brick, indicating the kitchen, hearth, and fireplace with chimney were located near the east wall of the house. The materials from feature 4, with door-related artifacts, window glass, and very little ceramics and brick suggest a door or entrance way and window at the north end of the structure. The window in the north wall of the structure facing the Maumee River would allow the inhabitants to view anyone approaching the house by boat from the river.

Local merchants in the Detroit area between 1794 and 1817 offered a variety of construction materials and hardware for building houses, barns, warehouses, and outbuildings. Detroit merchants like George Meldrum, William Park, John Askin Sr., Gabriel Godfroy, and Jean Baptiste Beaugrand sold a variety of goods and provisions to American settlers, *Canadiens*, and Indians. Furthermore, Godfroy and Beaugrand operated a trade store at the Maumee Rapids from 1797 to 1810. Beaugrand shipped ten-foot wooden planks and beams suitable for building a house from Detroit to the rapids in 1804. Moreover, by 1799, John Askin Sr. was manufacturing thousands of excellent fired brick at kilns only a short distance away on the River Rouge at a cost of \$8 per thousand pounds.<sup>14</sup>

## **The Amos Spafford Farmhouse Identified**

Who owned and occupied the house at 33Wo50? An examination of the property records for 33Wo50 is the place to start. The original deed to the property shows that Amos Spafford<sup>15</sup> of Miami [Rapids], Ohio purchased the land from the United States government on the Miami River of Lake Erie (Maumee River) between river tracts 64 and 65 in Township 1 of the United States Twelve Miles Square Reserve on February 23, 1818.<sup>16</sup> This 160-acre tract is known today as “Spafford’s Grant.” Spafford died in October 1817.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the government sold the property to his heirs in his name *in absentia*. In April 1817, Spafford, who was ill at the time, left the western half of the land grant (80 acres) to his wife, Olive, and the eastern half (80 acres) to his son, Aurora, and Aurora’s wife, Mary (Rolph Jones) Spafford.<sup>18</sup>

On December 14, 1819, Aurora and Mary sold two lots or parcels of the eastern half of Spafford’s Grant to David Hull for \$400. The first lot was located at the northeast angle of the grant with river tract 65 at the Maumee River, and proceeded upriver (west) along a street in front of Hull and Spafford’s houses for a distance of 66 feet past the two structures, then south for a distance of 409.2 feet. The deed also noted that the Spafford’s property was located immediately adjacent to that owned by David Hull. In 1822, Aurora and Olive Spafford sold a 10.4 acre lot located west of the first lot sold to David Hull to James Hazlett, a merchant in Canton (Stark County), Ohio, for \$438. Less than a month later, on May 4, Aurora and Mary sold the eastern half of Spafford’s Grant to Aurora’s mother for \$1,050. The purchase included all of the land (80 acres) except for the lots sold to James Hazlett, Seneca Allen, Joseph Vance, Joseph A. Huntley, Jacob Wilkinson, and David Hull. For some reason not specified in the deeds, the Spaffords broke up the extreme northern portion of Spafford’s Grant into lots that bordered the Maumee River and sold these both to their neighbors and to one individual from outside the community with a commercial interest in the property.<sup>19</sup>

Olive Spafford died on January 18, 1823 and was buried in the Spafford Family Cemetery on the bluff-top above her house.<sup>20</sup> In 1823, Aurora and Mary Spafford started to build a newer and larger frame house on the bluff-top west of the site of Fort Meigs. This house, which still stands today, is a Greek-Revival styled “half house” – two and a half rooms deep with a Shaker-type interior.<sup>21</sup> By 1830, Aurora and Mary Spafford had moved out of their old farmhouse on the floodplain terrace and relocated completely to their new home on the bluff top.

We now had the “bare bones,” so to speak, of the relationship between the Spafford farmhouses in historical documents and their archaeological remains at 33Wo50. What the investigators did not know were the particular details of how the original Spafford farmhouse met its demise by fire.

## **Port Miami: 1805-1812**

Amos Spafford moved to the Maumee Rapids from Geauga County, Ohio in March of 1810 as the new federal customs collector, inspector of the revenue, and postmaster of Port Miami. He succeeded Lewis Bond who served as port collector from 1805 to 1809. Port Miami came into being on January 18, 1805 when the United States Congress passed a bill creating the District of Miami and authorizing President Thomas Jefferson to

establish a port of entry at the rapids and appoint a customs collector and inspector of the revenue. Jefferson nominated Spafford to replace Bond in 1809, and Spafford assumed his duties in the spring of 1810.<sup>22</sup>

Port Miami was a substantial district known locally as the Miami (Maumee) Rapids. The district, which centered on the small cluster of homesteads built on both sides of the river at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, extended from the mouth of the Maumee River westward to about present-day Grand Rapids, Ohio. Port Miami remained a port of entry for the federal government until 1821, when Congress authorized the president to relocate the port.<sup>23</sup> In 1827, Congress relocated the port to Maumee City, and then to Toledo in 1850.

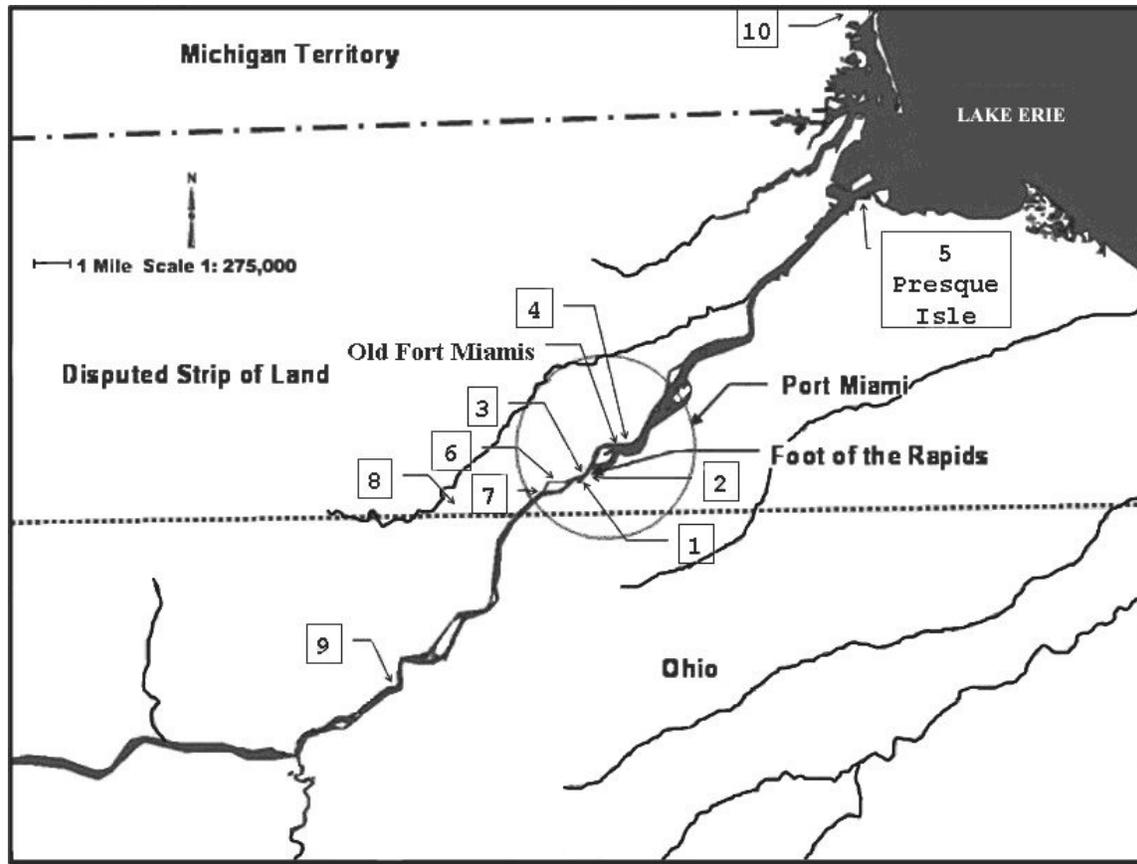
A small group of American settlers arrived at Port Miami in August of 1805. By 1807, there were only nine American families who resided among a dozen or so *Canadiens* (French-speaking American citizens of French-Canadian heritage) within five miles of the Maumee Rapids. These early arrivals were David Hull, son of Isaac Hull Sr. and nephew of the governor of the Michigan Territory, William Hull, James Carlin, who was a blacksmith for the Ottawa Indians, Carlin's son Squire Carlin, Andrew Race, Thomas Leaming, Halsey W. Leaming, William Carter, George Blalock, William Peters, Ambrose Hickox, and Richard Gifford. Despite its small size, the community served as a mail stop for correspondence moving westward from Washington, D.C. and Cleveland to Detroit.<sup>24</sup>

In January 1809, Lewis Bond described Port Miami as a small village of twenty homes, outbuildings, and one hundred residents. The land surrounding the village was fertile and pleasant with extensive prairies (floodplain meadows), particularly on the river bottoms. Beyond, the ground rose twenty to fifty feet to an upland bluff covered with forest of various kinds of timber. The country was generally level and the soil good, with considerable prairie land that local farmers estimated could produce fifty to sixty bushels of corn per acre. Local farmers cultivated wheat, oats, rye, buckwheat, hemp, flax, potatoes, and root vegetables equal in yield and quality to any other part of the country. The area was well-stocked with game and fish. Springs of good water were scarce. The bedrock was limestone covered with timber of oak, hickory, ash, and cherry.<sup>25</sup>

