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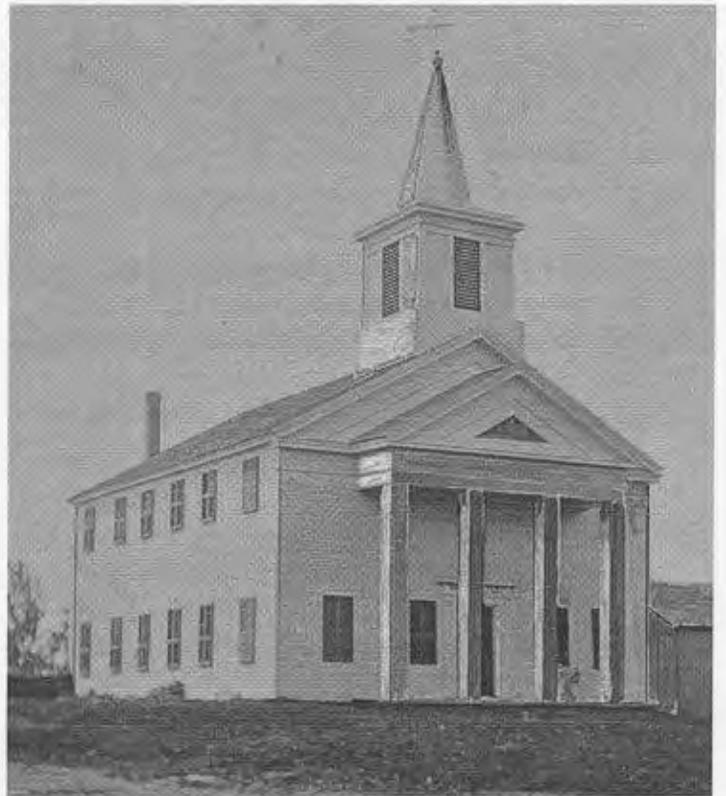
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Political, religious turmoil in early 19th century Connecticut

Federalist-Republican party dispute factor in decision to move west

By ANTHONY J. LISSKA

Previous issues of *The Historical Times* treated several complex situations that the settlers migrating from Connecticut to the Western Reserve — called “New Connecticut” — in the early part of the nineteenth century experienced in their settling in northeast and northern central Ohio.¹ In several instances, the issues encountered by the settlers rang true with the historical accounts of the Connecticut citizens from Granby and the Massachusetts citizens from Granville who in 1805 migrated to what became Granville, Ohio. This final segment of this four-fold historical narrative of comparisons and dissimilarities considers the political unrest that appears to have driven Connecticut residents in particular from their homes and to trek across the Pennsylvania mountains to the flatlands of the Ohio Western Reserve. This turmoil was the result of the agitation produced by the Federalist Party against what was then the Republican Party; this latter political party, officially known as the Democratic-Republican Party, was the political party committed to the principles of Thomas Jefferson. The term “Republican Party” as such does not refer to the eventual political party of Abraham Lincoln founded in 1856.



The mother church - the Congregational Church in Granville, Massachusetts circa 19th century.

Most of the content of this edition was published in the Summer 2014 edition, which for some reason only reached three members' mailboxes. We apologize even if we have no idea what happened after we mailed the edition in November 2014.

The Worry About Migration

By 1817, only 12 years after the settlers from Granby, Conn. and Granville, Mass. left New England for the land adjoining the banks of the Raccoon, various New England writers were arguing rather vehemently that further emigration from southern New England — and this would include, it would seem, both the Granby and Granville areas — was to be resisted rather than encouraged. Since more than several families from these environs continued to journey to the Licking County area, it appears that this incessant pleading to remain “home” in New England was not adhered to universally. The October 13, 1817, issue of the *New-York Columbian* contains the following essay on migration, which begins in the following way:ⁱⁱ

We perceive by the papers of Massachusetts and Connecticut that some anxiety is manifested on the subject of very numerous emigrations from those states. It is represented as a mania, which is infecting the people, and promoted by the arts of speculators. (p. 122)

One notices immediately that migration to the west was considered to be a “mania.” In this 1817 essay, the writer, on the other hand, appears to provide at least faint-praise for the manner in which the settlers from Granby and Granville merged together into two groups in order to have an over-all better migration to Ohio:

We admire the mode of classing or combining together to settle a new plot as by that means old neighbors continue their friendly associations, and are still further endeared by contributing to each other’s wants in their new situation. (*Ibid.*)

This author then goes on to suggest possible causes for the vast migration events going forward from Connecticut to Ohio.

Political disaffection, and religious intolerance has no doubt been one considerable cause of emigration from those states. (*Ibid.*)

Several historical narratives suggested that there were at least four causes for migration from New England, especially from Connecticut: (a) the poor quality of the soil, (b) the harsh winter climate, (c) poor business and commerce situations, and (d) political disenchantment. Accordingly, politics was an important and constraining factor pushing people

from Connecticut onto the roadways leading to northeast Ohio. One author writes about “the overbearing oppression of the predominant (Federalist) party.”ⁱⁱⁱ In addition, at this time the Congregationalist Church was at least perceived to have been aligned with the Federalists and partly to blame for the malaise driving Southern New England folks from their homes. This perception appears to have been true.

