Manasseh Cutler.

MARIETTA CENTENNIAL NUMBER.

OHIO
Archæological and Historical
QUARTERLY.

Vol. II. JUNE, 1888. No. 1.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT MARIETTA, APRIL SEVENTH, 1888.

PRELIMINARY MOVEMENTS.

THE Washington County Pioneer Association, as early as their annual meeting held April 7th, 1881, decided to undertake a Centennial Celebration of the first organized and permanent settlement of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, to be observed in Marietta, April seventh, 1888. Further attention was given to the subject at the ninety-fifth anniversary of the settlement, held April seventh, 1883, at which time Hon. George B. Loring delivered the leading address.

At the first meeting of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, held in Columbus, March 13, 1885, it was resolved, "That this Society will gladly participate in the proposed celebration to be held in the city of Marietta on the seventh of April, 1888, to commemorate the application of the principles of the Ordinance [of 1787] in the first permanent occupation of the soil of Ohio by systematic colonization."

An invitation was extended by the Washington County

Pioneer Association, at the annual meeting on April 7th, 1886, to the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society to hold their annual meeting at Marietta on April seventh, 1888, instead of at the usual time at Columbus. This invitation was accepted by the Society at its meeting February 24th, 1887.

In making their preparations for the celebration, the Pioneer Association received a most cordial and efficient support, not only from its own members but also from the people of Marietta and vicinity. The money to meet necessary expenses was raised, first—by certificates of membership of the Association, which were taken at $1 each, largely through the labors and influence of the ladies. The amount realized from this source for expenses was $1,050.54. Second—a guarantee fund amounting to $2,000 was subscribed by a number of gentlemen. The total expenses were $1,960.00, which were paid by first applying all the funds of the Association arising from memberships, and then by a draft of 50 per cent. on the guarantee fund, which provides for the balance of expenses and for the publication of proceedings and addresses.

Preparations were made for the accommodation and entertainment of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society; and Thursday evening, April fifth, and all of the sixth were assigned to the business and appropriate exercises of the Society. The several members were notified and invited to attend, a large number of whom were present to participate in the proceedings of the interesting occasion.

THE PROGRAMME OF EXERCISES.

The following was the order of exercises for the meeting of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, which formed a part of the general celebration:

THURSDAY, APRIL 5TH, 1888—7:30 P. M.

AT THE CITY HALL.

MUSIC.

President's Annual Address.....F. C. SESSIONS, Esq., of Columbus

MUSIC.

Address .....The Building of the State
Judge JOSEPH COX, of Cincinnati.
MUSIC.

FRIDAY, APRIL 6TH—2 P. M.
MUSIC.
Address .....Why is Ohio Called the Buckeye State?
Hon. WILLIAM M. FARRAR, of Cambridge, Ohio.
MUSIC.
Short Addresses..... Hon. R. B. HAYES, of Ohio
Hon. GEO. F. HOAR, of Massachusetts
DAVID FISHER, Esq., of Michigan
Prof. F. W. PUTNAM, of Massachusetts
MUSIC.

CITY HALL, 7:30 P. M.
MUSIC.
Address .....A Familiar Talk About Monarchists and Jacobins
Hon. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, of New York.
MUSIC.

A programme of exercises, suitable to the seventh of April, the Centennial Day proper, was prepared, and Senator Geo. F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Hon. J. Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, were invited to make the principal addresses, and His Excellency, Governor J. B. Foraker to make the opening address of welcome. The following programme was carried out:

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY UNDER THE ORDINANCE OF 1787, AT MARIETTA, OHIO, APRIL 7, 1888.

ORDER OF EXERCISES APRIL 7, 1888.

At Sunrise, a salute of thirteen guns was fired.

CITY HALL, 9:30 A. M.

The meeting was called to order by DOUGLAS PUTNAM, President of the Washington County Pioneer Association.

PRAYER, BY DR. A. L. CHAPIN, OF WISCONSIN.

Overture — "American," .....*Weegand*
CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.
Address of Welcome,.....by the Governor of Ohio
HON. J. B. FORAKER.
MUSIC.
Gavotte — "First Heart Throbs,"..... .....*Eslenberg*
CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA,

Oration.....Senator GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts.

MUSIC.

Serenade.....*Tittle*

Short Addresses. { Hon. R. B. HAYES, Ex-President of the United States.
{ BERNARD PETERS, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

MUSIC.

Finale. .....Hail Columbia

At 12:30 a salute of one hundred guns was fired, and the bells of the city were rung in honor of the arrival of the Mayflower, one hundred years ago to-day, "when the sun was at the meridian."

AFTERNOON EXERCISES — AT CITY HALL, 1:30 P. M.

MUSIC.

Overture — "Zampa,".....*Harold*

CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.

Oration.....Hon J. RANDOLPH TUCKER, of Virginia

MUSIC.

National Airs.....*Carton*

CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.

Letter read, from.....Hon. GEORGE B. LORING, of Massachusetts

Address.....Hon. SAMUEL F. HUNT, of Cincinnati

Selection — "Nanon,".....*Genee*

CINCINNATI GRAND ORCHESTRA.

Address.....Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, of Massachusetts

MUSIC.

Finale — "America,".....*Mailard*

At sunset a National salute of thirty-eight guns was fired.

8 P. M.— GENERAL RECEPTION AT THE CITY HALL.

At which all had an opportunity to meet the distinguished guests of the occasion.

During the reception the Cincinnati Grand Orchestra executed the following Programme:

March — Our Country.....*Krael*

Overture — Martha.....*Flotow*

Gaite Waltzes.....*Waldteufel*

Selection — "Black Hussar,".....*Mellorcker*

INTERMISSION.

Overture — Poet and Peasant.....*Sappe*

Gavotte — Separation.....*Brandt*

Cornet Solo — Polka de Concert.....*Bellsted*

MR. HENRY SEVERS.

Selection — Erminie.....*Jacobowsky.*

The exercises for Sunday, the eighth of April, were committed to the pastors of the several churches in Marietta

and Harmar, and the following programme was carried out through the day:

10:30 A. M. — Religious services at the various churches, as usual, by the pastors or visiting clergymen. Rev. C. E. Dickinson gave an historical discourse in the Congregational Church. Mr. Bernard Peters, of Brooklyn, N. Y., delivered a discourse in the Unitarian Church.

3:00 P. M. — At City Hall, Rev. Dr. Boyd, presiding. Order of service: 1. Singing. 2. Reading of Scripture. 3. Prayer by Rev. Dr. I. N. Sturtevant. 4. Singing. 5. Address, by Rev. Dr. H. M. Storrs, of New Jersey. 6. Singing. 7. Benediction.

7:30 P. M. — Platform Meeting at City Hall, President John Eaton presiding. Order of service: 1. Singing. 2. Prayer by Dr. J. F. Tuttle. 3. Singing. 4. Addresses by Dr. A. L. Chapin, ex-President of Beloit College, and Dr. Joseph F. Tuttle, President of Wabash College. 5. Singing. 6. Addresses, by Rev. Dr. I. N. Sturtevant, of Cleveland, Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale, of Boston, and Dr. B.W. Arnett, of Wilberforce University. 7. Singing. 8. Benediction.

7:30 P. M. — At the Unitarian Church. — Sermon, or addresses, by Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale, Rev. Dr. Sturtevant, and Professor Dean, of Hiram College.

THE CELEBRATION.

Some apprehensions were indulged as to the state of the weather that might be expected at so early a time in the spring season. A kind Providence seemed to have interposed most auspiciously in that respect, as the following from the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* testifies:

"All the days of the Celebration were lovely, and the seventh the loveliest of them. The crimson was just peeping from the peach trees, and the buckeye buds were swollen and growing golden, while the faint green of the willow and the tender pink of the maples gave the eye joy, and the sun was brilliant as the air was bracing.

"If the pioneers struck such a springtime it is not sur-

prising they regarded the shores of the Ohio and Muskingum as a place of rarest fascinations and rich with promises beyond anything in the soil and air of New England."

In addition to a cordial hospitality extended by private families, ample provision was made for meals at the Armory Building, and a free dinner served on Saturday the seventh to over six hundred guests. The rooms in Dr. B. F. Hart's house were prepared for the reception and display of old relics, and also the lecture room of the Congregational church, which contained some more modern specimens of art. Both of these matters were committed exclusively to the hands of the ladies, and were conducted in a manner to afford the greatest satisfaction.

The City Hall was handsomely decorated with National and State emblems, representing the American, German and French nationalities; the States formed out of the old Northwest Territory, and Massachusetts and Virginia.

Business houses and private residences were covered with flags. Provision was made for seating, on reserved seats, eight hundred visitors and elderly persons in attendance. The hall itself was filled to its utmost capacity, estimated at 2,400. Overflow meetings were held in the Unitarian Church, while the streets were crowded with people unable to gain admittance to the exercises. The utmost good order prevailed, and the occasion was one of greatest enjoyment and most pleasant re-unions to the thousands of citizens and visitors who were present.

OFFICIAL DELEGATES.

The following persons had been chosen as delegates representing their several constituencies:

From Massachusetts, by appointment of Governor Ames, Hon. Geo. B. Loring, Rev. Temple Cutler, Professor Frank W. Putnam, Rev. E. E. Hale, John J. May, Esq., all of whom were present except Mr. Loring.

From Indiana, Hon. B. Wilson Smith, of Lafayette.

From Wisconsin, Rev. Dr. A. L. Chapin, Ex-President of Beloit College, and H. W. Nickerson, Esq.

From Illinois, Dr. N. C. Smith, of Paris.

From Minnesota, W. D. Mitchell, Esq.

From Rhode Island, Jas. M. Varnum, F. T. Sibley, H. T. Browne and Chas. Emote received appointments, but were unable to attend.

The National Congregational Council appointed the following delegates: Rev. I. N. Sturtevant, Rev. A. L. Chapin, D. D., Dr. Josiah Strong, President Jas. B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, and Lieutenant-Governor Cooke, of Connecticut.

The American Historical Association appointed as delegates Rev. A. P. Putnam, Dr. H. B. Adams, Clarence W. Bowen, Esq., Ex-President R. B. Hayes, and Professor Geo. W. Knight, of Ohio State University, of whom the two last named gentleman were present.

The American Antiquarian Society appointed as delegates Hon. Geo. F. Hoar, Rev. E. E. Hale, Dr. W. F. Poole, and Dr. H. B. Adams, of whom the two first named were present.

The New York Historical Society was represented by Nicholas Fish, Esq., Vice President.

The following named societies appointed delegates who were unable to attend:

New Hampshire Historical Society: Dr. I. W. Andrews and John T. Perry.

The Rhode Island Historical Society and the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati: James M. Varnum, F. T. Sibley, H. T. Browne and Charles Emote.

New Jersey Historical Society: Dr. I. W. Andrews.

Buffalo Historical Society: Rev. A. T. Chester, Geo. S. Hazard and S. Guthrie.

The Athens County Pioneer Association took the following action and were largely in attendance:

"At a special meeting of the Athens County Pioneer Association, held October 27th, 1887, at its rooms, the fol-

lowing named members were selected as delegates to represent this Association, upon invitation, at the Centennial Anniversary and celebration of the first settlement of the Northwest Territory, under the Ordinance of 1787, to be held at Marietta, April 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th, 1888:

"Judge John Welch, Judge R. de Steiguer, Judge A. G. Brown, Gen. C. H. Grosvenor, Maj. L. M. Jewett, Messrs. D. B. Stewart, J. H. Glazier, G. M. McDougal, E. H. Moore, O. W. Brown, E. L. Walker, Zibe Hoskinson, Jacob Lash, Mrs. R. de Steiguer, Mrs. E. G. Carpenter, Mrs. D. B. Stewart, Mrs. A. S. C. Brown, Mrs. G. M. McDougal and Miss Emma L. Carpenter."

The Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati was represented by John A. Gano, William Henry Davis and E. C. Dawes.

Members of the Order of Cincinnatus: Wm. L. Robinson, Murat Halstead, George Ilson, H. F. Furgeson, J. D. Caldwell and wife, Edward Block, H. C. Ezekiel, John F. Follett and W. Love.

Members of the Exposition Committee: James Allison, President; Hon. Lee H. Brooks, Henry J. Snider, L. H. McCammon, A. B. Champion, Levi C. Goodale, J. M. Blair, George B. Kerper, Gus Honshell, A. M. Grose, J. P. Love, S. W. Cofflin, R. S. Mannen, Gov. J. B. Foraker, Chris Kinsinger, Wm. Ronsheim, A. J. Warner and E. B. Hubbard.

Marietta College Club of Cincinnati: Dr. E. E. White, W. H. Blymger, G. H. Barbour, Esq., Judge S. N. Maxwell, Rev. George N. Maxwell, D. D., Ernest Rehm, W. W. Dyar, G. C. Wilson, T. H. Kelley, Henry Bosworth and Major E. C. Dawes.

Most of the above-named gentlemen from Cincinnati were present.

From the Hamilton County Pioneer Association, John D. Caldwell attended as delegate.

The Muskingum County Pioneer Association was largely represented. Numerous pioneers were present from Guern-

sey and Meigs counties, from the townships in Washington county and from all parts of Ohio and the great west.

The responsibility and labor of making all preliminary arrangements, and of carrying them into successful execution, devolved upon the following members of a Centennial Central Committee, who received their authority to act from the Pioneer Association and from the citizens of Marietta: Dr. I. W. Andrews,[1] chairman; T. W. Moore, A. J. Warner, R. R. Dawes, O. H. Mitchell, R. M. Stimson, Beman Gates, W. G. Way, S. L. Grosvenor and W. P. Cutler.

---

[1] To Dr. Andrews, more than to any other man, was due the inception, the arrangement and the successful consummation of the Centennial Celebration at Marietta. He labored hard and faithfully to make glorious the anniversary of the greatest event in the history of Ohio and the Northwest—a history with which he was so well acquainted. The one shadow upon the Centennial day was the absence of Dr. Andrews and the knowledge that he lay upon a bed of illness many miles from the scene which he desired so much to witness. It is with a deep and poignant sorrow that we announce his death, which occurred at Hartford, Connecticut, April 18th, 1888. It seems especially sad that the pages which tell of the success of the Centennial should at the same time chronicle the death of him whose last work in life was devoted to the preparations for that anniversary.

A fitting tribute to his memory and to his services as man, scholar, educator and writer is in preparation, by one who knew him intimately, and will be presented before the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, of which he was an interested and active member, and printed in the QUARTERLY. In his death the QUARTERLY loses a valued editor. While he was not actively engaged upon every number, his advice and opinions largely directed the beginnings of this publication, and the first article that appeared in its pages came from his pen. His colleagues on the Editorial Board cannot refrain at this time from expressing their sense of personal bereavement, not only as fellow-workers but as friends, fellow-citizens and fellow-men. The memory will long dwell with them of the deep scholar, the broad thinker, the successful teacher.

G. W. K.

Major Jewett Palmer was appointed Director, and the general supervision was committed to him. His efforts received full and efficient support from sub-committees appointed to take charge of various departments, Col. N. L. Nye having charge of receptions, and Judge F. J. Cutter of entertainments. Mrs. Alderman had charge of relics and works of art, and Mrs. Mills of meals and dinner at the Armory building. The following were the officers of the Washington County Pioneer Association elected April 7th, 1887, to serve the ensuing year:

Douglas Putnam, President; Wm. Glines, Vice President (deceased); Wm. F. Curtis, Recording Secretary; R. M. Stimson, Corresponding Secretary; F. A. Wheeler, Treasurer. I. W. Andrews, B. F. Hart, Henry Fearing, L. J. P. Putnam, W. P. Cutler, Executive Committee.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE CELEBRATION.

The following extract from a communication to *The Independent*, by Professor George W. Knight, one of the delegates of the American Historical Association to the Centennial, shows the character of the celebration.

"The past thirteen years have witnessed in the United States a series of commemorative celebrations, marking the one-hundredth anniversary of the various leading events attendant upon the birth and childhood of the United States. In 1875 came the anniversary of Lexington and Concord, and hardly had the echoes died away when the great celebration at Philadelphia brought to our thoughts the violent separation from the mother country. Then came the Yorktown Centennial, in remembrance of the final triumph of the infant republics.

"All these celebrations were attended with memories of strife, privation, suffering, physical and political contests. To-day has witnessed the appropriate commemoration of events of a very different nature. Peace, not war, has been the theme; the founding of new governments, not the overturning of old political and governmental orders: the plant-

ing of a State, not the tearing off of a colony from the mother-land. The events which have to-day been celebrated in this, the oldest American settlement beyond the Ohio, mark the beginning of that steady westward march of the pioneer, which for one hundred years has not for a single moment been intermitted. Not Ohio alone, not the Northwest, but the whole United States is interested and vitally concerned in the events attendant upon the movements of that little band of forty-eight pioneers, who, on the 7th of April, 1788, 'when the sun was at the meridian,' landed at the mouth of the Muskingum and founded the settlement of Marietta.

"Probably nowhere else in the Northwest Territory has the true historic spirit been developed so perfectly as in Marietta. Nowhere else is there felt—what is so rare in America—such veneration for the deeds of the fathers, such conscious and never-forgotten appreciation of their endeavors and their aspirations; nowhere a greater, albeit an unobtrusive pride in their achievements.

"This local spirit and the nature of the events that occasion this anniversary, combined to give a distinctive character to the celebration of to-day. The blare of trumpet, the roll and rattle of drum, the straggling procession, the boisterous and empty-headed oratory were notably absent, and in their place the orderly gatherings of intelligent people from all parts of the Union to listen to, and dwell upon the best thoughts which the significance of the day inspired in the minds of deep-thinking men. No better index of the character of the occasion can be found than that among those present were official delegates from Massachusetts, Virginia, and other commonwealths, from the American Historical Association, the Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Ohio and other State Historical Societies. The Ohio Historical Society had fittingly ushered in the great celebration by holding its annual meeting here on the fifth and sixth of April, when several addresses well befitting the occasion were presented, that only served to whet the men-

tal appetites for the great historic and literary feast of to-day. * * * * *

"Freedom, religion, education, morality are the keynotes struck throughout the celebration, and Virginia and Massachusetts have joined hands in congratulating themselves and the Northwest upon the completion of the first century of the career of the first born child of the United States."

W. P. CUTLER.

ADDRESSES OF APRIL SEVENTH.

Address of Welcome by Governor J. B. Foraker.

Fellow-Citizens: The duty that has been assigned to me in connection with this occasion is very simple in its character. It does not require nor even allow me to enumerate, much less elaborate, any of the many interesting and important suggestions which a consideration of the event we celebrate is calculated to start in every intelligent mind. Neither does it authorize me to recount the progress and the triumphs of the century that has since elapsed. All this has been assigned to others, who are here formally to address you. They will tell who the men were who constituted that brave, heroic pioneer band who landed here on the seventh day of April, 1787. They will tell you of their trials and tribulations, their sacrifices and sufferings, their proud patriotism and their peerless purposes. And they will also point out to you the importance, directly and indirectly, of that first settlement, upon not only this Northwest Territory, but also upon the United States and the whole world. They will indicate how the spirit of liberty that saved and dedicated this section to free institutions thus turned the balance in favor of freedom as against slavery, and saved this Republic, with its recoguition of human rights, to be the beacon light and cheer and encouragement to the liberty-loving people of the whole civilized earth.

These orators will also doubtless tell you the thrilling story of how the wilderness has been transformed into a garden, how farms and cities have succeeded forests and savages, how manufactures, commerce, art, science, education, literature and morality have here flourished and blessed mankind. All this, I say, pertains to the duties that are imposed upon the distinguished gentlemen who are soon

to be introduced to you. My duty is the simple one of speaking but a word of welcome. When the forty-eight passengers of that old, but modern, Mayflower landed here one hundred years ago there was no one to speak such a word to them. They had left the world behind. They found here only the wilds of nature, a necessity to sacrifice and an opportunity to labor.

But how changed! Our State is but one of the five great empires, almost, that have been created from what was then known as the 'territory lying northwest of the river Ohio.' And yet we have within our borders a population of nearly four millions of people. Our forty thousand square miles of area are covered with all the improvements, conveniences, facilities, beauties and adornments of the most advanced modern Christian civilization, and Ohio in these respects is but typical, not only of that original Northwest Territory, but also of that further and greater West lying still beyond, and stretching away to the golden shores of the Pacific.

This is the hour of our might and glory. In it we turn to this spot, proud of our achievements, but not unmindful of our humble beginning. We come, however, not to boast of what has been accomplished, but to express appreciation for those conditions by which that beginning was surrounded, on account of which all that has since followed was made possible. We come here to-day remembering that we owe to New England and to Virginia and to other of our sister States a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid, except only by that necessary compensation that must result, if we continue to stand together, as God and our fathers intended, for an indissoluble Union, a common Constitution, one country, one flag, and one destiny of the whole American people.

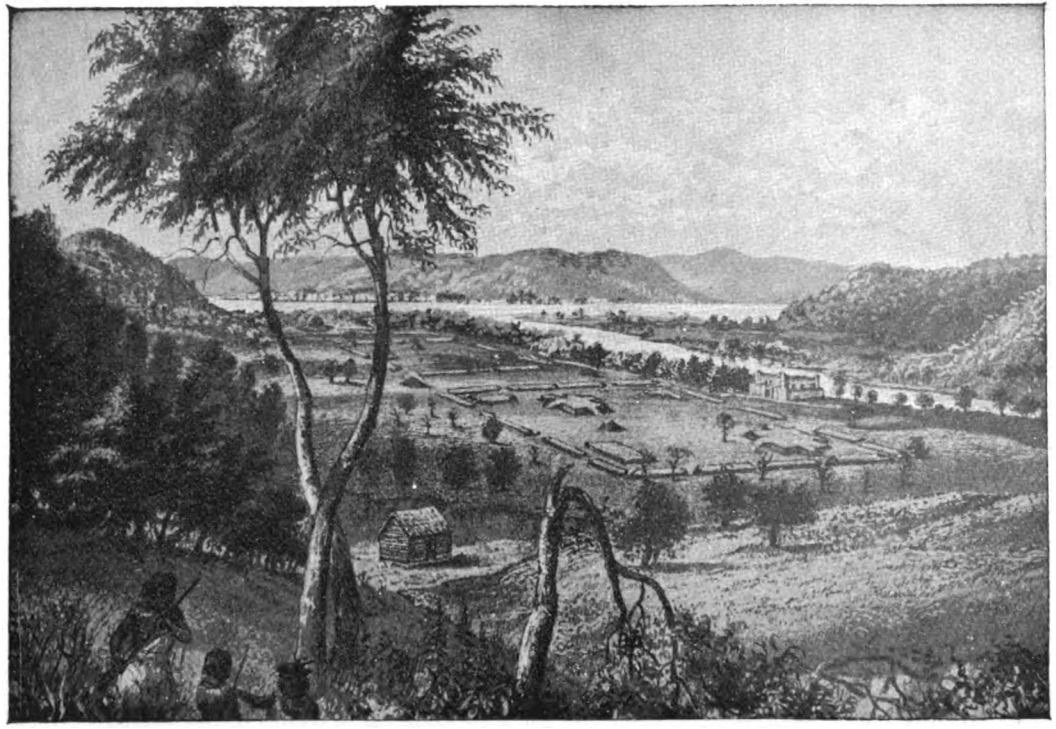
In other words, we remember to-day, and are here to give testimony to them, the effective good works of Manasseh Cutler and his associates and co-laborers in demanding and securing, as a condition precedent to their occupation of

this soil, our first organic law, that immortal instrument, the Ordinance of 1787; and for the further purpose of giving testimony that we remember with gratitude the generous, liberal, patriotic action of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Delaware in voting, as they did by their representatives in that old Continental Congress, that slavery, although a domestic institution with them, should not be allowed to put its accursed blight on this fair heritage. The people of this Commonwealth remember how largely they are indebted for the blessings they have reaped and enjoyed, to these important contributions from our sister States, and hence it was that, in connection with this occasion, they not only remembered this indebtedness, but were solicitous that representatives of these other Commonwealths should be here to engage with us in the exercises of this day. The spirit that prompted the invitations, in response to which our visiting friends are honoring us with their presence, bids me say to them now that they are welcome—earnestly, heartily, cordially—thrice welcome to our midst, our homes, our hearts and a participation in this joyous event.