This same year, *Canadiens* established a small settlement among an Ottawa Indian village called "Presqu' Ile" (anglicized to "Presque Isle") at the mouth of the Maumee on the south side of the river.<sup>26</sup>

While life was good at Port Miami, it also had a dark side. The settlement commonly contended with fever and ague in the fall. In 1811, several residents died from the disease including Isaac Clark's mother and sister. There were no lumber mills in the area, and thus no boards. Clark took a broad axe and, with two other men, went into the woods and felled a basswood tree, split puncheons, hewed and planed the wood, and with his own hands made their coffins. He helped bury them near where Fort Meigs would be built in 1813. Clark's youngest son, aged two years, also died that winter.<sup>27</sup>

Spafford was unable to support his family solely on his customs collector salary, and so he turned to farming to supplement his income. Between 1811 and 1812, he made considerable improvements to his property, spending several hundred dollars building a house, constructing a warehouse, erecting several other outbuildings, planting a garden,



### Settlers Known To Be in Port Miami, 1805-1812

*(Numbers on map keyed to names of Port Miami settlers) 1: Steven Hoyt (Hoit), Thomas Dicks & Neley Denton, Amos & Chloe Hecox, Amos & Olive & Aurora Spafford, David & Almira Hull (Daughter), and Antoine LaPoint. 2: Thomas Leaming. 3: Jean Baptiste Beaugrand, Lewis Bond, François Desforges, [Jacques] Gabriel Godfroy, Joseph Loranger, Gabriel St. Michel, François Valliquet, Major John Whipple, Samuel H. Ewings, and Daniel Murray. 4: Alexander & Samuel Ewings, John Askin Sr. (absentee Detroit), Whitmore Knaggs, William Brown (absentee Detroit), Archibald Lyons (absentee Detroit), and Conrad Ten Eyck. 5: François Marie Navarre dit Hutro and family, Joseph Cavalier dit Rangeard/Ranjard and family, Pierre Malosh (Maloche). 6: John (Andrew) Race (Rall). 7: John Carter. 8: Samuel H. Ewings. 9: Peter Manor or Peter Menard dit Perish Montour. 10: Jean Baptiste Monmini.*

and fencing his fields.<sup>28</sup>

By 1812, Port Miami had become a thriving community of about 400 men, women, and children (70 French and English-speaking families) totaling twenty-one percent of the population of the civil district of Erie (which included River Raisin or Frenchtown) and six percent of the total population of the Michigan Territory.<sup>29</sup> The inhabitants lived as farmers. Most raised cattle and hogs, but no sheep due to the wolves. *Canadiens* made up the greater part of the population. Many of the American settlers considered them to be inferior farmers who paid little attention to agriculture, but who excelled at hunting,

fishing, and trading with the Indians. Mixed bands of Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibwa Indians lived along the river at its mouth, *Roche de Boeuf*, and Wolf Rapids.<sup>30</sup>

Spafford found Port Miami a troubled and deeply-divided community. The settlement lay within an area claimed by both Ohio and the Michigan Territory. Problems related directly to Ohio and Michigan's unsettled boundary lead inevitably to a vexing assortment of questions. Numerous disputes over justices of the peace and their legal authority and powers, a lack of established weights and measures, unequal payment of taxes, and the alleged improper expenditure of tax monies served to divide the community into two groups, one pro-Ohio, the other pro-Michigan.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, English-speaking American settlers among both factions mistrusted the *Canadiens* because of their closeness to and, in some cases, intermarriage with the Indians.<sup>32</sup>

Additionally, the growing threat of war with Great Britain and the fear of Indian atrocities it would bring, weighed heavily on the settlers' minds. In January 1812, news of Indian depredations on the frontier prompted Spafford to write Reuben Attwater, Acting Governor of the Michigan Territory at Detroit, asking for arms to be issued to the community's militia company.<sup>33</sup> Reports circulating throughout the region claimed that Indians were burning houses, killing cattle, and attacking settlers. Unfortunately, the rumors proved all too true. Indians murdered two young men twenty miles east of Sandusky on April 4, 1812. On April 16, Indians killed three others near Fort Defiance. Local settlers brought their bodies into Port Miami three days later. Many Port Miami settlers were ready to flee the settlement when Joseph Watson, Secretary to the Indian Department of the Michigan Territory at Detroit, conducted a council with seven chiefs and forty-seven Ottawas residing on the lower Maumee River on May 21, 1812. Watson told the Ottawas the American army was coming to protect its settlers and their Indian "children" from the inevitable horrors that war with the British would bring. They should not listen and believe the "bad birds" stating otherwise, warned Watson. Masquimon, the principal chief of the Ottawas, refused to reply directly to Watson's admonitions. But for the moment, the Ottawas remained peaceful.<sup>34</sup>

### **The War of 1812 Comes to the Maumee Rapids**

Eventually, the Port Miami's settlers' worst fears came to pass. On June 18, 1812, the United States declared war on Great Britain. As war grew imminent in the spring of 1812, Secretary of War William Eustis had named William Hull, the governor of the Michigan Territory, a brigadier general in the U.S. army and ordered him to lead a force of 2,000 Ohio militia and U.S. infantrymen to Detroit. Mustering in Urbana, Ohio in early June, Hull's army arrived at Presque Isle hill (Fallen Timbers battlefield) on June 29 after traveling some 250 miles, much of the route passing directly through northwest Ohio's Great Black Swamp. Heavy rains, deep marshes, and mosquito-infested swamps hampered the army throughout much of its march. The following day, the Americans advanced down the river and through Port Miami to the accompaniment of American cheers. That night, they camped at the ruins of old Fort Miamis, directly opposite present-day Perrysburg.<sup>35</sup>

Isaac Clark had already planted potatoes and corn on an island in the Maumee River when Hull and his army passed through the settlement. Hull's men, acting without orders, confiscated and then consumed the crops grown by Clark and several other Port Miami

settlers. Eventually, the government compensated Clark and the others for their losses. When the settlers pleaded with Hull to leave a detachment of soldiers at Port Miami for their protection, Hull ordered Lieutenant Robert Davidson and a detachment of twenty-five men to remain behind and build a small blockhouse for the community's use.<sup>36</sup>

The next day, Hull employed Captain Cyrenius [Luther] Chapin and his small schooner, the *Cuyahoga*, and an additional boat to transport his baggage, thirty invalids, and three women to Detroit in advance of the army. He also placed a trunk containing the latest muster rolls of each company in the brigade and other important documents on board. Astonishingly, Hull had not been informed of the June 16<sup>th</sup> declaration of war. An express rider from the postmaster at Cleveland carried a dispatch from Eustis with news of the declaration to Hull at the Maumee Rapids, arriving there on July 2; but it was too late. Hull had already resumed the march to Detroit a day earlier. Unfortunately, the British at Fort Malden (present-day Amherstburg, Ontario) had received news of the declaration promptly. Fort sentries spotted the *Cuyahoga* as it ascended the Detroit River and easily captured the vessel and the documents that it carried as it passed near the British fort. In the process, the British also acquired invaluable intelligence about the strength of Hull's army, its composition, and his plans for the invasion of Upper Canada.<sup>37</sup>

Not long after Hull's departure, an Indian party, led by the Delaware leader Sacamanc and on their way to Owl Creek in central Ohio, stopped at the Port Miami home of *Canadien* Peter Manor.<sup>38</sup> Six days later, Sacamanc returned to show Manor three scalps, and told him that in ten days, hostile Indians near Detroit were to hold a council with the British at Fort Malden.<sup>39</sup> Further, Sacamanc warned that following the council, the Indians intended to come to the Maumee Valley and massacre all the Americans living there. Manor immediately informed Spafford, warning him and the other Americans to leave the valley immediately. Spafford was incredulous, and believed that Sacamanc had misrepresented the Indians' intentions, but even if the plot was true, there would be sufficient time to leave the settlement if evacuation became necessary. Manor assured Spafford that if he learned more he would let him know immediately, but the attack never materialized.

