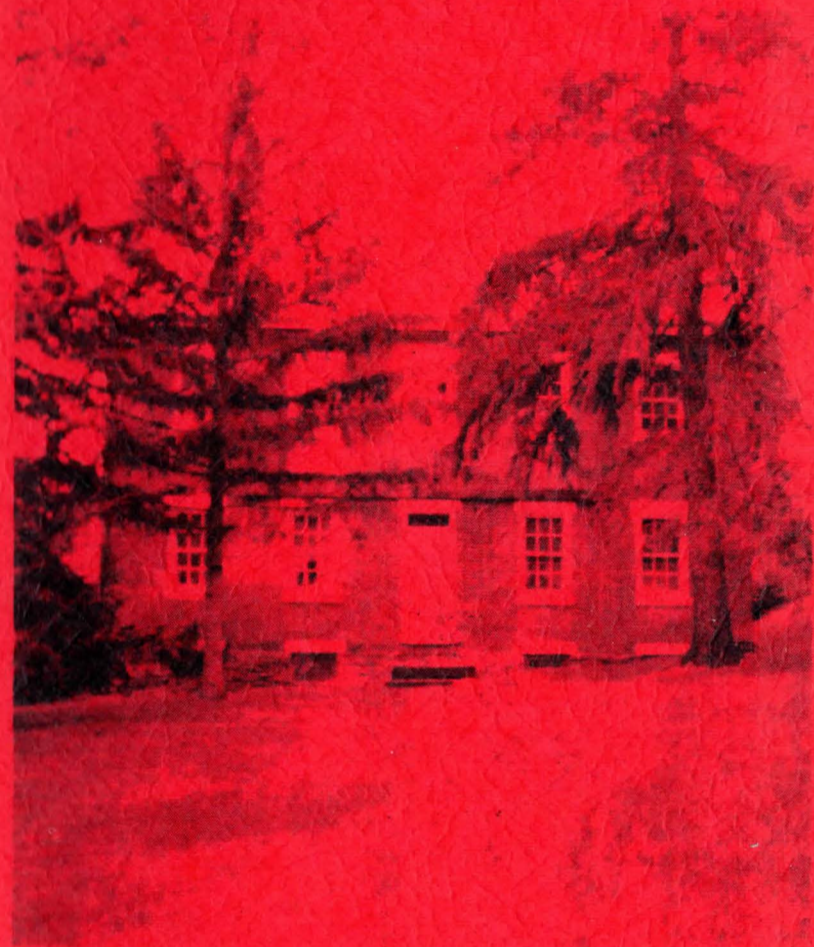


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REVIEW**



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UPPER OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The cover illustration shows the home Josiah Fox built in Cole-
rain, eastern Ohio in 1830. The cover design is by Paul Padgett, Assistant
Professor of Art, West Liberty State College.

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NATION'S GREATEST EARTHQUAKES – 1811-1812

Effect in Wheeling Reported by

Ship-Builder Josiah Fox ¹

by

Rev. Clifford M. Lewis, S.J.

The earthquakes described in this letter and article are actually many earthquakes extending over a period of more than a year. ² The greater of these quakes were felt over an estimated area of 2,000,000 square miles especially in eastern United States and even southeastern Canada. ³ The first, and one of the greatest of the shocks, was felt in Wheeling in the early morning hours of December 16, 1811.

So far as the present writer knows, the effect of these quakes, which originated in or near New Madrid, Missouri, on the Mississippi, has never been published as affecting the Wheeling area. This story is part of a letter to Miss Lovall Fox, in England, from her younger brother, the ship-builder Josiah Fox, who as he indicates, became a resident of Wheeling in April of 1811. Because of its general interest, the letter is presented in its entirety.

The writer had this copy as temporary custodian of the effects of the late Miss Virginia Ebeling, formerly Ohio County Library head and a founder of the Wheeling Area Historical Society. ⁴

Wheeling, Ohio County, Virginia¹
2nd month, 15th day, 1812

Dear Sister:

I came to Wheeling the latter end of April, 1811 from Washington City, after a pleasing journey of two weeks. My family consisted of nine persons, myself and wife, five children and two nieces and also three Negroes. The country was a strong red clay. We passed over the Allegheny mountains with great ease, not finding them more difficult than the Blue Ridge, travelling generally about twenty miles a day. Throughout the whole of this distance, about 300 miles and chiefly woods, we met with no game except partridges and squirrels with which the country abounds. Small taverns are abundant, in some parts of Pennsylvania not more than half a mile apart but their accommodations for lodging not the most agreeable kind. Travelers are obliged to sleep all together on the floor on spreads in a small room. I took a quantity of provisions with me which was of great use, but was sometimes put to shift when consumed. The principal inhabitants paid us much attention. This town [Wheeling] contains upwards of one hundred houses of two stories,

chiefly built with logs and nearly half in a ruinous state and is situated between a high hill and the river Ohio, which here is about ½ mile wide.

Stone coal is abundant here, all the hills abound with it of the very best quality and is chiefly used for fuel in preference to wood, being cheaper and less trouble. About six miles from us in the Ohio State is a settlement of Friends, and at sixteen miles the largest Quarterly Meeting perhaps in the world. I counted about one thousand Friends here last summer. It has not been established above five or six years and is increasing by removals. ⁵

Provisions are cheap. Beef and pork are three cents per pound; flour is two dollars per 100 pounds; venison two to three cents per pound; fowls seventy-five cents per dozen; tame turkeys fifty cents, wild turkeys thirty-seven and half cents each, partridges from twelve and a half cents per dozen. Butter is six and one-fourth cents to eight cents per pound, maple sugar eight to twelve cents per pound; coal, of the best quality, six and one-quarter cents per bushel delivered; Indian corn, twenty-five cents per bushel. Note, the dollar is calculated at 4/6 each sterling and contains 100 cents.

The Earthquakes Described

On the 16th of December last, we were alarmed between two and three a.m. by a violent shock of an earthquake which rocked the house considerably. I thought it best to call up all the family and prepare them against any accident. From the cracking noise of the roof, doors, windows and bedsteads, I expected great damage would ensue. This shock lasted a full fifteen minutes. ⁶ Since then we have scarcely a day or night without experiencing one or more in an equal or less degree. The surface of the pools shows us that the earth has not been quiet since that period. A stone dwelling house in town was considerably cracked as well as our own kitchen chimney. The latter is in a tottering situation. At present, there appears no calculating when they will cease or to what extent they may affect us. This circumstance has caused a general alarm particularly to the southward where the shocks have been felt in a very violent degree, throwing down houses, trees, etc., particularly on the banks of the Mississippi where the ground has been thrown into the river in masses of ten to twenty acres. Many islands torn to pieces and it is said that some have disappeared. Millions of trees which have lain in the bottom of the river for ages showed their tops many feet above the surface. The last accounts from there state that 63 shocks had occurred from the 16th of December to the 31st of December. I think as many more must have happened since. The heaviest shock we experienced was at 4 o'clock of the 7th inst. ⁷ We have not heard its effect at a distance. The Chicasaw Bluffs where it was felt most violently on the 16th December is above 1000 miles from us with the course of the river. I never heard of any earthquake having been so extensively felt as there. From accounts already

received they must have extended over a space of upwards of five million of square miles.⁸

I fell in with, about ten miles from this place, a person called Benjamin Harvey, formerly of Falmouth, a cabinet maker, his wife called Hocking, daughter of Widow Hocking of Falmouth and was a schoolmate of Peggy. They have a large family and a farm of 300 acres and went there in 1784. He had never seen but one person that he knew in England and that was Thomas Dunstone, about twenty years ago.

Elizabeth is the handsomest girl in the town.⁹ Anna and Elizabeth send their love.¹⁰

Your brother,
Josiah Fox

In a 100th anniversary recapitulation of the New Madrid earthquakes, Myron B. Fuller succinctly describes, analyzes, their intensity and effect:

. . . The succession of shocks designated collectively the New Madrid earthquake occurred in an area of the central Mississippi Valley including southeastern Missouri, northeastern Arkansas, and western Kentucky and Tennessee. . . Beginning December 16, 1811, and lasting more than a year, these shocks have not been surpassed or even equalled for number, continuance of disturbance, area affected, and severity by the more recent and better-known shocks at Charleston and San Francisco.¹¹

Fox is only one of many scientifically inclined observers who felt the shocks related to the New Madrid tremors and reported on them.¹² John James Audubon, noted ornithologist, was traveling through Kentucky when he felt and described the quakes.¹³ The great English geologist, Sir Charles Lyell, went through the affected area while the quakes were fresh in people's mind and put their memories on paper. L. Bringier, well-known engineer and surveyor, was another who wrote down recollections.

Daniel Drake at Cincinnati provides the best summary of the quakes in a distant area, related to Missouri.¹⁴ Concerning the December 16, 1811, quake, he estimated the length of time as 6 or 7 minutes, and describes it as opening latched doors. He remarks that the shocks were felt stronger in the Ohio Valley than in the upland. This might have been because by far the greater number of people lived in the valleys. In the days before the telephone people in outlying districts would not have so easily communicated their experiences.

Shocks were felt as far as Boston but were much stronger in the South, particularly in Charleston, South Carolina, where at a reported 3 a. m. and 8 a. m., shocks lasting two or three minutes were suffered, "Bells rang; clocks stopped; well water rolled (sic); buildings shaken."¹⁵ The severest shock felt in Charleston, S.C., was that of January 23, 1812,

9:15 a. m.¹⁶

Although no Wheeling newspaper is available for the earthquake period, the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of Friday, December 20, 1811 reported:¹⁷

On Monday morning [December 16] last, about three o'clock, the citizens of this town were greatly alarmed by the shock of an EARTHQUAKE: a number of persons from the shaking of their houses, were so much alarmed as to jump out of bed. About 7 o'clock, the same morning, there was another shock, though not so violent as the first.

A quick review of the paper for the week following the January 23 quake revealed nothing, but on February 14, 1812, the *Pittsburgh Gazette* described the quake of February 7:

On Friday morning the 7th instant, about 4 o'clock, a shock of an Earthquake was severely felt in this town. The effects of this contusion were much more sensibly felt, than the one which happened on the 16th of December. Many of the houses were violently shaken.

