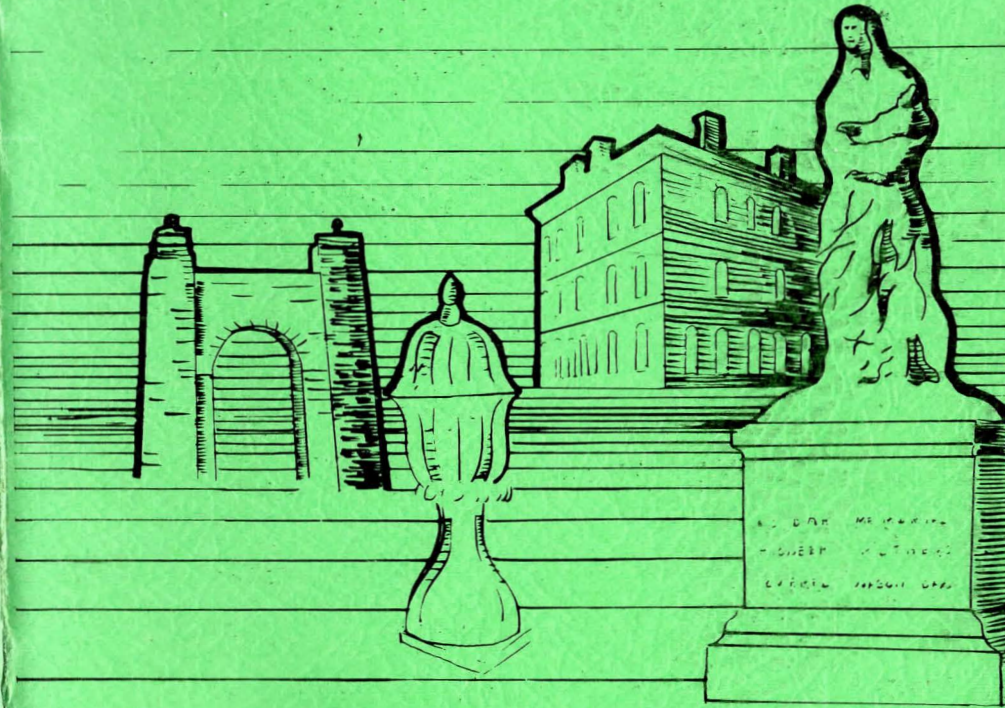


UPPER OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW



SPRING/SUMMER 1978

UPPER OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

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 West Liberty State College

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The cover design is an original artwork by Paul Padgett, Assistant Professor of Art, West Liberty State College. The scene portrays four significant Wheeling landmarks: The Wheeling Suspension Bridge, built in 1849, world's oldest suspension bridge still in use; the Sweeney Punch Bowl, made in 1844 by the Sweeney brothers of Wheeling for Henry Clay, the world's largest punch bowl; West Virginia Independence Hall (Old Customs House), site of the declaration of the state's independence from Virginia in 1863; and the Madonna of the Trail on National Road.

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THE FOREMAN MASSACRE, SEPTEMBER, 27, 1770

by

Richard S. Klein

and

Alan H. Cooper

On September 27, 1777, at eleven A.M., a group of militia under the command of Captain William Foreman and Captain Joseph Ogle were ambushed in the Narrows above Grave Creek by Indians. Twenty-one were killed, including Foreman and his son. The event has become known as the Foreman Massacre, but, in reviewing primary evidence from the battle, there are reasons to question this identification and other facts related to this incident.

From the *History of the Upper Ohio Valley* there is a description of the events of that day.¹ Captain Foreman and a company of militia arrived in Wheeling to aid in scouting enemy positions after the September 1 siege of Fort Henry. On the 25th, Foreman and forty-five men left Fort Henry and marched to Grave Creek where they camped. Foreman, contrary to the advice of scout John Lynn, had gathered his men around a single fire. During the night, Lynn who had much experience in Indian customs heard a noise which to him indicated that the Indians were launching rafts.

The next morning, Lynn reported to Foreman the noise and gave the recommendation that the group return to Wheeling through the hills and not along the bottom as they had come. Foreman refused this advice and marched back. Lynn and four others took the route in the hills. When Foreman reached the Narrows, at a point where the hill descended steeply into the river, a soldier found some Indian ornaments. This find excited the men who crowded around. At that moment Indians hiding by the path opened fire and were on the point of annihilating the entire group when Lynn appeared rushing down the hill shooting and yelling. This unexpected aid caused the Indians to cease the attack and retreat since they did not know the size of the reinforcements.

Twenty-one militia including Foreman and his two sons were killed, and others were wounded. The ambush was well planned as the Indians had purposely left ornaments and had taken positions on either side of the path. Lynn's actions had saved the remainder of the party. On the next day Ebenezer Zane and a party returned to bury the dead where they fell. The site of the massacre was given a memorial stone with an inscription. The stone was later removed to Moundsville.

The *History of Marshall County* gives a similar but more detailed account.² Captain William Foreman from Hampshire County arrived to join General Edward Hand to find and attack Indians after the siege of Fort Henry. Foreman with twenty-four men, Ogle with ten, and John Lynn with nine set out under orders from Colonel David Shepherd to scout as far as Captina. Reaching Grave Creek and finding no canoes to cross, the party encamped. Foreman gathered his men around one fire, while Lynn retired to the forest with his. Lynn heard a noise which he attributed to rafts, and cautioned Foreman that Indians might be about. Returning to Wheeling, the group halted near the Narrows where an argument, occasionally heated, ensued about the route home. Foreman and Ogle took the bottom, and Lynn the side of the hill above. Finding some ornaments, the men gathered about and were ambushed, killing Foreman, his two sons, and eighteen others. The remainder fled, some up the hill. Lynn and his group then appeared and scared off the attackers. One survivor, John Collins, was given provisions and was left at the top of the hill from which he was removed one or two days later. David Shepherd returned four days later to bury the dead. In 1835 a marker was erected to the event. The marker was later moved to the Mount Rose Cemetery in Moundsville.

With such accounts upon which to base further research, the following questions come to mind. Who was in charge of the group and what was the group's purpose? What was the role of David Shepherd? What was the attitude of the militia about these sorties? Who were the Indians involved? What other evidence exists which alters the facts as presented?

John Cullins of Muskingum County, Ohio, petitioned Congress in 1834 for a pension based upon his service.³ He, at nineteen, was a member of Foreman's company. Cullins states that Foreman, from Hampshire County, went to Fort Pitt and from there, ordered by General Hand, to Wheeling, then under David Shepherd. Cullins says that forty-six men took part in the expedition under Foreman and other officers. When ambushed, some ran up the hill, some down, and some up river. Cullins ran up and was shot in the leg, breaking his thigh. Then, Captain William Linn and his men came part way down the hill, scattered the Indians, and returned to help Cullins. Linn favored taking Cullins back to Wheeling, but his lieutenant opined that they should save themselves. Leaving Cullins with food, Linn left but returned after dark and carried Cullins the eleven miles to Shepherd's Fort, since the way to Fort Henry might be blocked.