Everything at the rapids changed when Hull surrendered Detroit to the British on August 16, 1812. The terms of the capitulation demanded that all American troops, including members of the Ohio and Michigan Militias at Frenchtown on the River Raisin (present-day Monroe, Michigan) and a small detachment of Ohio Militia commanded by Lieutenant John Caris occupying the blockhouse at Port Miami, surrender immediately to the British.<sup>40</sup>

The day after Hull's surrender, a small British detachment led by Captain William Elliott and consisting of an Indian and two *Canadiens*, appeared at the River Raisin stockade at Frenchtown under a flag of truce demanding the surrender of that post. The garrison's American commander, Ohioan Captain Henry Brush, was unaware of the American capitulation, and initially arrested and detained Elliott's party in the stockade. Later that afternoon, two American soldiers who had escaped from Detroit arrived at the Raisin and confirmed the surrender. At a hastily convened officers' council, the Americans decided to ignore the terms of the capitulation that demanded their surrender and decided instead to break camp and retreat back to Ohio. What public stores they could not take with them, they left for the town's American families. A few sick American soldiers who were unable to travel remained behind in the stockade. At 11:00

o'clock at night, two companies of Ohio Militia and Isaac Lee's mounted detachment of Michigan Militia left the Raisin for Port Miami in a heated rush to escape capture by British authorities.<sup>41</sup>

Two days later on August 20th, a British and Indian party from Fort Malden led by Captain Peter Chambers arrived at Frenchtown to conclude the surrender and to search the settlement for American arms, ammunition, and contraband. Chambers confiscated a large cache of American weapons and supplies, including a brass howitzer, nineteen "shot" howitzers, 114 muskets and bayonets, twelve pistols, sixty-four cartridge boxes, seven rifles, six swords, forty-six barrels of flour, nine barrels of pork, one barrel of whiskey, and two wagons; and burned a small stockade and two detached blockhouses to the ground. During the seizure, though, the Indians accompanying the expedition also plundered and looted several private residences and a business, including the homes of Colonel John Anderson and an Indian trader, Rachel Schley Knaggs.<sup>42</sup>

Chambers had originally planned to conclude his activities at Frenchtown and then to continue on to the Maumee Rapids. The Indians' behavior, though, had been so unexpected and so disturbing to Chambers that he had nearly determined instead to simply return to Fort Malden. However, Amable Bellair, a *Canadien* who lived at Port Miami, came forward and told the British officer that one hundred and eighty American soldiers still remained at the Maumee Rapids. Chambers immediately abandoned his plans to return to Malden. However, moments later, William Fairfield, a physician from Port Miami, arrived under a flag of truce and told Chambers there were instead only a few sick soldiers at the rapids. Captain Charles Askin told Bellair, in French, that if he was lying about the number of American soldiers, he would be hung. Despite the threat, Bellair maintained his story. Chambers was convinced, and immediately drew up plans for a strike against the American settlement the next day. He, Askin, Bellair, and Fairfield would proceed by horseback with a flag of truce to the rapids. The Indian agent Alexander Elliott, with Tecumseh and the Wyandot chief Roundhead and a force of about fifty Indians, would ride ahead of Chambers' party by several hours to scout the rapids. Captain William Elliott and Lieutenant Benoit Bender would proceed to the rapids by water on the gunboat *Chippewa*.<sup>43</sup>

The following day, August 21, Lieutenant John Caris, who commanded the blockhouse at the Maumee Rapids and who had undoubtedly learned of Hull's surrender from Henry Brush's men as they passed through the settlement on their retreat, informed the remaining residents early in the morning that his detachment was going to burn the stockade and leave immediately. He invited the residents to as quickly as possible take what provisions they needed from the post and evacuate with his troops.

In the afternoon, a man who had lived nearby for many years among the Ottawas rushed into Spafford's house and told him that an Indian war party was about fifteen miles from the rapids. They had already plundered and set fire to houses and mills near present-day Monclova, Ohio, and were heading for Port Miami. With little time left to escape, Spafford gathered his family and three other American families and headed for the river, where they launched a large barge that had descended the river with supplies from Fort Wayne the year before. Raising a square sail made from a bed blanket, they rowed downriver aided by a substantial breeze. As they passed old Fort Miami about two miles downstream, they saw flames rising from the homes they had just deserted. While the Indians were busy plundering the houses, Spafford and his party continued

downriver to the bay and made their way eastward on Lake Erie, following the shoreline but keeping a good distance from the shore, beyond the range of rifle shot. Sallie Wilkinson, a member of one of the families who escaped with Spafford, carried six silver spoons, the only property that she was able to save from her home. The party eventually descended the Huron River and arrived safely at the Quaker settlement at Milan, Ohio.<sup>44</sup>

The Daniel Purdy family, who lived on the flats below where Fort Meigs would later be built, watched as the Wyandots, who arrived first, drove off their livestock (sixteen head of cattle) and looted their neighbors' vacant houses. The Purdys loaded their wagons and escaped for Urbana, Ohio, staying the first night at a house eight or ten miles south of the rapids. By following Hull's Trace, the military road cut through the swamp by Hull's army in June, the Purdys arrived at Urbana tired and exhausted, but relieved to be safe. Other settlers at the rapids hid in the woods and watched as the Indians plundered and destroyed their homes.<sup>45</sup>

Chambers and his party arrived at the rapids at about two o'clock in the afternoon. The British officer was stunned to see the Indians pillaging the settlement. The Indians had taken horses and mules, shot and killed cattle and hogs, driven off other livestock, and destroyed twenty-six of the thirty houses in the settlement. Tecumseh himself had set fire to the American blockhouse on the north bank of the river, and it was still burning when Chambers arrived. If the destruction occasioned by the British incursion were not enough, *Canadiens* at the settlement told the officer that some of Brush's company had also robbed them of horses and other valuables when they passed through the settlement on August 18.<sup>46</sup>

Chambers found only a few sick and helpless Americans soldiers from Caris's detachment in one of the vacant houses, not the one hundred-and-eighty promised by Bellair. Angered by what the Indians had done, angered at being duped by Bellair, and angry at himself for losing control of the expedition, Chambers lashed out at the British Indian Department officials accompanying the mission for not preventing the widespread destruction. According to Charles Askin, who witnessed the scene, when Bellair happened into the building where Chambers and Lewis Bond were sitting, Chambers damned him and violently pushed Bellair out of the room, telling Bond to take and hang him as he was the "damned rascal" responsible for bringing the Indians to the rapids. Askin quickly took Bellair into custody and took possession of Bellair's pistols. However, Chambers and Askin had no one to guard Bellair, and when a few Wyandots asked Chambers to free Bellair, the captain consented. Bellair received his pistols and quickly fled.<sup>47</sup>

Captain William Elliott and Lieutenant Bender arrived later that afternoon with the gunboat *Chippewa* and two other large watercrafts. The British loaded seventy-seven barrels of pork, eighteen barrels of flour, about nine barrels of whiskey, two barrels of salt, a musket bayonet, a cartridge box, and some soap and candles, all confiscated public property, into the boats and five additional canoes found abandoned at the rapids for the trip back to Malden. The British found no arms or ammunition— but Chambers suspected that these items were likely hidden somewhere within the settlement.<sup>48</sup> Late in the evening, Indians began to plunder the boats. After nightfall, they murdered one of Bender's *Canadien* boatmen and shot another. Chambers restored order, but the situation continued to deteriorate to such an extent that Chambers, despite the hour, gathered his expedition and left the rapids at midnight, returning to Malden early the following day.<sup>49</sup>

Chambers was furious in the expedition's aftermath. Further, when he arrived back at Amherstburg on August 23, he learned that Indians had stolen his horse during his absence. He angrily confronted Matthew Elliott, the Indian agent at Malden, about the Indians' conduct and the shooting incident at the rapids. Further, the following day, Chambers sent Colonel Henry Procter, who had taken command of Fort Malden the previous month, an angry letter complaining bitterly about the Indians' conduct and the Indian Department's apparent inability to control them. Chambers, though, had overplayed his hand. Several days later, Procter wrote General Brock at Niagara that he was sending the captain to New York (present-day Toronto, Canada) for the sake of maintaining harmony and peace within his command.<sup>50</sup>

On September 1, 1812, Procter, and a cadre of senior officers including Thomas B. St. George and Robert Nichol, Matthew Elliott, Captain Matthew C. Dixon (Royal Engineer), and a large Indian force arrived at the rapids as part of a generalized reconnaissance along both the Maumee and Sandusky Rivers. Lewis Bond claimed that while at the rapids, the Indians desecrated the grave of his wife who had died in 1806. According to Bond, they defaced her tombstone and tore the wooden picketing down around it.<sup>51</sup> Later that month, a British expedition commanded by Major Adam C. Muir that was returning from Fort Wayne stopped at the rapids. Frustrated by their inability to capture roaming cattle and hogs, they destroyed three of the four buildings remaining at the site. The only house unharmed was that of Jean Baptiste Beaugrand.<sup>52</sup>

And thus, the door closed on the short-lived history of Port Miami. The hogs and dogs inherited the abandoned and destroyed settlement, and Port Miami became lost to history.

### **The Spafford Farmhouse's Hidden Secret**

On December 20, 1811, Amos Spafford filed a petition with Thomas Worthington, U.S. Senator from Ohio, asking Congress to pass a law giving him the right to be the first to purchase the land on the south side of the Maumee Rapids where his home was located (right of pre-emption). He deserved this, he claimed, because he was a federal agent conducting federal business at the site.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately for Spafford, law makers failed to act upon his petition due to Congress's pre-occupation with the pending war with Great Britain. His petition seems to have been lost, mislaid, or temporarily delayed until after the war.

Spafford's petition re-surfaced in a report to Congress by the Committee on Public Lands in February 1816. The report recounted Spafford's history at the rapids and reaffirmed that when General William Hull surrendered Detroit to the British in August 1812, Spafford and his family, with other American families, fled the rapids to the interior of Ohio, leaving their home and property to be "plundered, burnt, and destroyed" by the enemy. The report concluded by noting that Spafford had incurred considerable expense in erecting the necessary buildings to accommodate his family and carry out the duties of his office.<sup>54</sup> The committee, satisfied with the details of Spafford's petition, recommended that Congress approve the right of pre-emption for him for the land upon which his homestead had once stood.