The reports from Pittsburgh relate well to Fox's letter of February 15, where he estimated the December 16 earthquake as happening between two and three a. m., and the February 7 quake at 4 o'clock, "the heaviest shock we experienced." This discussion is about quakes that occurred more than a century and a half ago, and the reader can logically ask how the seismologists can be certain when they describe these episodes as the most severe experienced on the North American continent "from 1163 to 1965."¹⁸

In a 1974 article, Carl A. von Hake of the National Geophysical and Solar-Terrestrial Data Center, outside Washington, D.C., thus summarizes the strongest three earthquakes in the 1811-1812 series:

The (December 16, 1811) earthquake generated great waves on the Mississippi River that overwhelmed many boats and washed others high upon the shore. The waves broke off thousands of trees and carried them into the river. High river banks caved in, sand bars gave way, and entire islands disappeared. . . .

On *January 23, 1812*, a second major shock, seemingly more violent than the first, occurred. A third great earthquake, perhaps the most severe of the series, struck on February 7, 1812.

The three main shocks probably reached intensity XII, the maximum on the Modified Mercalli scale, although it is difficult to assign intensities, due to the scarcity of settlements at the time. Aftershocks continued to be felt for several years after the initial tremor. Later evidence indicates the first earthquake. . . was probably in northeast Arkansas. Based on historical accounts, the epicenter of the February 7, 1812, shocks was probably close to the town of the New Madrid.¹⁹

Rather than relegate the measurements method to a footnote,

it seems best to treat it here in the text. Mercalli began his work on a scale in 1931. His work was elaborated upon by Dr. C.F. Richter of the California Institute of Technology. Richter was particularly interested in intensities.²⁰ William J. Cromie, in a 1962 publication called *Earthquakes* (Nelson Doubleday, Garden City, N.J.), has given us an easily understood explanation of the Modified Mercalli scale, which goes up to XII. He lists equivalent magnitudes on the Richter Scale. He gives the standard definition of the XII degree:

Panic. Total destruction. Vertical shaking exceeds the force of gravity, hills and ground level raised and lowered, objects thrown into the air. Equivalent magnitude [on the Richter scale], 8.5.²¹

Of course this description defines the situation at or near the source. In the case of the 1811-1812 quakes it was applicable at far-distant places.

Going back to original observations, Penick, in his work already cited, elaborates on the John James Audubon report from Kentucky that his horse seemed to have a few seconds warning of the impending disaster, as did other horses. Audubon noticed

a sudden and strange darkness rising from the western horizon. Accustomed to our heavy storms of thunder and rain I took no more notice of it, as I thought the speed of my horse might enable me to get under shelter of the roof of an acquaintance, who lived not far distant. . . . I had proceeded about a mile, when I heard what I imagined to be the distant rumbling of a violent tornado, on which I spurred my steed, with a wish to gallop as fast as possible to a place of shelter; but it would not do, the animal knew better than I what was forthcoming, and instead of going faster, so nearly stopped that I remarked he placed one foot after another on the ground, with as much precaution as if walking on a sheet of ice. I thought he had suddenly foundered, and speaking to him, was on the point of dismounting and leading him, when he all of a sudden fell a-groaning piteously, hung his head, spread out his four legs, as if to save himself from falling, and stood stock still, continuing to groan. I thought my horse was about to die, and would have sprung from his back had a minute more elapsed, but at that instant all the shrubs and trees began to move from their very roots, the ground rose and fell in successive furrows, like the ruffled waters of a lake.²²

On the same page Penick cites several similar experiences of riders with their horses. [It would seem to be difficult for a rider to experience the beginning tremors which would have been actually felt by the horses with feet pressed to the ground.] He also cites the experience of an aging couple who on that eventful morning observed a group of wild animals assembled helplessly in their yard and garden. "There were bears, panthers, wolves, foxes, etc. side by side with a number of wild deer with their red tongues hanging out of their mouths."

Two contemporary witnesses of the series of shocks gave detailed reports for two cities along the Ohio: Daniel Drake for Cincinnati and Jared Brooks for Louisville, who kept detailed descriptions of the shocks felt in their respective cities.²³ Of particular interest for us in the Upper Ohio Valley was the pioneer voyage of Captain Nicholas Roosevelt from Pittsburgh to New Orleans on the steamer appropriately named *New Orleans*.²⁴ Roosevelt and others described the changes they confronted: "The conditions of navigation on the Mississippi were much changed by the earthquake. The river was temporarily covered with wreckage and debris, snags and sawyers multiplied, the banks caved, and islands disappeared."²⁵

Many new lakes were formed, typified by Reelfoot Lake in Northwest Tennessee.²⁶ New Madrid, hit worst in January and February, 1812, was completely leveled, and the course of the Mississippi was altered and broadened in such a way as to compel rebuilding of the town to the north of the hairpin bend.²⁷

Some writers now describe the New Madrid disaster as the worst since 1663 in Canada. It seems appropriate to conclude this article by this brief description of what struck Canada in 1663. This series of earthquakes and several others are described in the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor.

We shall confine ourselves to the quakes of 1663 and 1665 as described in volumes 48 and 50. At this time the focus of the Jesuit missions was the St. Lawrence Valley, with emphasis on Quebec and Montreal, and that was the path of the quakes of 1663 and 1665. It will be interesting to compare the features of the quakes in different periods but in continuous zones uniting the two countries, Canada in the 1600's and the United States in the early 1800's.

Editing the *Relation* of 1662-1663, to be sent to the Provincial of France, Father Jerome Lalemont summarizes the story of the earthquake, to be elaborated later by Father Charles Simon, whose approach is more subjective. In his introduction to the documents, Father Lalemont says

An earthquake, extending over a region more than two hundred leagues in length and one hundred in width, — making twenty thousand leagues in all, —²⁸ has shaken this whole country, and caused us to witness some prodigious transformations. Mountains were swallowed up;²⁹ Forests were changed into great Lakes; Rivers disappeared; Rocks were split, and their fragments hurled to the very tops of the tallest trees; thunders rumbled beneath our feet in the womb of the earth, which belched forth flames; doleful and terror-inspiring voices were heard; while Whales and Porpoises bellowed in the waters; in short, all the Elements seemed armed against us, and threatened us with the direst disaster. But so benign was God's protection over us that not a person lost his life or even his earthly possessions; . . .

Chapter II starts with the beginning of the event: ³⁰

On the fifth of February, 1663, toward half past five in the evening, a loud roaring was heard at the same time throughout the length and breadth of the Canadas. This noise, which gave one the impression that the house was on fire, made all rush outdoors to escape so unexpected a conflagration; but, instead of smoke and flames, people were much surprised to behold the Walls tottering, and all the stones in motion, as if they had been detached. . . .the Earthquake continued without ceasing, maintaining a certain swaying motion much like that of Ships at sea. . .

During this general wreck on Land, ice of five and six feet was broken, flying into fragments, and splitting open in various places, whence issued either great clouds of smoke or jets of mud and sand, which ascended to a lofty height in the air. Our springs either ceased to flow or gave forth only sulphurous waters; Rivers either disappeared entirely or were thoroughly defiled, the waters of some becoming yellow and of others red; and our great river Saint Lawrence appeared all whitish as far as the neighborhood of Tadoussacq—. . .

. . .New Lakes are seen where there were none before; certain Mountains are seen no more, having been swallowed up; a number of rapids have been leveled, a number of Rivers have disappeared;. . .We learn from Tadoussacq that the stress of the Earthquake was not less severe there than elsewhere; that a shower of ashes was seen crossing the stream like a great storm;. . .

Three circumstances, moreover, rendered this Earthquake very remarkable. The first was its time of duration, it having continued into the month of August, or for more than six months. The shocks, it is true, were not always equally severe. In certain districts, as towards the mountains in our rear, the din and the oscillating motion were unintermittent for a long time; in others as in the region of Tadoussacq, the shocks occurred ordinarily two or three times a day, with great force;. . .

The other two circumstances to which he alludes are the extent, in general, of the 1663 quakes; from the Gaspee Peninsula to an area beyond Montreal. Evidently meaning the initial shock of February 5, he speaks of it as simultaneous through the whole area, two hundred leagues in length and one hundred in width. ³¹

Though it is overly religious, the relation of Father Charles Simon, an eye-witness of the same six-month series of quakes, contains much information. ³¹ Father Francois Ragueneau made copies available to "Father General" in Rome to share with Pope Alexander VII. After beginning with a flowery description, Simon relates "The violence of that first shock subsided after about half an hour." ³² He estimates that the shocks lasted until the ninth of September, or about a month longer than the previous guess of Father Lalemont.

Father Francois le Mercier is the author of the last report we shall

consider concerning earthquakes. He appends this report to a lengthy and knowledgeable report on a comet, giving its relation to various constellations. ³³

On Saint Mathias's day [February 24] the priest describes the earthquakes: the shocks were so violent around Tadoussac and at Malbaye, that the Savages, and one of our Fathers who was wintering in that neighborhood with them, declare that they were not less severe than those that were felt at Quebec in that famous earthquake which occurred in the year 1663. . . .

On the fifteenth of October, 1665, at nine o'clock in the evening, there was an earthquake which caused a great cracking of the slates on our house. This shock was preceded by a report louder than that of two hundred cannon, which continued for about the space of a *Miserere* [two minutes].

Comparison of the Canadian quakes with the 1811-1812 U.S. quakes will be considered in a footnote. ³⁴

The similarities in the Canadian and American quakes, listed in note 34, could be expanded indefinitely. Such a comparison would doubtless be useful. Furthermore, more work needs to be done on possible quake references in New England correspondence and newspapers. Finally, it would be interesting to analyze Josiah Fox's other letters for more references to the 1811-1812 quakes. ³⁵

The stimulus for this delving into the 1811-1812 quakes could be the Jesuit tradition of seismic interest. Father Daniel Linehan, S.J., of Weston College, Massachusetts, recently retired from his work there in building one of the world-wide seismological centers. Numerous New England recording stations are tied in with Weston's headquarters. Father Linehan is related to Wheeling College history by making tests of the earth building conditions, analyzing the nature of the proposed college ground, using seismological deductions. Henry Miller, while on the Wheeling College faculty, traveled around the world testing seismological recording devices of Columbia University, New York City.

A very readable work was produced in 1964 by William Mansfield Adams, who many years ago had the duty of changing the seismograph at another Jesuit institution, St. Louis University. His book is titled *Earthquakes*, published in 1964 by D.C. Heath and Company.