These facts are provocative, since Cullins says, "and other officers", and mentions Captain William Linn, about whom the cited histories are mute. We know that Hand was in Pittsburgh, and the military leader of the Western Department, while David Shepherd commanded Fort Henry. William Foreman came from Hampshire County, but was not experienced in Indian fighting. All available evidence points to the fact that he ignored

opinions of those more experienced and thus marched his men into a perfect ambush.

In the histories we read of John Lynn, a scout or spy, who was on the expedition and who warned Foreman of the possibility of the Indian presence. But, Cullins mentions Captain William Linn, and it is not likely that he would confuse the man who carried him on his back for eleven miles to safety. The conflict is evident in the similarity of surname, Lynn and Linn.

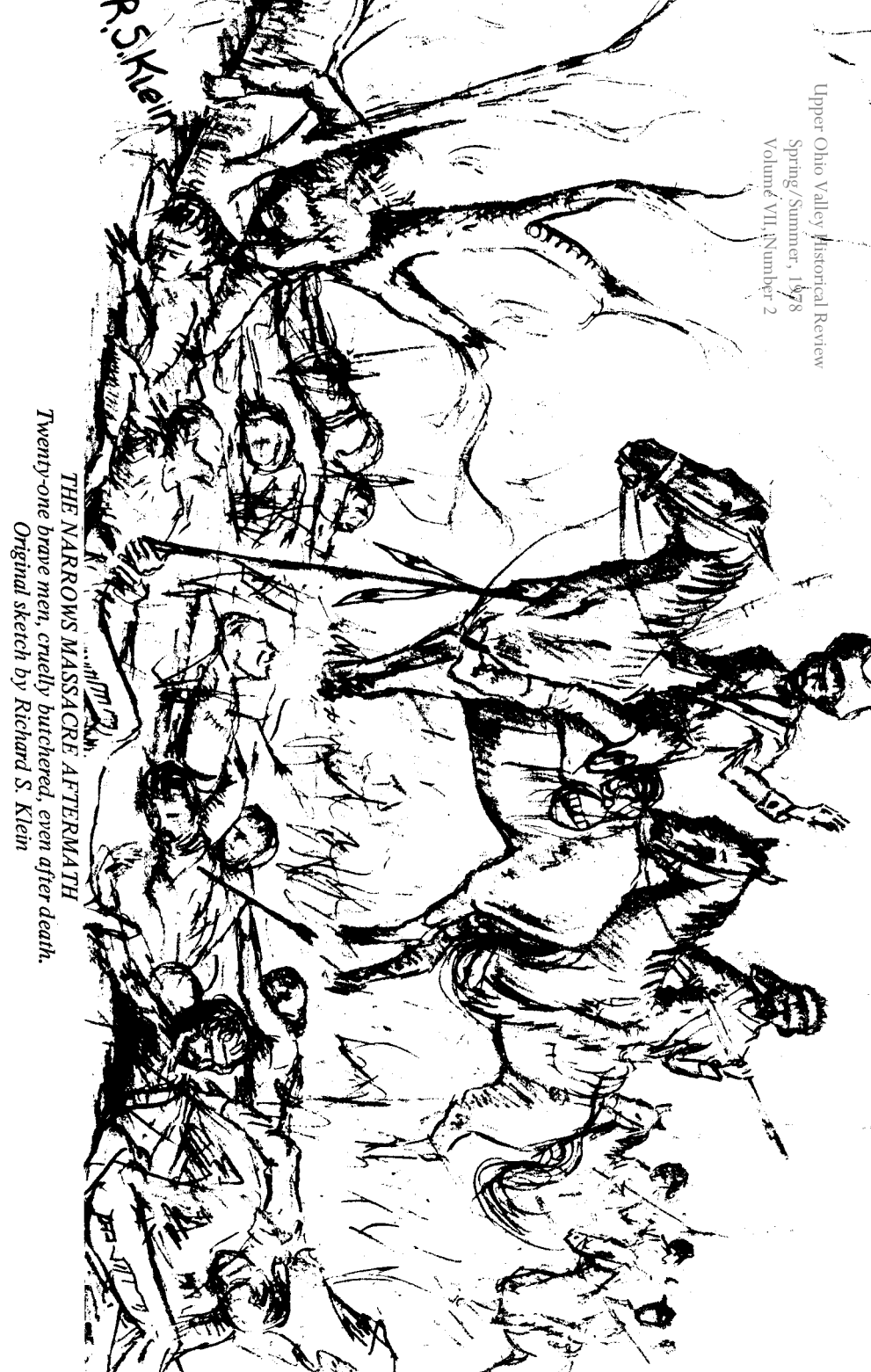
John Lynn was a scout about whom there is little factual information. He is said to have brought word of the Indian approach to Fort Henry before the September 11, 1782 siege. In no primary documents is he given a role in the Foreman Massacre.

Captain William Linn was born in Warren County, New Jersey, in 1734. He moved to western Maryland and participated in the Forbes Campaign in 1758. In 1775, he was a lieutenant under Colonel Gibson, and accompanied Gibson on the New Orleans Expedition for powder. He then came to Fort Pitt and Fort Henry. In 1777, he participated in the Foreman rout, survived, and brought the news to Shepherd's Fort and Fort Henry. Later, he was on Clark's Expedition and the Kaskaskia Campaign. Linn settled near Lewisville, Kentucky, where he was a Colonel of militia during the Indian Campaign. He was shot and killed by Indians near his home on March 5, 1781.⁵

Linn's role in the massacre was as commander of one of the companies which made up the party. Lyman C. Draper interviewed Rachel Johnson, aged ninety, in 1845, who mentions Foreman's and Linn's companies.⁶ Captain John Van Metre attributes nine men with Linn at the time.⁷ Daniel McFarland wrote to General Hand that Colonel Linn and about forty-five men were ambushed.⁸ And, finally, General Hand gives Linn the command of the entire group.⁹

With all of this information about Linn, and all of it first hand, there is no doubt that he was one of the officers in the group, but had escaped. His knowledge of Indian customs is evident by the advice he gave Foreman, which later historians attribute to John Lynn, and his courage is likewise evident from Cullins' account.