Spafford and his family returned to the Maumee Rapids in the spring of 1814, along with other settlers who had had their homes destroyed. They erected new houses while

living in tents, using planks taken from abandoned flatboats that had been used for shipping supplies from Fort Defiance to Fort Meigs. Following the end of the war in December 1814, the returning settlers also used timbers and pickets from the blockhouses at the now-deserted Fort Meigs. During the summer, John Carter and John Race, who resided on the north bank of the Maumee near Turkey Foot Rock, were murdered by Indians while the two traveled upriver in a pirogue for supplies. After neighbors found their pirogue floating empty downriver, Spafford and some others went to Carter and Race's cabin where they found their bodies shot and tomahawked. A short time later, Levi Hull went to round up his cattle from nearby woods when his neighbors heard several rifle shots. Settlers living nearby found his body a short time later, shot and scalped. Whether these incidents were quarrels between individual Indians and whites, or revenge by the Indians for the disastrous war, the violence soon died out, and settlers began to return in force to start anew.<sup>55</sup>

This was the secret concealed from archaeologists in the rubble and debris of 33Wo50 in 1977. It wasn't a single house that the archaeologists had surveyed and test excavated, but two separate houses built at the same site during back-to-back occupations. The Spafford houses represent a pre- and post-War of 1812 frontier farmstead. An Indian raid had destroyed the original Spafford house (1810-1812) on August 21, 1812. The Spaffords rebuilt their home at the same location in 1814 and lived there until the family abandoned the site in 1830. Eventually, the second home deteriorated and collapsed over the remains of the original house that burned in 1812.

Did Amos Spafford receive any compensation for the loss of his farmstead by American government? Secondary sources tell us that he did, and that he was instrumental in getting other Port Miami's settlers who suffered similar losses compensation. In 1816-1817, he made two trips to Washington, D.C. to plead his and their cases. However, the authors have not yet been successful in locating these claims or documents.

We also know that Spafford signed a petition to the U.S. Congress by the citizens of the River Raisin (Frenchtown) dated December 27, 1816. This petition asked the U.S. government for monetary compensation for the property destroyed, captured, confiscated, or lost at the hands of the British and Indians during the War of 1812. One hundred and ninety-five individuals signed or made their mark on this document. Of these, twelve were residents of the Maumee Rapids: Aurora Spafford, Chloe (Spafford) Hecox, David Hull, Thomas Dick, Jesse Skinner, Jacob Wilkison [Wilkinson], William Peters, Jacob Carlin, Andrew Rall [Race], Louis Rall [Race], Peter Menard, Samuel N. Ewings, and Thomas McHrath [McIlrath]. A few of the petitioners were reimbursed by the federal government, but most were not. In deed, the fact that this petition remained largely unresolved was still generating frustration among the surviving petitioners and the Michigan Legislative Council as late as 1834.<sup>56</sup>

### **Tracking the Spafford Farmhouse through Time**

In 1816, two land speculators from Albany, New York, Henry Yates and Archibald McIntyre, proposed to create a new town above the Maumee Rapids near Spafford's home at Port Miami. Yates and McIntyre had platted the town, Orleans, between river tracts 64 & 65.<sup>57</sup> To the investors, the site seemed perfectly suited to act as the western

terminus for goods and people traveling westward from the Atlantic seaboard – thus its nickname “Queen City of the North.” Emigrants could journey by water as far west as Orleans, and there acquire the wagons and provisions necessary to allow them to continue their westward travels. To promote the venture, other Albany investors including Dr. J.B. Stewart commissioned the construction of the steamer the *Walk-in-the-Water* in 1818. The vessel, once completed, would be the first steamboat on the Great Lakes and would have Orleans as its western terminus. Lastly, the investors also hired J.J. Lovett, a former member of Congress, to be the resident agent in the town.

In February 1816, Amos Spafford received the right of pre-emption from Congress to purchase 160 acres surrounding his home in Spafford’s Grant. The purchase occupied the center of Yates and McIntyre’s proposed site for Orleans. Spafford described his farm in June of that year as lot 23 of the newly platted Orleans town site, located 140 rods (2,310 feet) west from the east boundary of Township 1 of the U.S. Twelve Miles Square Reserve. The lot measured 1,320 feet wide (east-west) along the Maumee River and 1,320 feet (north-south) in depth. The lot contained his house, garden, and three-fourths of his outbuildings. The remaining one-fourth of his property occupied 330 feet of the west side of vacant lot 24. Unfortunately, Spafford failed to give a detailed description of his house and improvements. A plat map of Orleans created in 1825 by Seneca Allen, who was both a resident of Orleans and a surveyor, clearly shows the platted streets and house lots.<sup>58</sup>

Although its promoters dreamed of the day when Orleans would become the leading economic center within the region, chances for the proposed village’s success dimmed in 1817 when competing developers platted Perrysburg at a more commercially viable location below the Maumee Rapids, just a few miles down river. Hopes for the success of Orleans dimmed even further when, on her maiden voyage in 1818, the *Walk-in-the-Water* failed to make it past the present-day harbor at Toledo because she drew too much water. The final blow to Orleans’ aspirations came when Wood County officials moved the county seat from Maumee to Perrysburg in 1823. One by one, local residents left Orleans; many moving to Perrysburg. Among those who eventually left were David Hull (tavern-keeper), Joseph Vance (dry goods store owner), Jacob Wilkinson (boat business), John Hollister (freight hauling service), J.J. Lovett (agent for Orleans), Joshua Chappel, Samuel Spafford, and David Hawley, all of whom relocated either to Perrysburg or Maumee. Amos Spafford’s son, Samuel, opened the Exchange Hotel in Perrysburg in 1825. Ironically, it was Amos Spafford, who, after being asked by Ohio’s governor Return Jonathan Meigs, gave Perrysburg its name in 1816. By the winter of 1825-26, only two families remained in Orleans, one of which was Aurora Spafford and his wife. By 1830, there were none.<sup>59</sup>

What happened to the Spafford farmhouse below Fort Meigs after the collapse of Orleans? In 1833, Joseph Creps came to Perrysburg where he worked for merchant John Hollister hauling goods by wagon from Perrysburg to Grand Rapids and returning with animal furs and skins.<sup>60</sup> Creps cleaned and converted one of the abandoned structures on the flats below Fort Meigs into a home. Only two other houses were present at the time - one taken over by a family named Chadwick and the abandoned red farmhouse owned by Aurora Spafford (Amos and Olive Spafford’s old farmhouse).

River flooding and ice flows from the annual spring thaws finally sealed the fate of Orleans’ abandoned structures. The 1832 flood washed away most of these houses. The

ruins of the old Spafford farmhouse were still barely visible adjacent to the site of Fort Meigs in 1843.<sup>61</sup> The Maumee flooded again in 1847, 1849, and 1855. In 1849, flooding washed away the Hubbell warehouse on the river in Maumee, the Maumee Bridge spanning the river to Perrysburg, and the Swan Creek Bridge at Toledo. In 1855, the water was eight feet deep on Ewing Island in the river between Maumee and Perrysburg. Years of flooding, inundation, and ice flows inevitably took its toll on the floodplain below Fort Meigs. The abandoned Spafford farmhouse and outbuildings, left to deteriorate in the weather, eventually rotted and collapsed to the ground. With the passage of time, all of the structures that once stood on the floodplain became buried by the river's annual inundation and silting. By 1858, a plat map of the area shows no buildings or structures where the old Spafford farmstead once stood.<sup>62</sup>

## **Conclusions**

Archaeology and history, therefore, have in large measure solved the mystery that began in September 1908 when a young boy asked John Gunckel to explain relics washing out of the shoreline below Fort Meigs. The test excavations of 33Wo50 in 1977 below and west of Fort Meigs revealed the archaeological remains of a rural log house with a root cellar, limestone rock foundation, wooden floor, brick fireplace with chimney, and plastered interior walls destroyed by fire. Further, the evidence contained within property records, an 1825 Orleans plat map, and federal government records pertaining to Amos Spafford, the customs collector and inspector of the revenue for Port Miami from 1810 until his death in October 1817, show that this structure was the home of Amos Spafford and his wife Olive and that this site served as the Spafford's home from 1810 to 1830. The material culture recovered at 33Wo50 is contemporaneous with the Spafford farmhouse. Faunal remains recovered from 33Wo50 indicate that the Spafford family raised cattle, hogs, and chickens. The Spafford subsistence data is also consistent with documentary records for similar farmsteads within the region during the period of 33Wo50's occupation.

The historical record shows that the remains of the Spafford farmstead concealed a secret unknown to archaeologists at the time of the test excavations. Namely, 33Wo50 was not a single, rural farmhouse, but rather two separate houses located at the same site with back-to-back occupations by the same family separated only by eighteen months. The Spaffords were part of a larger community known as Port Miami. The settlers living in Port Miami saw their farms, houses, gardens, outbuildings, fences and fields pillaged and destroyed, livestock killed, and personal property confiscated during a raid by British soldiers and Indians from Fort Malden, Canada in August 1812.