The reader is also referred to the article on *Earthquakes* in *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 9, 1959, which classifies earthquake waves into P (primary), S (shakes), and L (surface), which are the longest of all and sometimes stretch for a hundred miles from crest to crest. Over a distance of 1,000 miles, P will have a travel time of 3 min. 20 sec., S of 6 min. 0 sec., and L of 7 min. 20 sec. Widely different times in the report of earthquakes are highly suspect, especially if they pertain to the same earthquake.

Although man's knowledge of the earth's whims is steadily advanc-

ing, there seems to be but remote possibility of his gaining control of earth's habits in the future. That is why the old prayer of the Church still seems to be appropriate:

A flagella terrae motus, libera nos, Domine,

NOTES

1. Josiah Fox's role as a shipbuilder for the United States Navy preceding the war of 1812-14 is well set forth by a descendant, Merle T. Westlake, Jr., A.I.A., in "Josiah Fox, Gentleman, Quaker, Shipbuilder," pp. 316-327, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, July 1964. The magazine describes Westlake as a "practicing architect with an avocation in history. . ." "After spending some years collecting the scattered papers of this naval architect, he engaged in the research which led to the article that appears in this issue." Mr. Westlake has gathered hundreds of letters and papers of Josiah Fox. He says the Peabody Library at Salem, Mass., is rich in Fox letters. Westlake himself resides in Lexington, Mass.
2. Chief has reliance in the interpretation of this letter had been placed on two books. The older is a hundredth anniversary review of the growing scientific interpretation of the quakes by Myron L. Fuller, "The New Madrid Earthquake," Bulletin 494, U.S. Geological Survey, 1912, pp. 119, pls. 10, and figs. 18.
The later work is by James L. Penick, *The New Madrid Earthquakes of 1811, 1812*, published by the University of Missouri Press, 1976. The later study represents an intensive survey of newspapers over a wide area. This study gives a good impression of the severity of the thousands of quakes in widely scattered areas during 1811 and 1812. Fuller (P. 7) had said "As the region was almost unsettled at the time relatively little attention was paid to the phenomenon, the published accounts being few in number and incomplete in details." Penick's work shows how much can be learned from the press and from archives. In what must have been a time-consuming bit of research, Penick consulted newspapers from New Madrid to New York and came up with a multitude of illuminating details. (New Madrid, although Spanish in origin, was pronounced by the natives with the accent on the first syllable.) Penick is a writer whose previous publications have been in the field of political science.
3. Penick, perhaps following Fuller, estimates the area covered by sensible shocks to have been 1,000,000 square miles. Fuller, page 17, thinks the shocks to have covered half the area of the United

States. "On the north they are reported to have been felt in 'Upper Canada,' on the northwest they are reported to have been felt by the Indians in the region of the upper portions of the Missouri country, and in the region between the headwaters of the Arkansas and the Missouri, a distance of more than 500 miles from New Madrid. Southwestward the shocks were felt in the Red River settlements and on the Washita River, an equal distance from the center of the disturbance." He goes on to mention Boston, Washington, Detroit, and New Orleans as being disturbed by the vibrations. A case could be made for the quakes having covered two-thirds of the United States and lower Canada, or an area of more than 300,000,000 square miles, or 3.5 of the 5,000,000 miles conjectured by Josiah Fox.

4. Miss Ebeling had received the copy from Lila G. Smith (presumably Mrs. V. K. Smith of Wheeling Island. The xeroxed copy bears a footnote ending with the name of Ms. Erie Hilligas. The footnote follows:

Josiah Fox was born in Falmouth, England October 9, 1763. He came to the U.S. in 1793 and for some years was engaged by the government as Navy constructor and built the "United States," "Constitution" (Old Ironsides) and several others. He served under Washington, Adams, Jefferson & Madison [?]. He moved to Wheeling in 1811, in 1814 moved to a farm near Colerain in Belmont County, died in 1847. Elizabeth Fox, his daughter, born 1797, married Moses Chapline of Wheeling. Anna Fox, born 1799, married Robert Curtis and lived in Moundsville. Rebecca, born 1801, married Elyah Pickering and lived in St. Clairsville, Ohio. Charles James Fox, my grandfather, born 1805 lived near Colerain.

Erie Hilligas

5. By "removals" must mean people moving in from elsewhere. The quarterly meeting of Friends, or Quakers, he says, "has not been established above five or six years." The Quaker meeting house at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, west of Tiltonsville, which is on the Ohio, was built in 1816; thus when Fox refers to meetings of a thousand Friends before that time, he must be referring to meetings out of doors.
6. His estimate of the duration of shock as "a full fifteen minutes" is quite interesting. The duration is one of the longest described for any quake in the long series.
7. *The 7th inst.* is the 7th of February.

8. To arrive at his estimate of five thousand square miles, he must have assumed the quake was felt from the Atlantic to the Pacific through the United States and Canada.
9. Elizabeth was the oldest daughter of Josiah Fox. The writer was pleased to find the following Fox family genealogy in the Library of Congress. It is titled *A Short Genealogical Account of some of the various families of Fox in the west of England*. . .Privately printed, 1864, T.Kerslake and Co., Park Street, Bristol. (24 pages)
 On page 4, section VI, is listed John Fox of Plymouth, who married Rebecca Steevens [sic], and had twelve children: —
 Charles
 Rebecca
 John
 Henry
 Jane
 Lovall
 Josiah (d.s.p. 1760) [died without descendants]
 Spicer
 Lydia
 Josiah (sic)
 Margaret
 Peter
- Joseph Fox, married Anna Miller and had: —
 John Fox, d.s.p.
 Elizabeth Miller, married Moses W. Chaplin [for whom Chapline Street is named]
 Anna Applebee married Robert J. Curtis, and had issue
 Rebecca Stevens married Elijah Pickering
 John Charles Fox died without descendants
 Charles James Fox died without descendants
 Sara Scantlebury, married B.E.Dungan
 Francis Drake
- Several of the now living descendants of Josiah Fox are now residing in the Wheeling and Colerain areas. Of these Ellis Dungan, of Wheeling, a descendant of B.E. Dungan, has been a friend of the writer for nearly 25 years. The d.s.p. notes in the 1864 publication are not always accurate, if the Hilligas footnote is correct.
10. Since she is named before Elizabeth, "Anna" here must refer to the mother, Anna Miller Fox. Since she was not a Friend when she married Josiah, this became one of the reasons for Fox's expulsion from the group in 1797 in Philadelphia. Anna became a Friend in 1807 and is buried near her husband in the Quaker cemetery near Colerain, Ohio. cf. pp. 318f in Westlake article.
11. Fuller, Bulletin cited, p. 7.
12. We have never seen a reference to Fox's letter in any publication.
13. Cf. a lengthy quote from Audubon later in this article.
14. Fuller, bottom of page 19.
15. Fuller, pp. 18-19.
16. Fuller, p. 19
17. Paper on xerox, Carnegie Library.
18. Von Hake, source to be verified.
19. Carl A. von Hake, National Geophysical and Solar-Terrestrial Data Center, "Earthquake History of Missouri," p. 25.
20. The writer is frankly not qualified to distinguish between the Mercalli and Richter scales and the combined scales. Newspaper reports more often seem to refer to the Richter scale.
21. Cromie, p. 36, gives a comparison of the two scales. His whole brief well-illustrated book is excellent for the amateur.
22. Penick, pp. 106-107.
23. Jared Brooks, a Louisville engineer and surveyor who devised machinery to detect both horizontal and vertical waves. As early as March 8, 1812, he had classified intensities of 1,874 shocks, and presumably Josiah Fox could have counted as many, to judge from his letter to his sister. For Drake, cf. Fuller, pp. 11-12, and for Brooks, cf. Penick, p. 6.
24. The New Orleans pilots found navigation on the Mississippi a new and confusing experience. Old landmarks had disappeared. Mooring laces had caved in. It was necessary to proceed cautiously toward the middle of the stream.
25. Roosevelt, in Fuller, p. 92, navigating the Ohio past Indiana, "saw large portions of the shore tearing away from the land and falling into the river."
26. Penick, pp. 94-95, pictures Reelfoot Lake and tells how hillocks were formed as well as sinks and lakes.

27. Fuller, p. 93, and Penick, p. 36, have plats showing how New Madrid was rebuilt north of the old town.
28. The league varied in value, but about the least we are talking about is an area five hundred miles long and two hundred and fifty miles wide, or 125,000 square miles.
29. Mountains probably means hills, as in Spanish references to *montes*. In very many cases, *montes* is used for even small hills.
30. P. 41.
31. Possibly specialized Canadian publications by now have established an epicenter, perhaps around Tadoussac (preferred modern spelling), northeast of Quebec.
32. *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 48, p. 195.
33. *Ibid.*, vol. 50, p. 79.
34. Comparison of Canadian quakes of 1663 and 1665 with U.S. quakes of 1811 and 1812 would seem to qualify both for listing of XII on the Modified Mercalli Intensity Scale. These are the similar characteristics of the two series:
 - a. Length of the disturbing period: More than a year in the U.S., seven months in Canada.
 - b. Caving in of earth to create lakes; pushing up to create hillocks.
 - c. Violent emission of mud, sand, etc.
 - d. Caving in of shores of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi.
 - e. Disappearance of some islands, formation of others.
 - f. Changes in color of streams: for example, the St. Lawrence became white.
 - g. Sulphurous emissions from earth.
 - h. Violent splitting of the earth.
 - i. Drying up of springs, creation of others.
 - j. Thundering sounds from the earth.
 - k. Quake transmitted with some violence at least seven hundred miles.
 - l. Flames seem to emerge from the earth.
35. Further investigation of Fox might be tied to a study of his relationship to a cousin, Andrew Ellicott, a great surveyor of interior United States, who helped to survey the boundary of Florida and was engaged in surveying in Georgia and South Carolina states in 1811. He also did a survey of Washington, D.C., making suggestions for layout. He was one of those commissioned to extend the Mason & Dixon line.