There was another commander present besides Foreman and Linn. David Shepherd's letter to Hand mentions Captain Joseph Ogle,¹⁰ and John Van Metre says that Ogle had ten men and accompanied Foreman and Linn.¹¹ Ogle's part is minimized, but we do know that he and his men went with Foreman through the Narrows and not with Linn on the hill. Probably considering that their numbers were too large for any Indian party which usually numbered between five and twenty, Ogle agreed to go with Foreman. During the September 1 siege of Fort Henry, Ogle had been ambushed in a similar fashion and had lost most of his men. Here, again, he was ambushed and again lost his troops. Most of those listed as killed were in Ogle's company. Foreman, as ranking officer of



THE NARROWS MASSACRE AFTERMATH
Twenty-one brave men, cruelly butchered, even after death.
Original sketch by Richard S. Klein

those killed, had his name given to the event. It might just as well have been Ogle's.

Thus, William Foreman, William Linn, and Joseph Ogle were in command of portions of the group which sought to reconnoiter the area between Wheeling and Captina. Colonel David Shepherd did not attend, but was involved in releasing men for the expedition. Shepherd's actual involvement is not clear. Either he gave orders for the expedition, or he was almost forced to let it go. The previously cited *History of Marshall County* says that Shepherd ordered the mission. However, Shepherd himself denies this in a letter to General Hand.¹² He says that the troops were tired from inactivity in Fort Henry and had proposed the venture several times. He does admit that such a group should have been sufficient to preclude any attack, and thus finally released them. This has a bearing on the activities and intentions of militiamen, as will be shown later. Shepherd seems to have made a wise decision, since the militiamen could have deserted if he had refused. Also, Shepherd released the men on the 26th, not the 25th, for in the letter to Hand, dated the 27th, he says, "Early yesterday a party of 46 men . . .". As commander, Shepherd would not have allowed the expedition to occur at all if he felt that Fort Henry would be too weak to defend itself in the event of another attack. On the 15th, Shepherd had complained to Hand that there weren't sufficient personnel present, and those that were there wanted to leave. He was awaiting Captain James Brenton and his company of fifty men.¹³ Brenton had then probably arrived at Fort Henry between September 15th and 26th, so the garrison would have held about one hundred men, including the Foreman, Linn, and Ogle companies. Shepherd possibly felt that fifty was a reasonable number to guard the fort while forty-six others, about whom he had little concern considering their numbers and arms, went off.

This makes relevant a consideration of the militia. Rather than being regular army, militiamen were volunteers and were conspicuous for unreliability. They obeyed, if anyone, their own commander and no one else. If they were bored, they would leave, especially if they were stationed in a county other than their own. This disregard for superior officers included the commanders who would often do what they wanted despite orders. David Shepherd wrote to General Hand that he couldn't make Joseph Ogle come to Fort Henry after repeated requests.¹⁴ Ogle had followed Hand's orders to scout the river but never would have been told to disobey Shepherd. Ogle would have ignored Hand if he had wanted to. Thus, the militiamen reflect the individuality and independence which we have seen.¹⁵

In regard to the massacre, this independence is evident. Foreman and Ogle ignored Linn's advice, which may have been rendered by Martin Wetzel. He was on the expedition, and is cited by C.B. Allman as arguing with Foreman about the route home.¹⁶ Allman does not mention Linn.

Foreman is said to have laughed that a boy of twenty (Wetzel) could advise him on Indian warfare.

Foreman's and Ogle's decision to march on the bottom was predicated on several factors, not all of which were sound. Their numbers would discourage any normal attack. But, other motives are given. Major James Chew was sent by General Hand to investigate the massacre. His report to Hand places severe blame on Foreman, but does not mention him by name.¹⁷ He says, in part,

What will not Men do for want of Thought, or Rather to be Thought brave by the giddy Multitudes. This last was the Occasion of the loss in the Narrows. Believe me I never Saw on this River, a likelier platt of Ground, for a Battle, for Such a Party, and their (MS. torn) Conduct on the March, was the Occasion of the fatal Event that Followed.¹⁸

Chew says that the massacre was brought about by the desire of the commander to be thought brave, and so he marched into a perfect site for ambush. The reference to the soldiers' conduct must refer to their child-like inspection of the trinkets they found. And, the multitude in their giddiness seems to have been concerned primarily with recovery of or payment for the supplies loaned to the men and lost in the fight. There are documents relating to this. Shepherd asks Hand on behalf of those whose goods were lost if they will be reimbursed.¹⁹ Lieutenant Anthony Miller and Ensign David Wilson drew up a complete listing of items lost by Foreman and his men, including rifles, blankets, shot pouch and horns, and a compass. Shepherd cosigned the list.²⁰

From all of the above information, we may now reconstruct the event. Tired of being restrained, the men under Captains Foreman, Linn, and Ogle repeatedly asked David Shepherd to allow them to march to Captina Creek, eighteen miles below Wheeling in Ohio. Shepherd consented when it seemed that the garrison of Fort Henry would be sufficient to withstand an attack in their absence. The party set out, encamped along Grave Creek, and finding the settlement there burned and no canoes to cross the creek, returned. Despite the warnings of William Linn, who had heard suspicious noises during the night, Foreman and Ogle, in a desire to be considered brave and thinking themselves too large a group to be attacked, proceeded through the Narrows while Linn went up on the hill. Distracted by ornaments, the men in their eagerness to see the items lost all semblance of order. They were immediately caught in a cross-fire ambush, killing twenty-one, which took several minutes. Linn, hearing the commotion, came part way down the hill and made a clamor which frightened the Indians away. Men scattered in every direction. Linn met John Cullins who was wounded coming up the hill. He gave him provisions and left. Men coming to Fort Henry, including

Linn, arrived about five o'clock, whereupon Linn returned and rescued Cullins. After that Shepherd had to wait at least four days until he and Major Chew could muster a party to bury the dead. The frontier was alerted, and reports of the attack reached as far as Detroit.

The Indian leader of the ambush, about whom little can be told except to say that he was obviously a keen observer of the militiamen and a good strategist, was Half King. He was a Wyandot chief and leader of the Sandusky branch of the tribe. Besides the Foreman defeat, he had led the attack on Fort Randolph in 1778 and figured in Crawford's defeat in 1782. He died sometime before 1795. The number of men with him during the Foreman attack, according to General Hand, was about fifty, over twice as many as usually participated in raids.²¹ There is little doubt that he purposely left the ornaments along Foreman's route, knowing that the men would halt and be bunched together. He must have been a master of decoy and diversion.

Foreman's Massacre, which could now be renamed the Narrows Massacre, was a startling defeat brought about by individual and collective negligence. In all annals of warfare, there are those who disregard advice from knowledgeable sources and strike out on their own. We may be thankful that this lack of responsibility did no harm to Fort Henry. Indeed, a debacle of this magnitude must have made the entire area extremely cautious, and prepared somewhat for the future.

Appendix

The following are portions of the Draper Manuscripts cited in this paper. They are presented as written.

6ZZ9 (entire)
Fort Henry
Sept. 27. 1777
To his Excy. General Hand.

