
The Search for the Colonel William Crawford Burn Site: An Investigative Report

by Parker B. Brown

ON the phone I asked the Ohioan's permission to walk around his farm. "I am doing Indian research, and trying to locate Pipe's Town as it was at the end of the American Revolution," I explained. "I have reason to believe it was on your property." I do not recall mentioning Colonel William Crawford, and yet the farmer must have sensed more was involved than the location of an Indian settlement. Before long he inquired, "Have you figured out yet where he was burned?" and I knew he was not thinking of Captain Pipe, the Delaware war chief.

Colonel Crawford died at a Delaware torture stake more than two centuries ago, but residents of Wyandot County, Ohio, have not forgotten him and the manner of his death. The memory of that event is as durable today as the monument that commemorates it near Big Tymochtee Creek.¹

In contrast to heroic statues of Crawford at Connellsville, Pennsylvania, and Bucyrus, Ohio, this monument forswears ostentation (Figure 1). The pillar of gray Berea sandstone rises eight feet above the valley bank. It has about it a Quaker-like dignity in keeping with a simple inscription, "In memory of Colonel Crawford who was burnt by the Indians in this valley June 11, A.D. 1782."

The Pioneer Association of Wyandot County dedicated the monument on August 30, 1877. William Henry Gibson, an orator of local fame, addressed a crowd of 5,000 that day, and thereafter an annual Pioneer Picnic was held in a woods east of the monument. For decades the picnic drew large crowds eager to resavor frontier history.² Besides patriotic speakers, a variety of musical groups — bands, choirs, and even bagpipers — delighted audiences. After the festivities, many strolled to the monument to have their pictures taken.

By the 1930s and the Great Depression, interest in the picnic declined. Attendance dwindled. The first settlers had long since died, and young people wearied of the reminiscing. So in 1935 the final picnic was held,

1 The valley monument can be reached by a gravel drive a half-mile east of Crawford on the north side of County Highway 29. The monument should not be confused with another memorial nearby, a park dedicated in 1954 at the hamlet of Crawford itself.

2 Wyandot County (Ohio) *Republican*, Aug. 30, Sept. 6, 1877.

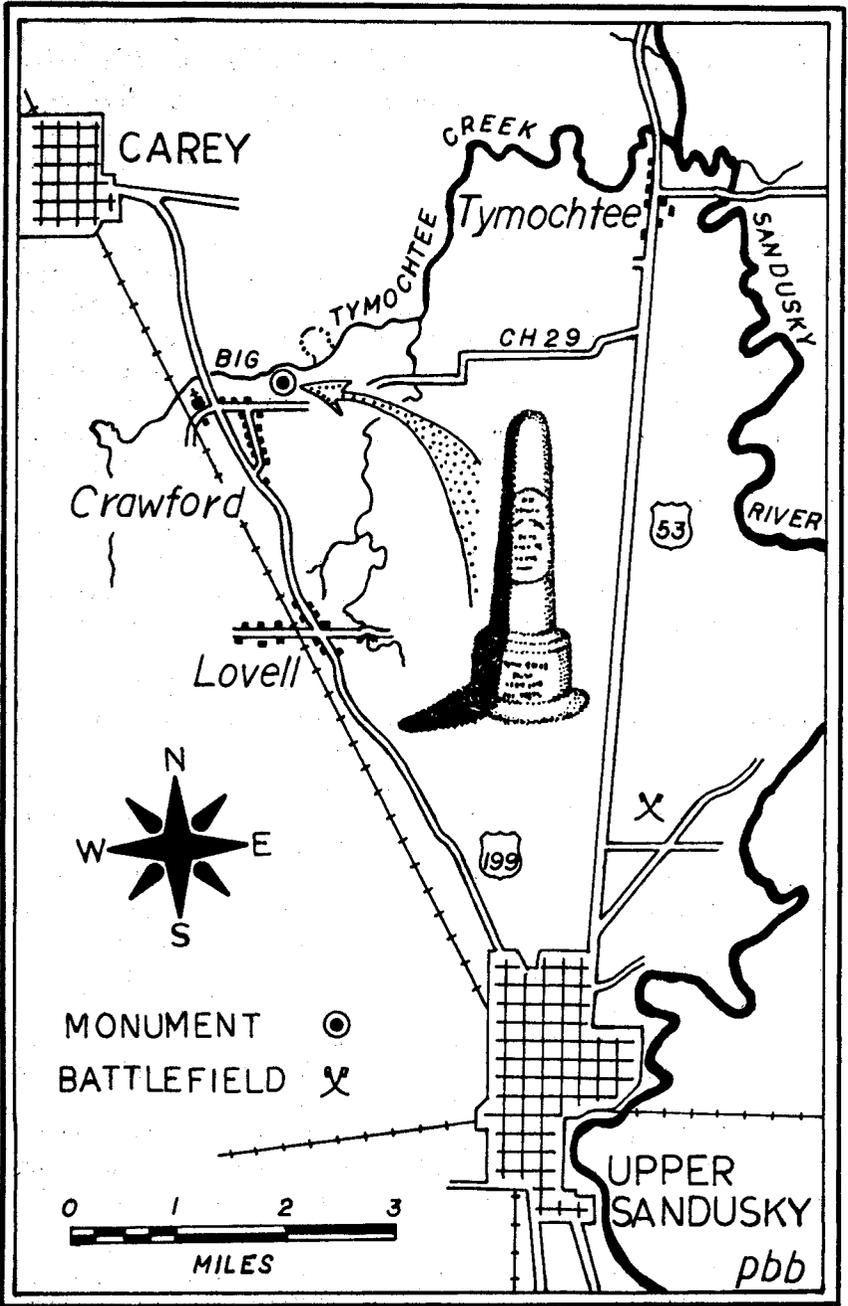


Figure 1. Map showing the locale of the Crawford Monument and burn site today.

and soon after its pavilion was dismantled. As recently as 1976, bulldozers tore out the woods that shaded the picnickers to enlarge the adjacent field for cultivation.³

With the demise of the picnic, one would suppose that interest in the monument would die. But instead, interest has quickened during the past decade. More than three hundred visitors now come annually to see the monument. In part the increased interest results from a controversy stirred by a power company's desire to erect a utility line near the monument, a proposal that sparked a petition drive in opposition. The nation's bicentennial observance also stimulated interest, the visitors to the monument reflecting a resurgence in historical and genealogical study.

They arrive primarily from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan, but a surprising number hail from as far away as Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, California, and Washington State. Schoolchildren come with their teachers to see the monument while studying frontier struggles and their country's beginnings. The property owners (the monument is on private land) can anticipate the children's first question: "Is this really where the Indians burned Colonel Crawford?"⁴ Experience has also taught the owners to refrain from burning brush piles within sight of the monument before school visits. Any mound of ashes causes confusion, juvenile historians at once pointing excitedly at "the spot."

Visiting the monument is one thing; finding the actual place of Crawford's burning is something else. Problems encountered while evaluating documents are numerous: informants became aged, ill, or confused. They omitted crucial details, offered contradictory observations, and accepted speculation as fact. For years debates raged, becoming at times so provincial and petty as to obstruct useful dialogue. Early in this century, Judge Allen Smalley trumpeted in a letter that he finally reduced the search to less than an acre, declaring, "I never heard this location [west of the creek] disputed until . . . the Crawford monument was dedicated, and then, at different times since, old men living remote from the field and very seldom having seen it, fortified with little morsels of hearsay, persist in putting a pin in the 'exact spot' where Colonel Crawford died at the stake."⁵

3 R.D. Gottfried, *Upper Sandusky Wyandott County Pictorial Memories* (Columbus, Ohio, 1976), 7.

4 The second and third most frequent questions are "Why did the Indians burn Colonel Crawford when he didn't do anything to them?" and "Why is the monument on private rather than state-owned land?" The fourth most frequent question concerns the public utility controversy. The present owners of the monument property are Roger and Phyllis Higgins.