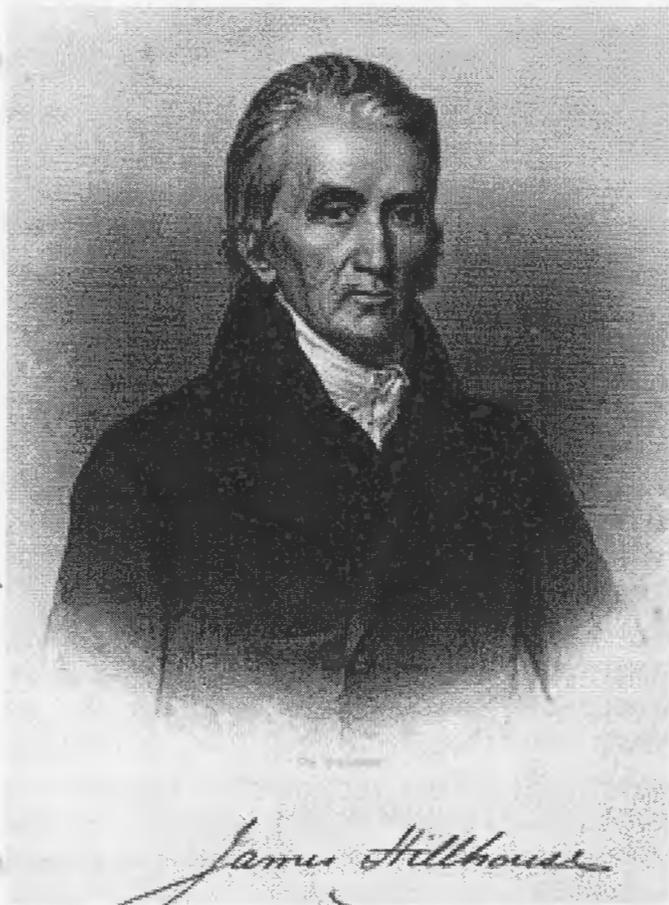
To hinder the further migration to the west, this author in 1817 recommends a return to agricultural work and to what he refers to as “Manufacturing Intelligence.” The author sees these two items as breaking the foothold that the speculators appear to have on a vast majority of the citizens. Furthermore, these characteristics would add stability and constancy to the Connecticut towns and villages.

The Federalists were an older group of established political types in New England — and especially in Connecticut — who were members of the landed aristocracy, and these people in power acted accordingly and enacted political legislation that benefited members of their social class and political persuasions. That there would develop a sense of marginalization and isolation from these political practices is not too easy to dismiss.

The usual assumption is that migrating people packed up into Conestoga wagons in order to seek and find a more robust life as they ventured westward. What is interesting about this set of claims about migration westward is that political oppression and marginalization drove them from their local areas of residence whether they had a deeply ingrained desire to go west or not. This state of mental stress found in the Connecticut residents moving westward does put a crimp on the normal “manifest destiny” principle articulated by local historians and appropriated by politicians.

The Tension between the Federalists and the Republicans

While the Federalists in Connecticut were at least perceived — and probably were — discriminatory in treating members of the opposite newer political party, similar issues rose to the surface in nearby Massachusetts. The Federalist Party had been not only dominant but also influential in Connecticut politics from the time of the foundation of the state. In fact, this party held a near-monopoly on political power and



The famous Federalist politician James Hillhouse.

thus all the economic and professional patronage that follows from significant political power. It appears that following the War of 1812, however, the Federalists as a political party began to lose influence and its power began to wane.

The March 25, 1817 issue of *The Hartford Times* published a letter sent directly to James Hillhouse, a distinguished citizen and senior member of the Federalist Party; this letter, which is now labeled as an "anonymous denunciation," directs attention to the Federalist policies that were driving members of the opposite party from Connecticut to the Western Reserve.^{iv} In a rather blistering account, this author focuses attention on the theme that the Federalist Party continually sought "to oppress their political opponents." It appears that the opposition party was not, by any means, part of the landed gentry or associated with the political power brokers.

Truth compels me to admit that the Republican party of Connecticut cannot claim a "majority of wealth," They are not among those whom the enfeebled plants of the degenerate vine of Connecticut aristocracy calls the *well born*

—, they have hitherto been slandered, traduced, kicked, and cuffed by the "little brief of authority" of the well born who hold the places of power more from the magic of their names than from the weight of their talents. (p. 11)

In this published letter to Hillhouse, this anonymous author continues with his stern analysis of the situation in Connecticut politics, which he believes contributed to the malaise and the resulting mass exodus of residents to the Western Reserve. He expresses a plea for justice:

I ask the freemen of Connecticut whom the present power over them *misrepresent*, whether many of these lordly federalists, *great men in little places*, have not converted these weapons of law into the instruments of political vengeance, and in this way brought about the destruction of individuals. (*Ibid.*)