Early yesterday a Party of 46 Men under the Comd. of Capt. foreman & Ogle set out on a scouting Party. they purpose reconnoitering as far as Capeteening & making their retn. in 3 or 4 Days on their Arrival at Grave Creek they found the Place burned down & all the Canoes or Crafts destroyed or carried off. this brought them to a resolution of returning as they could not conveniently cross the river. By 5 Men returned of whom Col. Linn is one, we learn that about 11 oClock forenoon they were fired on a little above McCahan's Narrows by a large body of Indians who lay concealed between them & the river & put our Men to flight such as did not fall before they had Time to discharge their Guns we have reason to believe by the reports that few are escaped the Number of the Enemy being So Vastly superior one of the men returned has recd two wounds

with one Ball or shot, not Mortal. Our Situation calls for immediate assistance as we expect to have the Enemy in a few Hours at farthest we wholly depend on you for flour as we are not able to go to Mills as a Party would only fall into the Enemys Hand's 4 Men are come in but can give no further Account I am Sir with great respect

David Shepherd

There are wounded Men who lie in the Woods, particularly one with a broken Leg & some others.

I am as before D.S.

2S280, 281 (portion)
Rachel Johnson

Foreman's and Linn's companies came, the next day went down to see if there were any signs of Indians at Grave Creek, where there was a deserted blockhouse. 46 turned out to go, camped; next morning (set out to return). Linn, Daniel McLane and a few others went up the hill, the others marching in Indian file. The Indians had made blinds and were under the river bank &c.; when the whites were opposite (they rose and fired). Foreman at the head was first shot down by a single fire; the others stopped suddenly and were fired on and shot down. McLane said he ran part way down the hill and said he heard the tomahawks as if the Indians were cutting up beef.

6ZZ10 – A.L.S. (entire)

John Van Metre to Col. Edward Cook

Beech Bottom
Sept 28 1777

Sir – I am sorry that I have the following account to give you that is on the 27th of this Instant Capt Linn with Nine Men Capt William Forman with 24 Cap Joseph Ogle from this Place with 10 Men Went Down to Grave Creek to Make what Discovery they could make when Come there found grave Creek Fort a(11) Consumed to Ashes, the Corn Cut up and Tottely Destro(yed) and on their Return to Weling About Eight Miles Below weling was actacted By A learg Number of Indeans the kild and wounded is unknown Aney ferder than Sixteen that hath Came Inn and Fore of them wounded sir I Request the Favour of you to have another Company in Readiness and at this Place Against my Time is up for I think there will be Great Nesesity for them here for the Times seemes to be now Dangerous and More so hereafter otherwise I Expect I shall have to Guard the People of this Place away from here for it is Imposable for them to

stay for the Garrison will be left Disolate sir I am yours to serve
John Vanmatre

N.B. Sir In case Another Company should come send with them
Asufficient quantity of Flower to support them for it Appears that they
Cannot be supported with Flower here the times is so Difficult that
People that has wheat Cannot Thrush it Neither Can Git it ground As
for Beef or Pork there is Plenty to be had Convenient also send asufficient
Quantity of salt and Amnition for it is not to be had here any your
Compliance will Amiably oblige the People In General sir I am

J. V.

6ZZ11 – A.L.S. (entire)

Daniel McFarland to Gen. Edward Hand

Monongahalia
Sepr. 30th 1777

Honrd Sir – As I was returning home I heard Very Disagreeable News
that Colol. Lynn with a Party of About forty five Men was Defeated at
the Narrows Above Grave Creek and the most part killed. Upon
consideration thereof I Raised and Sent About forty Men this Day well
Suplyed with Officers they Being the most willing to go to their Assistance,
I could not have raised them Unless I Promised them they Would Be
Relieved In one week. I Shall Look to you for Directions By the Bearer.
I am with Due Respects your Humble Servant

Daniel McFarland

4ZZ12 – A.L.S. (portions)

Maj. James Chew to Gen. Edward Hand

Fort Henry
October 10th 1777

My Dear General – by the Return of the Express I had the pleasure of
Receiving your very Kind Letter and Instructions and can really Assure
you nothing gives me more Sattisfaction than to Obey every Order, but
the Task you have injoined on me is almost, beyond my abilities. the
Militia I Have with me was only Raised for One Month, and that Time is
past, about Ten or Twelve days, nothing is more inconsistant than Militia,
when their Time Or Engagements are at an End. However, I have by
Letting four or Five return with the last detachment from the
Monnongehala Prevailed on the rest, to Stay, for the Ten days you have
Mentioned, in which Time, Prehaps Colo. Morgan may Send the Company

you Order'd Here, as I Have Wrote to him on that Subject, and Let it be
as it will I am fully determined to pay the Attention due to your Orders,
in endeavouring to fulfill every part of them. I very readily agree with
you that our (MS. torn) Cheifs, Vallorous for Killing their Allies, when at
Treaties, may now Rest Satisfied on the firefull Consequence of Such,
Vain Exploits should they not think of it, every Sensible Person must,
& the Cruel Strokes the People Here, have felt, from the Occasion of those
Ignominious, Heores, will ever be Rememberd. (Portion in text) . . .

Upon my Arrival Here I found everything in the utmost Confusion,
Without any Kind of Order & the Very Garrison, Enough to Poison Men.
I Have now Erected Some faint Emblem of Order and Got the Garrison
neat & Clean so that How ever Comes after me, Will be Enabled to Live
Comfortable & Keep up the Disipline . . .

James Chew

1U106 – A.L.S. (portions)

Maj. James Chew to Gen. Edward Hand

Fort Henry
October 3d. 1777

Dear General – It was out of my Power to Send you the Inclosed
Account sooner as it was Difficult to find out who was Kill'd, in that
Unfortunate Affair near the Narrows . . . Since my arrival Colo Shepard &
myself Marchd & Buried those Unfortunate Men, in the late Action a
Moving Sight. Twenty One Brave fellows, Cruelly Butcher'd, Even after
Death.

this day, there was some fresh Tracks Dicoverd about Two Miles from
this Fort, every Method of Discovering of the Enemy shall be made use of
tho the Monongalia Militia Will return in about Ten or Twelve Day, As
they were Raised only for the Intent of Burying the Dead . . .
I am Sir With the Greatest Respect Your most Obt. Hble Sert

James Chew

4ZZ11 – A.L.S. (entire)

Col. David Shepherd to Gen. Edward Hand

Fort Henry
October 3d. 1777

Dear General – Your timely Releif by Majr. Chew, was very Exceptable
as we Could not Bury the Dead before he Came. The party, that went on
the late unfortunate Excursion, went not at my Request or Order, but

from Motives of their Own, as they were tired of being Cooped up in the Fort Idle, & Purposed the Same Several Times before I would at any rate Consent. Indeed, I myself thought their party was Sufficient for any Scouting party of Indians they might fall in with as it was hardly to be Supposed, that Forty Six of our best Rifle Men well Equipt Should be Over power by Numbers of Indians from the Known Manner of their Sending Small parties to Annoy the Settlements

I Hope Majr. Chew has made a Satisfactory Report to you of Action as well as of the Strength of the Garrison, I am Sure Notwithstanding our Repeated loss's that we Shall nearly Make Up our Quotoe for the Expedition, tho the Situation & Danger of Leaving their familieys Prevent their going to the Stations, Yet Upon the Officers Receiving Marching Orders for Joining the Main Bodyes their Quotoes will be immidiately Compleat.