5 First printed in the Upper Sandusky (Ohio) *Daily Chief* in Dec. 1904, the Smalley

The investigation described in this article developed from my bicentennial research of the 1782 Sandusky expedition.⁶ I wanted to map the Wyandot-Delaware stronghold at Upper Sandusky as it was when Crawford's army invaded it on June 4, 1782. Crawford's volunteers thought they were attacking one Indian settlement. In reality they stumbled into a lethal beehive of villages situated in the shape of a horseshoe open to the south.⁷ Pipe's Town, the Delaware village near which Crawford died, was in the northwest quadrant of that arc. While attempting to locate it and other towns, I found my attention drawn to testimony concerning the burn site.⁸

C. W. Butterfield includes in his *Historical Account of the Expedition Against Sandusky* five pages of evidence on the subject.⁹ The clues offered are the distance from the torture stake to Captain Pipe's lodge, and three landmarks: the ford where the Indian trail to Detroit crossed Big Tymochtee Creek; the brick house built by Daniel Hodges in 1830; and a grove of white oak trees said to surround the site.

Useful as these references are, they are not sufficient to guide anyone to the burn site with confidence. A recitation of landmarks means little if they cannot be located on a topographic map because of changes in the landscape. Years ago a "kinsman" of Colonel Crawford observed, "I . . . presume the grove has long since disappeared, and every other mark save the lay of the land and the stream."¹⁰ Even so, his assessment may have been too optimistic. Erosion followed the cutting of pristine forest, the plowing of fields, and the grazing of pastures. The origin of the creek and its valley dates from the retreat of prehistoric ice 15,000 years ago, and during the intervening centuries the creek has frequently changed its course. Without more than what Butterfield offers, little can be done beyond a rehashing of old arguments.

Could I find new evidence? Fortunately I did: at the end of two years,

letter was reprinted in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications* 17 (1909): 582-84.

6 *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 64 (Oct. 1981):311-27; 65 (Jan. 1982):17-36; (Apr. 1982):115-51; (Oct. 1982):323-40.

7 John Rose (Baron Gustavus H. de Rosenthal), *Journal of a Volunteer Expedition to Sandusky* (reprint ed., New York, 1969), 328.

8 The term burn site is adopted from the name of the monument — "Colonel Crawford Burn Site Monument" — entered on the National Register of Historic Places on April 15, 1982.

9 C.W. Butterfield, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against Sandusky Under Col. William Crawford in 1782* (Cincinnati, 1873), 383-87.

10 The Reverend Joshua Crawford, a collateral descendant, as quoted by A.J. Baughman, *History of Richland County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1908), 1:142.

a stack of papers and maps had grown to eight inches in height, topped by a fragment of brick. This was encouraging, but it left me awash in material. Some items were undoubtedly fact. Some were partially true. And some, I suspected, must be false. Unable to distinguish the wheat from the chaff, and reluctant to discard any testimony prematurely, I elected to give all information the benefit of the doubt for the time being, and see what developed.

I first noted the five pages of evidence Butterfield had supplied. Maps and commentary from county atlases, histories, and memoirs I added next. I explored the geographic area on a topographic map and later on foot, moving eastward from the hamlet of Crawford to the monument, and from there past the Ritchey Cemetery to the locale of Pipe's Town. The northern boundary of the search area was established at the creek channel, and the southern boundary at County Highway 29 (Figure 2).¹¹

I relied on memories of older residents to fill in long-ago features on my topographic map. How did the creek and landscape look when they were young? What farm improvements did they recall? Where had roads and lanes existed, long since disappeared? A trip to the Ohio State Auditor's office in Columbus to see records from the first (1819) land survey turned up a plat of the High Bank which showed two Indian trails nearby, the contour of the valley bank, and the course of the creek's channel.¹²

I scheduled conferences with soil scientists to determine what they could tell about the creek and valley and plain, the dynamics of water, and the extent of erosion. With a botanist and forester I discussed references in old letters to specific trees and ground cover. I am amazed at how much of the past is discernible in present surroundings — the placement of an elm's limbs, the angle of a bluff, the breadth of a ravine.¹³

11 Sources consulted were the *History of Wyandot County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1884); A.J. Baughman, *Past and Present of Wyandot County* (Chicago, 1913), 1; D.J. Lake's *Map of Wyandot County, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1870); *Atlas of Wyandot County* (Philadelphia, 1879); *Plat book and history of Wyandot County, Ohio* (Upper Sandusky, Ohio, 1937); B.F. Bowen, *Biographical Memoirs of Wyandot County, Ohio* (Logansport, Indiana, 1902). Figure 2 is based on topographic data from U.S. Geological Survey, McCutchenville Quadrangle (Ohio) 7.5 Minute Series.

12 The survey plat of the High Bank area covers Township No. 1 South, Range No. 13 East of the First Meridian in Ohio filed at the Surveyor General's Office, Mar. 20, 1820. The corresponding field notes from which the plat was prepared are dated July 8, 1819, Vol. 6D-OHIO.

13 Specialists consulted included Joseph R. Steiger, Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture; Jane L. Forsythe, a pleistocene geologist on the faculty of Bowling Green University; Peter Mazeo, a botanist at the National Arboretum, Washington, D.C.; and Thomas E. Hennessy, a district forester of the Ohio Department of Natural Resources.

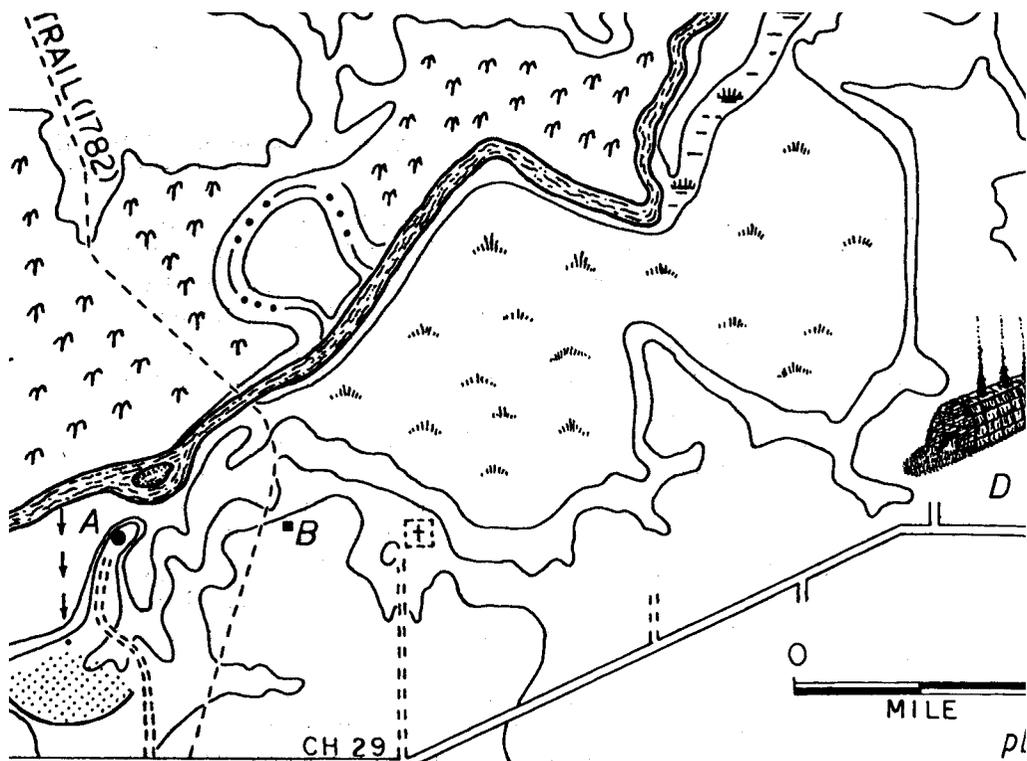


Figure 2. Map of the search area: Crawford Monument (A), Hodges House Site (B), Ritchey Cemetery (C), and Pipe's Town (D). Also shown are the Indian trail, the Walker-Schlup perspective (line of arrows), and the burn site in accordance with the study's findings (shaded).