ORATION OF HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

THERE are doubtless many persons in this audience who have gathered here as to their Father's house. They salute their Mother on her birthday with the prayer and the confident hope that the life which now completes its first century may be immortal as liberty. If we were here only to do honor to Marietta—to celebrate the planting of this famous town, coeval with the Republic, seated by the beautiful river, her annals crowded with memories of illustrious soldiers and statesmen—this assemblage would be well justified and accounted for.

But there is far more than this in the occasion. The states which compose what was once the Northwest Territory may properly look upon this as their birthday rather than that upon which they were admitted into the Union. The company who came to Marietta with Rufus Putnam April 7, 1788, came to found, not one State, but five, whose institutions they demanded should be settled, before they started, by an irrevocable compact. These five children, born of a great parentage and in a great time, are, as we count the life of nations, still in earliest youth. Yet they already contain within themselves all the resources of a great empire. Here is the stimulant climate of the temperate zone, where brain and body are at their best. Here will be a population of more than fifteen millions at the next census. Here is an area about equal to that of the Austrian Empire, and larger than that of any other country in Europe except Russia. Here is a wealth more than three times that of any country on this continent except the Republic of which they are a part—a wealth a thousand times that of Massachusetts, including Maine, a hundred years ago; one-third larger than that of Spain; equal to that of Holland and Belgium and Denmark combined; equal now, I suppose, to that of Italy; already half as great as that of the vast empire of Russia, with its



SITE OF MARIETTA AND HARMAR, 1788.

population of more than a hundred millions, whose possessions cover a sixth part of the habitable globe. Below the earth are exhaustless stores of iron, and coal, and salt, and copper. Above, field, and farm, and forest, can easily feed and clothe and shelter the entire population of Europe, with her sixty empires, kingdoms and republics.

The yearly product of the manufacture of these five States is estimated by the best authorities at from twelve to fifteen hundred millions of dollars. Everything needed for a perfect workshop in all the mechanic and manufacturing arts has nature fashioned and gathered here, within easy reach, as nowhere else on earth. These states had, in 1886, forty-one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three miles of railway; equal, within two hundred miles, to that of Great Britain and France combined; nearly three times that of Austria or Russia, and about twice that of Germany; while mighty rivers and mightier lakes already bear along their borders a commerce rivaling that of the ports of the Old World, to fair cities and prosperous towns, each one of which has its own wonderful and fascinating story. And above all this, and better than all this, man, the noblest growth this soil supplies, descended of a great race, from which he has inherited the love of liberty, the sense of duty, the instinct of honor, is here to relate and celebrate his century of stainless history. Whatever of these things nature has not given is to be traced directly to the institutions of civil and religious liberty the wisdom of your fathers established; above all, to the great Ordinance. As the great jurist and statesman of Ohio said more than fifty years ago: "The spirit of the Ordinance of 1787 pervades them all." Here was the first human government under which absolute civil and religious liberty has always prevailed. Here no witch was ever hanged or burned. No heretic was ever molested. Here no slave was ever born or dwelt. When older states or nations, where the chains of human bondage have been broken, shall utter the proud boast, "With a great sum

obtained I this freedom," each sister of this imperial group —Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin—may lift her queenly head with the yet prouder answer, "But I was free-born."

They were destined, also, to determine the character and decide the fate of the great Republic of which they are a part, and, through that, of constitutional liberty on earth. In saying this I speak with careful consideration of the meaning of the words. I wish, above all things, on this occasion, to avoid extravagance. I hope that what is said here may bear the examination of students of history in this most skeptical and critical age, and may be recalled on this spot without a blush, by those who shall come after us, for many a future centennial.

There is no better instance than this of the effect of well-ordered liberty on the fortune of a people. Nature is no respecter of persons in her bounty. The buried race who built yonder mound dwelt here for ages, under the same sky, on the bank of the same river, with the same climate and soil. We know not who they were. Their institutions and government, their arts and annals have perished in a deeper oblivion than that which covers the builders of the Pyramids—which moved Sir Thomas Browne to his sublimest utterance: "History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveler, as he paceth amazedly through these deserts, asketh of her, 'Who builded them?' and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not." The Indian and the Frenchman dwelt here, but could not hold their place. The growth of city and town and country, the wealth of the soil and the mine, the commerce of lake and river, the happiness and virtue of the fireside, the culture of the college, the three million children at school, the statute book on whose page there is no shame, are due to the great and wise men who gave you, as your birthday gift, universal liberty, universal suffrage, equal rights and inviolable faith.

There is no obscurity in the date or in the transaction.

History pours upon the event its blazing sunlight. We see it, in all its relations, more clearly than it was seen by those who took part in it; more clearly than we behold the events of our own time. No passion disturbs our judgment, leading us either to exaggerate or depreciate. There is room for no feeling in our bosoms to-day but an honorable pride in our ancestry and an honorable love of our country. "It is a tale brief and familiar to all; for the examples by which you may still be happy are to be found, not abroad, men of Athens, but at home."

History furnishes countless examples in every age of heroic achievement and of great enterprise, in war and peace, wisely conducted to successful issue. But the events which men remember and celebrate, which become the household words and stirring memories of nations, the sacred Olympiads by which time is measured, and from which eras take their date, are those which mark the great advances of Liberty on to new ground which she has held. Such, by unanimous consent of the race to which we belong, are the enactment of Magna Charta, the compact on board the Mayflower, the Declaration of Independence, the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and later, in our own day, the Proclamation of Emancipation. I believe the event which you celebrate is not behind any of these, whether in good fortune as to time, in the character of the actors, in the wisdom which guided them, or in the far-reaching beneficence of the result.

I am speaking to men who know their own history. I can but repeat — we gather on such occasions but to repeat — familiar stories —

> "Our lips must tell them to our sons,
> And they again to theirs."

You know better than I do the miracle of history which brought the founders of the Northwest to this spot at the precise time when alone they could bring with them the institutions which moulded its destiny. A few

years earlier or a few years later and the great Ordinance would have been impossible.

Look for a moment at the forty-eight men who came here a hundred years ago to found the first American civil government, whose jurisdiction did not touch tide-water. See what manner of men they were; in what school they had been trained; what traditions they had inherited. I think you must agree that of all the men who ever lived on earth fit to perform that "ancient, primitive, and heroical work," the founding of a state, they were the fittest. Puritanism, as a distinct, vital, and predominant power, endured less than a century in England. It appears early in the reign of Elizabeth, who came to the throne in 1558, and departs at the restoration of Charles II, in 1660. But in that brief time it was the preserver, and may almost be called the creator, of English freedom. The Puritans created the modern English House of Commons. That House, when they took their seats in it, was the feeble and timid instrument of despotism. When they left it, it was what it has ever since been, the strongest, freest, most venerable legislative body the world had ever seen. When they took their seats in it, it was little more than the register of the King's command. When they left it, it was the main depository of the national dignity and the national will. King, and minister, and prelate, who stood in their way, they brought to the bar and to the block. In that brief but crowded century they had made the name of Englishman the highest title of honor upon earth. A great historian has said "the dread of their invincible army was on all the inhabitants of the Island." He might have added, the dread of their invincible leader was on all the inhabitants of Europe.

Puritanism had not spent itself as a force in England when it crossed the sea with Bradford and Winthrop. What a genius for creating the institutions of liberty and laying deep the foundations of order was in that handful of men who almost at the same instant framed the first written constitution that ever existed, and devised the New Eng-

land town, that unmatched mechanism of local self-government, which has survived every dynasty in Europe and existed for two centuries and a half almost without a change.

The forty-one men who landed from the Mayflower at Plymouth and the forty-eight men who came down the Ohio in the Mayflower to Marietta were of the same race and the same faith. It was one hundred and sixty-eight years from the planting of the Puritan Commonwealth to the founding of the great Northwest, destined so soon to become, and, as it seems, forever to remain, the seat and center of empire on this continent. But in the meantime that faith had been broadened, and softened, and liberalized. The training of the race in that mighty gymnasium had changed the spirit of English Puritanism into the spirit of American liberty.

To Americans there is no more delightful and instructive study than to trace the hand of a divine Providence in that agelong development of the capacity to take their full and leading part in the achievement of independence, in building the states, in laying the foundation of empire in the little English sect, contending at first only for bare toleration. See how the Power which planted the coal, whose subtle chemistry gets ready the iron for the use of the new race, which dismisses the star on its pathway through the skies, promising that in a thousand years it shall return again true to its hour, and keeps his word, gets his children ready that they shall not fail in the appointed time for the fulfillment of his high design.

First. The history of the men who founded Ohio and of their ancestors since they landed at Plymouth and Salem was essentially a military history. It was a training which developed, more than any other, the best quality of the individual soldier, whether for command or for service. There never was West Point education like that of this military school. Lord Chatham declared to the House of Lords in 1777: "America has carried you through four wars, and

will now carry you to your death. I venture to tell your Lordships that the American gentry will make officers fit to command the troops of all the European powers."

To many of them it was a life under arms. Every boy was a sharp-shooter. The Indian wars, where, as Fisher Ames said, heroes are not celebrated, but are formed; the great struggle with France, from whose glory and victory your fathers were never absent, of which a continent was the prize; the great wars of William and Mary, and of Queen Anne; Fort Edward; William Henry; Crown Point; Martinique; the Havana; twice captured Louisburg, which they took the second time with its own cannon; Quebec, where they heard the shout of triumph which filled the dying ear of Wolfe, and where, at last, the lilies went down before the lion, never again, but for a brief period in Louisiana, to float as an emblem of dominion over any part of the American continent — these were the school-rooms of their discipline. Whatever share others may have taken, the glory of that contest is your fathers' glory; that victory is your fathers' victory. Then came twelve years of hollow and treacherous truce, and then — the Revolution.

Second. It was not to the school of war alone that God put these, his master-builders of States. For a century and a half every man played his part where the most important functions were those managed most directly by the people, under a system which, in all domestic affairs, was self-government in everything but name. They introduced all the great social changes, which prepared the way for the Republic, and made it inevitable. As has already been said, they adopted the first written social compact, and devised the town system. They also abolished primogeniture, which act, Mr. Webster declared, "fixed the future frame and form of their government." De Tocqueville says: "The law of descent was the last step of equality. When the legislator has regulated the law of inheritance he may rest from his labor. The machine once put in motion will go on for ages and advance, as if self-guided,

toward a given point." They established universal education. They incorporated into their State the ancient customs of Kent, by virtue of which every child was born free and the power asserted to devise estates free from all feudal burdens. They also abolished entails.

Third. During the whole time the resources of a skillful statesmanship were taxed to the utmost to maintain their free institutions against the power of England, where every dynasty in turn—Stuart, Cromwell, Hanover—looked jealously upon the infant Commonwealths. The Massachusetts charter conferred upon the colony the power only of making laws not repugnant to the laws of England, and reserved a veto to the crown. The Puritan magistrates shrewdly resisted the desire of their people for a code, and contrived that these great changes should, as far as might be, be introduced as customs, so as not to be submitted to the authorities in England. The Massachusetts Body of Liberties was sent about from town to town in manuscript, and was never printed until 1843. There was never a time when the mighty power of England was not a menace to our ancestors, from the first settlement throughout the whole of that long strife, which did not really come to an end until Jay's treaty and Anthony Wayne's victory on the Maumee, in 1794.

Fourth. They had a religious belief which held that the law of God was the supreme practical rule in the conduct of States. However narrow and bigoted at times in its application, we find throughout their history a conscientious and reverent endeavor to govern their Commonwealth by this rule. Thus the theological discussions in which they delighted, the constant consideration of the relation of man to his Creator and to the supreme law of duty, became blended with that of their natural rights and their rights under the charter and the British Constitution, and of the true boundary which separates liberty and authority in the State. So, when the time for Independence came, they had decided the Revolution in their great debate

before a gun was fired. It is said the cannon of the Union armies in the late war were shotted with the reply to Hayne. The ammunition of the Continental soldiery in their earlier war for freedom came from the discussion of the pulpit and the farmer's fireside.

Fifth. There would have been at best but a provincial and narrow character had New England alone furnished the theater on which the scene was to be acted. The great drama of the Revolution brought her people under an influence to which they owe more than they have always acknowledged. I mean that of their allies and compatriots of the other colonies, who were their associates in that mighty struggle, especially that of Virginia. John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin and Gouverneur Morris, John Dickinson and Luther Martin were new and powerful teachers to the little communities, who, with every faculty of intellect and heart, were studying the fundamental principles of political science under Otis and the Adamses. But there now rose upon their sky the great Virginia constellation. If Virginia were held to the Union by no other tie she is forever bound to it by that tie, ever strongest to a generous spirit, the benefits she has conferred upon it. We shall see how her example of self-denial made possible the event we celebrate, and how the wisdom of her statesmen gave the event its character of far-reaching and perpetual beneficence. The teachers of New England now brought their pupils from the school where they had so well learned the principles of natural right and civil liberty to the great university where they were to take their degree in the building of states and framing constitutions under Washington and Jefferson, and Patrick Henry and Madison, and the Lees and Marshall. Within twelve years before the settlement at Marietta eleven of the thirteen States formed their constitutions. The convention that framed the Constitution of the United States was in session when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed.

Sixth. This is by no means all. There is something

more than the love of liberty—something more than the habit of successful resistance to oppression and the courage and power to assert the rights of mankind—needed to fit men to construct great states on sure foundations. The generation which was on the stage when the Northwest was planted had received another lesson. They had been taught the necessity of strengthening their political institutions, so that they should afford due security for property and social order and enable government to exert promptly the power needed for its own protection, without which it cannot long endure. Shays' insurrection in Massachusetts in 1787 was inspired mainly by the desire to prevent the enforcement of debts by the courts. To it was doubtless due the clause in the Ordinance of 1787,—inserted also in the Constitution—forbidding the passage of any law impairing the obligation of contracts. The disrespect with which the Continenal Congress is sometimes spoken of is unjust. Its want of vigor was due to the limitation put upon its powers by the States, and to no want of wisdom or energy in its members. That body will ever hold a great place in history—if it had done nothing else—which declared Independence, which called Washington to the chief command, which began its labors with the great state papers which Chatham declared surpassed the masterpieces of antiquity, and ended them with the Ordinance of 1787. But the States, jealous of all authority but their own refused to confer on Congress the essential power of taxation and the means to enforce its own resolves. The effect of this short-sighted jealousy, in increasing and prolonging the burden of the war and in lowering the national character with foreign nations after it was over, the people had learned, to their great cost.

From all this experience there had come to the men who were on the stage in this country in 1787 an aptness for the construction of constitutions and great permanent statutes such as the world never saw before or since. Their supremacy in this respect is as unchallenged as

that of the great authors of the reign of Elizabeth in the drama.

Governor Stoughton said, in 1668, that "God sifted a whole nation, that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness." The quality of the grain continued to improve under his care. Never did the great Husbandman choose his seed more carefully than when he planted Ohio. I do not believe the same number of persons fitted for the highest duties and responsibilities of war and peace could ever have been found in a community of the same size as were among the men who founded Marietta in the spring of 1788, or who joined them within twelve months therafter. "Many of our associates," said Varnum, on the first 4th of July, "are distinguished for wealth, education, and virtue; and others, for the most part, are reputable, industrious, well-informed planters, farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics." "No colony in America," said Washington, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." "The best men in Connecticut and Massachusetts," writes Carrington to James Monroe, "a description of men who will fix the character and politics throughout the whole territory, and which will probably endure to the latest period of time." "I know them all," cried Lafayette, when the list of nearly fifty military officers, who were among the pioneers, were read to him in Marietta, in 1825, the tender memories of forty years thronging his aged bosom—"I know them all. I saw them at Brandywine, Yorktown, and Rhode Island. They were the bravest of the brave." Washington and Varnum, as well as Carrington and Lafayette, dwell chiefly, as was Washington's fashion, upon the personal quality of the men, and not upon their public offices or titles. Indeed, to be named with such com-

mendation, upon personal knowledge, by the cautious and conscientious Washington, was to a veteran soldier better than being knighted on the field of battle. They were the very best specimens of the New England character that could be found. They were among the most steadfast, constant, liberty-loving men that ever lived. Self-government had become to them a prime necessity of life; but it was that self-government, the sublimest thing in the universe except its Creator, by which a human will governs itself in obedience to a law higher than its own desire. They were men of a very sincere and simple religious faith. The belief in a personal immortality, that hope's perpetual breath, without which no gift of noblest origin ever cometh to man or nation, was to them a living reality. The scene which Burns describes in the Cotter's Saturday Night, from which he says, "Old Scotia's grandeur springs," was of nightly occurrence in the cabins of these soldiers and Indian-fighters.

The little company contained many military officers of high rank, men who had performed important exploits in war, friends and associates of Washington and Lafayette, and statesmen who had been leaders of the people in the days before the Revolution. If that assembly had been called, in the Providence of God, to assert the rights of Englishmen, as did the barons of Magna Charta; or to make an original social compact, as did the men on board the Mayflower; or to found towns and create a body of liberties and customs, as did the men of from 1620 to 1650; or, to state the case between the fundamental rights of human nature and King George, as did the men of the Declaration in 1776; or to conduct and lead and plan a great defensive war, or to fashion a constitution for state or nation, they would have been equal to the task.

There are many names that rise to the lips to-day. The settlers are not here; but their children are here. The men who knew them, or who have heard their story from the lips of fathers and mothers who knew them, are here.

Your hearts are full of their memories. The stately figures of illustrious warriors and statesmen, the forms of sweet and comely matrons, living and real as if you had seen them yesterday, rise before you now. Varnum, than whom a courtlier figure never entered the presence of a Queen—soldier, statesman, scholar, orator,—whom Thomas Paine, no mean judge, who had heard the greatest English orators in the greatest days of English eloquence, declared the most eloquent man he had ever heard speak; Whipple, gallant seaman as ever trod a deck,—a man whom Farragut or Nelson would have loved as a brother; first of the glorious procession of American naval heroes; first to fire an American gun at the flag of England on the sea; first to unfurl the flag of his own country on the Thames; first pioneer of the river commerce of the Ohio to the Gulf; Meigs, hero of Sagg Harbor, of the march to Quebec, of the storming of Stony Point, — the Christian gentleman and soldier, whom the Cherokees named the White Path, in token of the unfailing kindness and inflexible faith which had conveyed to their darkened minds some not inadequate conception of the spirit of Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; Parsons, soldier, scholar, judge, one of the strongest arms on which Washington leaned, who first suggested the Continental Congress, from the story of whose life could almost be written the history of the Northern war; the chivalric and ingenious Devol, said by his biographer to be "the most perfect figure of a man to be seen amongst a thousand;" the noble presence of Sproat; the sons of Israel Putnam and Manasseh Cutler; Fearing, and Greene, and Goodale, and the Gilmans; Tupper, leader in church and state, — the veteran of a hundred exploits, who seems, in the qualities of intellect and heart, like a twin brother of Rufus Putnam; the brave and patriotic, but unfortunate St. Clair, first Governor of the Northwest, President of the Continental Congress; — the mighty shades of these heroes and their companions pass before our eyes, beneath the

primeval forest, as the shades of the Homeric heroes before Ulysses in the Land of Asphodel. But no fable mingles with their story. No mythical legend of encounter with monster or dragon or heathen god exaggerates their heroism. There is no tale of she-wolf nurse, whose milk blended with the blood of their leader. The foe whose war-whoop woke the sleep of the cradle on the banks of the Muskingum needed no epic poet to add to his terrors. The she-wolf that mingled in your father's life was a very real animal. These men are in the full light of history. We can measure them, their strength and their weakness, with the precision of mathematics. They are the high-water mark of the American character thus far. Let their descendants give themselves up to the spirit of this great patriotic occasion and to the contemplation of their virtues, to form a reservoir of heroic thought and purpose to be ready when occasion comes.

It is said the founders were deceived and did not select the best place for their setttlement. But it seemed a paradise to men from New England. Drowne, in the first anniversary oration, on the 7th of April, the day which the founders resolved should be "forever observed as a day of public festival in the territory of the Ohio Company," declared that "then this virgin soil received you first, alluring from your native homes by charms substantial and inestimable;

> "A wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
> Wantoned as in her prime, and played at will
> Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
> Wild above rule or art; the gentle gales
> Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
> Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
> Those balmy spoils."

The exuberant eloquence of Varnum also failed him. He, too, could find nothing less than Milton's picture of Eden to express his transports.

As I have read the story of these brave men—of some of them for the first time—in the sober pages of Hildreth,

the historian of the Pioneers, I could not help applying to Ohio the proud boast of Pericles concerning Athens: "Athens alone among her contempories is superior to the report of her. Of how few Hellenes can it be said, as of them, that their deeds, when weighed in the balance, have been found equal to their fame."