A MOMENT OF GLORY: THE WHEELING IRONMEN

by

Dr. Arthur E. Barbeau

A winter storm hit Toledo, Ohio, on December 8, 1963, as the local Tornados met the Wheeling Ironmen for the championship of the United Football League. The mixture of rain and snow gradually turned to snow blown about by a chill wind. Despite the weather some 5,500 local fans turned out for the game because they felt the odds were with them. In two years, Wheeling had never won in Toledo. Moreover, the Tornados took a seven-game winning streak into the championship contest.¹

Through most of the first quarter, Toledo was hopeful as the Ironmen could not capitalize on any of the Toledo mistakes. Though Toledo fumbled the opening kickoff, the resulting Wheeling touchdown was nullified by a penalty. Even the attempt for a field goal failed, as did another attempt following a Tornado fumble at their own 19-yard line. After Toledo scored to take a lead, the Ironmen fought back. With 4:42 to go in the first quarter, Tom Kennedy connected on a 12-yard touchdown pass to Bob Greiner. The kick tied the game at 7-7. Carl Crawley's successful field goal in the second period gave the Wheeling team a 10-7 halftime advantage.

In the second half, the Ironmen were clearly dominant, winning by a 31-21 score.² As a result of their victory, Wheeling repeated as United Football League champions capping one of the most successful first two seasons of any professional team.

George Gareff, a Columbus, Ohio, attorney, created the United Football League. In 1959, he and a few associates set up the Columbus Capitals. After a year of local opposition in sandlot towns, Gareff convinced investors in a number of Midwestern cities to create teams of their own. The United Football League was born.

From the beginning, the new league had no delusions that they were destined to compete with the major leagues. Their teams were comprised of players who hoped for a shot at the big time and of those local boys who loved football and wanted to continue playing after finishing their college careers. Most held full time jobs and practiced at night for the \$50 per game salary that was average for the league.

In early 1962, George Gareff had to visit federal court in Wheeling on a legal matter. While touring on Wheeling Island, he noticed the local football stadium and remarked to a Wheeling attorney that it seemed an ideal home for a UFL team. The Wheeling attorney introduced Gareff to Mike Valan (of Valan Construction Company). Where upon, Gareff and Valan began discussions about creating a team in Wheeling.

Throughout the Spring there were periodic meetings about a Wheeling entry into the UFL. Gareff, as commissioner of the league,

also arranged for John Walsh to come to Wheeling as general manager of the proposed team. Walsh had played minor league football in Vermont and Canada; now he moved into the YMCA and began the task of putting together a team that still existed only on paper.⁴

This new football team was not the first professional sports organization in the city. For thirty-five years, the Wheeling Nailers had been a professional baseball team which competed in the Central League. They were league champions at least once. In 1925, the Stogies became a member of baseball's Mid-Atlantic League. Bought by the New York Yankees in 1932, the franchise was moved out of the city two years later.

After World War II, Wheeling set up a professional basketball team as a member of the All-American Basketball League. The Wheeling Blues was in operation for 6-7 years in the late 1940's and early 1950's. Mike Valan, a mover in creating the Wheeling Ironmen, was an officer of the Blues.⁵

The ultimate demise of the Blues had not discouraged Valan or other local businessmen who now began to plan for professional football in the city. The UFL held its Spring meeting in Wheeling and announced a schedule that contained the new team. Gareff's office assigned the colors of black and gold to the team which became the Ironmen following a successful "name-the-team" contest. The colors and the name enhanced the chances of transferring fan allegiance from the Pittsburgh Steelers, the nearest major league club.⁶

From the very beginning, efforts were made to develop support from both sides of the Ohio River, and not just from Wheeling. When the executive board, under newly-elected president Mike Valan, opened stock sales to the public, they did so under an agreement that no individual could own more than one hundred shares stock (which sold at \$10 per share). Eventually more than four hundred individuals bought stock in the team.⁷

Ticket prices were reasonable; the best seats sold for \$2.50 per game (or \$13.50 for a six-game season's ticket) and general admission seats were available for only \$1.50.⁸

In the summer of 1962, Ironmen officials faced two difficult problems. First, they had to sign the players who would make up the new team. Next, they had to attract fans if the team was going to be successful. Because of a sympathetic local media, their efforts to organize received continuous favorable publicity. Tom Keane, a native of Bellaire, Ohio, signed a one-year contract as head coach. After starring at Linsly Institute and West Virginia University, Keane played professional football for half a dozen years with Los Angeles, Baltimore and St. Louis. He played in three games for the league title, including the champion Rams' team of 1951.

Before his career ended with a knee injury, Keane was twice named to the All-Pro squad as a defensive back. He then served as a coach with Calgary in the Canadian League before coming home to

the Ohio Valley as a member of the Belmont County (Ohio) Sheriff's Department.⁹

Immediately after his appointment, Keane and Walsh set about recruiting. They quickly signed Perry Jeter of Steubenville. Jeter had been an All-American at San Bernadino Junior College. After graduating from California Polytechnic, he played with the Chicago Bears for a few years. Then, with a well-known local player in the fold, Keane announced he would hold open tryout camp during the summer, where he could test potential players for speed, reactions, grace, agility and ball-handling skills. When the camp was held, over one hundred candidates appeared; some two hundred and fifty spectators viewed the drills.¹⁰ Meanwhile, the signings continued.

Among the more durable players was Clyde Thomas who had gone from Bellaire to Ohio University, where he played on the undefeated 1960 squad. Another, who proved to be a most valuable acquisition, was Ivan Toncic. The ex-Pitt quarterback had been a member of the defunct Akron Professional team. When that club folded, United Football League owners agreed to divide up the personnel.¹¹ As these new players arrived in the Ohio Valley, club officials worked to find jobs and housing for them, a task that was not always easy for the black members of the team. Mike Valan personally co-signed notes so several could obtain furniture for their new homes.¹²

When the Ironmen opened their pre-season training at Camp Agaming, they had signed over fifty players. Mac Cara and John Popovich served as Keane's assistants. To underscore the fact that the team was an Ohio Valley product, both pre-season drills and exhibition games were played on the Ohio side of the river, though home games were scheduled for the Wheeling Island Stadium.

Over two thousand fans attended an open scrimmage at Yorkville, Ohio.¹³ Hopes for the team's future soared when they defeated the Cleveland Bulldogs 30-20 before six thousand fans in Bellaire. Fred Ford scored the first Ironmen touchdown as the local stars came from a 20-19 half-time deficit. Coach Keane expressed himself as "pleased but not satisfied" with the performance, noting that the team still lacked depth in the interior line.¹⁴

The next exhibition, played in Martins Ferry, was closer. With Ford leading the way, the Wheeling team eked out a 13-7 win over the Columbus Capitals. In fourteen carries, Ford gained over one hundred yards and scored one touchdown.¹⁵

The exhibition success continued into the regular season. The Ironmen came from behind three different times to defeat Cleveland 24-21 in the league opener; Nick Maravich's 28-yard field goal with 41 seconds left was the margin of victory.¹⁶

When the Ironmen opened at home the following week, both the mayor and city manager of Wheeling were among the six thousand fans who saw five Chicago Bull mistakes become touchdowns in an easy

41-3 Ironmen victory.¹⁷ But then injuries began to mount up. Though walking wounded continued to play, the Ironmen found themselves dangerously short of bodies. Winning just one of their next three contests,¹⁸ by midseason the Ironmen record stood at an unimpressive 3-3.

Desperately, team management sought to shore up the squad, while another loss dropped the team to 3-4. Ironmen officials bought the contracts of several players (including quarterback Tom Kennedy) from Hialeah of the Florida State League. While Kennedy learned the plays, Tonic continued to run the team offensively. Because of a shortage of healthy running backs, the team instituted a modified double wing formation. Using this makeshift attack, Wheeling won their next outing. The 28-21 victory over the Indianapolis Warriors snapped the Ironmen losing streak and evened their record at 4-4.¹⁹

Wheeling's fortunes continued to improve as Kennedy took over at quarterback, freeing Tonic for service as a defensive back. When Wheeling repeated this victory over Indianapolis while Toledo defeated Columbus, the Ironmen were back in the race, trailing the Capitals by a single game. Columbus was in serious trouble. Bad weather kept crowds below the break-even point, forcing league headquarters to take over a receiver of the bankrupt team. Commissioner Gareff announced that the league, itself, was financially healthy and Wheeling was in excellent fiscal condition. But deteriorating Columbus was Wheeling's next opponent and, in the week before they came to Wheeling, they lost their franchise, their head coach, and one of their quarterbacks.

The return match, to be played in Columbus the following week, was moved to Wheeling. With such incentive, the Ironmen easily shut out the Capitals, 35-0, tying for the divisional lead. Wheeling took over the divisional lead when they repeated against Columbus, 33-7, holding their unlucky opponents to only four yards on the ground.²¹

Even as the celebration continued in Wheeling, league headquarters announced the Ironmen were the divisional champions although they still had one game on their schedule because Columbus had cancelled their final game.²² On Thanksgiving Day, the ironmen closed out the regular season by beating Cleveland 29-6.²³

The Cinderella Ironmen finished the season with five straight victories, including back-to-back wins over both Indianapolis and Columbus. When they first faced the Ironmen, each of these teams had 6-1 records and each had been its divisional leader. Despite this finish, the Wheeling club was still rated as the underdog in the title clash, though the game was to be played in Wheeling. The Grand Rapids Blazers defeated the Ironmen twice during the regular season.²⁴

In the championship contest, an early Ironmen lead evaporated on Ed Chlebek's fine passing. At the start of the final period, Wheeling held a slim two-point lead. But the defense stiffened and bottled up the Blazer attack and led to a 30-21 victory. Of five intercepted passes, one was

returned for a touchdown; another was taken to the Blazer two-yard line.²⁵ Honors piled up for the victorious Ironmen. Wheeling's Junior Chamber of Commerce named Mike Valan their "Man of the Year." Tom Keane was selected as "Coach of the Year" in the United Football League.²⁶

The defending league champions and their fans looked forward to the 1963 season. The executive board was still active and could look back to the past season with pride. Although Wheeling was the smallest city in the league, there had been over 63,000 paid admissions to home games, an average of about nine thousand per contest. None of the executive board received a salary; they even paid for their own tickets.