Photographic and illustrative resources were important, and I scrutinized the backgrounds of faded snapshots for what they told of vegetation around the monument sixty or seventy years ago. An artist's sketch drawn in the 1870s provided more answers, as did details in a 1959 aerial photo when magnified.¹⁴

Two manuscript collections proved difficult to find. Uncatalogued in indexes for researchers, they were virtually unknown even to the staffs of the libraries where they were housed. The Wyandot papers of William E. Connelley, preserved at the Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library, was such a collection. The Schlup and Finley letters, evaluated later, are from that collection.¹⁵

Elusive as the Connelley papers were, the bulk of the material that Butterfield used to document his writings was even harder to locate.

14 *Atlas of Wyandot County* (1879), 64. B & W Print (May 8, 1959), NE quarter of Upper Sandusky Quadrangle, Eros Data Center, Sioux Falls, S.D.

15 Largely self-educated, William E. Connelley (1855-1930) distinguished himself for his knowledge of Indian languages and the collection of documents related to Governor William Walker and history of the Wyandots following their removal from Ohio. For thirty years he was the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.

In his *Historical Account*, Butterfield quotes letters not found among manuscripts donated to several archives by his daughter Alice after his death in 1899. The search for what I suspected was a sizable number of documents continued throughout four years and led me by correspondence, telephone, and travel into Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Kansas, and finally to Butterfield's grave at Omaha, Nebraska. Still no letters; not one clue. Beginning over again at Columbus in July 1983, I got my first break. I came upon letters of receipt written by a librarian to Alice in 1900. These led me to Cleveland, where fifty-five dusty scrapbooks emerged from a basement vault of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Letters regarding the burn site, quoted and *unquoted* by Butterfield, were there.¹⁶

Before 1873 when his *Historical Account* appeared, Consul Willshire Butterfield (1824-1899) had already taught school in New York State, ridden muleback to California with forty-niners, produced a comprehensive work on punctuation, and practiced law for eighteen years in Bucyrus, Ohio.¹⁷ It is not unusual, then, that his presentation of burn site facts is orderly and confident, leaving the impression that no opposing views existed. Opposing views did exist, however, for the Crawford burn site had already been pointed out to settlers in Wyandot County by Black Betty.

When Black Betty spoke, people listened. Her mother, transported from Africa on a slaver, was sold at Philadelphia to a Delaware chief. After Black Betty's birth, she and her mother were resold to a Wyandot who had fought Crawford's army. By 1800 the women had been adopted by the tribe, and Black Betty married a black captive who was a silversmith. After most of the Wyandots moved west, Black Betty stayed on with her husband near Upper Sandusky.¹⁸ In her opinion, Crawford had perished on the west side of the creek (opposite the present monument) 250 feet downstream. D. J. Lake's 1870 map of Wyandot County (Figure 3) records this location.¹⁹ The concurrence of

16 Butterfield Scrapbooks, Series 4 (single volume), Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

17 Butterfield, "Brief Autobiography" (1896), MSS v.f./B, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio; Butterfield, "Genealogical Notes," MS Vol. 272, 185, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

18 W.E. Connelley, *The Provisional Government of the Nebraska Territory and Journals of William Walker* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1899), n. 3, 308-9; Lyman C. Draper Collection at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin (MSS 11 E 2-5); Abraham Luckenbach Diary, Aug. 29, 1808, B.171, F.1, Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

19 Both maps in Figure 3 are of Section 26 in Crawford Township, Wyandot County, Ohio, surveys (Section 26 T1S R13E). Only data essential to the discussion have

“Cherokee,” another Wyandot, gave added credence to Black Betty’s opinion. Together they convinced newly-arrived white settlers that the burning was west of the creek.²⁰

With the publication of Butterfield’s book, influential parties in the county must have had second thoughts. When the monument was erected four years later, it was set on the eastern valley bank over the objections of such pioneers as George James. One might think Butterfield’s final conclusion regarding the burn site was extreme. To the contrary, it was undramatic; he asserted only that Crawford had died “somewhere on what is now the south half of section twenty-six, of township one south, of range thirteen east of the government survey; the *precise spot* I do not attempt to locate.” The site, in short, was somewhere within 320 acres.²¹

As evidence, the historian accepted testimony from seven informants. The information from Dr. John Knight, Andrew Coffinberry, Joseph McCutchen, and Henry Howe was not new. It had appeared in print before. But the testimony from Jonathan Kear, John Carey, and William Walker was. Each had written Butterfield one or more letters in reply to his questions.²²

The expedition surgeon, John Knight, offered a calculation of distance. After his capture with Colonel Crawford, Dr. Knight was compelled to watch the torture of his friend. He stated that he then was taken away to Captain Pipe’s lodge, “about three-quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel’s execution.”²³

In 1843 the pioneer lawyer Andrew Coffinberry produced a volume of poems called *The Forest Rangers*. For years he resided fifteen miles from the High Bank. Coffinberry noted in his book that the torture was carried out “about four miles” west of where the Big Tymochtee Creek and the Sandusky River meet (Figure 1). Assuming the distance

been retained from the original maps and, where necessary, simplified. For example, in the 1870 map, an “x” locates the burn site; in the original, a dot appears with the legend, “Col. Crawford burnt by the Indians June 11th 1782.”

20 *Atlas of Wyandot Co., Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1879), 15. It is reasonable to conclude that “Cherokee,” to whom G.W. Hill refers in this work, is the Wyandot chief Hah-rohn-yooh, commonly called Cherokee Boy by whites. The death notice of Cherokee Boy in the Delaware (Ohio) *Patron* (Mar. 27, 1828) states that he fought Crawford’s troops at Sandusky.

21 Butterfield, *Historical Account*, n. 7, 384.

22 Here William Walker refers to Governor William Walker (1799-1874), not his father of the same name who, captured as a child by Delawares, later married a Wyandot woman, Catharine Rankin.

23 H.H. Brackenridge, *Indian Atrocities: Narratives of the Perils and Sufferings of Dr. Knight and John Slover, Among the Indians, During the Revolutionary War . . .* (Cincinnati, 1867), 25.