The Friends of those Unfortunate Men that have been Kill'd in these Two Attacks, have Request me to Apply to you to Know Whither they will be paid for the Gunns & Blanketts lost, in those Engagements, as they Were mostly taken from Others by Consent and appraised. I refer you to Majr. Chews letter for what has happend Since his Arrival and am Sir with the Greatest Respect Your Most Obt. Hble Sert.

David Shepherd

NOTES

1. Brant and Fuller, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley* (Madison, 1890), pp. 71-73.
2. Scott Powell, *History of Marshall County, W.Va.* (Moundsville, 1925), pp. 26-29.
3. Lyman C. Draper, *Draper Manuscripts* (Archives, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison), 2E67, 37J38-39.
4. C. B. Allman, *Lewis Wetzel Indian Fighter* (Reprint. New York, 1961), p. 58.
5. Draper, *Manuscripts, passim.*
6. *Ibid.*, 2S280-281.
7. *Ibid.*, 6ZZ10.
8. *Ibid.*, 6ZZ11.

9. Reuben Thwaites and Louise Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defence on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison, 1912), p. 134.
10. Draper, *Manuscripts*, 6ZZ9.
11. *Ibid.*, 6ZZ10.
12. *Ibid.*, 6ZZ9.
13. *Ibid.*, 3S320-23.
14. *Ibid.*, 1U94 – A.L.S.
15. cf. *Ibid.*, 4ZZ12.
cf. Richard S. Klein and Alan H. Cooper, "Frontier Warfare and Cultural Conflict", *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review* VII.1 (1977), pp. 29-37.
16. Allman, p. 45.
17. Draper, *Manuscripts*, 4ZZ12.
18. For purposes of readability the *sic.* has been omitted and the quotation appears as written.
19. *Ibid.*, 1SS67.
20. *Ibid.*, 1SS67.
21. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (1908. Reprint, Port Washington-London, 1970), p. 91.

WHEELING ARTISTS OF THE PAST

by

Janis H. Stein

The Wheeling Artists of the Past series began with a biographical sketch and very personal tribute to Patrick Sullivan by James W. Morris in the Autumn/Winter 1977 issue of the *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review*.

How I wish I could have known some of our talented artists as Jim knew Patrick Sullivan. I have had to rely on information available in libraries, museums and what I have been able to glean from families and friends of the artists to convey the personalities, talents, achievements, and life styles of these very special people.

In this issue you can peek into the lives of Jeanie Caldwell Daugherty, Joseph Anderson Faris, A. Knight Smith and David Banov.

Jeanie Caldwell Daugherty 1842-1930

Born in Wheeling, Jeanie Daugherty's travels around the world began in 1862 when her father was appointed consul to the Kingdom of Hawaii by President Lincoln. There Jeanie met and married Lt. Daugherty, a United States naval lieutenant. Their happiness did not last long – he died after four years. Jeanie and her sister, Eleanor, began to travel. In 1870 she was studying and painting in Paris. For the next twenty-five years she traveled extensively and painted portraits and scenes which became a magnificent record of her life experiences. In Paris she worked with the immortal Impressionists – Monet, Renoir, Degas, Van Gogh and Whistler.

It has been said that Jeanie Daugherty painted with the strength and vigor of a man rather than a delicate woman. She was probably most influenced by John Singer Sargent, one of the greatest artists America has produced. Some of her outstanding paintings include "Portrait of a Victorian Lady" (1898); "Three Old Cronies" (early 1890's); "The Communist" (1893) and "West Minister Abbey" (1882).

Jeanie Daugherty died in 1930 in Florence, Italy where she chose to live because of the artistic and healthy climate.

But what do we really know about Jeanie Daugherty? Perhaps the late George Kossuth, prominent Wheeling photographer known throughout the world, learned more about her in the four years he spent restoring her paintings which had been hidden for a half a century. Mr. Kossuth said of Jeanie Caldwell Daugherty,

"She is the oldest and, I believe, the most versatile and talented – and the busiest from the number of paintings in this collection exhibited at the Mansion Museum. Her 'Portrait of a Victorian Lady' is painted with a delicate refinement and magnificence, with the beautiful clothes meticulously drawn and the whole composition carries a peculiar ease and is a forerunner of today's idea of low shoulders; 'Three Old Cronies' represents everyone's father, grandfather or uncle. Each is a character standout, stubborn, neutral and belligerent; 'The Communist' represents the restlessness and rebellion already apparent among the French people as early as 1893. The tragedy of France foreshadows itself in the man's face; 'English Cathedral' shows a woman's unusual grasp of architectural details...the opalescent rays of the sun streaming through the stained glass windows is true and expert."

Thirteen of the 200 paintings of Jeanie Caldwell Daugherty were presented to Bethany College, including an oil of Westminster Abbey in England (1882) which is rightfully considered one of her best works. Equally impressive is her dramatic portrait of a lay monk with a warmly human approach and a rather brutal, direct painting of "The Communists."

Joseph Anderson Faris 1833-1909

In his early years Joseph Faris learned the cabinet making trade in his father's shop in St. Clairsville, Ohio. At age 18 he turned to marble cutting which brought him to Wheeling where he spent most of his life except for a few years (1861-1864) when he served in the Virginia Infantry and managed his brother's photography gallery in New York. In 1855 he had married Mary Elizabeth Pratt. Of their ten children, six grew to adulthood and four of the six lived their entire lives in Wheeling.

Although he had no formal training (except perhaps for some lessons while in New York) he became known for his landscapes, portraits and historical paintings.

The "Last Battle of the Revolution" which depicts the siege of Ft. Henry on September 11, 1782, is one of his best known and most popular works. It is, at present, the property of the Ohio County Public Library.

His painting of the Honorable A. W. Campbell, then editor of the Wheeling *Intelligencer*, nominating James A. Garfield for the Presidency at the Republican Convention in 1880 in Chicago is now in the West Virginia Capitol Building in Charleston.

In 1890 President Harrison appointed Mr. Faris to serve a term as surveyor of customs of the Port of Wheeling. Although this interrupted his art work somewhat, he continued to paint until his death. His numerous works are especially noted for attention to detail.