Valan estimated that, in addition to the \$100,000 spent on team expenses, the Ironmen brought some \$150,000 worth of business to the Valley. At least six new families resided in the Wheeling area because of the team.²⁷

Members of the executive board also provided a day's labor in preparing Camp Agaming for pre-season drills. The open scrimmage at Yorkville was viewed by over one thousand fans, despite the showery weather. Moundsville was the site of an exhibition game against Cleveland where 4,500 fans honored center Fred Lautar, a local boy. The game ended with an Ironmen win, 39-31.²⁸

This year, the United Football League had a different composition with only six participants. The eastern division was made up of Wheeling, Cleveland and Syracuse; Toledo, Indianapolis and Grand Rapids comprised the western loop.²⁹ Wheeling fans remained the most loyal in the league; almost ten thousand turned out for the opening contest against Toledo. With the score tied 17-17 as the fourth quarter opened, Tom Kennedy connected on a 42-yard scoring pass to Bill Barber to put the Ironmen ahead. His 33-yard scoring toss to Bobby Hultz provided Wheeling with the margin of victory in a game that ended with a 31-24 score.³⁰

In successive weeks, the Ironmen downed Syracuse 54-0, took the Blazers in a pair of games 20-7 and 35-6, then dumped Indianapolis 42-17 and Cleveland by 41-10.³¹ By the midpoint of the season, they led the eastern division with a perfect record of 6-0. If we include their streak at the end of the 1962 season, and their two exhibition wins, the Ironmen had gone through fourteen straight victories. The first win over the Blazers had been particularly rough. At least nine Ironmen were injured; several required hospitalization. Tom Kennedy, who had passed for all three Wheeling touchdowns was among the injured,³² forcing Ivan Tonic to take over the duties at quarterback.

In the next two starts, Tonic threw eight touchdown passes; against Indianapolis, he hit on 27 of 42 for a league record of 445 yards, and five touchdowns.³³ In that same game, he also played safety on defense part of the time. As the game progressed, he took over the punting duties and, by the end of the game, Tonic was also kicking off.³⁴

Despite Tonic's heroics, he returned to safety when Kennedy was

able to resume play. Fans continued to jam the Island Stadium for all home contests. The eleven thousand who turned out for the victory against Cleveland were more than the stadium was reported to hold. That was their third new attendance record of the year. In four home contests more than 36,000 fans had seen the Ironmen in action. On the road, too, the Ironmen led in attendance, though other fans were not as enthusiastic as the home towners were.³⁵

The second half of the season began with back-to-back wins over Syracuse. To win the first, Kennedy had to hit on nine straight passes in the fourth quarter as the Ironmen came from behind. By the following week, the Stormers suffered from injuries and the flu. Their regular quarterback had quit the team because he was unable to find local employment, and coach Steve Owen was fired.³⁶ By downing Cleveland, Wheeling took a three-game lead in the eastern division, and ran their season record to 9-0.³⁷ But two weeks later, Toledo ran back an interception for touchdown, and knocked the Ironmen from the undefeated rank by a 16-14 score. The two-year victory streak had reached 18 games before being broken.³⁸

Bouncing back from that lone loss, the Ironmen captured their second straight divisional crown with another victory over Syracuse. The shock of President Kennedy's assassination led to the cancellation of the contest between Wheeling and Cleveland, but the Ironmen closed out the year by downing Indianapolis 38-26.³⁹ That divisional title put them in the championship contest for the second straight year.

Because Wheeling, as eastern winner, had hosted the title game in 1962, Toledo, as the western titlest, was selected as the site of the 1963 tilt. As the Ironmen prepared in earnest for that contest, Wheeling celebrated their team. Team officials announced that Tom Bland, the flanker, and Dick McKenna, a defensive back, were the outstanding offensive and defensive players. The Downtown Wheeling Associates, an organization of local businessmen, set up an appreciation dinner to be held after the championship game. Two hundred and fifty tickets sold out at \$3.50 each.⁴⁰

When United Football League headquarters released the season's final statistics, the list of leaders read like a roster of the Ironmen. Bob Butts and Fred Ford finished fourth and fifth in rushing. Tom Kennedy was easily the leading passer. He had connected on 151 of 280 tosses (a .539 percentage) for 2,481 yards and 21 touchdowns. Tom Bland, the diminutive star from West Liberty State, was the league's leading receiver. His fifty-five catches set a league record of 1189 yards. Butts was second in the league in scoring, followed closely by Bland and Carl Crawley. Crawley's 57 PAT's was also a league record.

As a team, the Ironmen led in total offense with 3,817 yards passing and 1,682 on the ground. Their passing, total yards and number of points scored (441) were all new records for the UFL. At the same time, Wheeling also led the league in defense by giving up 1,260 yard passing and 1.006 on the ground. They had held their opponents to a mere 148

points.⁴¹

Despite such statistical superiority, the Toledo Tornadoes looked to the title game with some confidence. The last two Wheeling losses (including their only defeat of 1963) had been in the Ohio city. In fact, Wheeling had never won there.⁴²

Toledo's confidence was misplaced and, as had been recounted at the beginning of this article, the Ironmen went on to repeat as UFL champions by a margin of 31-21. The Wheeling domination was even greater than the score indicates. Three Wheeling touchdowns were nullified by penalties. The Ironmen failed to score on any of those drives. Another drive ended when Wheeling turned over the ball on a fourth-and-one try at the Toledo one-yard line.⁴³ Following the game, Ivan Tonicic, the "Mr. Everything" of the Wheeling team was chosen as the most valuable player in the United Football League.⁴⁴

The Ironmen continued for a few more years, as the United Football League became part of a larger organization called the Continental Football League, but both leagues were only shadows of their former selves. The moment of glory Wheeling enjoyed in 1962 and 1963 did not repeat itself.

Could the rather quick demise have been prevented? Probably not. The league did make mistakes. By expanding, cities as far away as some in Florida were added and as a result travel cost increased beyond the hope of support by local fans. Salaries skyrocketed, increases averaged over five hundred per cent.⁴⁵

The league, however, was more sinned against than sinning. The major leagues could have saved United Football League teams by supporting them as major league baseball does with its system of minor leagues. They could have been more active in assigning players and in paying salaries of some of the players. In return, the leagues would have had a pool from which to draw raw talent for the future. Players could have been seasoned there.

Not only did the AFL and NFL not take these steps which might have saved the minor leagues, they actively worked to make continuation of a team like the Wheeling Ironmen impossible. By 1964, they had signed lucrative television contracts providing for the showing of Sunday afternoon doubleheaders. The second game of this expanded schedule overlapped with the starting time of the Ironmen games. There was no other place for the team to move. Friday evenings were traditionally reserved for high school contests. Saturday afternoons saw additional high school games as well as college games. As a result, minor league football disappeared from the Ohio Valley.⁴⁶

What had the Ironmen meant to Wheeling and the surrounding area? The Ohio Valley had created something of which it could be proud. The team united fans from both sides of the river who were otherwise separated by a parochial support of their local high school teams. As one fan said, in castigating a reporter for his criticism of the Ironmen:

Let's not run down the only new thing that's happened in sports in Wheeling for many years. The Ironmen are something to be proud of and I'll attend their games win or lose.⁴⁷

But even if enough others had felt the same way, cost had still risen to a point where Wheeling's moment of glory could not repeat itself.

NOTES

1. Wheeling *News-Register*, 6 Dec., 1963, p. 29.
2. *Ibid.*, 9 Dec., 1963, p. 19; Wheeling *Intelligencer*, 9 Dec., 1963, p. 19.
3. Tex Maule, "Enter Bouncing: A New Tag-Along League" *Sports Illustrated*, XVII (Sept. 24, 1962), 104.
4. *News-Register*, 1 April, 1962, II, 3; *Ibid.*, 4 April, 1962, p. 19; *Ibid.*, 5 April, 1962, p. 17; *Ibid.*, 1 May, 1962, p. 21; *Intelligencer*, 11 October., 1963, p. 26; Interview with J.M. Valan, 3-30-79.
5. Elizabeth Yeager Ainsworth and Robert G. Ainsworth, *Wheeling* (Norfolk, Va., 1977), pp. 90-91. Lacking an adequate basketball court in the area, the Blues practiced at ancient Benwood High and played their home games in the miniscule Madison School gymnasium (Valan interview).
6. *News-Register*, 4 April, 1962, p. 19; *Ibid.*, 18 April, 1962, p. 23; *Ibid.*, 22 April, 1962, II, 1; *Ibid.*, 29 April, 1962, II, 1; *Ibid.*, 31 May, 1962, p. 12; *Ibid.*, 3 June, 1962, II, 1.
7. *News-Register*, 18 April, 1962, p. 23; *Intelligencer*, 11 Oct., 1963, p. 26.
8. *News-Register*, 8 July, 1962, II, 1.
9. *Ibid.*, 9 May, 1962, p. 17.
10. *Ibid.*, 25 May, 1962, p. 20; *Ibid.*, 29 May, 1962, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 17 July, 1962, p. 15; *Ibid.*, 22 July, 1962, II, 5; *Ibid.*, 29 July, 1962, II, 2.
11. Interview with Ivan Tonicic, 3-29-79; *News-Register*, 1 June, 1962, p. 19; *Ibid.*, 12 July, 1962, p. 27.
12. Valan Interview; Tonicic Interview.
13. *News-Register*, 1 Aug., 1962, p. 16; *Ibid.*, 3 Aug., 1962, p. 26; *Ibid.*, 4 Aug., 1962, p. 12; *Ibid.*, 15 Aug., 1962, p. 14; *Intelligencer*, 14 Aug., 1962, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 15 Aug., 1962, p. 13.
14. *News-Resister*, 19 Aug., 1962, II, 1; *Intelligencer*, 20 Aug., 1962, p. 13; *Ibid.*, 21 Aug., 1962, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 23 Aug., 1962, p. 17.
15. *Intelligencer*, 27 Aug., 1962, p. 15; *Ibid.*, 28 Aug., 1962, p. 11. That game, which was the first professional contest played in Martins Ferry, was attended by Ohio Governor, Mike LaSalle.
16. *Intelligencer*, 10 Sept., 1962, p. 15; *News-Register*, 10 Sept., 1962, p. 12.
17. *Intelligencer*, 15 Sept., 1962, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 17 Sept., 1962, p. 15; *News-Register*, 17 Sept., 1962, p. 12; *Ibid.*, 18 Sept., 1962, p. 19; *Ibid.*, 23 Sept., 1962, p. 12.
18. *Intelligencer*, 24 Sept., 1962, p. 14; *Ibid.*, 25 Sept., 1962, p. 14; *Ibid.*, 1 Oct., 1962, p. 17; *Ibid.*, 8 Oct., 1962, p. 13; *Ibid.*, 15 Oct., 1962, p. 15; *News-Register*, 1 Oct., 1962, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 7 Oct., 1962, II, 3; *Ibid.*, 8 Oct., 1962, p. 10; *Ibid.*, 15 Oct., 1962, p. 10.
19. *News-Register*, 18 Oct., 1962, p. 49; *Ibid.*, 22 Oct., 1962, p. 10. *Ibid.*, 24 Oct., 1962, p. 14; *Ibid.*, 25 Oct., 1962, p. 20; *Ibid.*, 29 Oct., 1962, p. 10; *Intelligencer*, 22 Oct., 1962, p. 10; *Ibid.*, 23 Oct., 1962, pp. 12, 14; *Ibid.*, 24 Oct., 1962, p. 18; *Ibid.*, 27 Oct., 1962, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 29 Oct., 1962, p. 11.
20. *Intelligencer*, 5 Nov., 1962, p. 24; *News-Register*, 5 Nov., 1962, p. 9. Ivan Tonicic had played both ways in college. He enjoyed defense more than offense and felt that he was a better player at safety than at quarterback (Tonicic interview).
21. *News-Register*, 12 Nov., 1962, p. 10; *Ibid.*, 19 Nov., 1962, p. 22; *Intelligencer*, 12 Nov., 1962, p. 17; *Ibid.*, 13 Nov., 1962, p. 19; *Ibid.*, 19 Nov., 1962, p. 23.
22. *News-Register*, 20 Nov., 1962, p. 14.
23. *Ibid.*, 23 Nov., 1962, p. 18.
24. *Ibid.*, 26 Nov., 1962, p. 12; *Ibid.*, 28 Nov., 1962, p. 24; *Ibid.*, 29 Nov., 1962, p. 23 *Intelligencer*, 28 Nov., 1962, p. 20; *Ibid.*, 3 Dec., 1962.
25. *Intelligencer*, 3 Dec., 1962, p. 21; *News-Register*, 3 Dec., 1962, p.19.