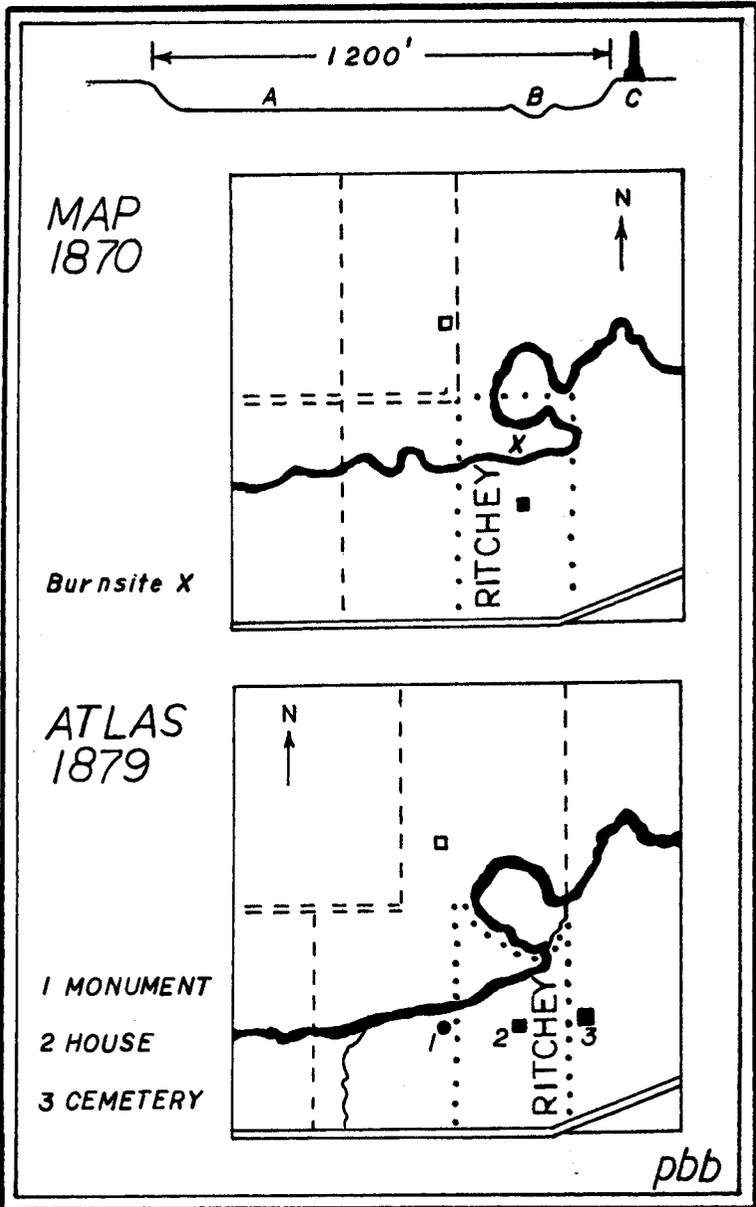


Figure 3. Author's facsimiles of Section 26 as shown in an 1870 map of Wyandot County, Ohio, and an 1879 county atlas. At the top of the plate is a topographic profile of Big Tymochtee Valley clarifying the relationship between the valley floor (A), creek channel (B), and the valley "High Bank" on which the monument is located (C).

noted is straight-line, the burning was on what was then the farm of William and Mary Ritchey, heirs of Daniel Hodges who first settled there.²⁴

In 1827 Joseph McCutchen journeyed to Wyandot County where he settled near the hamlet of Tymochtee. McCutchen afterwards moved to McCutchenville, a community he laid out three miles north of Tymochtee. There he opened an inn. Before long he was active in politics, and as a state senator in 1843 he wrote, "I have been on the ground often where Crawford was burnt. It is near to the creek bank, on the east side. The land is now owned by the heirs of Daniel Hodge; and, in place of a bare piece of ground, as is reported, and that there will be no grass grow on the spot, it is a beautiful grove, and some fine healthy white-oak trees growing near, which the now occupant, Mr. William J. Ritchey, promises to preserve for future generations."²⁵ The wording is slightly confusing. The senator was saying that the barren spot reported had since been covered by lush grass, and the grove of white oaks nearby had matured.

Several years after McCutchen's letter, Henry Howe (1816-1893) prowled about the Buckeye State in search of facts for his *Historical Collections of Ohio*. He interviewed Colonel John Johnston whose knowledge of Indian life and character was reputed to be great. Between 1802 and 1812, Johnston, an Indian agent, ran a profitable American fur-trading agency at Fort Wayne (Indiana). From there he paid the annuities due the Indians according to the Treaty of Greenville, and bought thousands of dollars worth of deer and muskrat skins each year, which he shipped east for auction. During the War of 1812, Johnston moved his agency to a farm north of Piqua on the Miami River where he gathered hundreds of friendly Indians to insure their neutrality. There Johnston remained in that capacity until removed from office in 1829 by President Andrew Jackson.²⁶ According to Henry Howe, the former agent placed the burning "a few miles west of Upper San-

²⁴ Butterfield, *Historical Account*, n. 8, 384.

²⁵ The letter Butterfield quotes (384-85) is from *The American Pioneer* 2 (1843) 11:282-85. McCutchen stated that he gathered "much information" from "a small band of the Wyandott Indians . . . many of the quarter and half breeds being intelligent." See also the 1845 letter of Andrew Steward, Brownsville, Pennsylvania (Draper MSS 11 E 3-5) to Lyman Copeland Draper (1815-1891) who as early as the 1840s traveled in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky interviewing pioneers and their descendants. From 1852 when he became the secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin until the death of William Walker twenty-two years later, Draper labored to preserve Walker's information in notes and letters.

²⁶ Kenneth W. Duckett, "John Johnston," *Ohio Historical Society Museum Echoes* 23 (Jan. 1960): 1,3-4.

dusky, on the old Trace It was on the right hand of the trace going west, on a low bottom on the east bank of the Tymochtee creek," a description that agrees with another Johnston gave Lyman C. Draper four years before: "Col. Crawford was burned near the Deleware town Tymochetee, in a bend of the creek of the same name, near the present village of Crawfordsville [now Crawford]." ²⁷ Inasmuch as the recollection in Howe's work was probably thirdhand, Butterfield attempted to see the collector's manuscript notes, but Howe had failed to save them. ²⁸

Here is the end of previously known facts republished in Butterfield's history. Turning to testimony from private correspondence, I examined a letter from Jonathan Kear. A native of New York State, Kear farmed a mile west of the hamlet of Tymochtee in the 1820s. According to him the "spot is on the southeast bank of the Tymochtee on lands owned by the heirs of Daniel Hodge, in Crawford township, about five miles from the mouth of the creek This information I obtained from the Wyandots living here when I came to the country in 1821, and from two negroes, Jonathan Pointer and Samuel Wells, captured by the Indians when small boys. They were intelligent and spoke good English." ²⁹ Pointer, as Butterfield was quick to note, could not have watched Crawford die; he was then on the Detroit River. But Samuel Wells was there to watch. At fourteen years old, he held the horse of his master, Simon Girty, the British renegade. Because Wells lived in the county as late as 1857, Kear would have had repeated contact with him. ³⁰

The second informant was John Carey (1792-1875). After serving in the War of 1812, he operated a carding factory and sawmill on Big Tymochtee Creek. In 1854 he moved to a nearby town, now named after him, to begin a political career. Hence, by the time Carey replied to Butterfield's questions, he was widely known. ³¹ He rambled on in his letter to such a degree that Butterfield did what today would be unacceptable. He wrote a sentence, placed it in quotation marks, and attributed it to the politician. It read, "From all I could learn when I came to the vicinity in 1823, the spot was then owned by Daniel Hodge — afterward belonging to his heirs." ³² What, in fact, Carey said was

²⁷ Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Columbus, 1847), 2:546; Draper MSS 11 YY 12.

²⁸ Butterfield Scrapbooks, Ser. 3, No. 8, 49-50.

²⁹ Butterfield, *Historical Account*, 385 (text and n. 10).

³⁰ Baughman, *Past and Present of Wyandot County*, 1:112; Draper MSS 17 S 204; Butterfield, *Historical Account*, 385 (text and n. 10).

³¹ Bowen, *Biographical Memoirs of Wyandot County*, 583-85.