A. Knight Smith 1888-1966

Mr. Smith was a portrait artist and maintained a studio in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania from 1919-1937 when he returned to Wheeling and opened a studio.

In Philadelphia he was involved in commercial art work for many firms including Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Reymer's Chocolates, Campbell Soup Company as well as family portraits for the Wanamakers.

When he returned to Wheeling, Mr. Smith worked with George Kossuth and produced fifty-five portraits of Potentates of Shrine Lodges in the United States, which are displayed in the George Washington Lodge, Fairfax, Virginia.

He painted many local portraits and taught advanced art at Bethany College for a short time, but preferred to be less confined with his art. Portraits and landscapes were his specialities.

David Banov 1883-1976

David Banov was born in Poland April 1, 1883 and died at the age of 93 December 10, 1976.

Founder of the Dave Banov and Son Sporting Goods Store in Wheeling, West Virginia he continued to be active in the operation of the business until the time of his death.

He was self educated and very knowledgeable about all phases of art, music, literature, and a scholar of history, science and poetry.

A self-taught artist, he began painting in oils at an early age and continued to paint even when his eye-sight was failing. Then he was forced to paint with his fingers because he could not see where to place the brush strokes. He finally gave up painting, but not reading. With the aid of "Talking Books" provided by the Seeing Hand Association he was able to keep up with current events and through these marvelous records to rekindle his thirst for knowledge. He listened to records on history, art, politics, anthropology — thus renewing and adding to his wonderful store of knowledge.

Throughout his life, David Banov was a kind, thoughtful, gentle man, an intellectual and truly an artist.

THE POLLACK MEMORIAL MONUMENT

by

David T. Javersak

Since its dedication in 1916, the Pollack Memorial Monument has remained one of Wheeling's most enduring landmarks, but, unlike the Suspension Bridge and the Oglebay Mansion, the Monument remains unknown to most city residents. The Monument rests in an area unlikely to attract public attention, standing on a small lot on Main Street, next to the Interstate 70 Bridge. What is this memorial? Why and how was it erected? How did it come to occupy its present location? To answer these questions, one must begin with Pollack himself.

Augustus Pollack, born in Germany on July 5, 1830, immigrated to Baltimore in May, 1849, and moved to West Virginia in 1854.¹ After the Civil War, he entered the stogie business, establishing the Crown Stogie Company in East Wheeling. He soon cut a figure as one of the city's leading businessmen and civic leaders. Especially active in the community's large German-speaking population, he founded a German bank, newspaper, and insurance company. A member of the Republican Party, he was active in politics, although not as a candidate. In 1888, he acted as an organizer for Benjamin Harrison's successful presidential campaign. He also served on the distinguished Board of Trade and as a director of Linsly Institute.

Above all else, Pollack's reputation rested on his stogie business, particularly the record he established in labor-management relations. He paid good wages, provided comfortable working conditions, and fostered the growth of unions. All of this was in contrast to the many robber barons of the period who exploited labor and carried out their enterprises with a "public be damned" attitude.² For his kindnesses, Pollack became a respected, if not beloved, employer. One author called him "a believer in the dignity of . . . toilers."³ *The Wheeling Intelligencer* characterized his relations with his workers as "a standing and continuous illustration of the harmony that came from mutual confidence and respect."⁴ Strikes against his firm were unknown. When Pollack died in April, 1906, Wheeling's working class mourned the passing of a good friend. To his funeral, the city's central labor organization, the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, contributed a large floral heart, bearing the inscription, "A True Friend of Organized Labor." The Trades Assembly also led a labor contingent in his funeral procession.⁵

The goodwill which existed between Pollack and Wheeling's labor population was epitomized in May, 1906, when his will was made public. For the laboring classes, he bequeathed a scholarship fund for a student from the "industrial population" to attend Linsly Institute, a hospital

fund for the treatment of indigent laborers and their dependents, a fund "to encourage the propagation and conservation [of] the highest practical ideals" of the labor community, and a fund specifically for his stogie makers to strengthen their union, the National Stogie Makers League.⁶

Moved by this magnanimous gesture, various locals of the Trades Assembly discussed the creation of a permanent memorial to Pollack's memory. Garfield Local No. 1 of the National Stogie Makers League asked the Trades Assembly to form a committee to devise a method by which a suitable memorial might be established. Before the end of May, 1906, the Trades Assembly resolved to accept such a responsibility and chose a committee, The Pollack Memorial Monument Committee, with Michael Maloney and Harry P. Corcoran, well-known city labor personalities, serving as President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively.

For ten years (June 9, 1906 to May 26, 1916), this six-member committee worked to effect a lasting tribute to Pollack. At the onset, the members decided to solicit money only from laboring men and women. This provision proved a major liability to fund raising, however, for American workers in the early twentieth century lived on the barest of subsistence levels and could afford to donate only the meagerest of sums to causes like the Pollack Fund. By the end of 1908, only \$4500 had been raised, and by 1911, the Fund stood at only \$5400, short of the projected amount of \$7000.⁸ To generate more revenue, the Pollack Memorial Monument Association was created. To join the Association, an individual purchased a certificate for one dollar; ten thousand such certificates were sent out all over the United States, but the return was very disappointing. As late as October, 1913, the Fund stood at only \$6000, and some voices were raised about discontinuing the movement. An editorial in *The Wheeling Majority*, a labor paper and voice of the Trades Assembly, suggested that the money be used to erect a new labor hall as Pollack's memorial.⁹ Rejecting this proposal, the Pollack Committee made a last-ditch appeal to Ohio Valley unions, resulting in enough money for the Committee to seek bids on a statue.¹⁰

The Committee received many different designs from sculptors across the country. The talents of a Chicago artist, S. Absjornsen, and Wheeling's most prominent architect, Fred F. Faris, combined to create a design which met Committee approval. Using this design, blueprints were submitted to contractors who employed only union labor. The contract went to a Wheeling firm, Edward C. Kreutzer, at a bid of \$6475.50.¹¹

While the Kreutzer firm built the Monument, the Committee conducted a search for a fitting resting place. With the approval of the County Commissioners, the Committee voted to place the statue on the northwest corner of the Ohio County Court House at 16th and Chapline Streets. There, on Sunday, May 28, 1916, the Monument was dedicated. The day's festivities began with a parade, replete with brass bands. Before

the unveiling, Michael Tighe, National Secretary of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of America and long-time Wheeling labor organizer, delivered the eulogy.¹²

The Committee's ten years of tenacity had finally paid off, for this memorial was reportedly "the first one ever erected to the memory of an Employer of Organized Labor exclusively, in the history of the World."¹³ Total cost, including all Committee expenses and artists' commissions, came to \$8433.10, a considerable amount for those days. In their labor of love, the Pollack Committee received financial assistance from six international unions, seven hundred and fifty locals, and over three thousand individuals.¹⁴

Few were disappointed with the final product. The Monument is a beautiful Corinthian Column, thirty-seven feet tall, topped by an American eagle. The column rests on a base on which two labor figures are depicted shaking hands, symbolizing labor goodwill; these figures are so detailed and delicate that it seems the granite has come to life. The inscription reads:

Erected By Trade Union Members
Of United States In Memory Of
Augustus Pollack Whose Business
Life And Actions Were Always In
Sympathy With Organized Labor

For the past sixty-two years, this Monument has stood in silent tribute to the benevolence of Augustus Pollack and as a remnant of Wheeling's glorious past. In 1956, city and county officials razed the old court house to make way for the present facility, and the Monument was removed to its Main St. location and relegated to an unfortunate obscurity.