26. *News-Register*, 25 Nov., 1962, II, 4; *Ibid.*, 27 Nov., 1962, p. 18; *Ibid.*, 13 Dec., 1962, p. 47; *Ibid.*, 14 Dec., 1962, p. 1.
27. Valan Interview; *Intelligencer*, 4 Dec., 1962, p. 19; *News-Register*, 5 Aug., 1963, p. 10; *Ibid.*, 7 Aug., 1963, p. 14. *Ibid.*, Dec., 1962, p. 1.
28. *News-Register*, 11 Aug., 1963, II 2; *Ibid.*, 14 Aug., 1963, p. 18; *Ibid.*, 16 Aug., 1963, p. 19; *Ibid.*, 18 Aug., 1963, II, 1; *Ibid.*, 19 Aug., 1963, p. 11.
29. *Ibid.*, 9 Sept., 1963, p. 11.
30. *Ibid.*, 3 Sept., 1963, p. 14; *Intelligencer*, 2 Sept., 1963, p. 18.
31. *Intelligencer*, 9 Sept., 1963, p. 13; *Ibid.*, 16 Sept., 1963, p. 13; *Ibid.*, 23 Sept., 1963, p. 15; *Ibid.*, 7 Oct., 1963, p. 18; *News-Register*, 30 Sept., 1963, p. 10.
32. *Intelligencer*, 16 Sept., 1963, p. 13; *Ibid.*, 17 Sept., 1963, p.11; *News-Register*, 16 Sept., 1963, p. 11.
33. *News-Register*, 29 Sept., 1963, II, 1; *Ibid.*, 30 Sept., 1963, p. 10; *Intelligencer*, 19 Sept., 1963, p. 17; *Ibid.*, 23 Sept., 1963, p. 15; *Ibid.*, 30 Sept., 1963, p. 16.
34. Tonic interview; *News-Register*, 1 Oct., 1963, p. 19; *Intelligencer*, 1 Oct. 1963, p. 17.
35. *Intelligencer*, 7 Oct., 1963, p. 18; *News-Register*, 7 Oct., 1963, pp. 11, 13; *Ibid.*, 8 Oct., 1963, p. 17; *Ibid.*, 12 Oct., 1963, II, 1.
36. *Intelligencer*, 21 Oct., 1963, p. 15; *News-Register*, 21 Oct., 1963, p. 11.
37. *Intelligencer*, 28 Oct., 1963, p. 13; *News-Register*, 28 Oct., 1963, p. 16.
38. *News-Register*, 3 Nov., 1963, II, 1; *Ibid.*, 10 Nov., 1963, II, 1; *Intelligencer*, 12 Nov., 1963, p. 16.
39. *News-Register*, 17 Nov., 1963, II, 1; *Ibid.*, 29 Nov., 1963, p. 15; *Intelligencer*, 23 Nov., 1963, p. 11.
40. Valan Interview; *Intelligencer*, 4 Dec., 1963, p. 19; *News-Register*, 3 Dec., 1963, p. 21.

41. *Intelligencer*, 7 Dec., 1963, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 5 Dec., 1963, p. 39; *News-Register*, 5 Dec., 1963, p. 45.
42. *Intelligencer*, 5 Dec., 1963, p. 39.
43. *Ibid.*, 10 Dec., 1963, p. 17.
44. Tonic Interview; *News-Register*, 10 Dec., 1963, p. 23; *Ibid.*, 11 Dec., 1963, p. 24.
45. Tonic interview; Valan Interview.
46. Valan Interview. Mr. Valan disagrees with this writer on the share of blame given to the major football leagues. He points out that they have been more tied by anti-trust legislation in the matter of minor leagues than has professional baseball.
47. *News-Register*, 18 Oct., 1962, p. 46.

THE GERMANS OF WHEELING: PART TWO

by

Dr. William M. Seaman

The brewing of beer has a long history, going back to ancient Egypt before 3000 B.C. Although beer was manufactured and consumed universally throughout the countries of the western world, it is a beverage associated principally with the peoples of northern Europe: the Germans, the Dutch, the Scandinavians and the inhabitants of the British Isles. Indeed, it seems that the art of brewing was best developed by the Germans, who approached the industry with typical Teutonic scientific methodology.¹

Fondness for the brew came over into the New World with the English and Dutch colonists. It is recorded that the Dutch had a brewery in Manhattan as early as 1612. In 1620 settlers in Virginia complained of the lack of beer and attempted to make it from maize.² As the Germans colonized various sections of America, they also introduced brewing, bringing over men who learned the art in their native country. Thus German settlements in Pennsylvania, Cincinnati, Milwaukee and St. Louis in time became famous for their beer and their breweries.

All accounts of early Wheeling make note of the fact that it was a hard-drinking town. Whiskey was doubtless easily available, for the Whiskey Rebellion in nearby western Pennsylvania in the 1790's is indicative of the importance and prevalence of that beverage in the Early National period when whiskey was used as a medium of exchange before American currency could flow in sufficient quantity.³ As an important junction point of the National Road and the head of navigation on the Ohio River, Wheeling was filled in the early 1800's with a rough crowd of drivers, drovers, river men and travelers.

Wine and beer, so closely allied with agriculture, of course, were manufactured in the home without difficulty before the establishment of commercial wineries and breweries. The influx of large numbers of Germans about 1830 and later brought people who consumed large amounts of beer.

The earliest name in Wheeling brewing which can be established with any certainty is that of George Smith, said to have been an Englishman who learned the art in New York City. Later, after being a brewmaster with Brown and Vernor in Pittsburgh, he came to Wheeling, where, in 1845, he purchased a brewery in East Wheeling, located on 17th Street between Eoff and Chapline. This earlier brewery was established in 1822, but the name of the owner is unknown. There is another brewery of that early period, however, that of Morris and Morris at 18 4th Street (Chapline), in existence in 1839.⁴

George Smith was later joined by his son, Alfred E. Smith, who

had worked for Ballantine's in Newark, N.J. In 1877 Smith purchased the Brockhardt Brewery. This had been established in 1840 by a man named Hagener, who later sold it to Frank Rodacker. Rodacker dug three cellars, blasting them out of solid rock at a cost of \$20,000. They extended into the hill at 840 Market Street for 135 feet and provided an even temperature for keeping the beer cool and safe from spoiling. Subsequently Rodacker sold out to Brockhardt Brothers, who sold to Smith. In 1894 a stock company was formed, with Alfred E. Smith, M.E. Lally, Isadore Baumann, John Baumann, F.P. McNeill and A.V. McDonald as shareholders. In 1897 a bottling department was introduced. The brewery closed in 1902.⁵

In the *Directory of Wheeling for 1851* by Oliver I. Taylor, there is a list of city industries and figures are given for the breweries: total capital investment of \$3,500, using \$12,450 annually for raw materials, having an annual production valued at \$30,000, employing 14 hands, whose annual wages totaled \$4,500.⁶

The Schmulbach Brewery was one of the larger and better known of Wheeling's breweries. It was founded by Frederick Ziegler in 1835. In 1873 it became a stock company under the name Nail City Brewing Company. Henry Schmulbach bought control in 1882 and gave it his name. With the installation of mechanical refrigeration in 1883, capacity was increased. Another forward step took place in 1889, when a bottling plant was introduced. Output then increased from 900 to 6,000 barrels a year. In 1902 Henry Schmulbach was president of the company,⁷ Charles Horstmann was vice-president and J.H. Lancaster secretary. The brewery, whose building still stands at 33rd and McColloch Streets, is now occupied by several business firms.

Henry Schmulbach developed Mozart Park on a high hill overlooking South Wheeling. Originally a large beer garden with a pavilion or bandstand, the park was reached by an inclined railway from 44th Street. This and the surrounding area has become the residential section of Wheeling known as Mozart Park, or Mozart Hill, or just Mozart. Schmulbach also developed a street railway line out Caldwell's Run and up to Mozart.

His lasting monument is the present Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Building in downtown Wheeling, known to older residents as the Schmulbach Building. At Roney's Point Schmulbach built a fine home on an estate of 100 acres. It was decorated with handsome French wallpaper and had an immense conservatory. On his death the place became the county poor farm. The mansion has long since vanished.⁸

Another brewer of German nationality was Peter Zimmer, who was born near the Rhine River in 1829. In 1849 he came to the United States in a sailing ship. In 1854 he bought himself a brewery in Wheeling's eighth ward. This establishment was then purchased in 1875 by Maurus Balzer, also a native of Germany. Balzer had learned the business working for Smith's brewery. On his death in 1887 a son conducted the business for his mother and when he died a year later a second son, Henry, took

over. They used natural ice for cooling, the records show. Old newspaper accounts report the cutting of ice on local streams before the introduction of mechanical refrigeration.