³² Butterfield, *Historical Account*, 385, (text and n. 11).

that he could not find anyone capable of pointing out to him the burn site when he arrived: "From all that I could learn I supposed it was a farm then owned by Daniel Hodges — but now occupied by his heirs." These heirs he identified as the Ritcheys, whose "Residence, was on the west half of the southeast quarter of Section 26," the range and township numbers being those Butterfield used to make his final determination of the location. Moreover, Carey went on to say something that was especially troubling; namely, that Crawford was burned at Pipe's Town instead of three-quarters of a mile upstream and, to make matters worse, west of the creek. How was Butterfield to square this opinion with others given by his informants? His solution was to compose a representative sentence for his history, and put the rest of Carey to bed in a scrapbook.³³

The informant Butterfield enjoyed most and found highly convincing was Governor William Walker (1799-1874), the esteemed Wyandot leader. Well educated and a lover of literature, Walker was a postmaster at Upper Sandusky, and later governor of the Nebraska Territory, a vast region embracing what today is Kansas and Nebraska, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Accomplished in his letter-writing, Walker was an excellent source of information.³⁴

Butterfield particularly valued Walker's memories. "The spot where Col. William Crawford was tortured to death by the Delawares is now no longer an open question with me," he rejoiced. "Your testimony corroborates exactly the best evidence I had before obtained. I had considered the most reliable accounts as all pointing to the same place. With what you tell me, therefore, I have no need of further information on that subject and have marked it 'closed.'" ³⁵

What did Walker say to evoke such praise?

Find a brick house built in early times by Daniel Hodge, who died a few years afterward, leaving an only daughter; she married William Richey. They inherited the farm. From this house proceed, I think, a little north of west, nearly a quarter of a mile to a piece of rising ground, near the east bank of the Tymochtee creek. If not cleared, fenced, and cultivated, the spot is surrounded with (or was then) a grove of young white-oaks.

When I first visited the place in the spring of 1814, there was no grass or weeds growing on the spot; but, on disturbing the surface, ashes and charcoal appeared. The spot was pointed out to me by a Wyandot of high respectability who was present when Crawford was tied to the stake, and was in the engagement at Battle Island [Battle of Sandusky], where he was wounded in the mouth, injuring

33 Butterfield Scrapbooks, Ser. 4 (single volume), 69-70 (capitalization and punctuation corrected by author).

34 "Governor William Walker" (biographical sketch), n.a., 3, Walker Papers in the Connelley Wyandott Indian Collection, Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library.

35 Letter of Feb. 9, 1872, Butterfield Papers, Connelley Wyandott Indian Collection.

the tongue and shattering the left jaw. This Wyandot died in Michigan, about the year 1827, aged over ninety years.³⁶

In another letter, Walker alluded to his visit to the burn site. He told how, as a boy whose tribe sided with the British during the War of 1812, he was held captive for months by the victorious Americans at Detroit. Released, he made his way to Upper Sandusky where his father was a government agent. As Walker was to admit to Butterfield, "It could not be expected that a ragged boy would have much taste for historical information of *olden times*. But frequently hearing my parents and Uncles speaking of Crawford's terrible 'taking off,' had a curiosity, after reaching that [Sandusky] country, to visit the spot; got a Wyandott for my guide."³⁷ His guide was Honess. A child of German settlers, Honess was captured or stolen by Wyandots who adopted him. In time he became influential in tribal councils. Walker respected the aging warrior ("Venerable Honess . . . a man of irreproachable character, a pious Christian . . . of the Roman Catholic Church") and listened to what he had to tell of the events of "Bloody '82."³⁸

Walker was a better source than even Butterfield realized. Like John Johnston, Walker had been interviewed earlier by Draper. But, unlike Johnston, Walker left his interviewer with an alternate set of directions. In Draper's notes, the geographic perspective is not from the south, but from the north: "*Crawford's Burning Spot*. — He was burned on the east bank of Tymochtee creek the eighth of a mile from the stream on a rise of some ten feet to a level oak grove table land: on a farm since owned by D C Hodges . . . The spot which is very nearly naked of grass, is some thirty feet in diameter — with only here & there a tuft of wiry grass . . ." Butterfield would have seized upon this had he been aware of it, but the statement was in one of Draper's file boxes in Wisconsin.³⁹

Examination of the five pages in the *Historical Account* shows that all the recollections, with the exception of Carey's, agreed that the burning was east of the creek. All located the burning on land willed by Hodges to the Ritcheys. Beyond this, agreement fades. Johnston stated

³⁶ Butterfield, *Historical Account*, 386.

³⁷ Butterfield Scrapbooks, Ser. 3, No. 8, 145. "Uncles" being an Indian term of affection and respect, Walker meant aged Wyandots (Draper MSS 15 E 66). Honess is described in Draper MSS 11 U 31; *A Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger* (Hudson, Ohio, 1851), 103; and the Reverend James B. Finley's *History of the Wyandot Nation at Upper Sandusky* (Cincinnati, 1840), 225-26.

³⁸ Butterfield Scrapbooks, Ser. 3, No. 8, 97, 146.

³⁹ Draper MSS 11 U 73 (July 6, 1868, interview).

that it was on the right-hand side of the trail going west across the creek bottom where the creek made a bend. Only McCutchen and Walker noted that the ground was barren, and that white oaks grew nearby.

To avoid confusion, I will note here that the creek has an east and west side. This is not to suggest that the creek flows north in the area of the monument; it does not. The channel travels more from southwest to northeast. Nevertheless, in accordance with the viewpoint of informants, the the monument side of the creek shall be called the east side, and the opposite side the west side.

Bearing this in mind, it soon becomes apparent that the statements of Johnston and Walker are conflicting in one respect. Johnston declared that the burning was on low ground ("on a low bottom on the east bank") whereas Walker stated it was on high ground ("on the east bank . . . on a rise of some ten feet").

The opinion that the burning was in the valley rooted itself naturally and is reflected in the monument inscription. Howe's Ohio historical collections and commentaries in county atlases reinforced this impression until descendants of pioneers took for granted that "on the east bank" meant the bank of the channel. As the topographic profile at the top of Figure 3 shows, the Tymochtee's high bank is a drop-off from upland plain to valley bottom. The bank of the Tymochtee consequently has nothing to do with the channel of the creek.

Next it should be noted that the references by McCutchen and Walker to a grove of white oaks are significant. Individual white oaks may be encountered occasionally on bottomland, but never in groves. Dr. Knight related that Crawford was tortured with burning faggots of hickory, and hickory, like oak, tends to inhabit the upland where heavy clay soil dominates. The mention of hickory is less conclusive because, while shagbark and pignut hickory stay to the upland, some bitternut hickory is found on bottomland. References to a "white oak grove," however, leave no doubt; the site of Crawford's burning was upland.⁴⁰

The Indian preference for high ground when locating their trails, towns, and ceremonials supports this. That Indians should prefer high ground is to be expected, given the native character of bottomland. Bottomland still in a natural, presettlement state is even today a nightmare of towering weeds and humming insects. The dance ring, therefore, at the Shawnee townsite of Wakatomica (Zanesfield, Logan County, Ohio) crowns a bluff projecting from a ridge above the Mad

⁴⁰ Knight, *Narrative*, 26.

River. In 1782 the ring — now a foot deep and thirty feet across — encircled a stake enclosed by a large council house. Colonel Crawford's son-in-law and nephew died there of torture after the battle at Sandusky.