The Spafford family rebuilt their home after returning to the rapids at the end of the War of 1812, completing the structure by June 1814. They and their descendents occupied this house until *c.* 1830 when Aurora and Mary Spafford, the last to live in Amos and Olive Spafford's old red farmhouse, built a newer frame house on the bluff-top just west of the ruins of Fort Meigs. Several artifacts related to military service in the War of 1812 recovered from 33Wo50 are probably remnants of a military uniform stored in a trunk and abandoned when the Spafford family vacated the second house.

Historians have written a great deal about the military actions of the War of 1812; but history, for the most part, remains silent on the fate of small American settlements that

were caught in the web of military violence. Archaeological investigation and historical research have combined to resurrect the history of Port Miami, a history heretofore lost in time and forgotten to memory.

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### NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> F.J. Oblinger, *Commemorative Exercises at the Unveiling and Dedication of the Fort Meigs Monument, September 1, 1908*, (Toledo: The Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Association, 1909); C.W. Evers and May Evers-Ross, *The Pioneer Scrap-Book of Wood County and the Maumee Valley* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green Democrat, 1910), 230; C.W. Evers, *Dedication of Fort Meigs Monument September 1, 1908* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green Democrat, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> Larry L. Nelson, *Men of Patriotism, Courage, & Enterprise!: Fort Meigs in the War*

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of 1812, Canton: Daring Books, 1985; Larry L. Nelson, *Fort Meigs: War of 1812 Battleground*, Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1999; Larry L. Nelson "The Mapping of Fort Meigs," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 58 (1986): 123-142; James P. Averill, *A Condensed History of the Most Important Military Point in the Northwest, Together with Scenes and Incidents Connected with the Sieges of 1813, and a Minute Description of the Old Fort and its Surroundings as They Now Appear*, (Toledo: Blade Printing and Paper Company, 1886).

<sup>3</sup> Marcus Benjamin, ed., *The Battlefields of the Maumee Valley: a Collection of Historical Addresses Delivered before the Sons of the American Revolution, District of Columbia Society, March 18, 1896*, (Washington, D.C., 1896), 19-22.

<sup>4</sup> Alfred M. Lorrain, *The Helm, the Sword, and the Cross*, (Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock, 1862), 120-21. The house at which Cushing fired his cannon on February 8, 1813 belonged to Jean Baptiste Beaugrand who operated a trade store with [Jacques] Gabriel Godfroy at the rapids from 1798 to 1810. See Harlow Lindley, ed., *Fort Meigs and the War of 1812: Orderly Book of Cushing's Company, 2<sup>nd</sup> U.S. Artillery April 13 – February 1814 and Personal Diary of Captain Daniel Cushing October, 1812 – July, 1813*, (Columbus: The Ohio Historical Society, 1975), 98-99.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick M. Tucker and David M. Stothers, "To be eat-up by the hogs and dogs!!! – and not allowed to be interred - and where their bones have lain exposed": Historical and Archaeological Investigations of 33Wo50 and the British and Indian Invasion of Port Miami in 1812," paper presented at the Archaeology of Prehistoric and Historic Native Americans of the Western Lake Erie Region Conference, March 28, 2009, University of Toledo, Ohio. The 33Wo50 field notebook, unit graphs, photographic negatives, and artifacts remained shelved and in storage during this thirty-two year period.

<sup>6</sup> David M. Stothers, University of Toledo, and G. Michael Pratt, Ohio Regional Preservation Office examined the site. David M. Stothers, "Summary Report of Archaeological Investigations in Northwest Ohio and Southeast Michigan," *TAARS Newsletter* 77-6, October 1977: 4-6.

<sup>7</sup> Howard Simon, a TAARS member, loaned a collection of prehistoric and historic artifacts collected near 33Wo50 to the Laboratory of Archaeology at the University of Toledo. David M. Stothers, "Summary Report of Archaeological Research Investigations Undertaken in the Western Lake Erie Basin," *TAARS News and Notes* 81-10, December 1981: 2-6. Some of the diagnostic artifacts in the collection included a brass watch fob seal, a silver cuff-link, an iron adze, and several large U.S. "Liberty head" cents dated 1817, 1834, 1847, 1850, and 1851.

<sup>8</sup> "Strzesynski Site (33Wo50) File," Ohio Archaeological Inventory, Ohio Historic Preservation Office, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, 1978.

<sup>9</sup> David M. Stothers, "Late Woodland Models for Cultural Development in Southern Michigan," in John R. Halsey, ed., *Retrieving Michigan's Buried Past: The Archaeology of the Great Lake State*, (Bloomfield Hills: The Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1999), 197; David M. Stothers and G. Michael Pratt, "New Perspectives on the Late Woodland Cultures of the Western Lake Erie Region," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 6, no. 1 (1981): 91-122; David M. Stothers, "Field Notes on Test Excavations at the Strzesynski Site (33Wo50) near Fort Meigs, Wood County, Ohio," unpublished manuscript, Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Toledo, 1977; G. Michael Pratt,

“The Western Basin Tradition: Changing Settlement-Subsistence Adaptation in the Western Lake Erie Basin Region,” Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1981; “Strzesynski Site (33Wo50) File,” Ohio Archaeological Inventory, Ohio Historic Preservation Office, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, 1978.

<sup>10</sup> Anne B. Lee and Terry L. Glaze, Final Report: Faunal Remains from the 1977 Investigations at 33Wo50, Wood County, Ohio, unpublished manuscript on file at the Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Toledo, March 2009.

<sup>11</sup> Craig S. Keener, “Log Cabin Archaeology: Its Potential and Assessment by Academia and Cultural Resource Management in Ohio,” *Ohio Valley Historical Archaeology* 18 (2003): 87; Rev. James B. Finley, *Life among the Indians, or Personal Reminiscences and Historical Incidents Illustrative of Indian life and Character*, (Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1857), 285; “Narrative of Albert Cavalier, September 5, 1878,” Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, 2 vols., Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio, vol. 1 Lower Sandusky 1810-1814; Horace S. Knapp, *History of the Maumee Valley* (Toledo: Slade Mammoth Printing and Publishing, 1872), 435.

<sup>12</sup> Thaddeus M. Harris, *Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Allegheny Mountains; Made in the Spring of the Year 1803*, (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1805), 15; Donald A. Hutslar, *Log Construction in the Ohio Country 1750-1850*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), 76-77; Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, “Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective,” *Geographical Review* 56 (1966): 49; Fred Kniffen, “Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55, (1965): 559; “Log Cabins Disappearing,” *The Science News-Letter* 64, no. 4 (July, 1953): 63; Thomas J. Schlereth, “The New England Presence on the Midwest Landscape,” *The Old Northwest: A Journal of Regional Life and Letters* 9 (1983): 125-42; Thomas J. Schlereth, *Cultural History & Material Culture: Everyday Life, Landscapes, and Museums*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 195-217.

<sup>13</sup> J. Ross Robertson, *The diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe – wife of the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, 1792-6* (Toronto, Canada: William Briggs, 1911), 217; “Secretary of the Treasury Department, No. 299, to the Secretary of State, June 1, 1811, Washington City, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management,” “Certificate 682 (MI3170.069), [Gabriel] Godfroy & [Jean Baptiste] Beaugrand, August 04, 1812, Bureau of Land Management, Eastern States Office, Springfield, VA,” “A Bill for the Relief of Gabriel Godfroy and Jean Baptiste Beaugrand,” House Resolution 29, December 23, 1829, 21<sup>st</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session,” U.S. Congress, *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First to the Third Session of the Thirteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 2, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1815*, 38 vols. (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832-1861), class 8, vol. 1 (1832), 493-494, 533-534.

<sup>14</sup> “Godfroy and Beaugrand store ledger, 24 August 1797 – August 1810,” [Jean Baptiste] Beaugrand family papers (1797-1829), box 1, Rawson Family Collection LH 115, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio; “George Meldrum & William Park, An Account with William Park from 1800-1809,” Michigan Supreme Court records, Territory of Michigan 1796-1838, box 7, folder 5, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; John Askin (1739-1815) Papers 1704-

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1891, George Meldrum (1737-1817) Papers 1789-1798, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Michigan; "John Askin to Lewis Bond and John Dodemead, Detroit, March 15, 1799," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (hereafter cited as *MPHC*) 37 (1909): 430. Jane Macaulay, Literary Translators' Association of Canada, Quebec City and Ralph Naveaux, Director (Retired) of the Monroe County (Michigan) Historical Museum translated selected pages of the Godfroy and Beaugrand store ledger from French into English.