The Blazer Brewery has a romantic history, for its property was purchased in 1934 by a neighborhood group of men interested in forming a social club, known as the "Cave Club." The cave in this name refers to a natural cave in the hill at the head of 25th Street, which was used by the brewery for cooling its product. Their premises have recently been condemned by the state highway department for the relocation of state route 2. The building was demolished on March 19, 1979, exposing the three entrances to the caves in the hill, where beer and ale were stored at a year-round constant temperature of 57 degrees.⁹

Another prominent German family associated with brewing in Wheeling was the Reymanns. The patriarch of the family came here in the fall of 1853 from his native Bingen am Rhein. Here he was associated with P.P. Beck, one of the city's early brewers. His son, Anton Reymann, who was born in Germany in 1837, attended the Fourth Ward school and learned brewing with P.P. Beck and also in Cincinnati. In 1861 he took charge of the Beck Brewery, a small establishment located between Market and Main Street. In the late 1860's this was moved to the section of the city known as Manchester, at the end of the 17th Street bridge over Wheeling Creek, at the foot of what has been known as Reymann's Hill. That building still stands at this writing.¹⁰

Anton Reymann was quite active in local business and civic affairs. He was a large stockholder and president of the Wheeling and Elm Grove Railroad, president of the Wheeling Park Company, and president of the State Fair Association. He was one of the organizers of the German Fire Insurance Company and one of the founders of the German Bank. The Reymann mansion at 15th and Eoff Streets, built of reddish stone, is no longer standing, but Padden's Pharmacy occupies the old carriage house at the site and a stone lion bearing the initials "AR" still marks the spot.¹¹

Perhaps the last brewery to be established in Wheeling was the Uneeda Brewing Company, located at 31st and Jacob Street, incorporated in 1901 with a capital of \$300,000 by William L. Schempff, Joseph Korn, Andrew Schramm, Charles Conner and William F. Bayha.¹¹ About Schramm, who became president of the company in 1911, Wingerter says that he was "one of the sterling sons of the great empire of Germany who have achieved noteworthy success in connection with industrial activity in the city of Wheeling." Born in 1863 in Hessen, "of one of the staunch old families of that section of Germany," he learned harness-making in Germany, came to Wheeling in 1881, where he conducted a harness business from 1886 to 1898, then had a retail liquor store until 1902.¹²

Joe Hoffmann, of the Wheeling New-Register staff, notes that glass-making in Wheeling is always closely associated with brewing. In

this respect Wheeling always had an ample supply of containers for beer and ale, since glass factories grew along with the brewing industry, both beginning at about the same time. Oglebay Mansion has a collection of some of these embossed beer bottles for breweries of this area.

Bottling for shipment became practical in the 1860's when pasteurization was adopted by brewers. The early bottles were sealed with cork and sealing wax. Then in the 1890's a ceramic stopper with a wire bail was patented. This was at the peak of the use of hand-blown bottles, for in 1903 Owens invented the machine bottle maker.¹³

In 1912 West Virginia anticipated national prohibition by enacting the prohibition amendment to the state constitution, to be effective July 1, 1914. Older residents report that the drinking situation had become so bad in Wheeling and elsewhere in the state that public opinion turned toward prohibition. The streets of downtown Wheeling were lined with saloons and on Saturday nights working men might spend their entire week's salary on alcoholic beverages. It is said saloon-keepers poured buckets of beer on the sidewalk to attract drinkers. Drunkenness and fights were common sights on the city streets.

Callin's City Directory for 1911-12 lists 140 saloons in Wheeling, 43 on Market Street and 17 on Main. Of the total, 55 saloons were owned by people with German names. At that time the breweries were those of Balzer, Reymann, Schmulbach and Uneeda. The 1913-14 city directory, copy 1, in the Ohio County Public Library, lists the same saloons and breweries. But copy 2, evidently a revised edition, lists the breweries but no saloons. The 1915-16 directory lists no saloons and no breweries.

NOTES

1. *100 Years of Brewing* (Chicago and New York: H.S. Rich Co., 1903; reprinted Arno Press, 1974), 8 and passim. A 718-page compendium compiled by the trade paper *Western Brewer* for the 25th anniversary of the journal and the introduction of commercial refrigeration.
2. *100 Years*, 157.
3. Cf. Earl C. May, *Principio to Wheeling* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1945), 83.
Iola B. Parker, "Whiskey Creek Keeps Running," *Smithsonian*, June, 1974, 82-89.
4. *100 Years*, 225; John M. McCleary, *1839 Wheeling Directory*, 58. Copy at Oglebay Mansion, Wheeling, W. Va.
5. *100 Years*.

6. Oliver I. Taylor, *1851 Wheeling Directory*, 11-12. Copy at Oglebay Mansion.
7. *100 Years*, 288.
8. Joe Hoffmann, "Lager Lapping Land," article in *Wheeling News-Register*, Oct. 29, 1978, part 1, p. 30.
9. *100 Years*, 402
Sandra Keller, "Neighborhood Boys Have Come Out Of Their Cave," article in *Wheeling News-Register*, Mar. 4, 1979, p. 32.
10. Charles A. Wingerter, *History of Greater Wheeling and Vicinity* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1912), 883.
11. Hoffmann.
12. Wingerter, 781.
13. Hoffmann.

LABOR DAY IN WHEELING

by

Dr. David T. Javersak

If the celebrations of recent years are indicative, Labor Day 1979 will pass without much fanfare from the rank and file of America's labor unions. No longer is it a festival day. Instead, it is marked by news releases from the A.F.L. – C.I.O. and various government officials, such as the President and the Secretary of Labor, lauding the role played by organized labor in American society.

Once, however, Labor Day was an important holiday for the nation's toiling masses. Unions, in cities and towns across the land, held parades, fairs, carnivals, picnics, and public forums to make the day set aside to emphasize the dignity of the wage earner.

The first Labor Day was celebrated in New York City in 1882 by local assemblies of the Knights of Labor, the country's leading national body in the 1870s and 1880s. Soon unions throughout the United States held similar festivities, and state governments, beginning with Oregon in 1887, legislated official labor days. By 1894, the United States Congress established Labor Day as a national holiday, which by 1900 was commonly observed on the first Monday in September. Wheeling's first labor holiday occurred on Saturday, August 28, 1886.¹

The city's initial Labor Day established the pattern for future occasions: a parade through the business district and working class neighborhoods in the morning and a picnic and dance in the afternoon and evening. The day's activities were planned, sponsored, and directed by the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, the foremost labor organization in the upper Ohio Valley and West Virginia's first central labor body.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Assembly served as the leading advocate of the working masses of Wheeling and vicinity and pursued a great variety of interests and activities: arbitrating strikes, lobbying for labor legislation in the West Virginia Legislature, advancing the interests of the lower classes in city hall, and providing social and humanitarian programs for Wheeling citizens.

At a time when most unions were anathema to many Americans, the Assembly was in the mainstream of Wheeling's community development. Examples of the influence it wielded include: the campaign which brought the city its first water filtration system; the opposition which prevented Wheeling from erecting a Carnegie Library; and the lobbying which gave the state one of the country's first workmen's compensation laws. The Assembly's popularity with labor and its general acceptance as an integral part of the community, therefore, meant that Labor Day rivaled the State Fair for fun and excitement.²

Early in June the Assembly's President named a Labor Day Committee to make every arrangement for the year's social highpoint. Publicity was the first prerequisite, and to this effect, a sub-committee placed advertisements in papers and printed posters which could be found on utility poles from Steubenville to Moundsville and from Bridgeport to West Alexander. In one year, the publicity sub-committee rented a street car and a brass band, and sent them through Wheeling and adjacent Ohio towns to arouse the public's interest.³

Between 1886 and 1915, the picnics were held at the Fair Grounds on Wheeling Island, at Wheeling Park, or at Mozart Park, high on a hill overlooking South Wheeling. In the rental agreements the Assembly got the use of all facilities and agreed to share their profits with the parks' owners. Additionally, the Assembly sold the right to set up wheels of chance, as well as letting bids for concessionaires to set up booths. Local bands bid for the privileges to play for the concert, the dance, and the cakewalks. Most often the dance sub-committee selected a brass band for the concert and two dance bands. Finally, the entertainment sub-committee arranged for amusements.⁴

These arrangements usually took better than two months to be finalized, requiring weekly meetings of all sub-committees. Certain precautions were necessary. Bartenders had to be members of a union, like the International Bartenders Union, and bandmen had to be card-carrying members of an established local. Delegates visited businesses to ask for donations of money, decorations, or supplies. Often a local brewery like Anton Reymann or the Schmulbach Brewery provided free beer. Somehow the preliminaries were worked out, and with all in readiness, only the weather remained a final worry. Rain would dash all hopes for a successful day and severely dent the treasury.

About 10:00 A.M. the parade opened the day's activities. Banners and decorations brightened the Assembly Hall at 1515 Market Street and the streets and buildings along the parade route. The line of march usually consisted of marching men and sometimes women, organized by union, brass bands, wagons, and a few floats. In 1892, for instance, eleven bands and three thousand marchers made up the procession.⁵ Many contingents outfitted themselves with special hats, canes, umbrellas, sashes, or costumes.

Stogiemakers, in a 1891 parade, according to *The Intelligencer*, cut "a very pretty and striking picture in their gaudy red, white, and blue parasols. . . ." ⁶ Indeed, the stogiemakers, whose Garfield Local No. 1 was the city's largest union, seldom missed a chance to show off. In 1905, their procession was led by a "huge cigar, propelled by three young ladies [on] tricycles. . . guarded by four young men dressed as Indians."⁷

From Center Wheeling, the parade went south into the working class neighborhoods, turned northward until it reached Tenth Street, and crossed the river via the Suspension Bridge, whose operators extended special rates to the marchers and their families. If the destination

was Wheeling Park, the parade stopped at the street car depot, where the participants boarded cars for the two-mile ride to the park. If Mozart Park held the celebration, the parade broke up at the incline which took the people up the hill.⁸

Thousands turned out to watch the parade, for often a dignitary like the mayor or police chief rode in one of the first carriages. City employees had the day off, or at least half of it, and most businesses and many industries closed early in order that their employees might participate or attend the events scheduled later in the day.