But what can be said which shall be adequate to the worth of him who was the originator, inspirer, leader, and guide of the Ohio settlement from the time when he first conceived it in the closing days of the Revolution until Ohio took her place in the Union as a free State, in the summer of 1803? Every one of that honorable company would have felt it as a personal wrong had he been told that the foremost honors of this occasion would not be given to Rufus Putnam. Lossing calls him "the Father of Ohio." Burnet says "he was regarded as their principal chief and leader." He was chosen the superintendent at the meeting of the Ohio Company, in Boston, November 21, 1787, "to be obeyed and respected accordingly." The agents of the Company, when they voted in 1789 "that the 7th of April be forever observed as a public festival," speak of it as "the day when General Putnam commenced the settlement in this country." Harris dedicates the documents collected in his appendix to Rufus Putnam, "the founder and father of the State." He was a man after Washington's own pattern and after Washington's own heart; of the blood and near kindred of Israel Putnam, the man who "dared to lead where any man dared to follow." He was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, April 9, 1730. Like so many of the ablest men of his time, he was his own teacher. His passion for knowledge, especially mathematics and engineering, overcame the obstacle of early poverty. He was a veteran of the old French war, where his adventures sound like one of Cooper's romances. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel of a Worcester county regiment at the outbreak of the Revolution and joined the camp at Cambridge just after the battle of Lexington. His

genius as an engineer was soon disclosed. He was, as Washington expressly and repeatedly certified, the ablest engineer officer of the war, whether American or Frenchman. He was soon called by a council of generals and field officers to direct the construction of a large part of the works on which the position of the army besieging Boston depended. He told Washington he had never read a word on that branch of science. But the chieftain would take no denial. He performed his task to the entire satisfaction of his commander, and was soon ordered to superintend the defenses of Providence and Newport.

One evening in the winter of 1776 Putnam was invited to dine at headquarters. Washington detained him after the company had departed to consult him about an attack on Boston. The general preferred an entrenchment on Dorchester Heights, which would compel Howe to attack him and risk another Bunker Hill engagement with a different result, to marching his own troops over the ice to storm the town. But the ground was frozen to a great depth and resisted the pick-axe like solid rock. Putnam was ordered to consider the matter, and if he could find any way to execute Washington's plan to report at once. He himself best tells the story of the accident—we may almost say the miracle—by which the deliverance of Massachusetts from the foreign invader, a veteran British army eleven thousand strong, was wrought by the instrumentality of the millwright's apprentice:

"I left headquarters in company with another gentleman, and on our way came by General Heath's. I had no thoughts of calling until I came against his door, and then I said, 'Let us call on General Heath,' to which he agreed. I had no other motive but to pay my respects to the general. While there, I cast my eye on a book which lay on the table, lettered on the back 'Muller's Field Engineer.' I immediately requested the general to lend it to me. He denied me. I repeated my request. He again refused, and told me he never lent his books. I then told him that

he must recollect that he was one who, at Roxbury, in a measure compelled me to undertake a business which, at the time, I confessed I never had read a word about, and that he must let me have the book. After some more excuses on his part and close pressing on mine I obtained the loan of it."

In looking at the table of contents his eye was caught by the word "chandelier," a new word to him. He read carefully the description and soon had his plan ready. The chandeliers were made of stout timbers, ten feet long, into which were framed posts five feet high and five feet apart, placed on the ground in parallel lines and the open spaces filled in with bundles of fascines, strongly picketed together, thus forming a movable parapet of wood instead of earth, as heretofore done. The men were immediately set to work in the adjacent apple orchard and woodlands cutting and bundling up the fascines and carrying them with the chandeliers on to the ground selected for the work. They were put in their place in a single night.

When the sun went down on Boston on the 4th of March Washington was at Cambridge, and Dorchester Heights as nature or the husbandman had left them in the autumn. When Sir William Howe rubbed his eyes on the morning of the 5th he saw through the heavy mists the entrenchments, on which, he said, the rebels had done more work in a night than his whole army would have done in a month. He wrote to Lord Dartmouth that it must have been the employment of at least twelve thousand men. His own effective force, including seamen, was but about eleven thousand. Washington had but fourteen thousand fit for duty. "Some of our officers," said the Annual Register — I suppose Edmund Burke was the writer — "acknowledged that the expedition with which these works were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds the wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency which are so frequent in the Eastern Romances." Howe was a man of

Rufus Putnam

spirit. He took the prompt resolution to attempt to dislodge the Americans the next night before their works were made impregnable. Earl Percy, who had learned something of Yankee quality at Bunker Hill and Lexington, was to command the assault. But the Power that dispersed the Armada baffled all the plans of the British general. There came "a dreadful storm at night," which made it impossible to cross the bay until the American works were perfected.

We take no leaf from the pure chaplet of Washington's fame when we say that the success of the first great military operation of the Revolution was due to Rufus Putnam. The Americans, under Israel Putnam, marched into Boston, drums beating and colors flying. The veteran British army, aided by a strong naval force, soldier and sailor, Englishman and Tory, sick and well, bag and baggage, got out of Boston before the strategy of Washington, the engineering of Putnam, and the courage of the despised and untried yeomen, from whose leaders they withheld the usual titles of military respect. "It resembled," said Burke, "more the emigration of a nation than the breaking up of a camp."

But it is no part of our task to-day to narrate the military service of General Putnam, although that includes the fortification of West Point, an important part in the capture of Burgoyne, and an able plan, made at the request of Washington, for putting the army on a peace establishment and for a chain of fortified military posts along the entire frontier. We have to do only with the entrenchments constructed under the command of this great engineer for the constitutional fortress of American liberty.

Putnam removed his family to Rutland, Worcester county, Massachusetts, early in 1780. His house is yet standing, about ten miles from the birthplace of the grandfather of President Garfield. He returned himself to Rutland when the war was over. He had the noble public spirit of his day to which no duty seemed trifling or

obscure. For five years he tilled his farm and accepted and performed the public offices to which his neighbors called him. He was representative to the General Court, selectman, constable, tax collector, and committee to lay out school lots for the town; state surveyor, commissioner to treat with the Penobscot Indians, and volunteer in putting down Shays' rebellion. He was one of the founders and first trustees of Leicester Academy and, with his family of eight children, gave from his modest means a hundred pounds toward its endowment.

But he had larger plans in mind. The town constable of Rutland was planning an empire. His chief counsellor in his design was his old leader and friend, George Washington. Washington had been interested in the settlement of the Northwest, and in connecting it with the Atlantic by land and water routes, almost from boyhood. His brothers, Lawrence and Augustine, were members of the first Ohio Company, in 1748. He was himself a large land-owner on the Ohio and the Kanawha.

Before the army broke up a petition of two hundred and eighty-eight officers, of which Putnam was the chief promoter, was sent by him to Washington, to be forwarded to Congress, for a grant of lands north and northwest of the River Ohio to the veterans of the army in redemption of the pledges of Congress; and, further, for sales to such officers and soldiers as might choose to become purchasers on a system which would effectually prevent the monopoly of large tracts. A year later Putnam renews his urgent application to Washington for aid in his project, to which he says he has given much time since he left the army. He asks the general to recommend to him some member of Congress with whom he can directly correspond, as he does not like even to hint these things to the delegates from Massachusetts, though worthy men. She is forming plans to sell her eastern lands. Washington answers that he has exerted every power with Congress that he is master of, and had dwelt upon Putnam's argument

for a speedy decision, but Congress had adjourned without action.

In 1785 Congress appointed General Putnam one of the surveyors of northwestern lands. He says, in his letter accepting the office, that "a wish to promote emigration from among my friends into that country, and not the wages stipulated, is my principal motive." He was compelled by his engagements with Massachusetts to devolve the duty upon General Tupper as a substitute. Tupper could not get below Pittsburgh in the season of 1785. He came back to Massachusetts in the winter with such knowledge of the country as he had gained, and reported to Putnam at Rutland, on the 9th of January, 1786. The two veterans sat up together all night. At day-break they had completed a call for a convention to form a company. It was to all officers and soldiers of the late war, and all other good citizens residing in Massachusetts, who might wish to become purchasers of lands in the Ohio country. It was to extend afterward to the inhabitants of other States "as might be agreed on." The convention was held at the Bunch of Grapes, in Boston, March 1, 1786; chose a committee, of which Putnam was chairman, to draft a plan for their organization, and so the Ohio Company was begun. The year was spent in obtaining the names of the associates. They were men of property and character, carefully selected, who meant to become actual residents in the new country. They were men to whom the education, religion, freedom, private and public faith, which they incorporated in the fundamental compact of Ohio, were the primal necessaries of life. In 1787 the directors appointed Putnam superintendent of their affairs. In the winter everything was ready. Putnam went out from his simple house in Rutland to dwell no more in his native Massachusetts. It is a plain wooden dwelling, perhaps a little better than the average of the farmer's houses of New England of that day. Yet about which of Europe's palaces do holier memories cling? Honor, and Fame, and

Freedom, and Empire, and the Fate of America went with him as he crossed the threshold. The rest of his life is, in large part, the history of Marietta and of Ohio for more than thirty years. "The impress of his character," says his biographer, "is strongly marked on the population of Marietta, on their buildings, institutions and manners."

The wise and brave men who settled Marietta would have left an enduring mark, under whatever circumstances, on any community to which they had belonged. But their colony was founded at the precise and only time when they could have secured the constitution which has given the Northwest its character and enabled it, at last, to establish in the whole country the principles of freedom which inspired alike the company of the first and second Mayflower. The glory of the Northwest is the Ordinance of 1787. What share of that glory belongs to the men who founded the Northwest? Were your fathers the architects and designers, as well as the builders, of their State? Was the constitutional liberty, which they enjoyed themselves and left to their children, their own conception and aspiration, or was it conferred by the Continental Congress?

> "A gift of that which is not to be given,
> By all the blended powers of earth and Heaven."

What was it that applied the spur to the halting Congress whose action the whole power of Washington had failed to overcome? The researches of historical scholars have, within a few years, opened to us for the first time this most interesting chapter of American history.

The firmness and foresight of Maryland forbade her delegates to ratify the articles of confederation until the claims of individual States to the lands north and west of the Ohio River were abandoned for the common benefit. New York set the example. The cession of Virginia was the most marked instance of a large and generous self-denial. It not only gave to the United States a resource for a large payment on the public debt and a large provision for veteran soldiers, but gave the country its first

strictly common and national interest and the first subject for the exercise of an authority wholly national.

The necessity was felt for an early provision for a survey and sale of the territory and for the government of the political bodies to be established there. These two subjects were, in the main, kept distinct. Various plans were reported from time to time. Ten committees were appointed on the frame of government and three on the schemes for survey and sale. Fourteen different reports were made at different times; but from September 6, 1780, when the resolution passed asking the States to cede their lands, until July 6, 1787, when Manasseh Cutler, the envoy of the Ohio Company, came to the door, every plan adopted and every plan proposed, except a motion of Rufus King, which he himself abandoned, we now see would have been fraught with mischief if it had become and continued law.

March 1, 1784, the day Virginia's deed of cession was delivered, Jefferson reported from a committee of which he was chairman an ordinance which divided the territory into ten States, each to be admitted into the Union when its population equaled that of the smallest existing State. He thought, as he declared to Monroe, that if great States were established beyond the mountains they would separate themselves from the confederacy and become its enemies. His ordinance, when reported, contained a provision excluding slavery after 1800. This was stricken out by the Congress. It is manifest, from subsequent events, that, under it, the territory would have been occupied by settlers from the South, with their slaves. It would have been impossible to exclude the institution of slavery if it had once got footing. With or without his proviso, the scheme of Mr. Jefferson would have resulted in dividing the territory into ten small slave-holding States. They would have come into the Union with their twenty votes in the Senate. Their weight would have inclined the scale irresistibly. The American Union would have been a great slave-holding empire. This pro-

posal, so amended, became law April 23, 1784, and continued in force until repealed by the Ordinance of 1787. It contained no republican security except a provision that the government of the States should be republican.

March 16, 1785, Rufus King, at the suggestion of Timothy Pickering, offered a resolve that there should be no slavery in any of the States described in the resolve of 1784. This was sent to a committee of which he was chairman. He reported it back, so amended as to conform to Jefferson's plan for postponing the prohibition of slavery until after 1800, and with a clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves; but it was never acted on.

May 7, 1784, Jefferson reported an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of the public lands. This was recommitted, amended, and finally adopted. Congress rejected the proposition to reserve lands for religious purposes, but retained a provision for schools. It contained also a clause that the lands should pass in descent and dower, according to the custom of gavelkind, until the temporary government was established.

In 1786 a new committee was raised to report a new plan for the government of the territory. This committee made a report, which provided that no State should be admitted from the Western territory until it had a population equal to one-thirteenth of the population of the original States at the preceding census. This would have kept out Ohio till 1820, Indiana till 1850, Illinois till 1860, Michigan till 1880, and Wisconsin till after 1890. The seventh Congress expired while this report was pending. It was revived in the eighth. The clause which would have so long postponed the admission of the States was probably stricken out, though this is not quite certain. But there was little of value in the whole scheme. It contained no barrier against slavery.

This was the state of things when Manasseh Cutler came into the chamber on the morning of July 6, 1787, bearing with him the fate of the Northwest. He had left

Boston on the evening of June 25, where on that day he records in his diary—

"I conversed with General Putnam, and settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company."

He was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. It was said just now that Putnam was a man after Washington's pattern, and after Washington's own heart. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern, and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master in physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners; a favorite in the drawing-room and in the camp; with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time. During his brief service in Congress he made a speech on the judicial system, in 1803, which shows his profound mastery of constitutional principles.

It now fell to his lot to conduct a negotiation second only in importance in the history of his country to that which Franklin conducted with France in 1778. Never was ambassador crowned with success more rapid or more complete.

On the 9th of July the pending ordinance was committed to a new committee—

Edward Carrington, of Virginia;
Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts;
Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia;
John Kean, of South Carolina;
Melancthon Smith, of New York.

They sent a copy of the ordinance which had come over from the last Congress, to Dr. Cutler, that he might make remarks and prepare amendments. He returned the ordinance, with his remarks and amendments, on the 10th. The ordinance was newly modeled and all Cutler's amendments inserted, except one relating to taxation, "and that,"

he says, "was better qualified." It was reported to Congress on the 11th. The clause prohibiting slavery, which had not been included because Mr. Dane "had no idea the States would agree to it," was, on Dane's motion, inserted as an amendment, and on the 13th the greatest and most important legislative act in American history passed unanimously, save a single vote. But one day intervened between the day of the appointment of the committee and that of their report. Cutler returned the copy of the old ordinance with his proposed amendments on one day. The next, the committee reported the finished plan. But two days more elapsed before its final passage.

The measure providing for the terms of the sale to the Ohio Company was passed on the 27th of the same July. Cutler was master of the situation during the whole negotiation. When some of his conditions were rejected he "paid his respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of his intention to depart that day, and, if his terms were not acceded to, to turn his attention to some other part of the country." They urged him "to tarry till the next day and they would put by all other business to complete the contract." He records in his diary that Congress "came to the terms stated in our letter without the least variation."

From this narrative I think it must be clear that the plan which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler settled in Boston was the substance of the Ordinance of 1787. I do not mean to imply that the detail or the language of the great statute was theirs. But I cannot doubt that they demanded a constitution, with its unassailable guaranties for civil liberty, such as Massachusetts had enjoyed since 1780, and such as Virginia had enjoyed since 1776, instead of the meagre provision for a government to be changed at the will of Congress or of temporary popular majorities, which was all Congress had hitherto proposed, and this constitution secured by an irrevocable compact, and that this demand was an inflexible condition of their dealing

with Congress at all. Cutler, with consummate wisdom, addressed himself, on his arrival, to the representatives of Virginia. Jefferson had gone to France in July, 1784, but the weight of his great influence remained. King was in Philadelphia, where the Constitutional Convention was sitting. It was Carrington, of Virginia, who brought Cutler on to the floor. Richard Henry Lee had voted against King's motion to commit his anti-slavery proviso, but the first mover of the Declaration of Independence needed little converting to cause him to favor anything that made for freedom. William Grayson, of Virginia, early and late, earnestly supported the prohibition of slavery, and, when broken in health, he attended the Virginia Legislature in 1788, to secure her consent to the departure from the condition of her deed of cession, which the Ordinance of 1787 effected. Some of the amendments upon the original ordinance now preserved are in his handwriting. To Nathan Dane belongs the immortal honor of having been the draftsman of the statute and the mover of the anti-slavery amendment. His monument has been erected, in imperishable granite, by the greatest of American architects, among the massive columns of the great argument in reply to Hayne. But the legislative leadership was Virginia's. From her came the great weight of Washington, in whose heart the scheme of Rufus Putnam for the colonization of the West occupied a place second only to that of the Union itself. Hers was the great influence of Jefferson, burning with the desire that his country in her first great act of national legislation should make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence a reality. From her came Carrington, chairman of the committee; Lee, its foremost member; and Grayson, then in the chair of the Congress, who, Mr. Bancroft says, "gave, more than any other man in Congress, efficient attention to the territorial question, and whose record against slavery is clearer than that of any other Southern man who was present in 1787."

And let us remember with gratitude, on this anniversary, that when, in 1824, the plan to call a convention in Illinois to sanction the establishment of slavery there was defeated by a majority of sixteen hundred votes, it was to Governor Edward Coles, a son of Virginia, the old friend of Jefferson and Madison, that the result was largely due; and when, in 1803, the convention of the Indiana Territory petitioned Congress for the repeal of the sixth clause of the Ordinance of 1787, it was a Virginian voice, through the lips of John Randolph, whose name and blood are so honorably represented here to-day, that denied the request.

The Ohio Company might well dictate its own terms, even in dealing with the far-sighted statesmen of 1787. The purchase and settlement of this large body of the public lands removed from their minds several subjects of deepest anxiety. It afforded a provision for the veterans of the war. It extinguished a considerable portion of the public debt. It largely increased the value of the rest of the public domain. It placed the shield of a settlement of veteran soldiers between the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia and the most dangerous and powerful Indian tribes on the Continent. It secured to American occupation a territory on which England, France, and Spain were still gazing with eager and longing eyes—in which England, in violation of treaty obligation, still held on to her military posts, hoping that the feeble band of our Union would break in pieces. It removed a fear, never absent from the minds of the public men of that day, that the western settlers would form a new confederacy and seek an alliance with the power that held the outlet of the Mississippi. The strength of this last apprehension is shown in the confidential correspondence of Washington. He twice refers to it in his farewell address—once where he warns the West against "an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power," and again, where he urges them "henceforth to be deaf to those ad-

visers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens."

Congress had nowhere else to look for these vital advantages if the scheme of Putnam and his associates failed. They, on the other hand, would buy all the land they wanted of New York or Massachusetts on their own terms. It is no wonder, then, that the Congress which in seven years had got no further than the Jefferson statute of 1784, and which had struck out of it the anti-slavery proviso, came in four days to the adoption of the Ordinance of '87 with but one dissenting vote.

It will not be expected that I should undertake, within the limits of this discourse, to dwell in detail upon the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 and the benefit they have conferred upon the region over which they have extended. Known throughout this country wherever American history is known, wherever men value constitutional liberty, they are familiar as household words to the men who are assembled here. They are, in some important respects, distinguished above all the other great enactments which lie at the foundation of human societies. If there be anything for which Daniel Webster is distinguished among great orators, it is the discretion and moderation of his speech. He never sought to create an impression or give an emphasis by overstatement. It was well said of him by another native of New England, whose fame as a great public teacher equals his own: "His weight was like the falling of a planet; his discretion, the return of its due and perfect curve." Mr. Webster declared, in a well-known passage: "We are accustomed to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus, but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

The founders of the Northwest and the framers of the Ordinance meant to put its great securities beyond the

reach of any fickleness or change in popular sentiment unless by a revolution which should upheave the foundations of social order itself. They made the six articles "Articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said Territory, to forever remain unalterable unless by common consent." They were to have the force which the philosophers of that day attributed to the original social compact, to which they ascribed the origin of all human society. Three parties, the original States, the new States, and the people, made the compact. This compact was to attend these communities forever, unalterable save by the consent of all three, under whatever new constitutional arrangements they might come. There is the highest contemporary authority for the opinion that these articles would never be affected by ordinary constitutional changes in the States. "It fixed forever," said Mr. Webster, "the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It impressed on the soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen. It laid the interdict against personal servitude in original compact, not only deeper than all local law, but deeper, also, than all local constitutions." These great and perpetual blessings your fathers found awaiting them when they took possession of their new homes, beneficent as the sky, or the climate, or the soil, or the river, to endure so long as the sky shall send down its influence or the Ohio continue to flow.

While a portion of the second article reaffirms the great securities which are of English origin, and are found in Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, the larger part are originally and exclusively American. The student of constitutional law will find there all he will need for an ample and complete understanding of the difference between the genius of the limited monarchism of England and the genius of American liberty.

For the first time in history the Ordinance of 1787 extended that domain from which all human government is absolutely excluded by forbidding any law interfering with the obligation of good faith between man and man. This provision, adopted afterward in substance in the Constitution of the United States, and thereby made binding as a restraint upon every State, is the security upon which rests at last all commerce, all trade, all safety in the dealings of men with each other. To-day its impregnable shield is over the dealing of sixty millions of people with each other and with mankind.

I have described very imperfectly the education, extending over two centuries, which fitted your fathers for the great drama to be enacted here. Equally wonderful is the series of events which kept the soil of the Ohio territory untouched until they were ready to occupy it. France, in 1755, rejected an offer made her by England that England would give up all her claim west of a line from the mouth of French Creek twenty leagues up that stream toward Lake Erie and from the same point direct to the last mountains of Virginia which should descend toward the ocean. France was to retain Canada and her settlements on the Illinois and Wabash. If this offer had been accepted, the French, who always so skillfully managed the Indians, would have filled the territory with their colonies, and, under whatever sovereignty it had ultimately come, would have impressed their character and institutions on it forever. King George, too, in 1763, at the close of the French war, forbade his governors in America "to grant any warrants of survey or patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or northwest." This shut out the people of Virginia, with their slaves, from all the territory that now forms Ohio.

Again, the controversies between the States as to title prevented its settlement during the Revolution. The fear of Indian hostilities prevented its settlement during the

period Mr. Jefferson's ordinance of 1784 was in force. The votes of the Southern States defeated Mr. Jefferson's proviso, under which slavery would surely have gained a footing, and so left the way open for the total exclusion of slavery three years later.

We are not here to celebrate an accident. What occurred here was premeditated, designed, foreseen. If there be in the universe a power which ordains the course of history, we cannot fail to see in the settlement of Ohio an occasion when the human will was working in harmony with its own. The events move onward to a dramatic completeness. Rufus Putnam lived to see the little colony, for whose protection against the savage he had built what he described as the strongest fortification in the United States, grow to nearly a million of people, and become one of the most powerful States in the confederacy. The men who came here had earned the right to the enjoyment of liberty and peace, and they enjoyed the liberty and peace they had earned. The men who had helped win the war of the Revolution did not leave the churches and schools of New England to tread over again the thorny path from barbarism to civilization, or from despotism to self-government. When the appointed hour had come, and

> "God uncovered the land
> That he hid of old time in the west,
> As the sculptor uncovers the statue
> When he has wrought his best,"

then, and not till then, the man also was at hand.