<sup>15</sup> The Spaffords moved to the rapids from Cleveland, Ohio. In 1796, Amos Spafford joined General Moses Cleavland's surveying expedition to the Connecticut Western Reserve and moved to the area shortly thereafter. He drafted the first map of Cleveland in 1796. See Dr. Jeremiah Spofford, *John Spofford and Elizabeth Scott: A Genealogical Record, Including Two Generations in Female Lines of Families Spelling Their Name Spofford, Spafford, Spafard, and Spaford*, (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1888), 319; Cecil D. Smith, "Major Amos Spafford," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 20 (1948): 203-205; Gertrude Van Rensselaer Wickham, *The Pioneer Families of Cleveland 1796-1840*, 2 vols. (Cleveland: Evangelical Publishing House, 1914); John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *The Loyal West in the Times of the Rebellion*, (Cincinnati: F.A. Howe, 1865); Judith P. Justus, *Friendly First Church: The History of the First United Methodist Church of Perrysburg, Ohio, 1819-1995*, (Perrysburg: privately printed by the author, 1995); Harvey Rice, "General Moses Cleavland," *Magazine of Western History* 1, no. 3 (January, 1884-1891): 175; A.S. Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio, with Biographical Sketches of the Principal Agents in their Religious Movement*, (Cincinnati: Chase & Hall Publishers, 1875), 14-18; Samuel J. Baker, "The Original Surveys of Cleveland," *Association of Engineering Societies* 3, no. 10 (August, 1884); and Carol A. Engler, "An Exploration of Intergenerational Relations as Reflected in Testamentary Patterns, Wood County, Ohio, 1820-1967," M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Toledo, 1981.

<sup>16</sup> Office of the Wood County [Ohio] Recorder, Deeds, vol. A, 9-10. Thomas R. McKnight recorded the deed May 9, 1822. Amos Spafford received the right of preemption (to buy first when offered for sale) in 1816 from the U.S. Congress.

<sup>17</sup> *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 27 (1939): 119; Gertrude A. Barber, comp., *Deaths Taken from the New York Evening Post, Vols. 1-54*, (n.p., 1933-1947).

<sup>18</sup> "Last Will and Testament of Amos Spafford, April 29, 1817," Office of the Wood County (Ohio) Recorder, Bowling Green, Probated Wills, 25-26.

<sup>19</sup> "Aurora Spafford and Wife to David Hull, December 14, 1819," "Aurora Spafford and Olive Spafford to James Hazlett, April 9, 1822," "Olive Spafford to Aurora Spafford, May 4, 1822," "Aurora Spafford and Wife to Olive Spafford, May 4, 1822," Office of the Wood County [Ohio] Recorder, Bowling Green, deed record A (1821-1827), 3-6, 17-20, 35-38. The river tract identified at the northeast angle with Spafford's Grant is incorrect. It is river tract 65 (containing the Fort Meigs ruins at the time) and not river tract 64. There was a misidentification of river tract numbers in the deed.

<sup>20</sup> The Ohio Historical Society conducted salvage excavations of an unmarked pioneer cemetery from August through November 2001, and recovered remnants of wooden coffins, human bones, nails, hinges, screws, and shroud pins. The archaeologists sent the bones to Columbus, Ohio for analysis by anthropologist Paul Sciulli of Ohio State

University. The bones were the remains of at least seven individuals consisting of five adults (2- males, 2- females, 1- unsexed between 20-45 years of age), one child (unsexed between 4-5 years of age), and one newborn. These bones, returned to Perrysburg officials by Ohio State in November 2002, were re-interred in a single casket on May 10, 2003, in Fort Meigs Union Cemetery. The cemetery already contained the graves of 23 other Spaffords. William Pickard and Cheryl A. Johnston, "Spafford Family Burials Excavation Notebook," Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, n. d.; Paul W. Sciulli, "Analysis of the Skeletal Remains from the Spafford Family Cemetery, The Ohio State University, Columbus, n. d.;" *Toledo Blade*, November 5, 2002, January 29, 2003, May 11 2003; Judith P. Justus, *The Spaffords of Wood County [Ohio]*, (Perrysburg: Way Public Library, 2003). C.W. Evers stated on September 1, 1908 that Amos and Olive Spafford were buried at the "corner of the tract [Spafford's Grant] at the angle of the two roads just beyond the fort [Meigs]. See Evers, *Dedication of Fort Meigs Monument*.

<sup>21</sup> C. Robert Boyd, *Perrysburg Historic Architecture*, (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 13. This house is located at 27338 West River Road. However, a later owner moved the house a few feet from its original foundation during restoration. Local preservationists added the property to the National Register of Historic Places in 1974.

<sup>22</sup> "Appointments, by the President of the United States, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate," *The Philadelphia Repertory* 1, no. 3 (19 May 1810): 21; U.S. Congress, *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* 2 (1828):134, 184. House of Representatives, 8<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, 120-122; "A Bill to Authorize the President of the United States to Designate a Place for a Port of Entry in the District of Miami, Michigan Territory," U.S. House of Representatives, Resolution 232, January 30, 1821; United States Congress, *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America*, 21 vols. (Washington D.C: Printed by Duff Green and the U.S. Government Printing Office, 1828-1901), 2: 134, 184.

<sup>23</sup> United States Congress, "A Bill to Authorize the President of the United States to Designate a Place for a Port of Entry in the District of Miami, Michigan Territory," House of Representatives, Resolution 232, January 30, 1821.

<sup>24</sup> Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 28 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934-75) 10:158-59.

<sup>25</sup> Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country through the States of Ohio and Kentucky*, (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear, and Eichbaum, 1810), 477-79; [Samuel Williams], "Interesting Topography of Ohio," *Weekly Register* July 13, 1813, "Lewis Bond, Miami of the Lakes to Thomas Worthington, February 4, 1812," in Richard C. Knopf ed., *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812 in the Northwest*, vol. 3 (Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812) (Columbus, OH: Anthony Wayne Parkway Board, 1957), 50; Martin R. Kaatz, *The Settlement of the Black Swamp of Northwestern Ohio*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1952, 32, 35.

<sup>26</sup> Hezekiel L. Hosmer, *Early History of the Maumee Valley* (Toledo: Hosmer and Harris, 1858), 15; Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: Reprinted by the State of Ohio, 1904) 1:523; Mauer Mauer, "Some Aspects of Development of Wood County, Ohio, 1820-1860," M.A. thesis, The Ohio State University, 1946, 14; Harvey Scribner, *Memoirs of Lucas County and the City of Toledo*,

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2 vols. (Madison: Western Historical Association, 1910) 1: 74; Dennis M. Au, *War on the Raisin: A Narrative Account of the War of 1812 in the River Raisin Settlement, Michigan Territory*, (Monroe: Monroe County Historical Commission, 1999), 11. William W. Blume ed., "Probate and Administration on the American Frontier: A Study of the Probate Records of Wayne County – Northwest Territory 1796 – 1803, Indiana Territory 1803-1805, Michigan Territory 1805 – 1816," *Michigan Law Review* 58 (1959): 221, f.n. 40; *MPHC* 36:117-21; William W. Blume ed., *Transactions of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan 1805-1824*, 6 vols. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1935-1940) 3: 11.

<sup>27</sup> "The Maumee Settlement and the War of 1812: Philothe Clark Recalls Her Family's Flight to Urbana 1811-1812," in Emily Foster, ed., *The Ohio Frontier: An Anthology of Early Writings*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 133-35; Philothe Case Clark, "Old Esquire Case, J.P., 32 Years in Succession," *The Firelands Pioneer* 5 (1864): 114-16; C.W. Evers and M.A. Leeson, *Commemorative, Historical, and Biographical Record of Wood County, Ohio* (Chicago: J.H. Beers & Co., 1897) 1: 362.

<sup>28</sup> U.S. Congressional Serial Set, 2nd series, "House Report and Bill on the Petition of Amos Spafford, February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1816 (39585, U.S. 14<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1815-1817)."

<sup>29</sup> "Amos Spafford, Collector, Miami Rapids to William Eustis, Secretary of War, Washington City, February 25, 1812," in Knopf, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812*, vol. 6 (Letters to the Secretary of War, 1812), 61; *MPHC* 36: 235; Blume, *Transactions of the Supreme Court* 1: 5; Walter Bobula, "The Historical Geography of the Michigan Survey Region of Ohio," M.A. thesis, The Ohio State University, 1940, 54; Mauer, "Some Aspects of Development of Wood County," 14.

<sup>30</sup> Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* 477-79; James R. Albach, *Annals of the West*, (St. Louis: Chambers & Knapp, 1852), 600; Evers, *Dedication of Fort Meigs Monument*, 22. Hesther (Purdy) Green recalled that in 1810, Port Miami settlers would catch large fish (sturgeon, bass, muskellunge, and pickerel) with hook and line, select the best for the table, and feed the rest to the pigs.

<sup>31</sup> Blume, "Probate and Administration on the American Frontier," 221, f.n. 40; *MPHC* 36:117-21; Blume, *Transactions of the Supreme Court*, 3:11; "Spafford to Stickney, December 23, 1810," Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 10: 405-06; Stephen W. Badenhop, "Federal Failures: the Ohio-Michigan Boundary Dispute," M.A. thesis, Bowling Green State University, 2008, 27; *MPHC* 37: 446; Knopf, *Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812*, 42.

<sup>32</sup> Lewis Bond Correspondence and Papers, 1793-1836, Burton Historical Collection; *MPHC* 37:458-59, 462-66; "Spafford to Eustis, February 25, 1812," Knopf, *Letters to the Secretary of War, 1812*, 1: 61.

<sup>33</sup> "Amos Spafford, Miami Rapids to Reuben Attwater, Acting Governor of the Michigan Territory, Detroit, January 23, 1812," *MPHC* 32: 525.