At issue here appears to be that when a person of modest means was in debt, his property could be put in a kind of mortgage to each his creditors. In this way, the person in debt could lose all of one's property and become destitute if not actually imprisoned. The author of this essay to Hillhouse is, in effect, pleading for a change in the law. His claim is that the restitution to creditors by what he takes to be oppressive laws has impoverished many poorer citizens of Connecticut. He continues:

How many "rich and noble" are now literally wallowing in wealth, at the expense of some of the best men our state has produced. *Go to gaol* v (jail) is with them an anathema, they think, almost equal to the terrible one "*depart from me ye cursed!*" Our gaols are filled with men who were once ornaments to society, and to add to the calamity of imprisonment, they are tauntingly told by their merciless federal creditors—"tis the place for republicans . . ." (p. 12)

A consequence of this societal mistreatment is the massive emigration from Connecticut of persons dismayed by their treatment for political beliefs and hence looking for a freer environment for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Emigration or imprisonment seems to be the only alternative. Federal policy has driven the people to this dreadful situation; they must leave that party (the Republican Party) or the state . . .

The first



Centre National Church (Built 1816)

An 1816 drawing of the Congregational Church to be built in Granville, Ohio.

(Ibid.)

This is certainly not a set of pleasant alternatives, to be sure.

Job Discrimination to Republicans

In addition to the use of legal mechanisms to oppress the Republicans in Connecticut, another author suggests that the ravages of discrimination against Republicans were central in promoting emigration from the southern New England regions.^{vi} This author provides the following examples of a general sense of discrimination against members of the Republican Party by the Federalists:

(This is) ... a party who would not employ or buy of a republican, if they could obtain the same article of a federalist, nor employ a mechanic, or ship-master who did not vote with them. . . . Has a republican an equal chance with a federalist in this region, in commerce, at the bar, in physic, in divinity, or in any other profession whatever? We know they have not.

(Pp. 12-13)

The Established Church

It appears that the Congregational Church had received special status early on as the established religious body in Connecticut. There was an important connection between the established church and the members of the Federalist Party; in fact, most Federalists were affiliated with the Congregational Church. The usual festering effects of religious minorities not associated with the established church began to spread in Connecticut, especially with the Episcopalians. One troubling result of this religious establishment was that all Connecticut residents had to pay taxes — tithes — to support this established church. Eventually serious irritation grew from this forced tax supporting another religion, especially among the Episcopalians and the Baptists.^{vii} The Episcopalians had become wealthier of late, and thus they were not willing to dismiss all of the maxims associated with the Federalists; nonetheless, they did want the Congregationalist Church to be disestablished. One major irritation between the established Congregationalist Church and the Episcopalians erupted over the latter's attempt to establish a college in the village of Cheshire; this new educational institution would become a rival to Yale University, which was a Congregationalist college. The Episcopalians set up a fund for this proposed college called "The Bishop's Fund." This fund received no state tax monies through the General Assembly; furthermore, adding insult to injury, the General Assembly refused to grant the proposed college a state charter.

The Toleration Party

A result of this theological and ecclesiastical spat was the formation of what was called the "Toleration Party." This new political party was an amalgam of the religious minorities together with the disenfranchised members of the Democratic Republican Party. In the 1817 elections, so much dismay and alienation was directed towards the ruling Federalists that the Toleration Party swept control of the Connecticut General Assembly. By attaining this Assembly control, this group of "new kids on the block" could call for a state constitutional convention, which they did.

A Connecticut Constitutional convention was called in October 1817 and a new state constitution was adopted in 1818. There were two major issues: (1) to

increase the electorate and the democratic nature of the Connecticut government, and (2) to disestablish the Congregational Church as the official church of the state. This, as one historian noted, was the overthrow of the last theocracy in the United States. Connecticut was, accordingly, the last state in the new Union to disestablish the state church; all of the other original states had accomplished this separation of church and state in the 1790s. One wonders if this established church had retained its privileged position because of its entangled connections with the powerful members of the Federalist Party.

Harriett Beecher Stowe and the Connecticut Connections

Every school age person learns that the anti-slavery novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was written by Harriett Beecher Stowe; yet many of us do not realize that Stowe had many Connecticut connections from which she addressed some of the issues discussed in this essay.

Professor Tony Stoneburner, erstwhile president of the Granville Historical Society, shared this instructive comment on this set of issues, incorporating insights indicting how the famous nineteenth century anti-slavery American author discussed the issue of the Connecticut church/state separation, or lack thereof, and the corrosive effect of association with the Federalist Party:

There is a religious dimension to CT politics. Congregationalism was the state church. Taxes supported it. If one were Baptist, Episcopalian, Methodist, Roman Catholic, one didn't want to support the party associated with Congregationalism, the Federalist. So all of the non-established groups voted for Jefferson's party — even though they might not approve of his position religiously. They affirmed religious freedom, & so formed unexpected alliances across differences. [Eventually this set of alliances. . .] disestablished Congregationalism.^{viii}

What Professor Stoneburner discusses above is the church/state separation constitution issue that was brought to fruition in 1818. What is interesting here, however, is that most of the members of the Granville settler community from Granville, Massachusetts and Granby, Connecticut, were members of the Congregationalist Church. Yet this group of persons who migrated west, while Congregationalists, do not

appear to have had serious connections with the Federalist Party in either Massachusetts or Connecticut.