It is one of the most fortunate circumstances of our history that the vote in the Continental Congress was substantially unanimous. Without the accompaniment of the Ordinance the Constitution of the United States itself would have lost half its value. It was fitting that the whole country should share in the honor of that act which, in a later generation, was to determine the fate of the whole country.

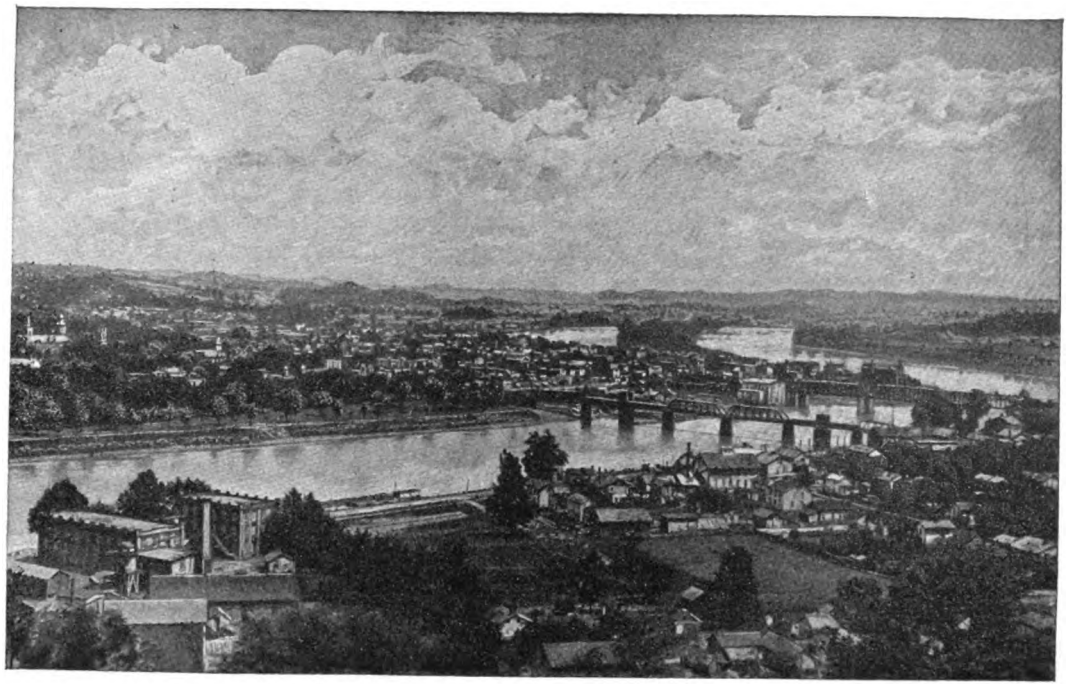
We would not forget to-day the brave men and noble

women who represented Connecticut and Rhode Island and New Hampshire in the band of pioneers. Among them were Parsons, and Meigs, and Varnum, and Greene, and Devol, and True, and Barker, and the Gilmans. Connecticut made, a little later, her own special and important contribution to the settlement of Ohio. But Virginia and Massachusetts have the right to claim and to receive a peculiar share of the honor which belongs to this occasion. They may well clasp each other's hands anew as they survey the glory of their work. These two States — the two oldest of the sisterhood — the State which framed the first written constitution, and the State whose founders framed the compact on the Mayflower; the State which produced Washington, and the State which summoned him to his high command; the State whose son drafted the Declaration of Independence, and the State which furnished its leading advocate on the floor; the mother of John Marshall and the mother of the President who appointed him; the State which gave the general, and the State which furnished the largest number of soldiers to the Revolution; the State which gave the territory of the northwest, and the State which gave its first settlers — may well delight to remember that they share between them the honor of the authorship of the Ordinance of 1787. When the reunited country shall erect its monument at Marietta, let it bear on one side the names of the founders of Ohio, on the other the names of Jefferson, and Richard Henry Lee, and Carrington, and Grayson, side by side with those of Nathan Dane, and Rufus King, and Manasseh Cutler, beneath the supreme name of Washington. Representatives of Virginia and Massachusetts, themselves in some sense representatives of the two sections of the country which so lately stood against each other in arms, they will bear witness that the estrangements of four years have not obliterated the common and tender memories of two centuries.

This, also, is one of the great events in the world's his-

tory which marks an advance of Liberty on the new ground which she has held. We would not undervalue military achievements. Such a paradox, ridiculous anywhere, would be doubly unbecoming here. We stand by the graves of great soldiers of the war of Independence. This is the centennial of the State within whose borders were born Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and Garfield. The men of the Revolution fought that the principles of the Ordinance of 1787 might become living realities. The great captains of the later war fought that the compact might be kept and forever remain unalterable. The five States of the Northwest sent nearly a million soldiers into the war for the Union, every one of them ready to die to maintain inviolate the fourth article, which declares: "The said territory and the States which may be formed therein shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made, and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled conformable thereto." These purposes inspired them when they drew their swords. They laid down their swords when these purposes were accomplished.

It is this that makes the birthday of Ohio another birthday of the nation itself. Forever honored be Marietta as another Plymouth. The Ordinance belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three title deeds of American constitutional liberty. As the American youth for uncounted centuries shall visit the capital of his country — strongest, richest, freest, happiest of the nations of the earth — from the stormy coast of New England, from the luxuriant regions of the Gulf, from the Lakes, from the prairie and the plain, from the Golden Gate, from far Alaska — he will admire the evidences of its grandeur and the monuments of its historic glory. He will find there rich libraries and vast museums, and great cabinets which show the product



VIEW OF MARIETTA AND HARMAR, 1888.

of that matchless inventive genius of America, which has multiplied a thousand fold the wealth and comfort of human life. He will see the simple and modest portal through which the great line of the Republic's chief magistrates have passed at the call of their country to assume an honor surpassing that of emperors and kings, and through which they have returned, in obedience to her laws, to take their place again as equals in the ranks of their fellow-citizens. He will stand by the matchless obelisk which, loftiest of human structures, is itself but the imperfect type of the loftiest of human characters. He will gaze upon the marble splendors of the Capitol, in whose chambers are enacted the statutes under which the people of a continent dwell together in peace, and the judgments are rendered which keep the forces of states and nation alike within their appointed bounds. He will look upon the records of great wars and the statues of great commanders. But, if he know his country's history, and consider wisely the sources of her glory, there is nothing in all these which will so stir his heart as two fading and time-soiled papers, whose characters were traced by the hands of the fathers a hundred years ago. They are original records of the acts which devoted this nation forever to equality, to education, to religion, and to liberty. One is the Declaration of Independence, the other the Ordinance of 1787.

ADDRESS OF HON. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — The good fortune of the settlement at Marietta continues up to this very hour. We can congratulate each other upon the privilege of having heard the eminent Senator from Massachusetts. We can congratulate him, that he has connected his name for all the centuries to come with the most fortunate colonization that ever occurred on earth. Whenever hereafter, century after century, this ceremony and celebration shall be repeated, no one having anything to do, in a prominent way, with it will fail to read and enjoy, as we have enjoyed, the magnificent address of Senator Hoar. To be sure it leaves the task of those who are to follow him a a most difficult one. We can say that in all the annals of the past no more fortunate history is to be found than that which began at Marietta a hundred years ago to-day. We can say that no body of men more fit by their origin, by their ancestry, by their history, by their own experience, and by their education can be found anywhere, ever have been found, to establish in a new country new institutions and make new States than those who did it here at Marietta, a hundred years ago.

These last few days, Thursday evening and yesterday, were almost entirely given up to Ohio. When anything good is to be talked about it is very well understood that the lion's share is likely to be claimed, at least, by the citizens of Ohio. We have learned, and learned, I think, with a peculiar pleasure, from Professor Putnam, of Harvard College, that away back in the obscurity of the unknown past that we can not penetrate, it was the long-headed race that succeeded and captured Ohio; that it was the short-headed race that were driven off from Ohio.

Of course, when we speak of the race who made this first settlement we must remember that it was not merely that magnificent district known now as Ohio, but it was the

old Northwest Territory, extending from Lake Erie along the boundary of Pennsylvania till it strikes the Ohio, passing down the Ohio till it reaches the Mississippi, passing up the left bank of the Mississippi, embracing the now beautiful city of St. Paul, passing westward with the Mississippi till it strikes Lake Itasca, away up and on to the Lake of the Woods, due north to the forty-ninth parallel and so following back by the course of the Great Lakes till it reaches again the northwest boundary of Pennsylvania at Lake Erie. This was the territory whose settlement began at Marietta a century ago — thirteen degrees of latitude down the Ohio to the Mississippi and up to Minnesota. Five great States, and one-third at least of the sixth grand State, Minnesota, belonged to the old Northwest Territory, and look back to Marietta as the place where their foundation began.

After all we have heard, I need not speak of its climate. It is a place that embraces the best part of the temperate zone in North America. In short, the best part of the best continent of the globe belongs to the old Northwest Territory. A climate in which men and women in the coldest weather of the winter and the warmest of the summer may healthfully work all day; a climate in which, all the world over, are to be found the most energetic people and greatest institutions on the globe. My friend has left very little to be said about it. He does not seem quite fully to have understood one thing which has happened, but living where I live, we understand it so very well that we begin talking about it in the morning; we talk about it at noon; we go to sleep talking about it, and we dream about it at night. There we found, and I do not know where else they will not find in the Northwest Territory, the best fuel the world ever saw. The natural gas in the Northwest fully equals any other gas. It makes the steam that carries the world along.

Then as to this people who settled Ohio, there is very little more to be said about them. But there is one addition I might make. Putnam and his followers were the best

educated men the world ever knew. For eight years, from 1775 to 1783, they went to school to George Washington. He was the master; in his hands during all that period were their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. All who know anything of the education given to the soldier understand that the character of the man who is leader during years of danger and of trial impresses itself upon every man, from the drummer boy up, till in a few years they come to have the voices, the character, and the very virtues of the commander. Is it strange then that we think of the people who settled Marietta as the best people, for they were, indeed, but in miniature, George Washingtons, all of them. But I am not here to speak alone of the men—the women of that day had their full share in all things. When I found that I was to be one of those that were to follow the great speakers, using the language of Mr. Lincoln, I began to browse in my library to see what I could find that would not, perhaps, be found by any one else, and I found a letter, a part of which I will read to you. "Never," says one, "was the energy of a genuine sympathy more nobly expressed than by the matrons of the Quaker City in their relief of the soldiers during the dreadful winter of 1780. Mrs. Esther Reed, wife of General Joseph Reed, though feeble in health, and surrounded by a numerous family, entered with hearty zeal into the service, and was, by the united voice of her associates, placed at the head of the society. Mrs. Bache, daughter of Dr. Franklin, was also a conspicuous actor in the formation of the society, and in carrying out its plans. All classes became interested, and the results were glorious. All descriptions of people joined in the liberal effort, from Phillis, the colored woman, and her seven shillings and sixpence, to the Marchioness De La Fayette, who contributed one hundred guineas, and the Countess De Luzerne, who gave six thousand dollars. Those who had no money gave their labor, and in almost every house the work went on. It was charity in its best

form and from its purest source; the voluntary outpourings of the heart. The women of all parts of the Colonies emulated the patriotism and zeal of their sisters in Philadelphia." When we speak of the deeds of one hundred years ago, we are speaking not merely of what Putnam and his soldiers did, but of what the women of that day did, who had to bear, as they always do, the greatest sorrows, the greatest afflictions and hardships of war.

Something has been said of the stock from which these people came. My friend, the Professor from Cambridge, taught us another idea on that subject in regard to himself, that there are qualities in men and women that do not always follow the direct line. The doctrine is substantially this, that sometimes it will happen that when the children's teeth are set on edge it is not merely because the fathers and the mothers have eaten sour grapes, but because the uncles and the aunts and cousins have eaten sour grapes. So I have it to say that it is not the people who settled here at that time that have done all this for the Northwest Territory and for its noble institutions, any more than the people of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and, above all, Virginia, who have borne their part in our settlement, and also the choice blood of Europe, the German, the Scandinavian, and all the others who have come into it. We have its population and prosperity, and its institutions all nearer perfect than any community on the globe ever had before.

It was my fortune, during what I must say were the most honored, the happiest hours of my life, to serve very largely with those nearest to me who were the descendants of the men who settled Marietta. The counties of Gallia, Meigs, Athens, and Washington furnished the larger number of the men with whom it was my fortune to touch elbows during the great years from 1861 to 1865, and I must testify to you that the men of the Second Virginia Cavalry, and those of the Ninety-first Ohio, and above all, the men of the Thirty-sixth Ohio, were in every respect

worthy of the men who settled Marietta. What did they accomplish? My friends from Virginia, we return to you in full the gift that you made to us in 1787. That liberty which you secured to us by the Ordinance of 1787, we extended in the great conflict, from the Ohio clear to the Gulf, as far as the flag of the Union waves, and over every one of the fifteen States that for a hundred years and more had been cursed by slavery.

Therefore, my friends, it is with great satisfaction that I take part in this celebration, and I reverently thank God that it was my fortune to be near the men, descendants of the early settlers of Marietta, the early settlers of this part of the Northwest, in the work not merely of administering the ordinance in the country for which it was intended, but of extending it over the whole of the United States, and thereby making it the heritage forever of all representatives of civilization throughout the world.

THE GERMAN PIONEERS.

ADDRESS BY BERNARD PETERS, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: By the committee who have had the arrangements for these centennial exercises in charge, I have been requested to speak on this occasion of the German pioneers who settled in this county during the first half of the present century. The Governor of Ohio, who has just introduced me as a native of this city, must stand corrected in this particular. I am not a native of this city, nor of this State, but a native of Germany. I was brought here by my parents, into this county and city, at so early an age that, living among the New England settlers of Marietta from youth to manhood, they made me over into quite as much of a Yankee as though I had been born on the soil of Massachusetts.

According to my understanding of the matter, the first German settlers of Washington County came from the Rhine Palatinate. They came to the United States in the summer of 1833, from the vicinity of Durkheim, a little city of some 6,000 inhabitants, located in the gap of the Valley of the Isenach, a small stream flowing through the Hardt Mountains, and distant, due west, from Heidelberg about twenty miles. This is indeed an interesting region. Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay, years ago, while standing on the Geisberg eminence—a spur of the Black Forest just south of Heidelberg—and from which vantage he surveyed this beautiful and interesting landscape, pronounced it "the garden of Europe."

The pioneers to whom this address will be chiefly devoted were two brothers, sons of John Peters and his wife Barbara (*nee* Wagner), who had reared a family of seven sons, and whose ancestors, from time immemorial, had lived and died in this section of Germany. The names of the pioneers were Jacob and Charles Frederick. I ought,

perhaps, to explain that Peters is an Anglicised form of the name. In German it is *Peter*. In this country, as in England, the name invariably takes on the letter s. My father's name was John Philip Peters, and he was the youngest of the seven brothers. He followed the pioneer brothers to this country in 1834.

The emigration of the Peters brothers to the United States was brought about in this wise. In 1832 there arose in the Palatinate and through the southern section of Germany a somewhat famous commotion among the peasantry, by which a demand was made of the then ruling authorities for a larger measure of liberty for the people. It was doubtless a preliminary symptom of the greater commotion that took place sixteen years later, in 1848, and which led to an actual and somewhat remarkable outbreak, but which was crushed with a relentless hand by Emperor William, recently deceased, who as Crown Prince made himself famous as a soldier by the energy and skill with which he made an end of the movement of '48. That insurrection furnished the inspiring cause for emigration to the United States to Carl Schurz and General Franz Sigel—the latter of whom subsequently distinguished himself in our civil war in the military service of this country, while the former became famous, somewhat in the war, but more particularly in the civil service of the country—first, in the United States Senate, afterwards as a Cabinet officer during the administration of President Hayes.

The revolt of '32, if it can be dignified by that name, was led by two professors and many of the students of Heidelberg, and for a short time it is said to have had an immense popular following. The professors in question were Wirt and Siebenpfieffer. The *denouement* took place some time in the summer of '32, and came to a culmination at a popular gathering assembled at Homburg *auf der Hohe*, since then a noted watering place. At this gathering Wirt, the more popular and more eloquent of the two professors, made a speech in favor of popular

rights, in which, in scathing and fitting terms of rebuke, he denounced the tyranny of the government. At the conclusion of his speech, by a committee either of the students or of the citizens present, he was presented with a magnificent sword. This was ominous, and its significance could not be mistaken, and, as the result, either at once or soon thereafter, the offending professors were apprehended and thrown into prison, and the threatened revolt was thus summarily and promptly nipped in the bud. The imprisonment was of short duration. The professors were never brought to trial, as they soon escaped from prison. The popular impression was that the escape was connived at by the authorities in order to get rid of two popular prisoners, and to avoid the *onus* of their conviction and the sympathy which their execution would surely have evoked for them and their cause from one end of Germany to the other. The Peters brothers, who subsequently became the pioneers of Washington county, were constituent parts of that great Homburg Assembly. They fully sympathized with the spirit of the occasion, and being animated by the desire for larger liberty, which actuated the German masses at that time, and which the gathering in question represented, they were overwhelmed with chagrin and disappointment when the leaders of this movement were apprehended and imprisoned, and when the hopes that inspired their countrymen were thus promptly suppressed. As the quite natural result they, as did thousands of others of their countrymen, lost hope of ever seeing a better day for Germany.

Naturally, and as has been the case in every kindred event in Europe from that day to this, they instinctively turned their thoughts toward the New World and to the then recently established Republic of America, where, nearly a half century before, the people had secured their independence and had succeeded in forming and placing on a firm foundation one of the most beneficent governments hitherto known in the history of the world. The younger of

the Peters pioneers, Charles Frederick, left his native land in the spring of '33, a year after the gathering at Homburg. His brother, Jacob, followed a few weeks later. The third brother, John Philip, followed in the summer of '34. All the brothers, and the families who accompanied them, took shipping at Havre de Grace, in France, at that time the important port of embarkation for all South German emigrants. The first brothers, Charles and Jacob, shipped in vessels that sailed for Baltimore. From Baltimore, Charles Frederick, with his family, made an overland journey through the Cumberland Valley and on the National Pike to Wheeling, Va. This national highway, constructed chiefly through the influence of Henry Clay, was then in its glory, and was to that age quite as great a boon and quite as marvelous a wonder as were at a later period the transcontinental railways that now link the Atlantic coast to the Golden Gate. Charles Frederick left his family for a time at Wheeling, and proceeded down the Ohio River as far as Cincinnati on a prospecting tour. The present Queen City of the West was then little more than a good-sized village.

During the summer of '32 sickness had extensively prevailed throughout the Ohio Valley. Especially was this true of Cincinnati. The effects of the ravages of the cholera of 1832 were everywhere visible, and the inhabitants all more or less betrayed the signs of the work of this fell destroyer. In fact, the summer of 1833, when this visit took place, was not yet free from the seeds of the contagion that prevailed the year before. In addition to this, the heat of '33 is said to have been almost unendurable. Under these circumstances the visit to Cincinnati was discouraging, and Charles Peters soon returned to his family at Wheeling, where he found his brother Jacob and one or two other families who had crossed the ocean with Jacob, and who had followed Charles to Wheeling. Among those in this company, my impression is, were Theobald Seyler and Daniel Zimmer, with their families.

The Peters brothers now resolved to start on a new prospecting tour to find a place for settlement. They left their families at Wheeling with the new comers and started on foot down the Ohio River. They proceeded on the Virginia side as far as Benwood. There they crossed the river to what is now Bellaire, and proceeded down on the Ohio side, continuing, probably a five or six days' journey, to Marietta. During this journey they found not a single family, not a single person, if I am correctly informed, that could speak a word of German. Luckily the elder of the two brothers, Jacob, had, in early years, spent some time in England, and had acquired some little knowledge of the English language, and he was thus able, in a limited way, to make their wants known.

When they reached Marietta they put up at the John Brophy hostelry, the famous hotel of the early days of Marietta. The wife of Brophy was a French woman, born on the borders of Germany, and therefore spoke fluently not only the French and English, but the German as well. Mrs. Brophy was a shrewd and thrifty business woman of that period, and it was she that persuaded the brothers to locate in this county. Charles proceeded to Salem township, and purchased a farm on Duck Creek, in the neighborhood of the Lancasters. This some years later he sold to Jacob Lauer, and removed to Marietta. He resided here until 1839. He then sold what possessions he had and removed to West Point, Iowa, where he lived until he reached the advanced age of 86. His brother Jacob, went out some six miles to Fearing township and purchased a farm on the hills about a mile from Duck Creek, where he resided for some years. He subsequently sold this place and removed to Watertown township, becoming the first German settler in the Deming-Wolcott settlement. There he resided until he reached the advanced age of eighty-eight, when he was gathered to his fathers. His son, Charles Frederick, now in his seventy-first year, and who is present in this assembly, still lives

upon this old homestead. He was sixteen years of age when his father moved into Washington county, and it is to him I am chiefly indebted for those facts I give that are beyond my personal knowledge.

In June of 1834, Conrad Bohl, of Wachenheim, also in the Rhine Palatinate, came into this county. For a time he owned a farm near Bonn, but a few years thereafter sold his interest and followed Jacob Peters to Watertown, where, some years later, his brother Nicholas came. These were the German pioneers in that section of the county. Still later these were followed to Watertown by Louis Cutter, the father of Judge F. J. Cutter, now a resident of Marietta, and by Carl Wagner, an uncle on the mother's side of the Cutter family.

John Philip Peters, Conrad Bissanz (Anglicised, at least in pronunciation, as Bissant), and Bernard Wagner came in 1834. Bernard Wagner bought a farm seven miles from here, on Duck Creek. He lived but a few months. Contracting a fever, he died suddenly in the winter of '35. The widow, left in a helpless condition, with two children, and no one to care for the farm, had the sympathy of the vicinage, and some months later married Christian Schimmel, a most conscientious and industrious man, who lived on the farm for a generation or more, in fact, till his death, leaving the wife a widow for the second time, but this time with children of advanced years, and in circumstances that enable her in old age to live in peace and comfort. She is living in this city with one of her sons, patiently awaiting her release from earthly bonds and trials. Conrad Bissanz bought a homestead a mile nearer Marietta in Fearing township, in the Chapman neighborhood, just beyond Stanleyville, where he lived and prospered for a full generation. He subsequently sold and removed to Marietta, where he died at an advanced age.

At an early period Valentine and Jacob Spies, two brothers, came into this county and settled on adjoining farms, on the banks of the Muskingum, just below Lowell.