NOTES

1. For a short biography and a picture of Augustus Pollack consult G. L. Cranmer, *History of Wheeling City and Ohio County, West Virginia and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1902), Vol. II, pp. 369-70.
2. David T. Javersak, "The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly: The Formative Years, 1882-1915" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, West Virginia University, 1977), pp. 185-189.
3. Cranmer, p. 370
4. *The Wheeling Intelligencer*, April 24, 1906.

5. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1906.
6. See a copy of this will in office of the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, Central Union Building, Wheeling.
7. Javersak, p. 187.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *The Wheeling Majority*, October 2, 1913.
10. Javersak, p. 188.
11. Minute Book No. 7, The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly Collection, Archives and Manuscript Division, West Virginia University Library. The minutes for June 11, 1916 contain a full account of the Monument's history.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Letter in the Miscellaneous File, Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly Collection.
14. Minute Book No. 7, OVTLA Collection, June 11, 1916.

THE SEDGWICK MUSEUM, MARTINS FERRY, OHIO

by

Annie Tanks

“Martins Ferry is a red-brick town,” said a former Ferrian back for a visit. So, it is appropriate that the Sedgwick Museum, maintained by the Martins Ferry Area Historical Society, is a house built of the soft red brick often baked in backyards or down on the riverbank. A plain house it is too, for the city's founders and builders were upper middle class, never wealthy.

The house was built about 1870, only 150 feet from the site of the first blast furnace west of Pittsburgh. Henry Helling, a German immigrant who prospered in coal mining and became president of the Northwood Glass Company, made the house a wedding present to his oldest son Charles. The son sold the house when he followed his father Henry to Pennsylvania.

Meantime, Dr. C.C. Sedgwick, physician and founder of the town's Baptist Church, and his eldest son Leroy returned from service with the Army of the Cumberland. Dr. Sedgwick went back to his interrupted pastorate and Leroy turned to a variety of business and political ventures. In 1900, Leroy, by then the influential founder and editor of the *Daily Times*, (now the *Times-Leader*), and head of a family of nine children, bought the house and enlarged it. The small summer kitchen near the back door was probably the year round home for this man of work.

When the recently formed Historical Society was looking for a suitable building, their trustees finally bought the Sedgwick House in 1969 from Mrs. Grace Mitchell. The Betty Zane Frontier Days Committee undertook to pay for the property and extensive necessary renovations. They raised the money through festivals and sponsorship of events like circuses and the Duquesne Tamburitzans, and so paid off the mortgage in August, 1977. The Society has been responsible from the first for upkeep and repairs.

The Society's museum policy is to accept for storage and display items that have been produced or owned by area residents, and to collect documents and stories about the city's history, industry and institutions. Most of the museum is furnished as a house, but lack of space produces some strange company. Mahogany display cases from two drugstores stand in the living room and kitchen. They are filled with apothecary jars, patent medicines and old prescriptions. School mementos are in the nursery, special displays in the master bedroom, and the historian's office is the former bathroom. The Society's long range goal is expansion by adding a wing to the building.

Prize items include: furniture and relics from Jonathan Zane's family, an imported crystal chandelier from the Rumanian Orthodox Church, a huge bookcase from the coal baron Rainey family, a hose reel used by the town's world championship hose-laying team when firemen pulled their own equipment, and some first editions of William Dean Howells, born in Martins Ferry. Almost every piece has a story, but recording and cataloguing holdings is in a rudimentary state because all work is voluntary.

The museum, centrally located at 627 Hanover Street, is open on Sunday afternoons from April 1 to December 31, and at any time through the year by making an appointment with a society member. For information, call the author at 633-1047.

IN HONOR OF FATHER LEWIS, FIRST EDITOR OF THE *UPPER OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW*

by

Robert Ramsey

and

Kenneth Robert Nodyne

"If the purpose of education is to prompt a human awakening in man, we believe that Father Lewis is a true example of education's success."

— Harry Hamm, Editor,
Wheeling News-Register,
September 29, 1974.

The Reverend Clifford M. Lewis, S.J. is affectionately regarded by those in the Wheeling community interested in local history research as the "Dean of Wheeling Historians". Ten years ago Father Lewis launched the first issue of the *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review*. Father Lewis' many duties led to a hiatus in publication of the *Review*. It was revived in 1972 under the editorship of his research assistant, Julia Pollack. In 1975, the *Review* was put on a regular publication schedule by its present editor.

Rev. Lewis was born on March 3, 1911 in Meadville, Pennsylvania, the son of a high school principal. In 1932, he received a B.A. Degree from Allegheny College, majoring in English. After two years as a social science instructor in Erie County, Pennsylvania, Father Lewis received his Master's Degree in Journalism from the University of Wisconsin in 1935. He returned to his hometown of Meadville and worked for a local newspaper.

In 1937 Clifford Lewis converted to Catholicism and married Catherine O'Keefe. The young couple shared a love of religion and music. But, tragedy intervened. Six months after the marriage, Catherine and her mother were killed in an automobile accident.

Prior to beginning a ten year course of study for the priesthood in 1942, Father Lewis edited publications for Pennsylvania State University. He was ordained at Woodstock College by the Most Reverend Francis Keough, Archbishop of Baltimore, in June, 1951.



Father Clifford M. Lewis, S.J.
"Dean of the Wheeling Historians"

Father Lewis' deep love of **Wheeling** and its history are demonstrated by the many articles which he has written about the city. These include "The Wheeling Suspension Bridge" in *West Virginia History*, 1971. This is the most comprehensive account of Wheeling's great historic bridge ever written. For the *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review*, he has written "Bishop Van De Velde's Journey Down the Ohio, 1831", Volume 1, Number 1, October 26, 1968; "Triumph From Tragedy: Charles Ellet Jr. and the Collapse of the Wheeling Suspension Bridge", Volume IV, Number 2, Spring, 1976; "Francis H. Pierpont — A Man for Two States", Volume V, Number 1, Autumn, 1976; "Jesuits In Virginia, 1570-1850 — A Brief Account", Volume VI, Number 2, Spring, 1977.