Professor Stoneburner also writes that in a late novel by Harriett Beecher Stowe, *Poganuc People*, the disestablishment of the Congregational Church is treated impartially and fairly. Professor Stoneburner writes about this Stowe novel in the following way:

Poganuc People, a late novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe, a celebration of the Litchfield CT of her girlhood, a piece of evenhandedness in treating the transition of Congregationalism from state-church to one denomination among many (she is evenhanded in her ironies).

A Connecticut native by birth, Stowe was born in the beautiful village of Litchfield and lived much of her adult life in Hartford, near the home of Mark Twain.^{ix} The Harriett Beecher Stowe Center in Hartford notes that Stowe's writing career spanned more than half a century. Also, Stowe wrote several of her more than 30 books while living in Hartford. *Poganuc People* was her last novel published nearly 20 years before her death in 1896. This fictional account of a people, so literary critics suggest, resembles her childhood years in Litchfield. Given her Connecticut connections, it is easy to see how Stowe would know first hand the issues regarding an established church and the lack of a constitutional separation of church and state.

The story of the oppression the Federalist Party in Connecticut and Massachusetts foisted upon the citizens of these two states does not appear in the standard histories written about Granville, Ohio. While several of the Baptists who settled in the Welsh Hills did come running away from religious and political persecution, this does not appear to be the case with the settlers arriving in Granville in 1805.^x

Endnotes

The author with gratitude acknowledges the proofreading expertise of Marianne Lisska and Tom Martin.

ⁱ *The Peopling of New Connecticut: From the Land of Steady Habits to the Western Reserve*, edited by Richard Buel, Jr. (Hartford, CT: The Acorn Club, 2011). For the most part, spelling and grammar from the original texts have been reprinted in this essay as found in the original; a few minor corrections for the benefit of a greater clarity for the reader, however, have been substituted.

ⁱⁱ "Emigration," found in *The Peopling of New*

Connecticut, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

iii "Causes of Emigration," from the *Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot*, September 13, 1817; found in *The Peopling of New Connecticut, op. cit.*, pp 12-13.

iv "To the Honourable James Hillhouse," from the *Hartford Times*, March 25, 1817; found in *The Peopling of New Connecticut, op. cit.*, pp. 11-12. Hillhouse's fame still lives on as adjacent to the Yale University campus is Hillhouse Avenue, once a "high society" area of New Haven.

v This term, "gaol," is the British term for a "jail," and it is still used often in British newspapers.

vi "Causes of Emigration," *Op. Cit.*

vii It appears that, along with the Episcopalians and the Baptists, other religious groups joining the "dissenters" were the Methodists, the Unitarians, and the Universalists. There is no mention of Jewish persons or Roman Catholics.

viii Professor Emeritus Stoneburner now divides his time between summering at Little Deer Isle on the Maine coast and a retirement community in Minneapolis. A veritable fount of information on Ohio history, Professor Stoneburner kindly responded to a query about the Federalists and their importance in Connecticut politics in the early nineteenth century.

ix The author expresses his sincere gratitude to his longtime colleague and friend for providing this significant information about Harriett Beecher Stowe and her connections with both Connecticut and the established state church of Congregationalism.

x One wonders if upon the arrival of Jacob Little to the Congregationalist Church in Granville in 1827 if possibly he had in mind the establishment of a form of state church for the Granville area.

Anthony J. Lisska is Maria Theresa Barney Professor of Philosophy at Denison University.

Upcoming lecture programs

History as Background series continues: Professor Emeritus Bill Bishop returns to the lectern for another History as Background program in August. The discussion will revisit the topic of the Ukraine. The program will begin at 7 p.m. on Wednesday, Aug. 19, in the meeting room of the Robinson Research Center at the museum.

Bishop earned his bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees at Northwestern University and began teaching in Denison University's political science department in 1967. He is a nationally recognized expert on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and is frequently asked to serve as a panelist and radio commentator on Russia and the Eastern Bloc. He retired from Denison in 2002. He also has served as a visiting staff member at the Los Alamos National Laboratory (University of California) in 1982 and as a senior faculty associate in the Program in International Security and Military Affairs.

More downtown history: "Long Before It Was Brews: 116 East Broadway in Granville History" is the topic of a presentation by Lyn Boone at 7 p.m. on Wednesday, September 16, also in the Robinson Research Center.