For some years the home of one of the Spies brothers was quite a center for social and festive gatherings of the Germans then residing in the county. The occasions are memorable because they were the first festive gatherings among the Germans in this county of which I have any recollection. After the Peters brothers had bought their farms and had their deeds on record they left for Wheeling to bring their families to their new homes. While absent on this trip Rev. Theodore Schriener and one or two other German families came to Marietta. Schriener married a daughter of 'Squire Joel Tuttle, and organized the first German church in this county, of which he remained pastor for nearly a score of years. He was a very affable man, and made himself exceedingly useful to the early German settlers. Of the first settlers in Fearing township the following names have been furnished to me by Mr. Christian Best: Theobald Seyler, Christian Scherber, John Schneider, John H. Best, G. C. Best, and Christian Newschafer. The date of their arrival here is fixed as 1833. To these I may add the following names: John and Henry Smith. The first was the founder of the hardware store of Rodick Brothers. The other was a carriage builder, who is yet living. There were also Jacob and Michael Giddle. The first was wharfmaster for the Halls, Willis and Ely, for years, when steamboating on the Ohio river meant something. I may also mention Jacob Thies, the shoemaker; John and Louis Leonhardt; the Cislers, who have grown to be an important and prosperous family among you. I might here refer also to the able, eloquent and eccentric Dr. Ceolena, who was the first pastor of the First German Church in Marietta, and who, to the work of preaching, joined the business of practicing medicine, and who for a year or two made a great sensation and gained the good will of some of our best citizens, among them the family of the historian, Dr. S. P. Hildreth, a man of mark in those days. There were two others who deserve mention in this connection. These were Oliver

Nelson and Henry Hartwig. They spoke the German, one of them (Nelson) quite fluently, but they were Danes and not Germans. Hartwig was a blacksmith; Nelson was a carriage builder. Nelson married the eldest daughter of Conrad Bohl, of Watertown. The Hartwig family, after residing here for many years, removed elsewhere.

It is also claimed, on what authority I cannot say, that one Casper Schmitz and another German, Casper Schaechtelein by name, came into this county in 1817. As far as my knowledge goes they left no descendants, and perchance may have made this county only a temporary home, removing subsequently into some other locality. I am sure that very early there were Germans in this county who came from Pennsylvania, but were natives of that State, speaking the Pennsylvania Dutch, and were not, therefore, German settlers directly from the Fatherland.

Others, perhaps, deserve to be mentioned in this connection; but as I have resided away from Marietta and have only paid an occasional visit here for the period of more than a generation, I think this will have to suffice.

In conclusion, pardon me for saying this, for truth and justice demand it: The Germans who came here early were men of thrift. They have shorn your hilltops of their wild native forests; they have converted your country into a land of plenty. They have materially helped to advance among you the march of civilization, and by their ready assimilation with those who preceded them to this Northwest Territory from New England they have helped to build up a State that ranks first among the honored States of this Union. I think I may safely and properly add that these Germans as a class have always appreciated the blessings of this free government, and have in a practical way demonstrated the fact that they have understood the importance of having all safe and good government founded on law and order, on religion and education.

These Germans — these early Germans — knew nothing of what is now disturbing this and other governments,

under the form of socialism and anarchy. They did not forget the lessons of duty and obligation that bound them to employers, and clamor for rights without qualification. They were indeed grateful to those who gave them a chance to earn an honest living, and they were ready early and late to do an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. The liberty they came to find, and finding which they were happy and content, was the liberty that is conditioned on law, on order, on good government — in a word, the liberty that gave them a fair and an equal chance in the race of life. Thousands of them, under these inspirations, have became men of property, have honored every calling and every walk in life, and have made their mark in Church and State — thus becoming worthy co-workers with that patriotic and sturdy Christian stock that came here from New England, and that planted an infant colony on this spot one hundred years ago this day, and here illustrated the wisdom of founding the State on the church and the school-house, and thus giving to their descendants a true and an abiding Christian civilization.

ORATION OF HON. JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER, LL. D.

The last decades of our century bristle with centennial anniversaries; the landmarks of human progress in the free institutions of a Christian civilization.

The Old World, with its crowded populations, with its social orders and castes, and its despotic forms of government was stagnant and unhealthful. Commerce reached forth its bold and eager arms for new fields for human enterprise and a larger and freer civilization.

Motives of gain mingled with religious fervor to plant the standard of European polity and the emblem of the cross on the soil of a new world.

We are near the anniversary of that great 1492, which turned the world upside down and doubled the domain of civilized life among men. Columbia opened her doors to European emigration. The glitter of the precious metals first fascinated the vulgar; but now millions of men with teeming golden harvests, and with fields white with their myriad bales of cotton, and with minerals and forests for light, heat and all the arts of life, feed a hungry, clothe a naked, and house a homeless world.

Three centuries ago the Spanish Armada sank under the storm of God into the British waters in sight of the reefs of Albion; and left England mistress of the seas.

In 1584 Edmund Spenser dedicated the "Faerie Queen" to "Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland and Virginia;" and in the same year the Virgin Queen gave to Sir Walter Raleigh the charter to take and possess Virginia in her royal name. Virginia was rocked in her infant cradle to the sweet song of the master of English poetry.

But it was reserved for another reign to plant an English colony securely on American soil. During the memorable seventeenth century, when the conflict of prerogative and

liberty convulsed our mother country, in the month of May, 1607, when our tide-water region is fragrant with flowers and is clad in all the beauties of the opening spring, a few vessels came to anchor in Powhatan River, and a few hundred English colonists planted the first seeds of British civilization at Jamestown. Here on the banks of our Nile rested the ark of American institutions.

A few years later, in December, 1620, the pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, and raised the standard of civil polity based on popular compact.

These Colonists brought with them the spirit of British freedom, exalted in its courage by the bold temper which inspires and is enhanced by adventurous enterprise.

A new continent, without fixed institutions, without king, nobility, or ecclesiastical authority, was opened to the fresh impress of the sons of civilized life, who landed upon its shores. All the bands of the old and established society of the mother country were loosened, and the colonial mind, free from the environment of ancient prejudices, was prepared for an order of things more natural, and, therefore, more true. The scion of the ancient tree of liberty could better grow unchoked by the weeds of privilege and prerogative in the soil, and drinking in the balmy air of this virgin continent.

As Lord Bacon has it, "No tree is so good first set as by transplanting." Young and bold men — men tired of old habits, customs, and thoughts, yearning to throw off the restraints of an ancient and effete social order (as a religious reformation had shaken the foundations of the ancient Church), and to find full scope for the enterprises of life, and to impress themselves upon a new and unformed empire — these were the colonists that braved the rock-bound coasts of New England, and plunged into the untrodden wilderness of tide-water Virginia. They panted to be free, and could not be enslaved. They brought with them also a clear comprehension and vigorous grasp

of all the fundamental principles of liberty imbedded in Magna Charta.

These were asserted with emphatic distinctness in their public acts. As early as 1623, the House of Burgesses of Virginia enacted that no tax could be laid on any colonist but by the vote of the General Assembly. In 1636, the year of John Hampden and Ship-money, the Massachusetts colony made a similar declaration; and other colonies followed.

In 1651, when the fleet of the English Parliament invaded the waters of the Chesapeake, a treaty was made between the Commonwealth of England and the colony of Virginia, which is one of the most striking of the historic memorials of the colonial period.

It provides for the obedience of the colony to the Commonwealth of England, but that "this submission and subscription be acknowledged as a voluntary act, not forced nor constrained by a conquest upon the country."

It declares that Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed on them without consent of the Grand Assembly, and so that neither forts nor castles be erected or garrisons maintained without their consent." Thus by treaty stipulations in 1651, Virginia established the great principle on which the American Revolution was based — that taxation by any other than the representatives of the tax-paying people was unlawful and contrary to liberty.

I present this action of Virginia and Massachusetts especially to you, because the men who settled here a century ago were the sons of New England, and planted their feet upon the soil which Virginia gave to the Union. The principles of freedom I have stated were the inheritance of Putnam and his followers, and were the fixed law of the land of Virginia on which they made their homes. When, therefore, in May, 1764, Samuel Adams and his co-patriots, and in May, 1765, Patrick Henry and his associates had denounced taxation without representation as tyranny

and against law, they but reasserted a principle as old as Magna Charta and the precious corner-stone of every colonial government. It was the canon of the settlement of 1688, two centuries ago in England, as a result of the struggle between the people and the House of Stuart, culminating in the constitutional monarchy under William and Mary.

Mark the epochs of the centuries: America discovered in 1492; Virginia's birth-song written by Spenser in 1584, the prelude to English colonization in America; the English Constitution established in 1688; our own in 1788; and we to-day celebrate them all on the natal day of the inheritance of the Northwest, under the donation of the Old Dominion, by the Pilgrim pioneers from New England. The pendulum of history swings in centuries — in the slow but sure progress of the human race to a higher and nobler civilization.

When the British Government asserted, in the Grenville act, the power to tax the colonies, it made a fatal issue with them upon a principle which was too sacred and fundamental to be surrendered; and a conflict of arms was inevitable. When power invades liberty, resistance to the wrong is a duty to God, and the forces of government must be challenged by the people with all the armed force they can command. The special matter of taxation was the occasion of revolution, but the time had come when taxation by a foreign power was regarded only as a symptom of a more general and chronic disease — namely, the subjection of the welfare of any people to the will and control of another nation.

Self-government—independence of alien control in all things — was the need of the American colonies, which was illustrated in the matter of taxation, but which was equally important in all their relations, domestic and foreign.

No people can be governed by another, alien in sympathy and with no community of interest, without misgov-

ernment and tyranny. Hence the view of the statesmen of the period broadened into a deep conviction, that longer dependence on the British crown was virtual servitude, and that independence was essential to liberty, development and progress.

The Continental Congress of thirteen colonies met September 5, 1774. Two years of futile efforts to patch up the breach which tyranny had made in public confidence and in popular affection passed away, and the declaration of complete and final separation was unitedly made on the famous 4th of July, 1776. The loose and inorganic league between the colonies represented by Congress, whose powers were held under a tenancy at the will of each colony, made its efforts to conduct the war pitiably inefficient — and they would have resulted in failure but for the impulses of popular patriotism; the masterful genius of a majestic leader — that hero of equal mind in the shock of defeat as amid the shouts of victory,— and the generous co-operation of a great and noble ally. Congress proposed in 1777 to the colonies a plan of organic union under the articles of confederation, which, however, were never adopted by all the States until March 1, 1781, and by their express terms were wholly inoperative until all had consented to them.

A brief view of the colonial condition is now necessary, as well to appreciate the obstacles to this organic union as to show the relation of all these historic references to the event we celebrate to-day.

Prior to the seven years' war between Great Britain and France, which ended in 1763, the three powers of Great Britain, France and Spain held possession of all the territory now included in the United States and Canada.

France owned Canada and Louisiana, which covered a claim to the region west of the Mississippi to the Pacific. Spain owned Florida; and Great Britain held the whole region to the Mississippi, and with a claim beyond to the Pacific, which conflicted with that of France.

By the treaty of Paris, in 1763, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, France ceded Canada, and Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain; and the boundary fixed between Great Britain and France was the Mississippi River, *ad filum aquæ*, from its source to the Iberville, thence through that river and the lakes of Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea.

The effect of this treaty upon colonial rights, especially in Virginia, can now be readily understood.

By the charters to Virginia of 1606, 1609 and 1611, she claimed from Point Comfort two hundred miles north, which would bring it to about the fortieth parallel, and the same distance south upon the Atlantic coast, and backward, west and northwest to the sea—that is, the Pacific.

By the treaty of 1651 between the Commonwealth of England and Virginia, already referred to, it is provided "that Virginia shall have and enjoy the ancient bounds and limits granted by the charters of the former King." The terms "West and Northwest" were always held to include beyond the fortieth parallel, and to embrace Michigan, Wisconsin, and all the portions of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois north of that parallel.

These bounds and limits, fixed by the three charters and confirmed by the treaty with the Commonwealth of England, made Virginia, in the extent of her domain, an empire in herself. But the treaty of Paris (1763) made her western boundary the middle of the Mississippi down to 36° 30′, her southern parallel, after the grant to the Carolinas had been made, which she recognized and ceded by her constitution of June 29, 1776.

When by that constitution, on the 29th of June, 1776, Virginia assumed to be a free and independent State, she rightfully asserted her jurisdictional claim to the boundaries fixed by the charters and modified by the treaty of Paris of 1763.

This splendid domain, which embraces what are now

eight States of the Union, containing 350,000 square miles, with a present population of 15,000,000, was the rightful empire of Virginia with which she entered the league of 1774 and the confederation of 1781.

I am aware that questions were made as to the title of Virginia to this domain; but they originated in a natural jealousy of her stake in the success of the revolution and of her preponderant power in the counsels of the Union, had she retained it.

But all question of her title was at rest when, with just and magnanimous hand, she gave to all an equal share with herself in this inheritance which was all her own. Jealousy was suppressed and the cavils of her rivals were silenced when, with a self-abnegation as rare as it was noble, she surrendered all to the Union and afterwards sealed the Ordinance of 1787, which excluded her own people with their slaves from the territory she gave for the benefit of others.

Much was said at one time as to the title claimed by some parties and companies and even States under purchase from the Indians. That pretension never availed at any time, but met with signal condemnation in the masterly and unanimous judgment of the Supreme Court in Johnson vs. McIntosh, (8th Wheaton, 543,) where it is established as a part of the American polity, that the European race by discovery and conquest hold the pre-eminent right of pre-emption of the Indian title, which excludes the right of any one, without the consent of the sovereign power, to gain any title from the Indians as against the sovereign of the territory.

But the title of Virginia stands on a higher ground than her chartered grant. Her statesmanship conceived what her military genius achieved, the conquest of the territory for herself in order that with free hand and heart she might give it to the Union.

Some time after the treaty of Paris (1763), France ceded Louisiana to Spain, and thus placed Spain in the posses-

sion of the mouths of the Mississippi River, and of the west bank of that river to the middle thereof in its whole length, with a claim by Spain (never sound under international law) thereby to shut this outlet to the Gulf against all the people inhabiting the country on its east bank, and on its northern tributaries, the Ohio River and others.

The obstruction of the Allegheny mountains to commerce between the Western territory and the Atlantic seaboard, with only the natural outlet of the Mississippi for the products of the Western settlements, made this claim of occlusion of the Mississippi by a European power one of the gravest questions for American statesmanship at that period; and Virginia, with her claim to the Mississippi River, including Kentucky south of the Ohio River and this Northwestern Territory north of that river, saw very clearly its importance, and therefore urged with persistent vigor the recognition of the free navigation of the Mississippi to the public seas. One other view of the situation is most important. If the United States could not secure to the Western people a free Mississippi navigation, the temptation of private interest might seduce the people of the West to abandon their Eastern allies, and seek the protection of that European power which could open the Mississippi to their commerce — a suggestion which threatened the Union itself. Spain had, early in the Revolution, declined to join France in aiding the American colonies, and urged, as a precondition to joining any alliance with the United States, that the latter should renounce the free navigation of the Mississippi, and limit their western boundary to the Allegheny mountains. Virginia instructed her delegates in Congress, in November, 1779, to obtain in the then pending negotiations with Spain the free navigation of the Mississippi to the seas, with easements on the shore and at the mouth for the Western commerce. This condition of affairs will explain the pre-

vious sagacious action of Virginia, to which I will now call attention.

George Rogers Clarke was born near Monticello, Albemarle county, Va., in 1752. With slight education (as appears from his letters), he became a practical surveyor, and after campaigning a short time against the Indians in Virginia, he went to Kentucky in 1775, from which he, as its delegate, came to the convention of Virginia, at Williamsburg, in 1776, and urged upon the authorities the creation of the new county of Kentucky and a supply of ammunition for its defense. "A country not worth defending is not worth claiming," was his laconic appeal.

Patrick Henry, the first Governor of Virginia, as sagacious and prophetic as a statesman as he was a master of eloquence, seconded his plans; and Clarke started back with five hundred pounds of powder, which he carried by land to the Monongahela, and thence to a point near Maysville, Ky. He repelled the Indians from that vicinity, and sent spies into Illinois, and on their return early in 1777 hastened back to Virginia to lay his plans before the authorities for the conquest of Illinois.

An act was passed authorizing the Governor and Council to organize an expedition "to march and attack any of our Western enemies." (9 Henn. Stat., 375.)

Governor Henry placed a band of a few hundred men under this dauntless projector of the enterprise. With it he crossed the Allegheny and descended the Ohio in frail boats to Corn Island, near Louisville, where he erected block houses, drilled his men and planted corn. On the 24th of June, 1778, while the sun was in eclipse, he went down the river, landed at the old Fort Massac, marched six days across the wilderness and appeared before Kaskaskia, and took it on the 4th of July, 1778; and then pushed on and captured all the other British posts on the river. And thus by a blow, without serious loss, he planted the standard of American authority on the bank of the great Father of Waters.

The English Governor, Hamilton, at Detroit, was alarmed, and on December 16, 1778, retook Vincennes on the Wabash. Clarke accepted the issue thus tendered in brief words: "I must take Hamilton or he will take me."

With about 170 ragged, but brave heroes, he, in mid-winter, crossed the country with scanty food supplies, waded rivers, and appeared with his unerring rifles before Vincennes, and on the 24th of February, 1779, captured the governor and garrison. In the meantime, by act of her Assembly, Virginia had organized the county of Illinois, embracing all the territory between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, which included this city of Marietta, (9 Hen., St. at Large, 552). A resolution was passed thanking Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clarke and his body of Virginia militia for reducing "the British posts in the western part of this Commonwealth on the River Mississippi and its branches; whereby great advantages may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this Commonwealth."

This romantic chapter in the revolutionary war I present not only for its historic interest, but because it settled the question of our Western boundary; and pushed it beyond the Alleghenies to the Mississippi river. All glory to the Virginia militia and the military genius of their heroic leader, who, under direction of Virginia statesmanship, broke the machinations of a diplomacy which would have made your anniversary impossible, and given up the valley of the Mississippi to a European power!

I am tempted to give you a letter written by this remarkable man to the Governor of Virginia from Kaskaskia on the 3d of February, 1779, when he had determined on this last adventurous enterprise. Its orthography is defective, but he made his mark! in deeds, not words.

After describing the attack on St. Vincent "by the famous Hair Buyer, General Henry Hamilton, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of Detroit," he says that he had "every peace of intelligence" he desired from a Spanish gentle-

man who had "escaped from Mr. Hamilton." And then, after stating the forces and the cannon and so forth, that Hamilton had, he quaintly adds, "has no suspition of a Visit from the americans — this was Mr. Hamilton's circumstances when Mr. Vigo left him." He says that having no expectation of any reinforcements, "I shall be obliged to give up the country to Mr. Hamilton without a turn of fortune in my favor;" and then adds, "I am resolved to take advantage of his present situation and risque the whole in a single battle! I shall set out in a few days with all the force I can raise," "amounting on the whole to only one hundred and seventy men," a part of whom were to go "on board a small galley, which is to take her station ten leagues below St. Vincent. If I am defeated, she is to join Colonel Rogers on the Mississippi." "I shall march across by land myself, with the rest of my boys; the principal persons that follow me on this forlorn hope is Captains Jos. Bowman, John Williams, Edward Worthing, Richard McCarty and Francis Charlovielle, Lts. Richard Brashear, William Kellar, Abm. Chaplin, John Jerault and John Bayley, and several other brave subalterns. You must be sensible of the feeling that I have for those brave officers and soldiers that are determined to share my fate, let it be what it will. I know the case is desperate; but, sir, we must either quit the country or attact Mr. Hamilton. No time is to be lost. If I was shoar of reinforcements I should not attempt it. Who knows what fortune will do for us? Great things have been effected by a few men well conducted. Perhaps we may be fortunate. We have this consolation, that our cause is just, and that our country will be grateful, and not condemn our conduct in case we fall through; if so, this country, as well as Kentucky, is lost."

Can we wonder that, in the lexicon of that youth of twenty-six years — this Hannibal of the West, as John Randolph called him,— there was no such word as fail! And that because he did not, we are here to-day to cele-

brate the settlement, one hundred years ago, upon this soil, a part of that county of Illinois rescued forever from British control by the gallant men whom Clarke led to victory in 1779!

But at that moment the organic Union was not yet formed. Some of the States insisted, and Maryland most obdurately, that all the States should make cessions of their territory to the Union. And there were many acts of an inimical character done by Congress and some of the States to the title and claim of Virginia. Some of these were based on the counter claims of States under purchase from the Indian nations, and some by certain corporations under like purchases. It would be useless to revive the memory or to discuss the merits of these claims.

In September (6), 1780, Congress recommended to the several States to make liberal cessions to the United States of a portion of their claims for the common benefit of the Union. In response to this, the States made cessions; and Virginia, on the 2d of January, 1781, did yield "all right, title and claim which the said Commonwealth had to the territory northwest of the river of Ohio," subject to certain conditions. The State of Maryland, which had delayed until this was done to agree to the articles, now acceded to the articles of confederation, March 1, 1781, and thus the organic Union of the thirteen States was for the first time established.

A long and angry conflict of opinion continued in Congress for several years as to the acceptance of the proposed cession of Virginia, in which a jealous doubt of her claim was manifested, but on which she stoutly and indignantly insisted. A reference to these is unnecessary.

The ground of objection to her title seems, as I have already said, to have been judicially settled by the judgment in Johnson vs. McIntosh (8th Wheaton) by a unanimous court. Finally, on the 13th of September, 1783, a report was adopted in Congress to accept the cession of

Virginia upon six conditions named by her in the original proposal of January 2, 1781, two of her conditions being declared to be unnecessary.

Accordingly, Virginia, by an act passed December 20, 1783, agreed to cede her territory upon the conditions indicated by Congress, and authorized her delegates to execute a deed for the same to the United States.

Finally, upon the 1st of March, 1784, Virginia, by her delegates in Congress, tendered her deed of cession according to the said act of December 20, 1783. In opposition a petition of Colonel George Morgan, agent for New Jersey, and on behalf of the Indiana Company, was presented. A motion to refer it was lost, as also a motion to appoint a court to determine the respective rights of said company and of Virginia.

Congress then, by solemn vote, agreed to accept the deed, which was on the said 1st of March, 1784, executed, delivered and filed, signed by Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, the delegates of Virginia.

The conditions imposed in this cession were that States (not less than 100, nor more than 150 miles square) should be formed out of the territory, which should be distinct republican States, "having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States," and to be "admitted members of the Federal Union;" that the expenses of Virginia in subduing British posts and for the defense or in acquiring any part of said territory should be reimbursed by the United States; that the citizens of Virginia in Kaskaskia, St. Vincent and other places be confirmed in their titles; that 150,000 acres be granted George Rogers Clarke and his men who marched with him to reduce Kaskaskia and St. Vincent; that so much land be allowed between the Scioto and Miami Rivers for Virginia troops as shall be sufficient for the purpose, and that all other lands in the territory be "considered a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United

States as have become or shall become members of the Confederation or Federal alliance of said States, Virginia inclusive, according to their respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever." [1]

By the treaty of peace, 1783, Florida was ceded by Great Britain to Spain, and France having previously ceded Louisiana to Spain, the latter power owned both banks of the Mississippi at its mouth, and the free navigation of the Mississippi became a grave question for our infant diplomacy. If the occlusion of the Mississippi by Spain was submitted to, the Western country would have been shut in by the Allegheny range from the Atlantic seaboard, and from the sea by Spain, with the key to the Gulf in her hands.