Another instance of an elevated torture stake is in Pickaway County, Ohio, near the site of the Grenadier Squaw's Town. The wooded knoll where captives were burned is still visible.⁴¹

Had Colonel Crawford perished on a low bottom where hardwoods were scarce, his death at such a place would be inexplicable. Indian preference and custom dictated that the ordeal of the American officer be conducted on higher ground where all could see, the villagers who participated in the ritualized torture, and the ghosts of the Indian dead who watched with silent approval.⁴²

Questions remained unanswered as the investigation progressed month after month. Where precisely had the brick house stood? Where had the Indian trail crossed the creek? In hope of finding new facts, I went to Kansas in March 1983 to examine the Connelley Wyandott Collection. Two folders seized my interest as the search advanced through five file drawers of letters, mission records, vocabulary lists, and wampum. One folder contained letters from Emil Schlup, who farmed near the little crossroads community of Lovell (Figure 1). In 1900, and again in 1901, he had urged Connelley to speak at the Pioneer Picnic. The Kansan declined but mailed Schlup a written address to read to the gathering. The folder contained a list of questions sent to Schlup about the same time, and his answers. Connelley wished to know the "exact location" of the burn site, and whether the talk was

41 The author's observations concerning towns and torture stakes are based on his field trips to the Shawnee sites mentioned, and others of Wyandot and Delaware origin. A copy of the 1844 map engraving, "Indian Towns on the Pickaway Plains" by Felix Remick, was studied at the Pickaway County Historical Society, Centerville, Ohio. The map is discussed in Thomas H. Smith's *Mapping of Ohio* (Kent, Ohio, 1977) as follows: "The burning-ground, in the suburbs of Grenadier Squawtown, represented in the Map, was also situated on an elevated spot, which commands a full view of all the other Towns within the drawing, so that when a victim was at the stake and the flames ascending, all of the inhabitants of the other Towns, who could not be present, might, in a great measure, enjoy the scene by sight and imagination. The burning-ground at Old Chillicothe was somewhat similar, being in full view of the burning-ground at Squawtown, the Black Mountain and two or three other small towns in other parts of the Plains" (p. 68).

42 The Delawares who burned Crawford believed that the souls of their departed relatives looked down from the heavens and cried for revenge. According to their non-Christian belief, if the living Delaware relations refused or neglected to take revenge, the souls of the slain might come and take revenge upon them. See J.G.E. Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians*, William E. Connelley, ed. (Cleveland, 1907), n. 1, 446-47.

true about grass not growing on the spot. He was curious whether residents had ever claimed to see Crawford's spirit near the monument. Lastly, what had Wyandots told about the torturing of Crawford?

Whatever Connelley expected from Emil Schlup, he was disappointed. His chagrin is clear. A note attached to the folder reads, "Some things of value. Much of this correspondence is of little value. He troubled me for years. He persisted in trying to help me when I knew he could do nothing. His intentions were good but he knew only what he could get from books, which were in reach of everybody."⁴³

Of everybody? By the time Connelley wrote this, he had advanced financially from schoolteacher to county clerk to lumber dealer to banking and oil investments, the last of which offered him security as a historian.⁴⁴ Perhaps he no longer could identify with a small-acreage farmer's desire for learning and recognition. His correspondent lived until retirement in log cabins lighted by coal oil where books were a luxury. The only reading room in the county was at the courthouse because a public library was not opened until 1913.

Connelley was not only disappointed, he was frustrated. Some of the Schlup responses must have puzzled him as much as Carey's did Butterfield. Without first reconstructing the lives of Emil Schlup (1854-1935) and his father, Urs Schlup (1823-1892), the content is hard to follow.⁴⁵

A German-Swiss immigrant, Urs Schlup came to Wyandot County in 1845 when it was still inhabited by Indians. Urs was a land-hungry European. In three years he scouted the country, bought eighty acres of government land, married, built a cabin, and turned to farming. His third son, Emil, attended a one-room school, and his fascination with Indian history, botany, and penmanship remained for life. In 1882 he bought a farm of his own two miles south of the monument. As he cultivated crops and tramped Indian haunts, he picked up relics, among them a pipe-tomahawk now in the hands of a great-grandson. Articles by Emil Schlup appeared in the journal of the Ohio Historical Society. Some neighbors thought him scholarly, others eccentric. When the Pennsylvania journalist Earle R. Forrest traveled to Wyandot County looking for material on the Battle of Sandusky, he sought out Emil

⁴³ Schlup Papers, Connelley Wyandott Collection.

⁴⁴ *Who Was Who In America, 1897-1942* (Chicago, 1966), 251.

⁴⁵ The reconstruction of the Schlup family was accomplished by a search of historical and genealogical works, U.S. census records, and county property records. The author interviewed neighbors in Wyandot County, and grandchildren in Akron, Ohio, and Charlotte, North Carolina.

Schlup. The men talked and afterwards stayed in touch by mail.⁴⁶

What Emil Schlup sent Connelley was traditionary. Some information was his own observations. Other facts originated with his father. Urs Schlup shared information with his sons as together they shocked barley during harvest or sat around the cabin fireplace on wintry evenings.

Concerning the location of the monument, Schlup replied that the place had been selected because it was accessible ("a public place").⁴⁷ The promontory on which it stood was regarded by residents of the county as a "sacred place." No, it was not claimed, nor had it ever been, that Crawford's ghost could be seen there. As for the talk about grass not growing on the spot: "It may have been barren for a short time, being tramped hard, and the ashes could prevent the growth of grass. I heard the story of that barren spot. In mature grass I wandered over every spot of ground in that locality in search of it; it is needless to say I never found it."⁴⁸

Sandwiched between these recollections of Emil Schlup are those of his father. His father had questioned Indians about their thoughts on the burning of Crawford, and had been told that "they thought it right at the time; but now knew it was wrong, cruel and wicked." As for the Indian trail to Detroit, it "was still there well defined, hacked and barked trees bullet marks in old decayed trees, etc, showed plainly that it had been an indian haunt."

The last of Emil Schlup's answers is mostly a continuation of what his father remembered from the 1840s.

Extending out from the South bank of the Tyumocktee River, and runing south about half a mile, and to [the] West double that distance, lies a sunny little valley. A low range of hills commences a few rods from the stream and runs a southerly course for half a mile. It then circles westward and finally north till it reaches the river again. The highest point of [the] range was perhaps about a hundred feet above the river. The eastern part of the valley was covered with water part of [the] year caused by the overflowing of the river which sometimes entirely covered the valley. Only weeds and prairie grass grew there.

The ground gradually sloped upward to the south. There was a thick growth of underbrush such as willow, blackberry, wild plum, crabapple and other small

46 Earle R. Forrest, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1926), 1:189, 213; papers in possession of a Schlup descendant.

47 Accessibility was probably a factor in the monument's location. Had it stood west of the creek, visitors would have either had to wade the creek or walk a quarter-mile from the western valley bank.

48 Schlup was mistaken. Rather than preventing the growth of grass on the burn site, the mineral accumulation of ash and char would contribute to the spreading of lush grass over the place.

trees. Beyond that there was a farther rise, or rather a continuation of the hilly range which spread out into level land, covered with white oak, and a few other varieties of timber. A few hundred yards from where the hill turns westward is the place pointed out by Wm. Walker, John Grayeyes and another of the chiefs whose name I have forgotten, as the location of the tragedy. The exact spot is not known.

My father and a stranger who had come to visit the place went with those chiefs to look for the location. One or two of them witnessed the burning, so I think it reliable. Tradition says he was burned in three different places. When a rain stopped the proceedings at one place, they moved further on to finish the work. As the chiefs said nothing about this, I cannot vouch for its truth.⁴⁹

In this writing, the place where the father's recollection ends and the son's commentary begins would appear to be after "The exact spot is not known." There is no reason to doubt the basic facts of the Schlup-Wyandot contact reported. Between 1845 and 1848 Urs Schlup was shown the burn site by friendly Wyandots. Indians were still in the area after the formal removal of the tribe, for some lived off the reservation, farming small tracts of land independently and receiving no government annuities. They could not be forced to go, and some who left the reservation for Kansas or Canada drifted back after a time. "Those chiefs," of course, refers not to Indians named, but others lingering in the new county. Interestingly, the spelling of the creek's name (Ty-u-mock-tee) with an extra syllable is the way the Wyandots pronounced it.