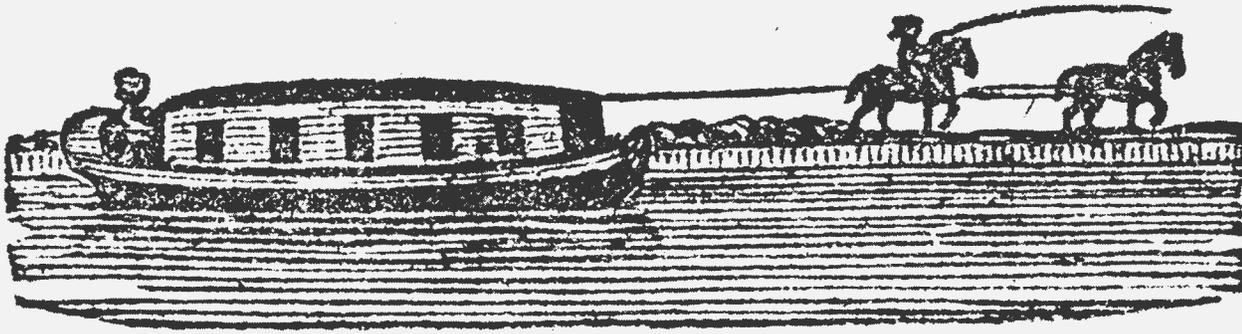
The familiar stucco building at 116 East

Broadway, now Brews Café, has housed 158 years of Granville commerce and activities. It's well known that it once served as Granville's Masonic Lodge, and today's citizens of a certain age remember its long history as a grocery. As recently as 2005 we knew it as a bank. But the building has seen many other uses and occupants over the years, a history that this slide presentation will chronicle for those interested in the secrets of one of our village's oldest buildings.

Lyn Boone is a member of the Granville Historical Society and a resident of Granville for almost 30 years. Retired from Denison University, she serves on the boards of the Old Colony burying Ground, the Licking Land Trust and the East Central Ohio Audubon Society.

"Business On - And Off - Broadway" exhibit: Granville Historical Society volunteers have assembled artifacts along with planning several programs around this theme. This vibrant element of Granville history will be presented over both this year and next. The topic is on display in our exhibit areas, in programs and in publications.

Museum hours through August 31 are 1 to 4 p.m. Wednesday-Sunday in addition to 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. Saturdays.



Mary Ann Carter's first mode of transportation when leaving Ohio for Massachusetts was likely a canal boat.

Back home by canal boat, steamer and train

While Mary Ann Carter was going back home to Massachusetts eight times between 1832 and 1854, she was witnessing the arrival of a new age of transportation.

By **JOSEPHINE P. MOSS**

Paschal Carter was 24 years old when he arrived in Granville to teach in the Granville Literary and Theological Institution, six months after John Pratt had held the first classes in the unfinished Baptist church at West Broadway and Cherry Streets in 1831. He brought with him his 15-year-old bride, Mary Ann, who never liked Granville and always hoped they would go back east to live. But that was not to be, since Paschal stayed for 22 years and died in Illinois in 1881.

Mary Ann made eight trips back to her parents' home in South Reading, Mass., staying two to nine months each time. Paschal saved all her letters and, miraculously, they landed in the Denison University archives.

They present a first-hand account of travel between Ohio and the east during these years. One can see the rapid takeover by the railroads, for it was on July 19, 1830 that the first canal boat arrived in Newark from Cleveland, just two years before the Carters arrived; but by 1854 it appears canal boats were already passé.

That last trip seems to have taken three days; the earlier ones as much as fourteen. The original settlers took twelve weeks to travel between the two Granvilles.

Two students have left us an impression of Carter, both of the Class of 1843. Allen S. Hutchins called him "a ready and thorough teacher." Ezra Ferris said "Professor Carter was a sallow, unhealthy man, with a peculiar habit of twisting together his slender legs while sitting at recitations. He was in general pleasant and good natured but could sometimes take a dislike to a student and make the recitations unpleasant for [him]."

The Denison archives acquired through Lucille Tuttle. Class of '25, the copy of a diary written by an unknown girl who made an 18-day visit in Granville during 1834, and met the Carters:

"Thurs. June 19. We rode on horseback to see the Baptist college about a mile from the village. There is one building of wood painted white, 88 ft. in front - the side wing being 72 ft. long. No. of students 100. Prof.

Carter conducted us round. Both himself and his wife, a very young couple."

Paschal and Mary Ann Carter were married in South Reading, Mass. on June 5, 1832 and left at once for Granville by way of Providence and New York City, the trip taking 13 days. From Albany they took the railroad to Schenectady, then a packet boat which Paschal in his journal reported "a pleasant ride compensating in some small degree for the fatigue of the first part of our journey." On Sunday June 10 in Utica "Heard Mr. Galusha preach a very good discourse."

When they reached Cleveland he wrote, "In this state I expect to take up my residence for life." On the 18th they arrived in Granville "after a very pleasant and prosperous journey" and on July 1 he "commenced a Bible class and the superintendence of the Sabbath School."

Mary Ann's first trip back home was a year later for in June 1833 she records the following details: "Our fare on board the canal boat was good, a very pleasant Captain. My passage on the Lake was not so pleasant as I could have wished; we had 13 ladies in the cabin; we were all sick; we went on board directly after landing from the canal boat.

"We went on board the steamboat about ten o'clock in the morning, and landed in Buffalo the next day about four in the afternoon and went directly on board the lime boat. We had a full load on board the first two nights; on account of the full load we were not made so very comfortable, but I got along well having good health after I left the steamboat. We went on board the New York canal on Saturday night and arrived in Schenectady the next Friday about eleven o'clock, and there I took the railroad to Albany; got to Albany about one o'clock, spent the rest of the day and night, and started the next morning at one o'clock for Boston; got as far as Northampton, Mass. the first day, distance 72 miles.