I remember when a young man, before the Allegheny mountains were tunneled for railways, that the difference between the price of flour at Baltimore and Wheeling was two dollars, and that as you descended the Ohio River the difference decreased. That is, the free navigation of the Mississippi, the outlet for the West, was its best hope to reach the markets of the world. What a hopeless condition, had the door to the outer world been locked by an alien power!

I can say, with pride in the statesmen of Virginia, fortified by the generous tribute of Senator Hoar in his oration this morning, that they led persistently in the demand for a free Mississippi. Other States seemed at times to think their commercial interests might be benefited by shutting the Mississippi, and obtaining a monopoly of Western trade through their territories to the Atlantic. But all such thoughts finally gave way to the resolutions of Congress, September 16, 1786, "that the free navigation of the River Mississippi is a clear and essen-

[1] A very full history of these matters may be found in Report 457 to the House of Representatives, the first session of the Twenty-eighth Congress.

tial right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such."

Despite the cession of Louisiana to France by Spain in 1801, American statesmanship triumphed in the assurance of free access to the markets of the world through that great estuary by the splendid acquisition of Louisiana under the administration of Mr. Jefferson.

And so, from the day that the mountain heights of Monticello stood as sentinel guards over the cradled infancy of George Rogers Clarke and Thomas Jefferson, Providence had decreed that the one should conquer by prowess in arms, and the other by a wise diplomacy, the open water highway for the products of the West to the markets of the world.

Nor is this all that I claim for the State which gave this territory, where, one hundred years ago, your Pilgrim fathers founded the seat of Northwestern civilization.

In 1784 I find that Virginia, by an act of her Assembly, granted to James Rumsey, of Shepherdstown (now in West Virginia), the exclusive right to navigate her rivers by boats constructed to move up stream. James Rumsey built a boat which moved up stream by the power of steam before 1790. And the young feet of my venerable mother trod the deck of that wrecked and rude barge before the year of 1800.

It is a matter of deep interest, further, to read the letters of George Washington and his cotemporaries in this decade a century ago, urging the water lines to the eastern base of our mountain ranges, and up the waters of the Potomac and the James; that thus they might approximate the navigable waters on the western slope, and bring by waterways the products of the West to our Eastern ports. The idea was in their prophetic minds. Its realization awaited the inventive genius of those who have made ironways a substitute for water, and who make the prediction true, that every valley shall be filled and every moun-

tain be laid low, for the march of man to his highest destiny under the Providence and blessing of God.

The title and security of the domain for American colonization having been thus placed by the donation of Virginia under the charge of the organic Union, formed by the Articles of Confederation, the materialistic view of the question may be dismissed.

The question remaining for Congress was the settlement and government of the territory. As early as June 5, 1783, and before the final acceptance by Congress of the deed from Virginia, Theoderick Bland, seconded by Alexander Hamilton, proposed an ordinance in Congress for the regulation of the territory ceded by Virginia; it was referred to a committee, but was not acted on. On the day the deed was executed by Virginia, March 1, 1784, Mr. Jefferson reported from a committee a plan for the government of all the Western Territory from the southern boundary of the United States at 31° latitude, to the Lake of the Woods. This ordinance, in Jefferson's handwriting, provided for a temporary government until the population increased to 20,000 inhabitants, when they might institute a permanent government with a member in Congress to debate, but not to vote. And when the population increased to that of the least populous State of the Union, then to be admitted into the Union.

Five articles were added:

First—The new States to remain forever as members of the Union.

Second—To have the same relation to the Union as the original States.

Third—To bear their proportion of burdens.

Fourth—To have republican forms of government.

Fifth—Slavery shall not exist in said Territories after 1800.

This did not abolish slavery, but forbade its existence prospectively, and had it been adopted would have forbid-

den it beyond a north and south line running along the the western boundaries of the then States of the Union.

This fifth article was struck out of the report because not adopted by Congress, the vote being six States for it and three against it, one State not voting, and one divided. The ordinance was then adopted, with the exception of that article, and continued in force for about three years.

Meantime the movement for a Federal Convention, to revise the articles of confederation, resulted in its meeting in May, 1787, in Philadelphia. During the session of that Convention, Congress had under consideration the ordinance for the government of the Northwestern territory. A company called the Ohio Company had been organized upon a plan projected in Massachusetts by a number of resolute men (many of whom had been heroes of the Revolution) as early as March, 1786. Rufus Putnam, Winthrop Sargent, Manasseh Cutler, John Brooks, and Benj. Tupper were principals in the movement. In March, 1787, a meeting of the subscribers was held in Boston, and Putnam, Cutler, and Samuel Holden Parsons were elected directors to apply to Congress for a purchase of land in the Northwest.

It is of interest to state that Washington warmly seconded the movement of Putnam and others, who were his trusted associates in the army, and that La Fayette spoke of them and their plans with French enthusiasm.

On the day, May 9, 1787, the ordinance for the Northwest territory was ordered to its third reading, Parsons presented the memorial of the Ohio Company. It was referred to a committee composed of Edward Carrington, Virginia; Rufus King and Nathan Dane, Massachusetts; Madison, Virginia, and Benson, New York. Cutler arrived on July 5, and placed himself in immediate communication with Carrington, chairman of the committee. A report was made on July 10, allowing the purchase by the company.

OHIO COMPANY'S OFFICE, BUILT IN 1788.

MOUND IN MOUND CEMETERY, MARIETTA.

The ordinance for the government of the Territory was referred to a new committee — Edward Carrington, of Virginia, as chairman, Nathan Dane and others. This ordinance in its new form, and without any clause as to slavery, was reported on the 11th of July, 1787, and Congress proceeded to consider it. On its second reading, Dane (Mr. Bancroft thinks at the instance of Grayson, of Virginia, and others) moved the clause forbidding slavery and providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves, which was adopted by the votes of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts — all the States then present — Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Maryland absent. There was but one member — Mr. Yates, of New York — who voted in the negative. Immediately thereafter the purchase by the Ohio Company was perfected. Thus the ordinance to govern the Territory and the scheme for its colonization at this place were almost cotemporaneous, and stood related as cause and result.

Of that celebrated Ordinance of July 13, 1787, some observations are appropriate to this occasion.

The ordinance may be summarized thus:

1. Equality of heirship to a decedent between his children and kindred of both sexes. This was according, as well to Massachusetts law, as to that of Virginia in her legislation under the lead of Jefferson in 1776–7, but there was a saving to the citizens of Virginia in Illinois of their laws and customs relative to this matter.

2. A government was provided of Governor, Secretary, and Judges, to be appointed by Congress, with power to adopt such laws of the original States as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances, subject to the approval of Congress.

3. When there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, a Legislature is authorized. The Legislature is to be composed of Governor, Legislative Council, and Assembly.

4. The legislative power is limited by the provisions and principles declared in the ordinance.

5. As fundamental articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in said territory, unalterable but by common consent, six were ordained in substance as follows:

First — Religious freedom, and civil rights not to be dependent on religious belief; a principle embodied in Jefferson's immortal act for religious freedom, passed in Virginia on the 16th of December, 1785; and engraven on his tomb, by his direction, as one of his three titles to the remembrance of mankind.

Second — Habeas corpus and jury trial, proportionate representation in the Legislature, and judicial procedure according to the common law; deprivation of life, property or liberty only by the judgment of peers or law of the land; just compensation to be allowed for private property taken for public use; and no power by law to interfere with or affect private contracts.

Third — As religion, morality and knowledge are necessary for good government and the happiness of mankind, schools shall be encouraged. Good faith to the Indians is enjoined, and legal protection to them and their rights.

Fourth — The States formed from said Territory to remain forever a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America — to bear their proper share of public burdens — to lay no tax on the lands of the Union, nor interfere with the disposal of the soil of the United States, and the navigable rivers leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence to be common highways, forever free to all the people of all the States.

Fifth — Three at least, at most five, States to be formed out of the Territory, as "soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession and consent to the same" — and each of them to be admitted when it shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants, on an equal footing with the original

States in all respects whatever, provided its Constitution be republican and consistent with the ordinance.

Sixth—"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; *provided always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

This ordinance, which for the validity of the fifth article was in its terms conditioned on the consent of the grantor, Virginia—and upon that of no other State—was a clear and complete recognition by Congress of the justice of the title of Virginia, and her supreme right to insist on the original conditions in her grant, unless she waived them.

And the terms of this fifth article described the territory as to which Virginia's consent was asked, as extending from the Ohio to the northern boundary between the United States and Canada, thus embracing what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan. And this was done by the votes of Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York, the only States who had ever contested the claim of Virginia previously. This is a virtual estoppel of all the States to a denial of Virginia's claim. Accordingly, Virginia, by her act passed December 30, 1788, declared her assent to and ratification and confirmation of "the said article" (being the fifth) "of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory."

I am free to say that in my judgment not only that act ratified and confirmed the fifth article as to the number of the States to be formed out of the territory, but by confirming it as "an article of compact between the original States and the people and States in said territory"—of which compact Article Sixth, forbidding slavery, was a part —she must be deemed to have consented to the exclusion

of slavery from the territory she had previously granted to the Union.

She could have done it herself before her grant. And when her grantee did it with her privity and by her vote in Congress, and she consented to another article of a compact without dissent from this anti-slavery clause, she must be held to have assented to the latter, and is estopped to dissent thereafter. Nor was such exclusion contrary to her well-defined policy. She had, in her colonial history, protested against the slave trade, and, in the preamble to her constitution of June 29, 1776, written by Mr. Jefferson, had, in nervous and emphatic terms, arraigned George III for "prompting our negroes to rise in arms among us, those very negroes, whom by an inhuman use of his negative, he hath refused us permission to exclude by law." And in the following month (August 25, 1787), in the Federal convention, after her son George Mason had denounced it as "this infernal traffic," she voted to put an end to the slave trade in 1800, which was postponed to 1808 by the votes of the New England States (New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut), and Maryland, North and South Carolina and Georgia.

And while she voted against the Jefferson clause in 1784, which forbade the extension of slavery into the territory south as well as north of the Ohio River, she was willing, from climatic as well as other reasons, to forbid its extension into the territory north of that river.

And now the domain for free colonization under law, and with the inspiration of religion and education, is ready for the adventurous emigrants. The Old Dominion has granted it — the Union has accepted it — and the sturdy sons of Massachusetts, under Rufus Putnam, with her polity, civil and religious, braving the wilderness and the winter, land and plant their feet upon the spot where we stand to-day. Six States only on the 7th of April, 1788, had ratified the new Federal Constitution proposed by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787. You took pos-

session under the Articles of Confederation; you hold now under the Constitution of 1789. You pioneered the Northwest, and others followed. The forty-eight immortals at Marietta a century ago are succeeded by fifteen millions of people from every section of the Union in the Territory covered by the Ordinance of 1787. The poverty of the unsheltered and hungry group of that day must be honored in the memories of that mighty mass of millions who now fill the land, they took into possession, with palaces and institutions of learning; with churches of the ever-living God; with teeming harvests of the earth and mines of inestimable wealth, and factories filled with the busy hum of manual industry; and above all, with the intelligent love of liberty and law and religion under the Constitution of our fathers, to be consecrated by our devoted lives and defended to the death against all who would prostitute its sacred provisions to the purposes of private gain, to the behests of ignoble factions or for the promotion of base and selfish ambition.

For to you and to me, and to all within the broad limits of this great Union, the inheritors of the constitutional liberties of our fathers, come the solemn questions to-day: What will we do with it? Shall we waste or save our heritage? Shall the motive influence of our life be the mere expansion of national power, and the accretion of national wealth? and shall we pervert all we have inherited or acquired to an effeminate luxury, to a sordid ambition for riches or power, or to the destruction of our free institutions? Let us rather take our inspirations from the hardy, simple, heroic and devoted men who, fearing God feared nothing else; who erected here and everywhere in our land altars to the true God, founded schools for their children, established institutions of law and liberty, and consecrated homes of economy and industry, of a pure morality, of genuine and exalted piety.

Our duty is plain, as our danger is great. Our danger is in one word, irreverence — irreverence to the simple vir-

tues and exalted honor of our fathers, irreverence to God, irreverence to the constitution ordained by them under the Divine guidance, and in the conservation of which we have become a mighty power on the earth. Our duty is veneration for all that is noble and great and pure, for God and His religion, for our fathers, who, in sincere and simple faith, feared nothing but to do wrong by disobedience to the Divine commands. And what we specially need, as citizens of this great Republic of republics, is to study with earnest diligence the principles of our free institutions; to hold him an enemy of the country who derides fidelity to the Constitution, and trifles with his solemn obligation to uphold it; who would use the power of the government to promote personal or party ends; who stirs up the bitterness of buried strifes, and engenders sectional or class conflicts among the people of the Union; and who does not hold it to be his best and noblest civil duty to uphold and defend the Constitution in all its integrity against all the temptations to its violation by the corrupting influences which surround us.

The time has come, in this period when centennial anniversaries summon us to look at the genesis of our being as a people, to examine and study the general principles in the development of which a century has passed, and to mark wherein we have departed from the law of our organic life. That law is this: That a written constitution is the supreme law for government and for men, unchangeable by either, except in the mode it has ordained—supreme in the conscience of President, Governor, legislator, judge and citizen — not a constitution of growth and evolution from the exigencies of an advancing civilization, by the sophistries of ingenious men, or in obedience to their caprice or corrupt desires or greedy avarice; not a law one thing to-day, another to-morrow; but, to apply a well known passage: *Omnes gentes et omni tempore, una lex, et sempiterna et immutabilis.*

It is to this solemn duty I venture to call the sons of

New England and Virginia, and of all the States, here and elsewhere, now and always. Let the descendants of the sturdy men, who, here and elsewhere, laid this foundation stone — this elect, tried and precious corner stone for our free institutions, the absolute supremacy of a written constitution — bring us back to a higher and more healthful atmosphere of thought and feeling. Let us make this Union so strong under the faithful observance of the Constitution which made and conserves it as our greatest blessing; so strong in the affections and devotion of the people that not only none shall be able to destroy it who would, but that none would do so even if they were able. Believe me, the bond of reverential love is stronger than that of force, and I think the South would say to-day that, though she could not dissolve the Union when she would, she now would not if she could.

The decree has gone forth — THAT THE STATES CANNOT DESTROY THE UNION! AND THE UNION MUST NOT DESTROY THE STATES!

I congratulate the people of Ohio, and especially the descendants of the Pilgrims, whose heroic fortitude planted this colony a century ago, on this auspicious anniversary. Let a review of the past purify and stimulate us to follow the noble example of our ancestors; and, with hearty reverence for the God of our fathers, and veneration for the constitutional work of their hands, may we transmit the inheritance we have received to our posterity, so that, in the centuries to come, and to the remotest generations, this great Federal Constitution may be a light to the world, and secure the blessings of a free and Christian civilization to this American Union of self-governed States forever. To such a union, under such a constitution, let us swear eternal fidelity, and pray, with united hearts, *Esto perpetua!*

LETTER OF HON. GEORGE B. LORING.

READ AT THE CELEBRATION BY R. R. DAWES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 5, 1888.

SIR: I have been requested by His Excellency, Governor Ames, of Massachusetts, to represent that Commonwealth at the Centennial Celebration of the first settlement of the Northwest Territory, under the Ordinance of 1787, at Marietta, Ohio. I regret exceedingly that at a late hour I am compelled to deny myself the pleasure of being present on the occasion. I feel it to be my duty, however, to express the interest Massachusetts feels in the event you celebrate, and in the prosperity and welfare of the community occupying this spot, on which her citizens found an opportunity for the exercise of their heroism, their wisdom, and their Christian philanthropy.

It is evident to us, who can look back over the eventful years which have passed since Marietta was settled, that upon the principles incorporated in the State and society then founded, depended the fate and fortune of the Republic just then coming into existence. The people who had achieved the independence of their country by the Revolutionary war were destined to occupy almost the entire continent, of which their territory formed but a small part. The strip of land between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic was entirely unequal to their purposes, and the government they had founded was so vigorous in its character, so broad in its design, so peculiar in its construction, that it was not to be confined to a narrow and limited section of the continent on which it was planted. To extend the limits of its territory and to extend its jurisdiction over all the land and waters, which were important to its existence and power, was the early work of the founders of the Republic. By purchase and treaty this was accomplished until the title to the vast territory of the Northwest was

settled, the mouth of the Mississippi was secured, and the coast line extended, unbroken, from the eastern border of Maine along the ocean and gulf to the Mexican possessions. On this wide territory the work of building the Republic began; and, upon the form of civilization which should prevail in this Republic, depended its vigor, and elevation, and prosperity, and power,—its vital form and its commanding position among the nations of the earth.

Of all this territorial acquisition, the Northwest presented the field especially adapted to the existence and growth of manly human powers and of ambitious Christian communities. It was evidently the spot towards which the founders of the Republic turned with high expectations and exalted hopes. Jefferson, who had inspired the thirteen colonies to strike for national independence, and who believed in human equality and the power of human aspirations, selected this great territory, which his own State had bestowed upon the Union, as the area over which the doctrines of his immortal Declaration were to be extended; and he laid the foundation for that Ordinance of freedom which became a part of its organic law when the town of Marietta was founded.

Monroe, and Rufus King, and Pickering, and Arthur Lee hoped to found here a cluster of free States. Washington watched their efforts with great solicitude. In his youth he had traversed the mountains and prairies of that region and had swum the rivers which watered the vast domain. To its civil organization his mind had been devoted from the days of the Revolutionary war. And when the enterprise and restless energy of the sons of New England sought for new land on which to plant the institutions of their fathers, they turned instinctively to the territory lying beyond the Ohio as that in which they could find a home.

When, in 1883, I had the honor of addressing the citizens of Ohio, on this spot, and on an occasion similar to this, I reminded them that "with the exception of the

landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, there is no event in history which so strongly marks the power of man's independent spirit, his devotion to human right and his faith in a government based on the consent of the governed, as does this planting of the sons of the Pilgrims and Puritans on the soil of Ohio." They carried with them the spirit which animated Massachusetts in the beginning, and which animates her to-day. Manasseh Cutler and his brave companions took with them the education of the New England school house and the religion of the New England meeting-house. They had learned their lessons of economy and thrift on the hard soil of Massachusetts; they had been inspired by the orators of the Revolution, Adams, and Otis, and Quincy; they had been roused by the heroism of Bunker Hill; they had inherited the qualities of a defiant, freedom-loving, God-fearing ancestry. And when they went forth Massachusetts sent her blessings with them, and she has never forgotten that their descendants are bone of her bone, flesh of her flesh.

My associates and myself have been delegated by Governor Ames to bear her blessings to this community, and to convey for her all that affection that a mother feels for her children.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. B. LORING.

JEWETT PALMER, Esq.,
Director Centennial Celebration,
Marietta, O.

REMARKS OF HON. SAMUEL F. HUNT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is certainly not my purpose, in this unexpected call, to disturb the very agreeable impression which was made by the scholarly oration of the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts. For historical research, for analysis of fact, for application of principles, for beauty of diction, it has rarely been surpassed; and I may say that no less instructive was the oration of the gentleman from Virginia.

In the name of the people of Ohio, I may say that they reciprocate this sort of patriotism; and Ohio, like Virginia, hereafter will look to the Federal Constitution as the pledge of perpetual union.

It is very interesting to trace the beginning of a civilization, and to follow society in its formative state. I was greatly impressed by the allusion in Senator Hoar's speech to the victory of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham. It has not been emphasized enough. It was one of the most momentous of the hours of history. It determined whether or not the institutions of the Germanic or English-speaking race should dominate hereafter in the great Central States in this valley. He crowded the action of centuries into a few minutes, and he filled his life with lustre, although his sun went down before it was day.

That civilization we are to-day—that one hundred years of results; the elements which have produced it are found in the organic law which has blessed the people. Those results are found, first in the religion and the morality which have emphasized all the legislation of this civilization during this hundred years.

The Ordinance of 1787 declared for religion and morality. The Constitution of 1802 declared for religion and morality. The Constitution of 1851 declared for religion and morality. Righteousness *does* exalt a nation; and to-day our civilization is marked by the church spires,

whose bells mingle with the melody of the birds; a civilization which has gone in parallel lines across a continent from the Eastern shores to where California, with her sun-capped diadem, sits, Empress of the Pacific.

A second instance of this manifestation is, that there has been evidence of respect for law. One of the first evidences to-day in this State is that Campus Martius, where the first court was opened in the Northwest Territory, and from which has gone out the system of jurisprudence, which has blessed the entire valley. The organic law has been supplemented by legislation of a legal character, until nowhere in all this nation to-day, will you find legislative enactments which better protect home, life, and property than do the legislative enactments which are the protection of life and liberty in these great States born within the Ordinance of 1787.

As a result of it, two of the men breathing this atmosphere have occupied positions on the Supreme Bench of the United States; the length of life allotted to them would not justify altogether that magnificent eulogy which Lord Erskine said of Mansfield; but the manner in which they discharged their duty merits this to these honorable magistrates who have so long presided in this great tribunal that the younger among us have no other recollection than of them as the form and figure of justice.

Reverence for the law must exist. There are demagogues in every community who can create a storm, but there are few like Cromwell who have the power to suppress it. The government to-day consists in preserving us from disorder and in strangling the strong clutch of public opinion, the Catilines of public life.

There is one fact which, above all others, I think should have been recognized — that declaration that the waters of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence should forever remain free to the people of these States. It was that idea which thundered in every gun from the Mississippi to the sea in the late war. It was that idea that was seen

in the blazing camp-fire of the regiments of men who hewed their way from the ocean to the gulf. Not all of them returned. Some of them sleep in the church-yard of Shiloh; some of them sleep in the Wilderness; some of them rode to their death with Sheridan in the Shenandoah; some of them perished in the martyrdom of prison life, looking only to the stars for hope. If we forget them in this centennial—if we forget them—then may God forget us.

And now I say to-day: Freedom itself must be protected from the perils around it by the same fearless spirit. It will need the help of the strong and the stalwart in every part of the country; and in the spirit of generous magnanimity for all parts of the country.

Let us look now only to the future, with the sublime hope that God will save the nation, save it from the men who are dishonest, save it from the designs of men who would destroy it; and help us as He helped our fathers, so that religion and piety and truth and justice may be maintained among us for all generations.

ADDRESS OF REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTY, FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES: I certainly shall detain you but a very few minutes. I am speaking only because I am commissioned by the Governor of Massachusetts. We think our State has spoken very well here to-day already.