Error and ambiguity, to be sure, mar segments of the essay. The "sunny little valley" sentence mystifies due to its awkward construction; the dimensions are those of the valley from the monument west to the hamlet of Crawford. Nowhere is the upland a hundred feet in elevation above the valley floor. The High Bank barely claws its way to thirty feet at one point. As for the closing portion about a rainstorm causing Crawford to be tortured at three geographic locations, that is local tradition at its worst. Had Emil Schlup read either the Slover captivity narrative or Butterfield's *Historical Account*, he would have realized at once that John Slover, the expedition guide, was the man condemned by a Shawnee council in one village, beaten at a second, and tethered to a stake at a third. After the fire was lighted, Slover was reprieved by a timely cloudburst that postponed his death long enough for him to escape.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, such flaws do not erase the relevance of the essay for the burn site search.

⁴⁹ The essay is quoted essentially as it appears in the original; it has been edited by the author only to make it more readable. With permission of the Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library.

⁵⁰ Brackenridge, *Indian Atrocities*, 52-58.

The other folder in the Connelley Wyandott Collection held five letters and two sketched maps by Ebenezer B. Finley. When the first letter was written, his seventy years had been crowded with public activity. A law practice in Bucyrus led to two terms in Congress, an appointment as state adjutant general, and a circuit judgeship. By the 1880s he was mesmerizing audiences with addresses on Indian history and lore.⁵¹ To those at Pioneer Picnics he was a familiar personage.

"General" Finley came by his Indian interest naturally. A great uncle of his was once a famous missionary to the Ohio Wyandots.⁵² The judge also knew Butterfield intimately. Thus it was not strange that, following the Pioneer Picnic of 1904, he should stroll from the monument to see if he could locate the burn site with the facts Butterfield provided. The result was a series of letters and maps mailed to Connelley, who included one letter and map in a book he was then editing.⁵³

That map, reproduced as Figure 4, locates the site where Finley concluded it must be.⁵⁴ He established three conditions in advance to be satisfied. As he informed Connelley in his letter accompanying the map, "Every eye-witness whose statement has been preserved agrees on three points, (1) that it was on the righthand side of Big Spring Trace going north; (2) that it was on the east bank of Tymochtee Creek; (3) that it was on the low bottom lands near a little grove of hickory and white oak trees." All the conditions arose from the testimony of John Johnston. Based upon these, Finley accordingly sketched the burn site on bottomland immediately east of the creek and 1,000 feet downstream from the monument.

As might be expected, the conclusion founded upon manipulated evidence falls apart under scrutiny. Two years before, Finley had rejected arguments placing the burn site on bottomland west of the creek because, he said, no hickory or white oak would grow there. Yet now he situated the burn site on ground equally low and wet on the east side. Why? Because otherwise he could not meet the third Johnston condition. As it was, the struggle to reconcile the irrecon-

51 James C. Tobias, ed., *A Centennial Biographical History of Crawford County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1902), 275-77.

52 The great uncle was James B. Finley. See note 37.

53 Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission*, 443-45. The date of Finley's letter and second map is Jan. 18, 1906.

54 The author has reproduced the original map by tracing a photocopy. Corrections made by Connelley have been omitted. The curved lines south of the creek represent the valley's high bank. The area immediately south of the bank is shown as woods. Big Tymochtee Creek is shown incorrectly flowing west.

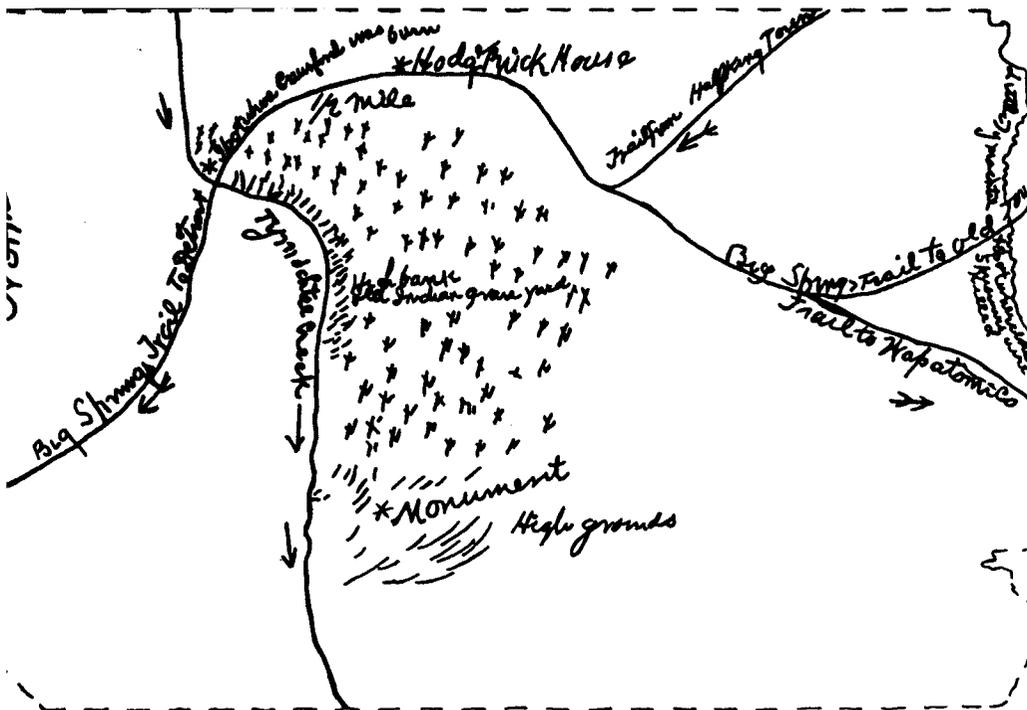


Figure 4. Facsimile of E.B. Finley's map sent to William E. Connelley in 1906. Note that the creek is mistakenly shown flowing west. The crumbling border of the document is indicated by a broken line. (Reproduced with the permission of the Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library.)

cilable led Finley ever deeper into a bog. Walker had said to go northwest from Hodges's brick house nearly a quarter-mile to rising ground. The directive was in Butterfield's book; it could not be totally ignored. Finley concentrated on the first part. Whether he accidentally or deliberately wrote the incorrect distance on the map cannot be determined. Whether one proceeds a quarter-mile or a half-mile northwest from the house, the burn site ends up west of the creek.

In the summer and fall of 1983, the study entered its final phase. The terrain around the monument was surveyed again on foot. Residents not interviewed before were found to possess fresh facts. The findings presented now are my own and the observations of soil scientists.

In evaluating informants, the life circumstances of each and his geographic proximity to the High Bank were weighed. Walker reached the burn site thirty-two years after Crawford's death. The Wyandot was not the first visitor, but he was the first known to leave specific directions for reaching the spot, and his guide, Honess, saw the torture. Jonathan Kear and his eyewitness, Samuel Wells, also lived for many years within a few miles of the site. The sources of John Johnston's information, on the other hand, are not named. His trading

posts were one hundred miles and seventy-five miles distant respectively from the burn site. Presumably the Indian agent traveled before 1829 to see tribal leaders at Upper Sandusky, but no record places him at the burn site. Consequently, whenever his statements conflict with those of Walker and Kear, the opinions of these latter informants will be viewed as more reliable.

Because of the above considerations and the linkage established between the burn site and high ground, Johnston's location of the burning on bottomland is set aside. Also rejected is his opinion that the burning occurred on the right-hand side of the Indian trail going north. Exploration of the area cast doubt on this statement even before a letter from Jonathan Kear to Butterfield was uncovered that said in part, "Crawford Suffered on the West Side of the trail and near to it within a few rods . . ."⁵⁵ Why did not Butterfield include this in his history? Doubtless because it contradicted Johnston.

Due to this reassessment, the search geographically moved west. The change of direction was possible because at almost the same time a mistaken assumption was corrected. Previously, whenever witnesses said that the burn site was on the Ritchey farm, it was assumed they meant a farm limited to the quarter section on which the brick house stood. A reexamination of courthouse records revealed otherwise. All acreage south of the creek in Section 26 once belonged to heirs of Daniel Hodges.⁵⁶ The search area, therefore, could legitimately be extended west of the monument.