Father Lewis has also played a central role in acquiring federal funds for the restoration of the West Virginia Independence Hall (Old Customs House). At the dedication of the structure, he delivered an address on its history.

His interest in historic preservation causes is further demonstrated by the instrumental role which he played in the designation of Wheeling's historic Suspension Bridge as a National Historic Landmark. The bridge was placed on the Registry of the National Historical Landmarks. As part of Wheeling's celebration of the United States Bicentennial on July 4, 1976, Father Lewis delivered the keynote address on the history of the Suspension Bridge.

Father Lewis' scholarly credentials also include publications which have gained him national recognition. Together with Albert J. Loomie, S.J. he co-authored the *The Spanish Jesuit Missions in Virginia, 1570-1572*, published in 1953 by the University of North Carolina Press. He has written articles for the forthcoming *Handbook of North American Indians* to be published in a twenty volume set by the Smithsonian Institution.

All of the people involved in the study, interpretation, and writing of the history of this community express appreciation to Rev. Clifford M. Lewis, S. J. ("Father Lewis" to all of us) for the inspiring example that he has set us as our foremost local scholar.

BOOK REVIEWS

John Alexander Williams, *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1976. Pp. 352. \$11.*

This definitive study of the development of West Virginia's "colonial political economy" during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is strong on scholarship and interpretation but is written in an uneven fashion. At the outset, Williams states the thesis which he later so effectively presents:

By 1900, West Virginia business and politics were dominated by industrialists who marshalled both the political and economic resources of the state for use beyond its borders.

Williams expertly outlines the development of West Virginia's economic and political life between 1880 and 1913 which saw a transition from a nascent state to one of emerging industrialism "amid scenes of political and social turbulence" in which the "social pathologies" of Appalachia could be discerned. This book contains the seeds of those themes which Williams developed so cogently in his *West Virginia A Bicentennial History* (reviewed in the last issue): the control of the state by outside interests; coal as a "curse upon the land that yields it"; and, to a lesser extent, a "pleasing tho' dreadful land."

Williams comments that "the omens pointed to the future" in 1913 when the state celebrated its jubilee. He notes that the year saw "violence in the coalfields, record-breaking floods in the valleys, the consolidations of the colonial political economy under a new generation of leaders." These are kernels of the ideas developed at greater length in the bicentennial history.

An extensive "Essay on Sources" details the breadth of scholarship which Williams brings to his interpretation. The author spent a great deal of time with manuscript sources at West Virginia University, the Library of Congress and Yale University Library. His use of secondary sources is encyclopedic. This work also makes use of modern scholarly techniques such as quantitative analysis.

Unfortunately, the book is marred by an uneven writing style. One gets the impression that some chapters were revised for publication and others were not. One misses the smooth style, well developed writing technique, and colorful imagery which make *West Virginia A Bicentennial History* such a joy to read.

On balance, this is a book which every library interested in the most recent scholarship on the state's emergence into the modern era ought to have. It is a classic.

Dr. Kenneth Robert Nodyne
Professor of History
West Liberty State College

David Balsiger and Charles E. Sellier, Jr. *The Lincoln Conspiracy. Los Angeles: Schick Sunn Classic Books, 1977. Pp. 302. \$2.25.*

The statue of Edwin Stanton which stands on the courthouse lawn in Steubenville, Ohio, has a curious detail in its construction which has attracted a number of midnight pranksters. Stanton's right hand is opened in such a way that it has often been used as a receptacle for whisky bottles, beer cans and even flowers. None of these items, however, are fitting symbols of the man. Balsiger and Sellier depicted Stanton as a torturer and a liar (p. 262), a "power-obsessed" man (p. 8), who had an "insane and fanatical hatred" for Lincoln (p. 117). Stanton was not only involved in a conspiracy against Lincoln, but was involved in the cover-up after the assassination. As such he should symbolically be grasping in his right hand the guiding strings to the entire Lincoln Conspiracy.

David Balsiger is the author of *In Search of Noah's Ark, Noah's Ark: I Touched It, The Satan Seller* and *The Back Side of Satan*. Charles Sellier has produced many successful films including "The Life and Times of Grizzly Adams." His credits also include "Chariots of the Gods," "The Outer Space Connection," and "The Mysterious Monsters." Such credentials suggest a penchant for the sensational, and the authors continued on this track in *The Lincoln Conspiracy*. They served warning to their readers:

What you are about to read is an unraveling of the most shocking political assassination in American history. It is so shocking, that the authors have asked Congress to form a joint Senate-House Assassination Committee to re-examine the facts... (p. 13)

Perhaps the most intriguing theory put forth by Balsiger and Sellier was that the man killed in Garrett's barn was not John Wilkes Booth, but James William Boyd. Booth, the authors alleged, escaped to England. The facts of the Lincoln conspiracy no doubt need to be re-examined, for the questions raised by the authors are by no means answered convincingly.

Balsiger and Sellier's chief problem was scholarship. Some of their key sources were smuggled out of files, others transcribed. Many are still locked away in arcane vaults. The most sensational document is *The Eighteen Missing Booth Diary Pages*. The authors do not have the actual pages but they have a transcript which they believe is authentic (p. 12). Others may not be so easily convinced. The book contains no index, but the most serious omission is the lack of page references in the notes!

In addition to their questionable sources, the authors demonstrated questionable reasoning. They wrote: "Since most of the people mentioned in Booth's diary were people involved in Booth's kidnap plot of Lincoln, it must be supposed that the Stanton aides mentioned [Charles Dana, Thomas Eckert and Henry Wells] were involved in the plot." (p. 13)

The authors made a number of contradictory and confusing statements. On p. 25 they described Booth as convinced that Dahlgren's mission was to murder Jefferson Davis, but mysteriously this was transformed into a kidnap plot on p. 41. The writers alleged that Booth shot Lincoln's hat off of his head on March 20, 1865 (p. 109), but the date later became March 22 (p. 259).

Their account of George Atzerodt's role in the plot was vague. They stated that Atzerodt refused to accept his assignment to kill Andrew Johnson (p. 136), yet they later implied that he had accepted it and "was to go to Johnson's room at the Kirkwood Hotel about 10:15 p.m., knock on the door, and shoot Johnson pointblank when he opened it." (p. 160)

The authors were hopelessly vague on the question of who attacked Seward. They supported the traditional view that Lewis Payne was the assailant, but they also believed that Payne was framed, and that the real culprit was Lewis Powell. Not only did the authors seemingly contradict themselves, but they did so in the same paragraph and with logic worthy of Monty Python (p. 197).

Dr. Rockne Ehle
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