<sup>34</sup> *MPHC* 40: 346-54; *American State Papers*, 1 (Indian Affairs), 806; "Spafford to Eustis, April 21, 1812," Knopf, *Letters to the Secretary of War, 1812*, 1: 152; William Barlow, "The Coming of the War of 1812 in Michigan Territory," *Michigan History* 53 (1969): 102. See also "Council with the Ottawas, May 21, 1812," Knopf, *Letters to the Secretary of War, 1812*, 1: 230-232. Meskema (Mash-ke-mau) was a noted warrior who

openly allied with the British during the War of 1812. When he died at the mouth of the Maumee River after 1817, he was buried with the British flag draped over his grave. See Richard J. Wright, ed., *The John Hunt Memoirs: Early Years of the Maumee Basin, 1812-1835*, (Maumee: Maumee Valley Historical Society, 1979), 63.

<sup>35</sup> William K. Beall, "Journal of William K. Beall, July – August 1812," *American Historical Review* 17 (1912): 784.

<sup>36</sup> *The Firelands Pioneer* 5 (1864): 114-16; Foster, *The Ohio Frontier*, 133-35; Evers, *Dedication of Fort Meigs Monument*, 18, 23.

<sup>37</sup> "Extract of a Letter from Dr. James Reynolds, Surgeon's Mate in the Army of Ohio, dated Detroit, July 7th, 1812," *Weekly Register* August 1, 1812; *American Historical Review* 17 (1912): 785-86, f.n. 3; "The Capitulation, or a History of the Expedition Conducted by William Hull, Brigadier-General of the North-Western Army," in Milo M. Quaife, ed., *War on the Detroit: the Chronicles of Thomas Vècheres de Boucherville and the Capitulation by an Ohio Volunteer*, (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, R 1940), 213-15; Ernest A. Cruikshank, ed., *Documents Related to the Invasion of Canada and the Surrender of Detroit 1812*, (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1912), 43-44; T.H. Palmer, *The Historical Register of the United States*, Part 2 (from the Declaration of War in 1812, to January 1, 1814), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Printed by G. Palmer, 1814), 4; [James Reynolds], *Journal of an American Prisoner at Fort Malden and Quebec in the War of 1812*, ed. by G.M. Fairchild Jr. (Quebec: Privately Printed by Frank Carrel, Ltd., 1909), 3-5; Samuel Williams, *Two Western Campaigns in the War of 1812-13*, 10-11.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Manor, also known as Pierre Menard or Sawandebans, meaning "Yellow Hair." Christian Dennison, *Genealogy of the French Families of the Detroit River Region 1701-1911*, ed. by Harold F. Powell (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1976), 1:225, 831.

<sup>39</sup> The date of Sacamanc's visit with Peter Manor has been confused in the historical records. Ralph Naveaux, citing Hezekiel Hosmer, gives the date as between September 16-18, 1812, placing Sacamanc with British Captain Adam C. Muir's expedition to reinforce Indians who attacked Fort Wayne. But Naveaux candidly admits the date stems from Manor's mixture of experiences between July and September of 1812. Hosmer, in earlier and later versions of his 1858 account from Manor, stated that this event positively took place after Hull's march to Detroit but before his surrender. See Hosmer, "Amos Spafford;" Hosmer, *Early History of the Maumee Valley*, 11-12, Ralph Naveaux, *Invaded on All Sides: The Story of Michigan's Greatest Battlefield, Scene of the Engagements at Frenchtown and the River Raisin in the War of 1812*, (Monroe: MP Design, 2008), 311, f.n. 58. In an unaddressed letter by Colonel T.B. St. George at Amherstburg, dated July 8, 1812, St. George stated that upon his return from Sandwich on July 7, 1812, "there was a grand council of chiefs from the neighborhood, and the usual ceremonies of the wampum were gone through. There were present about 200 Indians, to include Tecumseh." This would place Sacamanc and Manor's visit shortly after Hull departed Port Miami on July 1, 1812. *MPHC* 15: 97-99.

<sup>40</sup> "Brigadier-General William Hull to Commander at Rapids, Detroit, August 17, 1812" Knopf, *Letters to the Secretary of War, 1812*, 2: 331. The detachment at Frenchtown consisted of Colonel John Anderson's 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of Michigan Militia,

Captain Henry Brush's Chillicothe (Ohio) cavalry company, and Captains John Campbell and Thomas Rowland's rifle companies, also from Ohio. At the rapids, Caris's detachment consisted of eleven men from Captains Campbell and Rowland's rifle companies. "Captain Thomas Rowland to Governor Return J. Meigs, Urbana, September 2, 1812," "[Jessup] N. Couch to Governor Return J. Meigs, River Raisin, August 11, 1812," in Knopf, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812*, vol. 2 (Return Jonathon Meigs, Jr. and the War of 1812), 42, 111-12; John Harmon, "Recollections of the War of 1812," Portage County *Democrat*, March 2, 1870. Rowland and Campbell's companies of riflemen were formed from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment, 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade, 4<sup>th</sup> Division of Ohio Militia commanded by Major-General Elijah Wadsworth.

<sup>41</sup> Williams, *Two Western Campaigns in the War of 1812-13*, 32-34; "Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants of Detroit, Michigan Territory, February 6, 1817," (HR15A-G17.3), U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 233 (Records of the U.S. House of Representatives), Territorial Papers – Michigan Territory, NARA Box 90 of Territorial Papers Box 294; "Capitulation of General Hull, War of 1812 Correspondence – Selection No. 8," *Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society, Tract 28* (Cleveland: Fairbanks & Co., Printers, 1875), 1-2; "Duncan McArthur to Captain Henry Brush, River Ruse [Rouge], August 16, 1812," *Weekly Register* September 5, 1812, 13-14, 25; "Lewis Bond's Journal of the War of 1812," Knopf, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812*, 10, part 1, 187; Sandy Antal, *A Wampum Denied: Procter's War of 1812* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 111-12; Dennis M. Au, "Best Troops in the World: The Michigan Territorial Militia in the Detroit River Theater During the War of 1812," in Robert J. Holden, ed., *Selected Papers from the Ninth and Tenth George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conferences*, (Vincennes: Vincennes University, 1994), 110; Au, *War on the Raisin*, 31-33; Naveaux, *Invaded on All Sides*, 24.

<sup>42</sup> The party consisted of Captains Peter Latouche Chambers and William Elliott (British 41<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Foot), Captain Matthew Elliott (British Indian Department), Alexander Elliott (son of Matthew Elliott), Captain Thomas McKee (British Indian Department), Captain Charles Askin (Essex Militia and son of Detroit merchant John Askin Sr.), Jean Baptiste Barthe (Essex Militia and interpreter), Lieutenant Benoit Bender (commanding the British gunboat *Chippewa*), the Shawnee chief Tecumseh and a band of Wyandots, and *Canadien* boatmen.

<sup>43</sup> "Extract from an Original Journal of Charles Askin in the Canadian Archives," in Cruikshank, *Documents Related to the Invasion of Canada*, 243-47; "Report of the Committee of Claims on Petition of John Anderson for Compensation of a House and Store Burnt at Frenchtown, Michigan Territory, by the Enemy During the Late War, June 25, 1832," 22<sup>nd</sup> U.S. Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., House of Representatives Reports No. 492; Alexander D. Anderson, Administrator of John Anderson vs. The United States," Report of the Court of Claims no. 278, U.S. House of Representatives, 37<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> Sess., December 4, 1861," in *Reports from the U.S. Court of Claims Submitted to the House of Representatives during the Second Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, 1861-62*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1862) 1:1-4.; "Report of the Committee of Claims on The Petition of Col. John Anderson – Legal Representatives of [to accompany Senate Bill no. 369], July 22, 1864," 33<sup>rd</sup> U.S. Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., House of

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Representatives Report no. 336, in *Reports of the Committees of the House of Representatives, made during the First Session of the Thirty-Third Congress, by Order of the House of Representatives*, (Washington D.C.: A.O.P. Nicholson, Printer, 1854); "Return of Arms and Stores found at the River au Raisin, August 20, 1812," in Cruikshank, *Documents Related to the Invasion of Canada*, 176; "Deposition of Antoine Saintecomb, February 22, 1858," U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 492 in *Reports of the U.S. Court of Claims 1861-62*, 3-4; Sandy Antal, *A Wampum Denied*, 112-13, 140; "Lewis Bond's Journal of the War of 1812," Knopf, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812*, 10, part 1, 188.

<sup>44</sup> Hosmer, "Amos Spafford," 1, 42; Hosmer, *Early History of the Maumee Valley*, 26-27; *The Firelands Pioneer* 13 (1882): 96; Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 1: 861-62; Jim Mollenkopf, *The Great Black Swamp: Tales of 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Northwest Ohio* (Toledo: Lake of the Cat Publishing, 1999), 54.

<sup>45</sup> "Mrs. Hester (Purdy) Green's Story," in Evers and Leeson, *Commemorative, Historical, and Biographical Record of Wood County, Ohio*, 362-63; Evers, *Dedication of Fort Meigs Monument*, 23.

<sup>46</sup> "Lewis Bond's Journal of the War of 1812," Knopf, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812*, 10, part 1, 188. Alexander Elliott and a man named Clark, both of the British Indian Department, and Tecumseh managed to stop the Indians from burning all the houses in the settlement. And, Tecumseh personally prevented the Indians from killing Lewis Bond.