"Spent the Sabbath there, and got finely rested; started the next morning about three o'clock for Boston, distance 92 miles, arrived in Boston about seven o'clock; spent the night and forenoon and started at two o'clock for South Reading and arrived there about three."

In her second letter she adds some details: "I found the stage from Albany to Boston to be considerably pleasant. The Catskill mountains I should not like to cross in the evening as we found a number of bad hills that we were obliged to ascend and descend. We had to

TRANSPORTATION.



1848

TRANSPORTATION TO THE EAST.—UNION TRANSPORTATION LINE PENNSYLVANIA CANAL.—Navigation being shortly to open on the Pennsylvania Canal, we are prepared to receive for produce by the above line, being one of the oldest and most popular on the Canal.

J. S. CHENOWETH & CO

mar 13th, 1848.

13 East Front Street.



1848.

CANAL TRANSPORTATION for 1848. CINCINNATI & LAFAYETTE LINE INSURED. The above line consists of nine first-class boats, and experienced Captains and men, will soon leave Cincinnati for Covington, Lafayette and intermediate places, three times each week during the navigable season.

For freight or passage apply to

S. R. HOWLETT, Ag't,

mar 15

Canal, bet Main and Sycamore sts.



TRANSPORTATION TO THE EAST.

We are now prepared to receive through to the Eastern Cities for Produce, &c., at the lowest current rates by "Pennsylvania and Ohio Line." We can promise shippers punctuality and despatch by this old and favorite line.

mar 10

ATHEARN & HIBBERD, Agents.



TRANSPORTATION TO THE EAST.

D. LEECH & CO'S LINE, PENNSYLVANIA CANAL.—The resumption of navigation on the Pennsylvania Canal will take place about the 12th inst. We are now prepared to receive for and forward freights by the above named popular line.

mar 4

IRWIN & FOSTER, Agents.



LITTLE MIAMI RAILROAD CO.

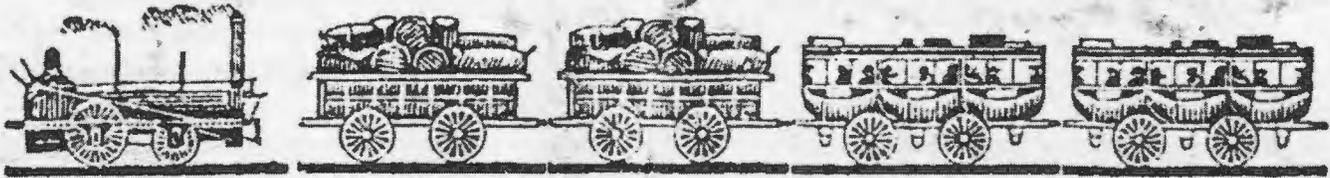
get up at Albany at one o'clock, this was Saturday morning, rode 75 miles and arrived at Northampton at seven, spent the night and Sabbath, started Monday morning at three o'clock for Boston, arriving there about seven in the evening. The fare from Albany to Boston was six dollars. The whole of my expenses were about 40 dollars."

The next trip was two years later.

On July 2, 1835 she wrote: "I arrived here in safety Tuesday, having been on my journey a fortnight. We arrived in Albany Friday about six in the morning, spent the day, started in the evening about eleven o'clock coming by way of Brattleborough, through the southern part of Vermont, a new route to me.

"We came through Lowell, got into Lowell about three o'clock in the afternoon, stayed until the next

NEW EXPRESS LINE, RUNNING WITH GREAT MAIL TRAIN. (From New-York to Cleveland in 2½ days.)



Greene & Co's Daily Line

Passenger trains had become a key mode of transportation by the mid nineteenth century.

morning. Found the roads rocky and mountainous and muddy. I shall never go that way again. Had a grand view of the mountains. Spent the Sabbath in Brattleborough, a fine pleasant place. Attended in the morning the Congregationalist meeting. Started Monday morning about two o'clock, got home Tuesday morning about eleven o'clock."

Her first child was born in August 1836 and Paschal's journal reports "My beloved wife is dangerously ill." He took them to her parents in October (a twelve-day trip) but his trip home took only nine days. "May the Lord watch over you, my beloved Mary Ann, and restore you to your health and strength."

In October 1837 she took the baby and started out again. "I got into Cleveland Saturday night at twelve o'clock but did not go on shore until Sabbath morning and then I took a hack and went to the American House and breakfasted. I found the company on board the packet to be very agreeable . . . Although the weather seemed unfavorable overhead and the prospect of a storm, I ventured to embark, there being a good boat in, a boat that I had been in twice, a good strong boat.