Massachusetts sends her hearty congratulations to you, and, as Dr. Loring says, "Massachusetts does not forget her children, her grandchildren, and the children of her grandchildren." Indeed, they say, kindly or unkindly, that Massachusetts does not forget any of her brethren wherever they may be; and when they are such as she looks upon so proudly here, why should she forget them? Why should she forget them?

There is a single contribution which the Governor would ask me to make, I think, to those lessons for the future that we have been speaking of, which have been taught in all her history. It has been her fortune since 1620, when, unfortunately, there was no one else to speak for the rights of men; it has been her fortune that, when there has been any speaking for men, either in commemoration of victory, or in prophesying fight, her speakers should be among the first called forth, and it shall continue to be so in days to come.

It happened that it was Manasseh Cutler who was to be the one who should call upon that Continental Congress to do the duty which they had pushed aside for five or six years. It happened that this diplomatist succeeded in doing in four days what had not been done in four years before.

What was the weight which Manasseh Cutler threw into the scale? It was not wealth; it was not the armor of the old time. It was simply the fact, known to all men, that the men of New England would not emigrate into

any region where labor and its honest recompense is dishonorable.

The New England men will not go where it is not honorable to do an honest day's work, and for that honest day's work to claim an honest recompense. They never have done it, and they never will do it; and it was that potent fact, known to all men, that Manasseh Cutler had to urge in his private conversation and in his diplomatic work. When he said, "I am going away from New York, and my constituents are not going to do this thing," he meant exactly what he said. They were not going to any place where labor was dishonorable, and where workmen were not recognized as freemen.

If they had not taken his promises they would not have come here; they would have gone to the Holland Company's lands in New York, or where Massachusetts was begging them to go — into the valley of the Penobscot or Kennebec; they would not go where labor was not honorable.

That has been the principle of the men from Massachusetts from 1620 to this moment, and it will be taught to their children for all time. It becomes us to say this.

I have been approached again and again and again by gentlemen in Louisiana and Texas who said, "What can we do to induce your hearty New Englanders to come down into Louisiana and Texas?" and I always answer, with a little laugh, "You would like some of our good capital." "Yes," they say, "but we would like your men, the good old New England stock, on our savannas and prairies." The answer is, "The men of New England are not coming to the most beautiful savannas, the most fertile prairies, if thereby any taint upon honest industry rests upon them — if there is anything disgraceful in honest work; and the capital of New England will never be invested where there is no honest security given — whether it be by the blackest slave or the whitest laborer who chooses to employ that slave on his plantation."

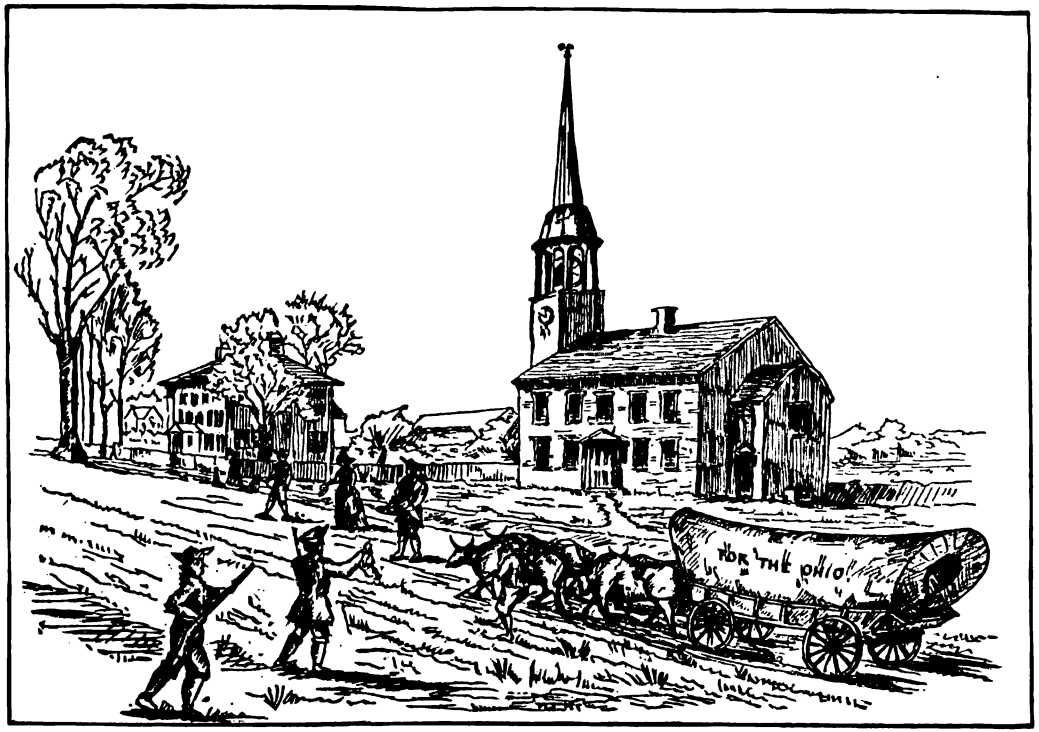
"Men are born equal;" these were the words of Jefferson; these were the words which were put into the Bill of Rights of Massachusetts. That has been taught all the way through by all her children, all her representatives, all her acts.

Foreign writers do not understand it. I have hardly known a writer in England, or, indeed, on the Continent, who seems to understand it. They think we owe this wealth and prosperity to the rich river bottoms of Ohio, and that when these are exhausted the resources of wealth are exhausted. Or they say that it is due to the mines of the country. Tell me of what use were the mines, or of what use the river bottoms, as long as those long-headed people, of whom Professor Putnam told us, were here? How many people did the Shawnees feed when they had possession of these river bottoms? Did not this same natural gas, of which they speak, flow under us then? Were not the same coal fields here?

It is not your silver; it is not your gold; it is not your coal, or your iron, or your lead; it is not your gas that makes our wealth. It is the men who control these elements of nature and call them into being, and it is the women who go with the men to make the homes for them.

That is the lesson which America is teaching to the whole world; and out of that we will come to learn that lesson of political teaching that is not understood except as a certain theory about the government,—that there are certain natural advantages which it seems that God Almighty has seen fit to give to this part of the world.

Abraham Lincoln used an expression in his first message which was laughed at by many public writers and noticed much in Europe. It was not so much noticed here, because we knew it was true. They looked at it as a piece of bombast—a piece of gross exaggeration. Mr. Lincoln said there was many a regiment which he sent to the front in 1861 from which he could have chosen every member of his cabinet, every officer he needed in the administra-



Dr. Cutler's Church and Parsonage at Ipswich Hamlet, 1787. The Place from which the First Company Started for the Ohio, December 3, 1787.

tion of the country, and the country would have been well served. He could have picked out these men from every regiment. We know it was true.

The same thing might be repeated,—it is not a mere matter of pleasantry; it is simply a square fact, and I undertake to repeat this statement now, and here.

Suppose, in the great crisis of next fall, the country, in determining between two citizens of Ohio as to who shall be the next President, should choose Senator Thurman, or suppose they should choose Senator John Sherman. Sitting here, either of them might look around upon this audience which I am addressing—might take out his note book and jot down every one of his Cabinet, every Judge of the Supreme Court, every commissioner, every member of his diplomatic corps to represent him abroad—and you know he would be well served.

A country that is served like that in what we are pleased to call the higher walk of its administration, which is served that way in every walk, which is served the best way in every demand—is the one which will find its workers when these great resources are to be developed. Whenever it needs anybody, the right person comes to the front.

How does that happen? Because of your matchless system of schools; because of your Declaration of Independence; because of the Ordinance of 1787; because every boy or girl, though born in a log cabin, though left an orphan in babyhood, shall grow up to whatever place his spirit, his ambition, his desires may lead him. That is the secret of the wealth of America, and that secret is not to be found in mere physical advantages.

How did these people come here to found this great empire, and what made the empire prosper? Was it the encouragement received? Look at your literature and newspapers of that time, and you will find that through the Eastern coast the enterprise was ridiculed. I can show you caricatures of the people coming back from

Ohio—poor, and where statements were made against their going to this wilderness.

Robert Livingston, after he had bought Louisiana, said: "I know we have paid a terrible price, but I can have the price back; I have told them that there will no man cross the Mississippi in the next century." So much for the wisdom of a wise man.

But the rank and file—the men who were your grandfathers, and the women who were your grandmothers—these crossed the Alleghenies, and they made the new America. Always, since this country has come into being, the people have been in advance. It was the people who raised up and sustained John Quincy Adams, when the statesmen would have put him out of the Senate of the United States. It was the people who took the matter in their own hands and reconstructed the Union so it will stand forever as it is; and it is for you and me, in our congratulations of to-day, solemnly to pledge ourselves, before the altar which we call holiest, that this people shall be recognized always; that the rights promised shall be kept; that the people shall stand as the rulers of this great nation—given the absolute supremacy, under the law of God, through a government "of the people, for the people, by the people."

ADDRESS OF HENRY M. STORRS, D. D.

DELIVERED SUNDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL EIGHTH.

Isaiah 35: 1. "The wilderness shall be glad for them."

THE pioneers and founders have done their work and gone. They have left us material and tools. We are to enter into their labors and carry forward their work. I make no apology for naming as our subject that nation which they founded, as it was, and is, and shall be,

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, A SOURCE OF BLESSING.

Your flint, dry and hard, is found to have its molecular activity. Granite is mobile. The ear held close to the dead earth in winter hears the million wheels on which spring is coming. A nation is never still. Your "unspeakable Turk" is no longer the Turk of Bajazet. "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar;" but your Russian peasant of to-day is less a Tartar than was Peter the Great in his time. The England of Victoria is not the England of Elizabeth; the America of A. D. 1888, not that of A. D. 1788. Constant interior activities, constant exterior changes have been going on to make this nation well nigh another people. Our early history, though so near, is already remote. Of all nationalities most fluent, we are ready to say, "Let the dead past bury its dead," and to relegate the seventeenth, eighteenth, and larger part of the nineteenth century to the care of any convenient undertaker. Have we not already entered upon a time when graver questions impend, and more gigantic forces are swiftly coming to the front?

Some men are anachronisms—coming before or after they are wanted. St. Paul describes himself as "one born out of due time." But these men seem born out of any time. Deaf when their names were called they woke up one or more centuries out of adjustment. Strangers and

foreigners to their own age, they flit through life—shadows of the Forgotten. Clinging to a dead Past they present right angles to living issues, and are ridden down by that *Zeitgeist* which drives nations forward. Like Niebuhr, they are more at home in some ancient Rome than in their own town and time.

It belongs to these memorial occasions to review that Past, when great foundations were laid, and to gather up its lessons of patriotic wisdom. We cannot afford to miss the animating inspirations which come upon us from a history like that belonging to the settlement of Marietta, A.D. 1788, and the unbroken movement of free and powerful empire from this point. They feed the fires of patriotic devotion. They create inextinguishable faith in the imperishable vigor of national life. The historical orations and addresses already delivered here have profoundly impressed this fact upon our minds. But now from the height of their great argument are we not summoned to make some study of that which is, and that which shall be?

Confessedly, there are difficulties in grasping this broad American Life; for, first of all, it is formative and not fixed. It has taken no final shape. There is a certain humor in listening to foreigners taking our gauge and announcing their judgment. They come over to "do America" in six weeks. When they report we are not surprised to find that they were "done" in most cases. "I confess," said a distinguished teacher in one of the larger Eastern universities —a ripe scholar and an author of distinction, native, to our manner born, and yet of wide foreign travel—"I confess I never felt the American throb until I came this side the Alleghanies and entered Ohio." What, then, of these "six-weeks" runners? But such a man as Chief Justice Coleridge, with the modesty of a judicial mind, and after much longer stay, says: "I do not feel that I understand America altogether. I have had glimpses into its life, and must speak with hesitation." And Herbert Spencer, with

some months of close study of this nation behind him, is forced to say substantially: "I have a very imperfect knowledge of America. I saw some things in your national life, and I have fixed some points from which I shall hope to observe and understand it better hereafter."

But, besides this baffling vastness and elusive changefulness, there are manifold contradictory forces at work in it. The story was that the same Mayflower which brought the Pilgrims to the shores of New England afterwards brought slaves to the shores of Virginia. Were the story true, it would not unfitly represent what has been going on from the first—this commingling in rapid succession of "all sorts and conditions of men." True at the outset, it has been doubly true in our own day. Varieties of blood, varieties of thought, varieties of morals, religion, language, discrepant, discordant, divergent, have been finding equal home in the great body, and this immensely increases our difficulty in any effort to grasp the whole, or reach anything like a complete and determinate judgment of the American people.

But, while recognizing this diverse complexity, we still assert a certain clear individuality, a discernable and proper unity that in the end dominates all differences. It was objected, when German was proposed as an addition to the school curriculum in one of our cities, that "our people have the English tongue, and want no other taught in the public schools." "That is an open question;" replied the German element in the Board, "the nation, it is true, at first drew most largely from English loins and came with English tongue, but now it is drawing from other sources, and other tongues are coming. What we want is a language into which all tongues shall have brought their best, and which, when formed, shall be neither English, German, French, Scandinavian, nor Italian, but *American!*" That speaker, in ceasing to be a German, had not become, and did not intend to be "English," but "American." There is something real behind that. The local type is softening

its rigid and exclusive lines. The New Englander, forgetting that he was born east of the Hudson, merges into the greater whole. The Southerner—now that the war has rubbed out slavery's barbaric civilization—will soon forget his former self-isolation and suffer the capitalized North to melt into his wide pocket as snowstorms do into the gulf-streams off Hatteras. North and South, East and West, Atlantic shore and Pacific slope, are fast becoming vibrant with one common life—"the American throb."

It has been very happily said that "America was God's great charity to the human race." He gave it in the fulness of time to the suffering millions of older countries. First settled, it has ever since continued to be settled by "the poor." The birth-throe of this nation was the effort to make a home where the humbler classes might give to God a type of man grander and nobler than had ever been; its birth-motive, to create on a new continent, amidst unimpeded areas, a race better in opportunities, better in results, tenderer, truer and wider in sympathy, loftier in spirit—a race showing at length God's ideal of man organized into a nation!

"Mankind has poured itself abroad here and is in its shirt-sleeves at work; slovenly, down at the heel, without much polish, awkward, but with a sort of unbuttoned comfort in its look," says our poet-philosopher. But that idea of God is being wrought out. The amalgam here is of the finest. The nations have been sending us of their best. In these last forty years we have incorporated out of the Old World well nigh 15,000,000 citizens—mostly young, vigorous, thrifty, determined in purpose, positive in ideas, great-souled, looking forward to a brave future and resolved on it—and they have gone into the rich life of this people.

The ancient civilizations, one after another, died out for want of such fresh blood. Assyria dwelt unfed on the fat soil of the Euphrates and Tigris, and soon perished where she stood. Egypt incorporated nothing from abroad and soon fell prone along her Nile. Greece followed. Her

grace and beauty availed nothing. Hemmed in by geographic or political, ethnic or social limitations, which excluded re-enforcement, there was no escape for her. Christian faith had not come; and only fresh blood could have even stayed the end.

Our later civilizations have been better fed. Five times has England been soaked and saturated with foreign inundations. Again and again has the original Kelt of France been recruited and vitalized by such enriching floods. Rome itself had not fallen could she have absorbed the Gothic blood. But how is our own nation taking in, without stint or pause, the best blood of the best races to expand and perpetuate its life! We have room for it all. You cannot grow an oak in the parlor vase. The vase shivers, or the oak dwarfs. England has her "Greater Britain" beyond the seas. You set your geranium, pot and all, into the rich garden loam, and presently you wonder at its immense growth. Your cunning plant, nature-wise, has found the water hole of its prison, and through that sent out roots to feed from all the soil beyond. England's roots have gone down into Australia, India, Africa, America; have penetrated the whole world's loam, and are sucking into herself whatever it can give. We need not thus go out of ourselves. The world comes to us. Our vase is no parlor affair.

We have but to look at this vast and continuous absorption of fresh blood to see how greatly we must be changing the very tissue of our people. The volume of it far exceeds the entire mass of barbarism that swamped the Roman Empire, and our original Pilgrim Father, Hollander, Huguenot, Cavalier, Quaker, Covenanter, is fast disappearing under the flood pouring in at every open port. Of the nearly sixty millions now making our white population, more than one-third are those, or the immediate descendants of those, whom the nation has sucked up into itself from without in less than a quarter of the century we are here to commemorate and review. Our larger

cities are under their control. "You do not get into America, on coming from Europe, till you get beyond the pavements," said Wendell Phillips with fine irony. "These are foreign cities on American shores." Hardly less is true of some powerful Western States. These citizens of foreign extraction are taking possession. Diffused everywhere, especially through the North and West, they are found to be thoroughly armed, not with the artillery of physical subjugation, but with views and faiths, covering the whole field of human life, which they mean to defend, propagate, and, if occasion require, impose on the nation. Our "American Sabbath," as we call it; our intelligent Protestant worship; our religious foundations of social order; what are these to them? Ingenious and powerful minds are among them; educated intelligence, wide knowledge, mental acumen, sagacity and skill in reaching popular thought, intense purpose, and, withal, a sensitive and strong spirit of clanship through the whole mass. Is it possible to absorb this vast amount, not only of foreign blood, but of thought and faith so widely variant, much of it in open hostility to all that had been held, without undergoing vast changes in the process?

Is this, then, another invasion of the Goths thundering at the gates? Is our American national individuality to perish, submerged beneath this vast un-American material? We need scarcely fear. Our country keeps open door to the East, a wide hearth and a plentiful table. Within little more than eighty years we have added enough area to cover all Europe as with a blanket, tucking it in at the sides. China, too — that great goblet, brimming with humanity, so full that she might spill fifty or a hundred millions of her people without careening from the level — will, perhaps, be coming to us. If the Providential hour for it strike, who shall hinder? And still, though "Mongolian" be antipodes of "American," we are confident that we have a something — the very essence and characteristic of our national individuality — too well defined, too

staunchly enduring, too strong and positive to be destroyed.

Europe is broken into fragments. Differences of language, faith, political organization — rigid and well nigh invincible alienations—separate its people; solid walls of bayonets divide its life. But on this vaster western area our nation, clinging to itself throughout with the cohesive power of Divine purpose, goes forward to its one splendid aim, with a prophetic zest that allows no division and tolerates no lagging. A great and eager mutual sympathy runs through the whole body. The telegraph is swift; the telephone instant. We speak across the continent; we think through space. The Alleghenies are no hindrance; the 'Rockies' no check. But that spirit of sympathy, quicker than light, is forever present through every part, binding the whole nation into one by bonds which cannot be broken, and filling it with a great common life which cannot die.

But there is yet another migration which arrests our thought even more than this. The age is fermenting with topics of highest moment. American mind is being fed and modified, not only from its own soil, but from abroad. Every foreign university, every solitary thinker, every workingman's club, every industrial Union is sending over daily fresh consignments. Nations now gather to the cradleside of any new-born thought—wherever it may first see the light or utter its cry. More impalpable, these children of the mind, than aerial currents; more unfettered than the light! The freedom of cities, countries, ages, is theirs without a vote. They seem invested, so soon as born, with something akin to Divine Omnipotence!

In the dark days of the Rebellion, Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, sent out strong inducements to immigration. But thought waits for no encouragements. It comes unasked. Our libraries are crammed with foreign consignments beyond the shelves of any importing merchant. The productive thinking of our times has been stimulated beyond

all precedent by unexampled discoveries changing the conditions and faiths of men. Has any result been kept at home? Have not our people thrown every port open to new facts or faiths, and then wrought them eagerly into our very fibre?

Take physical science alone; do we fully measure its effects in changing human conditions in the time since this region was settled? We find ourselves momently waiting on scientific discovery, as one of the most powerfully modifying causes at work on human life. Nothing in the whole circuit of modern fact is more striking than this outburst of a new revelation. The great volume of God's physical work had but few and barren chapters for our fathers. No one was found to open the book or loose the seven seals thereof. Do we realize that Copernicus, for example, had not yet brought out the new astronomy which was to organize the stars for us, when De Soto was entering Florida; that Galileo had not yet found the wondrous tube that was to touch our eyes with supernal vision, nor Kepler laid into human hands those threads of sidereal law now guiding our swift feet through otherwise trackless skies, when Virginia was already being settled; that the Anatomy of the human frame had not yet gone far enough, when the Pilgrims were landing at Plymouth, to show the circulation of the blood; that it was still a full century later when Botany took helpful shape; a full century and a half before Electricity began its career, or modern Chemistry was at work; that Geology was just struggling into existence when those first Ohio pioneers were turning the prow of their "Mayflower" at this point into the mouth of the Muskingum; or that the whole body of related or dependent physical science is the fruit of the hurrying years since that date? To those brave and hardy men this glorious universe of matter was little else than a hard, round, unsightly thing, wherein evil dwelt, and soon to be burned up forever. To us, it stands an almost infinite Geode, broken open, and from its million crystal points

light streams, and divinest law, for the bettering of human life and the enriching of its soul. It would seem, indeed, that well nigh the whole mass of this helpful modern knowledge had sympathetic birth with our nation — both of them children of Liberty returning to earth.

We may well take time, in this connection, to consider what and how strong an education this nation has been steadily acquiring. One of our best living thinkers defines "education" to be "not a dead mass of accumulations, but power to work with the mind." Your unlettered mechanic may have that, and your best bred college man none of it. On that definition the American people must be regarded as strongly educated. Matthew Arnold says, "They see clear and think straight." Our masses have tense brain. They are impatient of twaddle. To a certain extent they are "mind readers." They forestall slow reasoning and reach ends by short cuts. We may well confess that in the Fine Arts and the higher literature; in the mastery and handling of Philosophy; in the broad and successful solution of government finance or the best adjustments of society, they are often sadly crude in what comes from the discipline of a broad and thorough knowledge. But this does not touch our point, that, taken in the mass, this American people has been educated "in power to work with the brain" beyond all example. Indirectly we have fine recognition of it from those asking not long ago, "Who reads an American book?" Your Charles Dickens, Thackeray, Stanley, Kingsley, Farrar, Matthew Arnold; your great singers and actors; your novelists, poets, philosophers, and statesmen of the other side now feel vastly securer of solid place and fame when they have passed the ordeal of our national judgment.

Many things have wrought for this result, the great class of economic reasons and necessities taking a foremost place. Poor at the outset, our nation was thrust out into the wilderness to scuffle for its life. It had a sharp, severe struggle for bare existence. Everything was to be created,

and it had only its bare hands. The New England settlers were a type. They skirted a barren shore and thrust rugged roots into bleak rocks. It was hard schooling in a dreary school-house. The soil was stern, the air sour, the outlook dark. What remained but to put brain to hard work? From that hour along the whole stretch of advancing settlement, this nation has been fertilized by brain brought from fields of toil; it has never known ease. When the surmounted Alleghanies flung onward from war-encircled flanks those first pioneers down into the "dark and bloody ground" of this Great Valley; and then the now tamed prairies lifted them onward from their broad bosoms up into the canons of the Rocky mountains, and these, now hammered, and picked, and crushed in quartz mills, in their turn threw them still further onward to the shores of our hindermost sea,—what is the whole story, from first to last, but that of brain-taxing, and brain-educating work?