Another fortunate development was finding a living descendant of Daniel Hodges. The descendant was very knowledgeable and confirmed that "The Old Brick" was located as shown in county atlases, and that no other brick house had ever been on that property. The site could therefore be marked on a topographic map.⁵⁷

Before this information could be used, however, Walker's enigmatic directions for reaching the burn site had to be accurately interpreted.

55 Letter of Feb. 21, 1872, Butterfield Scrapbooks, Ser. 3, No. 11, 104.

56 According to the 1884 *History of Wyandot County*, the Ritcheys owned 376 acres in Sections 25 and 26 (747). Records at the Wyandot County Courthouse show the descendants' holdings in 1870 (Vol. 23, 626-28). No record of Daniel Hodges's original deed survives at the courthouses in Upper Sandusky or Bucyrus; the land may have been tree-blazed as a "tomahawk homestead."

57 The descendant, Gerald L. Stoll, located and described the house and its surroundings in detail. The brick structure stood in his father's day and did not fall to ruin until after 1907. The present property owner, Emeral D. Pfeiffer, has piled house foundation stones on the edge of the field fifteen feet north of the site. Pieces of broken brick continue to surface during spring and fall plowings.

But how was one to proceed from the brick house "a little north of West" nearly a quarter-mile to rising ground near the east bank? The house already stood on the east bank, and no rising ground lay a quarter-mile west-northwest of it. A closer reading of the original letter made it clear that for Walker, (1) the burn site was definitely east of the creek on elevated ground; and (2) the phrase "north of West" was only Walker's manner of saying northwest, because he used the identical phrase four sentences earlier in telling Butterfield the direction to travel from Upper Sandusky to reach the burn site. It became evident that Walker did not mean for Butterfield to go northwest from the brick house. He intended to write "a little south of West" (southwest), but wrote down instead the former compass heading. It was a very human error. More than one letter writer, concentrating on what he will say next, has made it. Walker, his sight impaired in his last years, simply failed to see and correct his mistake.⁵⁸

On the basis of this deduction, the corrected compass heading was tested on a topographic map. Was there rising ground on or near the valley bank a quarter-mile southwest of the house site? If so, was that ground also an eighth of a mile from the creek as Walker told Draper? With the aid of a compass used for making circles, I drew an arc a quarter-mile southwest of the house site. Then I drew an east-west line that at all points was one-eighth of a mile south of the creek. Where the lines intersected was about 600 feet south-southwest of the monument (Figure 2). To get to that point from the creek, one walks across bottomland that rises gradually until reaching the valley bank. Climbing the ten feet to the crest of the bank, one comes upon a level field under cultivation. This approach, shown on Figure 2 by a line of arrows, brings immediately to mind Walker's description to Draper — "burned on the east bank . . . eighth of a mile from the stream on a rise of some ten feet to a level oak grove table land." The same course appears to have been walked by Urs Schlup, starting at the creek and moving across ground that gradually sloped upward toward the south. He came to a rise (valley bank) "which spread out into level land, covered with white oak." Schlup then stated that a few hundred yards from where the "hill" turns west was the burn site. Viewed from the valley floor below, the western side of the promontory still looks like

⁵⁸ The failure of Walker's eyesight is referred to in his letter of Feb. 29, 1872, in the Draper MSS 11 U, and in a letter by Peter D. Clarke, May 30, 1873 (11 U 110). When the tribe moved west, many members suffered from inflammation of the eyes which they attributed to the territory's sandy soil and high winds — sandstorms. Many actually became blind in old age, and were given pensions by their council. See Connelley, *Provisional Government of the Nebraska Territory*, n. 1, 305.

a hill and from all indications it would have appeared even more as a wooded bluff in the 1840s.⁵⁹

To convey on Figure 2 an area several hundred yards from where this "hill" turns west, I drew a shaded arc arbitrarily to represent a distance of 500 feet from the intersection point. This burn site area accords well with the distances given by Walker, Knight, Kear, and Schlup. The area is also sufficiently large to accommodate no less than the four hundred Indians reported to have gathered at the burning.⁶⁰

Throughout the study, changes in the landscape of Section 26 due to erosion and human activity were of concern. The possibility was real that physical alterations to the land's surface during the past two hundred years could be found so severe as to prevent reaching a conclusion. This concern proved exaggerated. Natural and human attrition was of negligible consequence in the area defined. In the last century the creek has tended to flood more to the east of the monument than around the monument promontory. That on the first survey plat the channel lies basically where it is today indicates that the creek's course has been stable within historic time. The glaciated clay soil of the landscape offers better than average resistance to erosion. Hence the ground around the monument is largely what it was two hundred years ago in landform despite modern sheet erosion on open fields. The penetration of a shallow eroded slope into the eastern portion of the defined burn site area is slight.

It is fitting that recognition be given to persons who came to the High Bank soon after the burning and before the arrival of William Walker in 1814. The first visitors of patriot persuasion to reach the burn site may have been Captain Charles Polk and his family. In October 1783, having negotiated the release of his wife and children at Detroit, the American officer conducted them home by way of Upper Sandusky. The family met Simon Girty there who took them on a tour of the battlefield where only fourteen months before Crawford's troops had been defeated. No specific word indicates that the travelers saw the ceremonial circle near the creek, but the family would have passed the spot while on the trail south from Detroit. It is hard to conceive that so celebrated a place would not be pointed out.⁶¹

59 The former steepness of the promontory's western side has been reduced. At some time a lane was shoveled out along its face to enable a farmer to move pieces of machinery from the upland plain to the fields across the creek. The grassy incline is still visible.

60 Butterfield Scrapbooks, Ser. 3, No. 8, 69-70.

61 L. Esarey, "Indian Captivities In Early Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 9 (1913):108.

Charles Johnston, a Virginia lawyer captured by Shawnees in 1790, lived five weeks at Upper Sandusky, assisting a French trader. Johnston relates that he once slipped away from the village with a guide to see "the spot where Col. Crawford had been tortured The sapling to which it was said he had been bound . . . was still alive, and was pointed out to me by my conductor — the white captive who was naturalized among the Wyandots."⁶²

In 1808 the Moravian missionaries Abraham Luckenbach and John Haven, accompanied by a Christianized Delaware named Andrew, saw the spot while traveling eastward from Fort Wayne. Andrew showed them the sites "where the Indians had defeated Crawford's army, had taken him prisoner, scalped him, cut him to pieces, and finally had burned him."⁶³

Nor was this the last American visit recorded during the presettlement period of Wyandot County. In 1806, nearly twenty-five years after her husband failed to return home, Hannah Crawford came. For years she lived impoverished in the log house beside the Youghiogheny River. Deprived the comfort of a Christian burial for her husband, Hannah mourned heavily and mourned long. As a grandson was to remember her, she mounted her horse one day, seated him as a child behind her, crossed the river, and rode to a moss-covered log. Sitting on it, she wept. "Here," she lamented, "here I parted with your grandfather."⁶⁴

Now, at the advanced age of eighty-four, she approached the Tymochtee on a plodding horse. Her escort from Pennsylvania was a grandnephew, Billy. Guiding them the final miles most likely were some Wyandots. Back home afterwards it became known that the burn site was barren. No grass would grow upon it. ■

62 R. VanDerBeets, ed., *Held Captive By Indians: Selected Narratives, 1640-1836* (Knoxville, 1973), 289-90.

63 *Abraham Luckenbach Diary*, B.171, F.7.

64 Baughman, *History of Richland County*, 1:144-45; Butterfield, *Historical Account*, 290-91; Franklin Ellis, *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1882), 2:526.

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