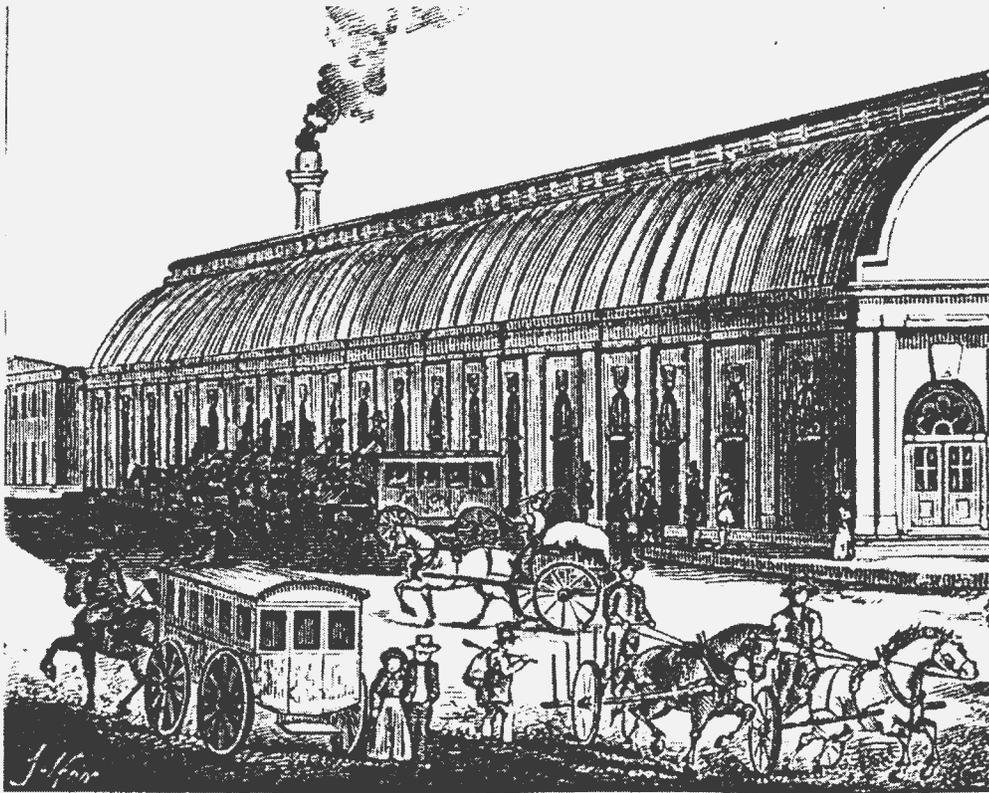
"Providence seemed to smile upon me. We had a very pleasant time. I was not sick in the least. We took the boat Sabbath morning and got into Buffalo Monday morning about one o'clock, a quick passage. I have succeeded very well in having the baby's milk boiled, excepting a little that she had on the Lake. We are now on the Lime Boat for Albany. There is no company on

board so we have the cabin to ourselves."

During this seven-month visit the baby died at one year and four months. The return trip in early summer of 1838 is recorded in her journal: "Left home Saturday May 26 and came to Boston with the expectation of starting immediately on my journey but was disappointed in not meeting Mr. Going [I assume this was Denison's second president, Jonathan Going] and therefore tarried a few days at Cousin's where I had an agreeable visit. Sabbath day attended church at the Old South. On Tuesday Mr. Going came, and on Wednesday we resumed our journey. Took the stage for Albany by way of Springfield, spent the first night at Westfield where we had miserable accommodations. Arrived in Albany Thursday night and put up at the Columbian Hotel.

"Took the canal boat Friday morning for Buffalo. Had a pleasant journey thus far, good company. Spent the Sabbath at Little Falls, where we found agreeable company and enjoyed the privilege of Christian society."

In the middle of May in 1839 began her next journey. "After I left you at Newark we had a very rainy time for two days. We arrived in Cleveland Saturday about one o'clock and took dinner at the Franklin House. It was a beautiful day. We took the Lake in the afternoon in a very good boat, 'Bunker Hill.' Arrived in Buffalo Sabbath day about eleven o'clock. We had a delightful time on the Lake, only 20 hours, a very quick



Horse-drawn "hacks" transported passengers to and from train depots during the mid nineteenth century.

passage.

"We put up at the United States Hotel in Buffalo and spent the remainder of the Sabbath there. I attended the Episcopal church in the afternoon. Our food has been excellent. The journey from Albany was very tedious. The roads were very rough owing to the frequent rains we have had. We spent the Sabbath in Brattleborough. We went from Utica to Albany on the Rail Road. My expenses were more than I hoped they would be. It cost me all of 50 dollars. I really think the Packets are miserable concerns and so expensive."

Five years later, June 1844, she was accompanied by Mary Ellen, who was three and a half years and Sarah, about fifteen months, and she told her story in installments, first from the lime boat on the Ohio Canal: "We spent a whole day in Massillon where the boat unloaded and loaded anew! Our passage has been uncommon slow on account of being so heavy loaded. Our accommodations for lodging nights have not been very good. I feel the need of a good night's sleep. We are nearly to Cleveland where we spend the Sabbath."