As the parade dispersed, Wheelingites flocked to the picnic grounds, eager to experience the many amusements, and there was something to please everyone. Visitors to the 1894 picnic at the Fair Grounds witnessed horse races, bicycle races, candle races, potato races, foot races, wheelbarrow races, and sack races; other events included a greased pig catch, greased pole climb, and the hammer-throw. In other years, spectators thrilled to motorcycle and auto races, circus acts, carnival rides, boxing exhibitions, baseball games, and water battles between area firemen.⁹

Away from the grandstand, other diversions attracted the crowds who came out to spend the day. Concessionaires sold a variety of foods and soft drinks from their booths, but the most popular spot at any picnic in the days before Prohibition was the bar. A 1901 Labor Day Committee report stated that the only problem encountered during the celebration of that year was "keeping the boys away from the bar."¹⁰ Equally popular were the wheels of fortune where picnickers paid their money and took their chances. Often a prominent labor figure spoke, as at the 1887 picnic, when Henry George, the famous reformer, held forth on his single tax idea.¹¹

Over the years, however, few listened to such speeches, for workmen, despite the conditions of their struggle with management, were little interested in diatribes against capitalism, at least when there were diversions like horse racing or gambling.

Later in the evening, the crowd enjoyed the concert band's renditions or popular favorites. The same band also provided music for the ever-popular cakewalks. The climax of the day's festivities was a dance. In keeping with the manners of that day, the Assembly employed two dance bands and two dance floors to segregate blacks and whites. According to one report, however, this separation came at the insistence of the black community.¹² After the bandmen serenaded the couples with the evening's last song, mothers and fathers packed up their baskets, gathered their sleepy children, and went home, tired, but happy.

The good publicity, reduced transit fares offered by street car companies, exciting amusements, and good music ensured large crowds. At the first celebration in 1886, *The Intelligencer* estimated the crowd on the Fair Grounds at 12,000.¹³ Six years later, on August 29, 1892, the same paper noted that Labor Day in Wheeling was equal to the biggest

day of the West Virginia State Fair.

Despite the large gatherings, the Wheeling labor community experienced few problems with their holiday. Police and Assembly marshalls patrolled the grounds to maintain order. Even the contracts made with the parks helped prevent difficulties. The 1895 contract with Mozart Park, for instance, stated “no Prostitute [shall] be permitted to enter or remain on the grounds if admitted.”¹⁴ To be sure, there was some rowdiness, often the consequence of too many trips to the bar, but the most serious incident, in 1893, was caused by a peace officer, the Ohio County Sheriff.

A union official in charge of collecting admission fees refused to admit the sheriff to the grandstand because he would not pay the admission price of ten cents. Words gave way to actions, and the sheriff arrested the union man, who was later fined by a justice of the peace.¹⁵ This was an isolated event, however, for in the opinion of the local press, the celebration and the behavior of Wheeling’s laboring class was “worthy of congratulations.”¹⁶

Wheeling’s commemoration of Labor Day attracted attention throughout the Valley. Unions in other river towns invited the Assembly to participate in their Labor Day demonstrations. In July, 1891, the Assembly went en masse to Steubenville, Ohio. According to the July 7 *Intelligencer*, a special train from Wheeling “brought in nine carloads and every car contained twice the number usually allotted.” One thousand Wheeling workingmen marched, including the Garfield stogiemakers, replete with their red, white, and blue parasols. This delegation, accompanied by Wheeling’s Mayor, took the town by storm, attracting more attention than the Governor of Ohio.

Another interesting feature of Wheeling’s Labor Day was the Assembly refusal to mark the holiday on the first Monday in September until 1900. From 1886 through 1899, the last Saturday in August was the most popular date, although in 1887, the Assembly held their festivities in July.

Wheeling labor leaders were little concerned that their unions did not mark the day celebrated by such national bodies as the American Federation of Labor. For them it was more important that wage earners enjoy a respite from the rigors of toil and that scanty union treasuries were replenished.¹⁸ No doubt, most picnickers forgot all about work and the labor-management struggles of those years. Indeed, as celebrated in Wheeling, the holiday belied its name: it was not a labor day, but a fun day!

NOTES

1. *The Wheeling Intelligencer*, August 30, 1886. Minute Books 14 and 15, The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly Collection, Archives and Manuscript Division, West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, West Virginia.

2. David T. Javersak, “The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly: The Formative Years, 1882-1915” (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, West Virginia University, 1977), pp. 196-202.
3. OVTLA Collection, Minute Book No. 15.
4. OVTLA Collection, Minute Books No. 14 and 15.
5. *Ibid.*, Minute Book No. 15.
6. *The Intelligencer*, July 7, 1891.
7. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1905.
8. OVTLA Collection, Minute Books No. 14 and 15.
9. Javersak, pp. 197-198.
10. OVTLA Collection, Minute Book No. 14.
11. *The Intelligencer*, August 1, 1887.
12. OVTLA Collection, Minute Book No. 14. The report in question came from the 1894 Labor Day Committee.
13. Issue of August 30, 1886.
14. A Copy of this contract can be found in Minute Book No. 15.
15. OVTLA Collection, Minute Book No. 2, September 10 and 24, 1893.
16. *The Intelligencer*.
17. Dates are given in Minute Books No. 14 and 15.
18. Javersak, pp. 196-197 and p. 202.

BOOK REVIEWS

John N. Ingham, *The Iron Barons: A Social Analysis of an Urban Elite, 1874-1965*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, No. 18.) Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978. Pp. xix, 242. \$19.95.

The writing of urban history today consists largely of comparative in-depth studies of a conceptual question common to several cities. This study presents a profile of the owners of the steel industry in a half dozen key cities during the last century: Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Wheeling.

The study compares steel men on an ethnic, religious, and class origin basis. The author concludes that the Andrew Carnegie archetype is atypical. Most steel men were native born and came from White Anglo-Saxon stock, were Presbyterian or Episcopalian, and came from either a pre-Civil War economic elite or middle class-skilled working class background. The author concludes "Subtract Carnegie Steel executives from the ranks of Pittsburgh steelmakers, and one would be hard-pressed to find a single example who fits the Andrew Carnegie archetype."

This book's special interest for our readers relates to the author's conclusions about the steel elite of Wheeling. While Ingham's conclusions are sound, and flattering to Wheeling people, the book is marred by some careless scholarship.

The author correctly notes that the "obvious distinctive characteristic of Wheeling iron and steel leaders is the degree to which they came from working class origins." Regardless of when they came or whether they are "old American" stock or more recent immigrants, a disproportionately high number when compared to other cities were "aristocrats of labor", i.e. "skilled iron workers drawing weekly paychecks." While this represents social fluidity, Ingham cautions that it is only social mobility within the "top third of the American occupational and social order." But, in all, Ingham concludes "Horatio Alger would have been proud of Wheeling."

Ingham also argues that the American urban upper class in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created a number of institutions which would separate them from the mass of their fellow Americans. These institutions provided a sense of community in an urban-industrial world and also stamped their members with a badge of exclusivity and privilege. Their clubs, schools, and kinship ties made them exclusive. They were also separated by norms and values which "hankered to an earlier and more homogeneous age."

In the chapter on Comparative Analysis of Upper-Class Institutions, Ingham makes a serious mistake which mars the work. He claims that he was unable to obtain city directories between 1860 and 1928. His

research could not have been very thorough. Ohio County Public Library has city directories either on micro-film or hard bound for every second or third year during this period. Oglebay Mansion has two or three directories for each decade of the period.

This book is a useful analysis of the makeup of the steel elite in six key industrial cities. The interpretation of the nature of the Wheeling elite in sightful and illustrates the colorful nature of the city's steel industry history. This is a worthwhile addition to the history of the steel industry and Wheeling history.

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John A. Jakle, *Images of the Ohio Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), Pp. 217. \$12.50 – cloth, \$6.00 paper.

This book is much more than a mere recording of the mental images of various travelers to and through the Ohio Valley from 1740 to 1860. It also reflects upon the nature and type of people in the area and the development of cities, roads, economic conditions and attitudes of the times. The book is jammed with historical "tid-bits" that are often forgotten or overlooked in traditional history books. A great deal of this information can be, undoubtedly, attributed to the large volume of travel journals that were researched for this study.

Dr. Jakle, an historical geographer, wrote this book for The Andrew H. Clark Series in the Historical Geography of North America. He focused on the historical geography of travel from 1740 to 1860 in the Ohio Valley using primarily travel journals of various people moving throughout this region. Particular attention was devoted to the "impressions" of the travelers. Consequently, Dr. Jakle sifted through travel journals attempting to extract what the travelers thought they saw rather than what actually may have been there. The author raised several provocative questions: "How was the Ohio Valley's early geography organized cognitively by those who traveled in the region? What did people think they saw? What did they think it meant? What satisfactions did they derive?" These questions are threaded throughout the entire volume.

This reviewer found the book informative and well-written. Although the organization is somewhat unique, it holds together and flows extremely well. The book is introduced effectively by explaining terms, concepts, and overall design and purpose of the study. A great variety of sources were used and the numerous quotations employed throughout provided interesting flavor and insight.

Images of the Ohio Valley is very difficult to criticize. There are at best only a few minor errors to be noted. One place that should be corrected is Figure 1-3, page 11, showing Wheeling, Virginia, c.1840. Actually, it is more accurate to say c. 1850 because the print shows the original Suspension Bridge which was completed in 1849 and destroyed by a wind storm in 1854. Another error involves the term "Swiss barns" introduced by Germans from Switzerland (p. 113). More commonly, these "bank barns" are known as German barns introduced by Germans from areas of Europe which became Germany. The reader will also note that there is very little information or comment on the region known as the Lower Ohio Valley. By far, the bulk of discussion involves the Upper and Middle Ohio Valley.

Undoubtedly, this book is a "must" for every library interested in the historical evolution of the more important regions in the United States. It may well be termed a classic in historical geography.

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ART BARBEAU grew up in Massachusetts, and became a West Virginian in 1962, the first year the Ironmen were in existence. He received all of his degrees in History from the University of Pittsburgh. Starting as an Instructor at West Liberty State College, he is now Professor of History and Anthropology and Chairman of the History Department.

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