<sup>47</sup>Cruikshank, *Documents Related to the Invasion of Canada*, 246-47; Knopf, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812*, 10, part 1, 188; Antal, *A Wampum Denied*, 112-13, 140; Naveaux, *Invaded on All Sides*, 29; Evers, *Dedication of Fort Meigs Monument*, 23.

<sup>48</sup> "Committee of Claims Report on Petition of David Hull, January 18, 1831," 21<sup>st</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., U.S. House of Representatives, Report no. 37. in *U.S. Congress, Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives at the Second Session of the Twenty-First Congress, begun and held at the City of Washington, December 6, 1830, and in the Fifty-Fifth Year of the Independence of the United States* (Washington: Printed by Duff Green, 1831); "Committee of Claims Report on Petition of David Hull, June 15, 1836," *U.S. Congress Serial Set 295*, Congress Session 24-1(1835-1846, Sessional vol. 3, House Report 770). Captain David Hull, who commanded the local militia at Port Miami, drew arms and ammunition for his militia detachment from Detroit after the battle of Tippecanoe in November of 1811. Following the war, he claimed that he kept these arms and other government equipment either in his house or store when not in use because the government did not construct a blockhouse or other suitable facility at the rapids until early July 1812. Hull insisted that the arms and ammunition were destroyed when his house and tavern were plundered during Chambers' raid, and that therefore, he was owed compensation from the government for his loss. His testimony directly contradicts Chambers' report to Brock that he had been unable to find any weapons or ammunition in the settlement. Hull's claim eventually spawned a sizable number of confusing and often contradictory reports. Cyrus Hunter, who lived at the River Raisin, testified that he was at the Maumee Rapids in July and August of 1812 and witnessed Hull drilling his company, and that the arms and ammunition were deposited in his buildings. Peter

Menard testified that Hull had indeed maintained U.S. muskets and fixed cartridges in his house, which was burned by the British a few days after their return from Fort Wayne in late September of 1812. James Wilkinson testified that Hull's house was never officially sanctioned as a place of military deposit by army officials. Andrew Race and William Peters testified that Hull raised a corps of men in the fall of 1814 to take care of and protect Fort Meigs, and the U.S. property it contained, after it was abandoned by a detachment of Ohio militia whose enlistment had expired. Further, they stated that Hull's company fulfilled that duty until they were relieved by another detachment. Congress eventually denied Hull's claim for several reasons. The 1816 law under which his claim was filed did not address the loss of personal property during the war. Secondly, although much of the testimony related to Hull's claim was inconsistent, nearly all witnesses agreed that the missing arms had been stored in a facility (Hull's home) unsanctioned for that use by the military. Some confusion and discrepancies in eye witness testimony as to exactly when the houses at the rapids were destroyed also kept the committee from recommending a valid claim to Congress.

<sup>49</sup> "Return of Provisions Found at the Foot of the Miami Rapids, August 21, 1812," "Extract of an Original Journal of Charles Askin," in Cruikshank, *Documents Related to the Invasion of Canada*, 177, 246-48; Logan Esarey ed., *Governors Messages and Letters: Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison Concluded*, John Gibson, Thomas Posey, vol. II (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1922), 93-94; "Lewis Bond's Journal of the War of 1812," Knopf, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812*, 10, part 1, 188; Antal, *A Wampum Denied*, 112-13, 140.

<sup>50</sup> Lt. Benoit Bender, *Proceedings of a Court Martial, Holden at Quebec, for the Trial of Lieutenant Benoit Bender, of the 41<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Foot in July 1815*, (Montreal: Printed by J. Lane, Francois Xavier Street, 1817), 7-10, 49-50; Cruikshank, *Documents Related to the Invasion of Canada*, 246-47; Antal, *A Wampum Denied*, 112-13, 140.

<sup>51</sup> "Louis [Lewis] Bond to Colonel Proctor, Commandant at Detroit and its Dependencies &c., Detroit, December 27, 1812," *MPHC* 8: 637-38.

<sup>52</sup> "Edward Dewar to Colonel McDouall, Amherstburg, October 19, 1812," *MPHC* 15: 169-71; Au, *War on the Raisin*, 39. Beaugrand's house was still standing on February 8, 1813, when Captain Daniel Cushing, 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of U.S. Artillery, test fired a cannon from Fort Meigs at the house on the opposite side of the Maumee. Harlow Lindley ed., *Fort Meigs and the War of 1812*, 98-99.

<sup>53</sup> U.S. Congress, *The Debates and Proceedings in Congress of the United States* (Washington D.C.: Printed and published by Gales and Seaton, 1853), 86.

<sup>54</sup> Spafford was at Fort Meigs by May 10, 1813 when he wrote to Deputy Governor William Woodbridge at Detroit thanking him for news of a possible Indian alarm. Spafford returned to Fort Meigs from Cleveland by boat with produce and dry goods with Mr. Asa Stoddard and Major Farley on June 13, 1813. A note by General William Henry Harrison dated July 18, 1813 states that on this date, Capt. William Pratt, Deputy Quartermaster General will pay to "Amoz Spaffords" five dollars for some service (see "Amos Spafford, Fort Meigs to William Woodbridge, Deputy Governor, Detroit, May 10, 1813," *MPHC* 32:560; Harlow Lindley ed., *Fort Meigs and the War of 1812*, 125; "William Henry Harrison to Amoz Spaffords, July 18, 1813," Harold M. Schwartz United States Presidential and Statesmen Signatures Collection, 1813-1966, Kent State

University Special Collections and Archives Department, Kent, Ohio.

<sup>55</sup> Hosmer, "Amos Spafford," 351; Hosmer, *Early History of the Maumee Valley*, 49; Evers and Leeson, *Commemorative, Historical, and Biographical Record of Wood County*, 1:50-51.

<sup>56</sup> "Petition to Congress by the Inhabitants of River Raisin, December 27, 1816," Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 10: 677-80; "Petition of the Inhabitants of River Raisin, District of Erie, Territory of Michigan, December 29, 1816," U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), record group 233 (records of the U.S. House of Representatives), territorial papers – Michigan Territory, NARA box 90 of territorial papers box 294; "Memorial of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan in Behalf of Sundry Citizens of Said Territory Who Have Claims against the United States for Property Losses, Captured or Destroyed during the Late War, February 22, 1834," NARA, record group 233, NARA box 91 of territorial papers box 299 – HR 24A-G2.1

<sup>57</sup> Harry A. Musham, "The early Great Lakes Steamboats – the *Walk-in-the-Water*," *The American Neptune* 5 (1945): 27-42; William B. Dana, *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* 45 (July-December, 1861): 575; C.W. Evers and M.A. Leeson, *Commemorative, Historical and Biographical Record of Wood County*, 1: 54; Louis A. Simonis, *Maumee River 1835, with the William C. Holgate Journal May 16 – June 24, 1835 from Utica, New York to Huntington, Indiana*, (Defiance: The Defiance County Historical Society, 1979), 14.

<sup>58</sup> "A Bill Granting to Amos Spafford the Right of Pre-emption," U.S. Congress (14<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> session), House Resolution no. 91, February 22, 1816; "Amos Spafford, Fort Meigs to Josiah Meigs, Washington City, June 9, 1816," Carter, *Territorial* 10: 650-651; Seneca Allen, "Plat of the town of Orleans, Perrysburg Township, Wood County, Ohio, December, 1825," Office of the Wood County Recorder, Bowling Green, Ohio.

<sup>59</sup> "Ship owners, masters, and others to the President of the United States [undated and unsigned]," Benjamin F. Stickney (1775-1857) papers, 1800-1892, manuscript collection no. 3450, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio; *Toledo Blade*, May 16, 1837; U.S. Congress, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States* (Washington D.C.: Printed by Gales and Seaton), 14: 142; Evers and Leeson, *Commemorative, Historical and Biographical Record of Wood County*, 1: 361, 366; Evers and Ross, *The Pioneer Scrapbook of Wood County*, 239-241.

<sup>60</sup> Charles H. James and Theodore F. eds., "History of Wood County, Ohio," in *Historical Atlas of the World*, (Chicago: H.H. Hardesty & Co., 1875), 14; C.W. Evers and M.A. Leeson, *Commemorative, Historical, and Biographical Record of Wood County*, 1:367-68. In 1840, Creps opened the *Eagle Hotel* in Perrysburg.

<sup>61</sup> Hosmer, "Amos Spafford, Perrysburg, April 11, 1843," 351.

<sup>62</sup> John H. Doyle, *A Story of Early Toledo: Historical Facts and Incidents of the Early Days of the City and Environs* (Bowling Green: C.S. Van Tassel, 1919), 99; Clark Waggoner, *History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio* (New York: Munsell & Co., 1888), 672; Evers and Leeson, *Commemorative, Historical, and Biographical Record of Wood County*, 1, 364; Wood County Historical Society, *Plat Map of Wood County, Ohio*. (Pittsburgh: G.F. Schuchman & Co., 1858); S. W. and P. A. Durant, *et. al., An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Lucas and Part of Wood Counties, Ohio*, (Chicago: Andreas & Baskin, 1875).