From Temperance House in Cleveland: "Have been much refreshed with sleep and rest, and feel prepared to set out anew on my journey. This morning I have been favored with a call from Doct. Going and William, Mr. Rouse and Walden. I was surprised to learn that

the Doctor was here. He looks miserable. [He died in Nov. of that year.] We have had very pleasant weather; had a few sprinkles of rain once on the canal. At half past one o'clock we board the 'United States'."

Later: "We had a very rough time on the Lake. I never knew it so rough. I was very sick. Mary Ellen was some sick. The captain lay by two hours or more at Fairport but no appearance of the Lake becoming smooth, he said there was no danger, that he could go ahead ten miles an hour with a strong head wind. The passengers were all sick, nearly all. We had a first-rate Captain who said he had run a boat for twenty years and never met with any accident. We took the packet from Buffalo to Rochester, fare two dollars. We have got along very cheap; paid only four dollars on the Lake; the usual price is five dollars. I think I shall keep along in the Packet to Schenectady and take the stage to Albany.

"My journey from Rochester to Boston was quite pleasant. I took the Rail Road at Schenectady about three o'clock in the morning and rode about fifty miles before I ate my breakfast. It was the most fatiguing part of my journey.

"I arrived in Boston about six o'clock Saturday evening and stayed there until Monday. The whole expense of my journey has been little less than thirty

dollars. I have not paid anything for fare for Mary Ellen all the way. South Reading is not changed much."

A son, Edmund, called "Bub" was born in September 1845, so there were three children to take "home" in May of 1848.

"I arrived at home safely having had a very pleasant journey. The first part I found very fatiguing. We arrived in Cleveland Wednesday afternoon and took the Lake that evening at eleven o'clock, and got to Buffalo the next day about five o'clock.

"We took supper at Buffalo, took the cars that evening and rode all night, and the next day we got into Troy. It was very tiresome for me, more so than for the children for they could lie down and sleep. They had a saloon part of the way from Buffalo to Troy. Their accommodations are miserable compared to the Boston route. I was not sick all on the Lake."

Here she tells of a Mr. Fosdick who lost his trunk, which he valued at three hundred dollars as it contained considerable gold and his wife's clothes. "It cost me more to come than I expected. It cost seventy-five dollars. They called the two girls one person, but did not charge anything for Bub. Mary Ellen was sick in the stage some; the last day she rode outside most all day and felt a good deal better. Sarah and Bub stood it first rate."

The last visit was made in September 1854, at the time Paschal had signed to take a position in Georgetown, Ky. and was sending the family to South Reading while he found a place to live. This time the letter is from Mary Ellen, almost fourteen: "We have finally arrived here after quite a tedious journey safe and well although pretty tired. After we left you in Columbus, we found by some mistake that we had got the Canary Birds, and that we had not the Checks to our Baggage. We met on the Cars Mr. Harris with whom you spoke in the Depot, who was going to Crestline 60 miles from Columbus. He said he would do the best he could for us and was very kind and accommodating.

"Before he left the Cars he found a Dr. Moore whom he was acquainted with; came and introduced him to us. Dr. Moore said he would see about our baggage for us. He was going to Rochester. He had been lecturing in the Medical College in Columbus. He was kind and obliging, and manifested a great deal of interest for us. When we got to Buffalo it was about eleven o'clock p.m."

"He got us into the other Cars for Buffalo, then he

and Mother went to see about the Baggage, and they found out immediately that you had Telegraphed there and everything was straight, then we got the Check for our Baggage to Boston. These Cars were detained in Buffalo three hours so Mother and Dr. Moore had plenty of time to see about the Baggage.

"We rode all night in the Cars. Dr. Moore left us at one o'clock in the night. There was difficulty between the Rail roads so that they would not connect at Albany in time for us to get to Boston by five o'clock as we expected Friday evening. We got into Albany at eleven o'clock A.M. They told us there if we went on to Boston that night we would not get in until one o'clock so Mother concluded to stay all night.

"The Baggage went right on to Boston that night. We put up to the Delavan House a few steps from the Railroad, a Splendid Hotel. The afternoon that we were there we went to Boardman and Gray's Piano Rooms. We saw Mr. Boardman and had quite a chat with him. He was a very pleasant man. We bought a Very nice Cage for our Birds. Paid 2:50 and got some Canary Seed at the Hotel. They had some birds there.

"We staid in Albany until nine o'clock the next morning; our dinner, supper and breakfast and lodgings came to six dollars. The one of the waiters went across the ferry with us and saw us safe on the Boston Cars. Mother paid him 25 cts.

"We changed Cars at Springfield, the only time we had to change between Albany and Boston. We arrived in Boston at five o'clock p.m.

"As soon as we got into Boston we saw Grand-pa. Mother gave him the checks; he hired an Omnibus to carry us to the other Depot. We got our Baggage safe and got on the Cars to come to South Reading where Uncle Francis was at the Depot with the Carriage ... P.S. Mother did not have to pay for only 2 tickets except from Buffalo to Syracuse which was 1.50."

Josephine P. Moss retired from Denison University as Archives Librarian in 1975.

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Glossary:

Hack-- a horse-drawn predecessor to a taxi

Packet-- a boat that hauled mail, cargo and passengers, normally on canals

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