But coincident with this we find another set of forces working to the same end—this vast system of public instruction founded by the pioneers and cherished by their children. Here the American people are being trained, not on the perverted theory of creating blind submission to authority, but on the great, developing, Protestant principle of unembarrassed and urgent inquiry into the reason of things; of largest freedom to question, to doubt, to explore—this liberty to blaze my own path to any North Pole I may choose to hunt in search for truth and life. It is this which yields a nation strong to do its own thinking, work with its own brain, and trust its own conclusions. Even woman is leading the way in new and in old paths. The very boys and girls are guiding our eyes to unsuspected stars. Your university-bred man is only in the upper form of this wide public school, and often the grades are separated by nothing more than a dim and vanishing line.

What the school begins, the Press—whose daily blanket-sheet is the poor man's fresh volume—carries forward; and

what the press might fail to do, our system of popular government carries yet further. The national mind gains immense vigor amidst this perpetual discussion of the gravest possible questions. The town-meeting educated New England. But, since the nation began, there has been no hour when the whole mass of its citizens have not been summoned to act upon the highest and gravest questions of public economy and public justice. The great Indian question began at our origin, and is not yet settled. The slavery issue followed — far more vital, far more complicated! "It tore the nation," you say. Yes, but did far more in *educating* it. The tuition was costly, but for that education no fees could be too heavy. On all such issues as they come every man must have his word; every citizen will have his vote, and, because he must speak and will vote, he must have his thought; and the tremendous power of such an education on our people up to this hour no man can measure.

Some one may ask, "whether these and other forces, contributing to make the nation what it has come to be, will not, from this time, diminish in power." Will they not increase rather?

Take those coming from the *economic* side, for example, —have our last possible gains been made in that direction? We "have been subjugating Nature." Are we much beyond the hither margin? Has not each conquest so far simply opened our way to another, and higher? We travel by steam. Very good! But is the steam car our finality? We talk over electric wires. But is this the best from science? Nature is being prodded to give us something better. Our people will have Nature's last secret, and wrench every force from her hand. What shall be the fruit of all this on mental life? History brings this word from her portfolio—that broadened mind forever comes from physical conquest. Mind makes discovery; but discovery and the effort for it makes more mind. The Crusades were a huge effort for Europe. But in breaking

Asia open Europe wrought out her own expansion. She widened yet more in opening and subduing this continent. Room was created in herself for a wider civilization when Columbus burst the barriers of western seas, brought back a new world, and anchored it off her shores. It is Law, not accident, that mind shall feed on the spoils of matter, and more still on the effort to get them. How much lies before us in this direction, who can tell? But the instinct for it is in the air. All men are musing in their hearts—and such musings, what are they if not a divine prevision making sure their own fulfillment?

The century since this town was founded has been a busy one for our nation in *politics* and *government*. In that time, so narrow as it is — little more than a single pulse beat in any national life — we have founded and matured these great, complicated, but now harmonious systems of local, State, and National government; we have vindicated a commanding position among the nations; we have made treaties and established commerce with every considerable people on the globe; we have organized revenue and finance; we have added immense areas to our territory; we have conducted great wars at home and abroad, in every case to a successful issue; we have absorbed not only neighboring states but immigrant nations; we have confronted the Indian question in various aspects, and extirpated that of slavery; we have created unexampled armies and quietly disbanded them; we have made enormous debts and showed how they can be paid without oppressing labor or capital; we have demonstrated that a great free people — electing its own rulers, making its own laws, and administering its own vast power — can spread over a whole continent, with varied and often conflicting interests, and yet live in a compact unity under a written constitution, maintain liberty, secure justice, and stand in strength; while, at the same time, it holds its doors wide to the incoming of an incongruous world!

And not less busy has this century been in the depart-

ments of *education, morals and religion.* Beginning with nothing, we have brought into active existence that wonderfully adjusted system of instruction that now — with its annual expenditure of more than $100,000,000 from public funds, and its able corps of more than 250,000 teachers — penetrates the entire nation with its presence, touching every family with an uplifting power. At the same time we have created and supplied free public libraries in almost every considerable town of the Republic; museums and schools of art. We have made science popular and accessible to its humblest student. The mind of the Nation has been fed with the strongest food of the ages. During the same time, in morals and religion we have been schooled to find the reconciling points between law and liberty, between social and public restraint and private freedom. We have succeeded in solidly planting and building a free church in a free State and in making it co-extensive with the Nation. We have made enduring lodgment of a Divine Faith in the popular heart, so strong and filled with mercy that after crowding our own land with eleemosynary institutions for human suffering, it has found for itself a thousand channels through which it is rushing forth with God's glad tidings to the ends of the earth.

In all this has not our people had a noble schooling leading up to greatness? It is not merely that they have accomplished these things in time so brief and with wisdom so clear, but that they were compelled, in doing this, to go forward in emergencies however hazardous, settling questions involving the very life of the nation, with little or no historic light to guide them, upon foundations then first discovered and principles then first applied. It was not a few great leaders; it was the people themselves, schooled to such wisdom and power that, under God, continually wrought out such redemption.

Just here one might ask, "What remains? Has not the work been finished? Have not the graver questions now been settled; the supreme problems been solved?" No!

The onrush of Providence and of human unfolding is startlingly rapid, and is leading off into new directions. We have lately heard a distinguished living authority in social economy saying, "I believe we are just beginning to enter a terrible era in the world's history; an era of internal and domestic warfare such as has never been seen, and the end of which only the Almighty can foretell." We will not take time now to inquire whether this is exaggerated. But certainly thoughtful men will say, and without hesitation, that the world as a whole, and our country in particular, are entering, *have entered*, upon a new cycle so wide-reaching, profound and complicated, so deeply involving the very structure of society and of man's life on earth as to tax human thought and effort beyond all that has gone before.

Men are asking, in view of the strong, outstanding, wide-spread facts of wrong and suffering and unequal conditions, whether society is constituted as it ought to be; whether it is administered on a right system and with right aims; whether, as it now exists, it is meant to serve the greatest good of the greatest number, or chiefly the interests of limited orders and classes. They urge the question whether this huge, brawny, industrial strength is being turned to best account; why the few receive so much and the many so little; why, in face of growing knowledge, moral elements, and total wealth, pauperism, vice, disease, crime should not only go on, but go on increasing. They are asking whether the members of this great human body may not somehow be co-ordinated more helpfully—the strong with the weak, and not against them; the rich with the poor, the intelligent and skilled with the ignorant and unskillful. They ask with great force what help is due from sight of any kind to blindness of all kinds; by those who stand on the fortunate side to those on the "*other* side"—how human life may somehow, here and now, be made over?

This whole class of questions has broken in on the

thought of our people through all the doors, and can not now be swept out. We may as well see this. A reading public that thinks must ask them; a thinking public that suffers will ask them. And your whole American people, down to the humblest workingman are now reading, thinking, suffering. The lowest depths are stirred. These sociological questions, going to the root and sweeping the whole area of man's earthly well-being, are at this hour before every civilized nation, none more than our own. A necessary outgrowth of Christianity sooner or later, they have reached now the supreme place in human thought. They demand action. They demand that we shall aid in distributing Divine energies through all these relations of men, and make this world more hospitable, more homelike, to all comers—so that their stay here shall not be altogether a sad one. These are burning questions. They have come to stay till answered. They will grow in power. They entered through Christ. They sprung from His bleeding side. He died for the race in its entirety. His Kingdom takes in both worlds. What touches the lowest interest of humblest man, what lifts or lowers one woman the smallest fraction of a degree, what raises or depresses the happiness of a child in poorest quarters one hair's breadth, touches the very heart of this King of men. And by so much as His Spirit takes stronger hold on human thought, these questions become the more irrepressibly urgent.

See the change in books. It is hardly fifty years since Carlyle described all literature as being little else than a mass of self-devouring criticism. But what to-day? Is it not a mass of scientific fruit — acquired fact, broad views of human needs and human condition—with a heart in it? If science, it must be *applied* science. The great Liebig finds a true employment for his brilliant chemistry in securing better food for infants; Bell makes the telephone wait at sick beds. Science is valued, as it serves. The books that take hold on men; the works of art that touch

the world's nerves — of what sort? Your Waverly novels stand on shelves—entertaining, but dead for want of touch. Your Dickens — opening up the dark windows of wide wrong, deep suffering, and social misery — stirs you; stirs man. True, he stops there; he has no balm. But it was something to open up the wrong; it was more to have a remedy.

So, too, with toil. It has an eager, impatient heart. It is looking for readjustment. These crowded Industrial Exhibitions that go the round of greater cities—London, Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia, New Orleans—are they meant for idle play? Great service to suffering men, rather, is to come out of them. Technical schools, better industries, uplifted workingmen must somehow be their fruit. Wheels! wheels! wheels!—"high and dreadful," but with a living spirit in them! Humane purpose must be there if men are to watch their whirling.

We look back to a time when the masses had small hope of better conditions, except upward and hereafter—their only outlet in that direction. Here they were overweighted for Time. Their earthly environments were invincible prisons. So long as they should live on earth they would grind out their fate, happy only in this, that their wretched social conditions were no worse and could not last forever, since death would come. But our age is hopeful on the earthly side. It looks to putting all things here under human feet. This wide-growing consciousness of lordship over Nature makes even the weakest impatient of being at all a serf. Men are demanding adjustments to change earth into the true kingdom of God. Grace and goodness seem an idle tale when Power, flushing the universe, has left them amidst so much of grief, disaster and misery. The day of selfish segregation and individualism is nearing its close; that of social fact, fellowship, organization has come, and we are in the midst of it. We have to do with a nation where population resists stratification. It marches to the music of a human brotherhood

wide as man; a ring of steel, its atoms vibrate together. Pulsations run at high speed through the people. Shoulder to shoulder they touch; heart to heart they beat. Born out of all the nations, they have yet one common life—heterogeneous of origin, but homogeneous in spirit. Here, amidst such a people, so prepared of God, these mightiest questions of sociological well-being are thrown in for solution. Who can foretell the wind of rising conflicts?

We can recognize struggles as impending, in comparison with which those of the French and Indian wars, the Revolution of A. D. 1776, the late Rebellion even, were child's play. Our fathers knew nothing of this tumultuous irruption of crass and crude material into one national life. They saw not this rapid multiplying of restless classes—impatient of law, impatient of religion, often uneducated, or, oftener still, well educated for evil. Our national veins seem already tense and strained with feverish passion; and yet within another century this population of 60,000,000 will be quadrupled in number and possibly intensified in passion. How are the national veins to be kept from bursting?

What answer have we to give; and whence shall we draw power to preserve and transmit to coming centuries in unimpaired strength that great Republic which these founders and pioneers created for us?

"Education?"—"Popular education, co-extensive with our land?" You have it. Does it relieve the Nation from this unrest—this restless unrest, invading at length quiet homes? Education makes men more sensitive to suffering, to uneven conditions. It embitters life to look out from lower and recognize what seem immovable barriers to higher possibilities. Education of itself brings no peace. The "calm philosophic mind" is not its fruit. Russia finds dynamite amidst her students.

If not to "education," shall we turn to "wealth"—greater and better distributed? What we have is enormous. Arithmetic has no figures for that which shall be.

It is interminable — this treasure in soil, mines, looms, mills, commerce. Figures stagger under the weight, and yet we have no more than dipped a spoon into the illimitable sea. And this expansion of our vast railway system, which takes up the continent as a very little thing, stretching colossal iron fingers from ocean to ocean, and binding the Nation into one cohering and wealth-producing whole — who has not heard that amidst such wealth social troubles will find quick adjustment? A great mistake! The country is marked by prodigious increase of wealth-production. Machinery, multiplying, revolves in golden gulches. But does the desired solution seem to be approaching from that quarter? Wealth centralizes; and creates — envy! Its attendant shadow, poverty, still follows, growing continually darker and bitterer. The anthracite of half the country is controlled by no more than half a dozen companies of few members. The railway corporations that handle the commerce and govern the industry of the whole land are not more in number. The larger factories are devouring the smaller; the great importers crushing those of lesser capital. Ranches are sold by hundreds, possibly thousands, of square miles, and for millions of dollars. But as wealth multiplies, destructive crowding into cities goes on. The slums are rank with a fouler filth and more desperately wicked. Pauperism, disease, crime rise at one end of the scale as wealth at the other. And the restlessness of the suffering classes, meanwhile, is not stayed.

Thoughtful men find ample necessity for continued and, possibly, increasing capitalization of wealth. Our modern civilization brings immense movements. These vast railway systems which the magnificent scale of modern commerce makes imperative; these splendid factories covering whole townships; these mining operations depending on machineries consuming millions — how are they to be created or worked?

But that disparity of distribution presented between

such enormous property in few hands, and starving poverty near by among the many—who can wonder that widespread, restless bitterness is its fruit, or that the poor challenge the social order under which they take their chances in life? Concentration here leaves little there. Drifts piled high necessitate many bare a spot. Four hundred slaves toiled to maintain one Athenian aristocrat. He was satisfied,—Do we wonder?—if they were not. How many toiling men and women, reaping small gains, are required to maintain the wealth of no more than one of our larger capitalists? And envy goes on!

Nor can we turn to our yet unoccupied national domain as permanently furnishing an escape valve for this wide discontent, with inferior conditions. The time is not far distant when this open common, free to every comer, will have been exhausted. The population, growing denser and packed closer, will be more revolutionary against social order. Then contagions of false theories, disturbance, vice, crime, will spread faster and act with more destructive force. Our help will scarcely come from this quarter, or any of those thus far named.

We turn now, with earnest inquiry, toward our Christian system, or the forces it contains. We challenge for it the right to be heard and tried where everything else seems doomed to fail. It has an imperfect, an inconclusive history; but it has no equivocal utterances and no doubtful claims. This religion we cling to, that the pioneers brought with them to build on in this western wilderness. Do not its prophets talk of it as that which shall reorganize society upon foundations of equal justice and true mercy; bring peace and plenty—"for iron, silver; for brass, gold"—beat swords into ploughshares?

I know the unhappy impression exists that our religion, that Christ, our Lord, looks right on into eternity alone. But are we not to see that, by His conception, the "Kingdom of Heaven" takes in time, not less than eternity—the body, not less than the soul? Here is a suffering

woman; "Satan hath bound her, lo! these eighteen years" —"the Son of man hath come to destroy the works of the Devil"; therefore "loose her and let her go." Her bent body, not less than her immortal soul, belongs to Him. What human suffering does not run back into Him, the center ganglion of the Race? What wrong is borne that He is not concerned to right? What maladjustment of human conditions that He does not claim the will and power at proper time to rectify? What were His works from day to day? He restored earthly wreck before He touched immortal ruin; physical disaster, before spiritual death. John Baptist sends: "Art Thou He that should come?" What answer? "The blind receive their sight; the lame walk; lepers are cleansed; the deaf hear; the dead are raised, and"—as a last fact—"the poor have glad tiding preached to them." The recovery of shattered bodies led up to recovery of souls. Four-fifths of His work lay in the plane of earthly evil. He has clearly taken in hand to bring about what mankind needs this side of eternity. He is King of nations, not less certainly than King of saints. "His Kingdom ruleth over all"—all affairs, all persons, all relations, all points that sociology can ever raise.

Let us recognize the fact, and frankly, that our religion is now coming to this final test—can it deal, not simply with single souls in their standing before God, but with man aggregated and thus going through this earthly life in social relations? Has it power, not merely to go over the outermost boughs, gleaning scattered berries here and there, but to take the human tree in its entirety—roots, trunk and branches—and transplant that, as by one mighty effort, into the Garden of God where henceforth it shall feed on none but divine soil, and bear none but sweet fruit?

The entire rectification of any one man carries seal of Divinity. But our religion is now confronted with a higher demand. That "trend of the world" for which Christianity itself is responsible; that "spirit of the age"

which itself has created; that *Zeitgeist*, which is God's breath in history, is no more individualism, but socialism—sacred, Christian socialism. Men are every where moving out of isolations and separateness into unity. "They of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth." Shoulders are coming to touch; hands link with hands. "I proclaim," said the great Hungarian, "the solidarity of nations." But One greater than he has already been heard crying to the race for which He died, "I proclaim the solidarity of man," and this age at length is taking up His word. Beneath it all we recognize God breaking down walls of social separations that men should flow together along lines of immeasurable mutual help.

Our nation has a right to ask that a religion making this offer shall be fairly tried out to the end. Is it able to reorganize human life, not in single souls only, but in all organic and social relations? Can it put love as law every where, into all dealings through society, business, wealth, making all men willing servants of all; extracting pride from power, and impatience from weakness? If it fail here it must be confessed inadequate for this American people. But let it be fairly tried! Let its advocates exemplify it. Let them bring it as living love among the people. Then the "Old Gospel" clouds cleared away, with no need of "apologetics," will shine in its own light the confessed power of God. Paul wrote great doctrinal treatises, but he "*remembered the poor*." Luther shook Germany by his tremendous onset against doctrinal errors, but his righteous soul was more stirred by flagrant crimes of power and the peasants' wrongs. He translated the Bible and sent it forth; he sung and preached, but everywhere plied his fiery energies to bring sweeter earthly life into the homes of the humble and ignorant masses. Whitfield preached, but he took his orphan asylums along into every pulpit. Your missionaries in China and India, long preaching with small apparent fruit, now added Christian Charity to the word spoken, and bore abroad through fam-

ine-stricken provinces those gifts of Christian sacrifices that saved starving myriads, and faith came. The proof here was not in "apologetics," but in the eating!

Times change, tastes change, but our deeper wants are forever the same. You send your old jewelry to be reset. The cheaper band may be melted, but the precious jewel must come home. Find new applications for this "glorious gospel," but let not itself be cast aside. There is a blessing in it. If the masses part with its ministries of love, they themselves perish! It stands closer to them than any other force now operating on earth. It is the glory of the Roman Catholic Church that in those ages when kings were unbridled despots and barons haughty tyrants, the tiara of supreme Pontiff again and again sought the brow of some humble man from the ranks, and that scepter before which kings bowed and nobles trembled was given into the hands of a lowly priest. But the Founder of this religion came from a workshop, and His apostles out of fish-markets. He is "not ashamed to call us brethren."

But let religion in all its work, as in all its aspects, devise liberal things. This nation has no use for what is narrow. The spirit of our times is broad. Everything works to make it so. These secular affairs handled on scales of grandeur, these swift highways, these flashing lines of speech, these nerves of steel that bind the earth yet widen it, these embassies of peace that commerce demands between the nations, this coming of the whole earth into the nearness and kinship of one great home through multiplying interchanges of mercy—how can our people, amidst such an atmosphere, be other than broad in thought, above all, in the deeper sympathies? You can not crowd the Amazon from its mouth back into its earlier beds. This great, broadened American heart can not be crowded into a narrow faith. Aggressive, self-reliant, confident in its power of thought, impatient of authority, but open through every pore to all generous

approach—what is that for which such a people waits on this religious side? Great souls aflame—filled, animated, inspired by the tremendous breadth of God's great love, and lifted into that clear atmosphere of upper life where Love is first seen in all its power of sacrifice! Otherwise, in our poor handling, even Christ's religious force, which should be kept close down to the wants and hearts of the masses, grows away from them, like the Calaveras big trees carrying their tops too high to bless the dwellers below. We make it seek the top crust only when it should go down through the mass of men seeking, most of all, the bottom elements. Its heart—warm, throbbing with sacrificing love—should lie up against the wretchedness and dying hope of the world till its own life has come into closest touch with every atom in the mass.

But we should come far short of a true statement were we to omit the fact that this American people call for *great, positive faiths*. It is impatient of weakness. It asks an underpinning for every structure. Love rests on fact. We have in our national blood demands for foundations deep and strong as God. It was impossible that physical science should go on, as we have seen, widening the universe to our knowledge, showing the inflexible working of unvarying, yet infinitely variant systems—that it should go on revealing and demonstrating this network of omnipotent law, with meshes fine enough and strong enough to hold in unrelaxing coil every fact and every being, however minute or however great—that it should go on unfolding the stately march and movement of the vast Whole along eternal ages, out of brooding darkness into present splendors, by rythmic steps of an unswervingly accurate development—that it should go on establishing for us, even from the physical side, an undeviating "moral order," everywhere making for righteousness—that it should go on correlating with unanswerable logic those subtle forces and connections of blood, of social relation, of physical admixtures and dependence, which are work-

ing almost irresistibly to make men what they are — impossible, I say, that science should go on doing these things without, in the end, modifying the whole circle of faiths as to the moral relations in which we stand to the Great God and to each other. A powerful change from this cause is going on in public mind. We can see it; we feel it in the general attitude toward the earlier conceptions of God, the earlier conceptions of moral responsibility, of comparative guilt, of law and penalty, of redemptive process and change — conceptions, than which none are more vital or fundamental; and in no part of the world, perhaps, is the progress of this result more certain, in none more rapid, than among the American people.

Scientific method naturally goes and grows with scientific study. Assumption is challenged; authority submitted to relentless handling; everything must consent to go into some crucible severe enough to test its metal. Such criticism asks of all creeds, secular and religious alike, not who made them, nor when they were made, nor who has believed them; but what solid foundations of tested fact are under them; what Rock of Ages they rest on? It is impartial; it has no animus; it covers the whole field of human inquiry and human faith. We are not then to be surprised, offended, or alarmed, when popular thought among our own people demands that what the Christian proffers to heart or intellect for rectifying the world should undergo that treatment. The Nation wants, for reaching that sublime destiny toward which it is groping and moving, great, positive facts, resting on foundations that can not be moved. There is a demand for them. The people will have no shifting sands.

The massive essentials of our common Christianity seem to meet the case. They were hewed and shaped and placed for us by One who created human mind and knows human need. To those who receive them, they vindicate their own right to be. The Bible, where they lie, as ore in the mine, is a solid unit of uplifting force. The whole of it

makes toward one end. Let it be dissected. Let doubting "criticism" go through that part which Christ called "the Books of Moses," and prove to itself that Moses had little or nothing to do with them; go through "the prophets," as He called them, and show with equal satisfaction that they have no right to be called prophets; through "the Psalms of David," as He called and sung them, and find for itself on them no imprint of David or seal of God; and *still* the Old Bible with the New somehow keeps its unity to the hearts of men, and goes on "making toward righteousness" and lifting them up toward God's light. Brought to honest trial in our lives, it gives truth to — it creates — great, positive faiths. Here are strength and happiness to troubled nations; here rest and peace, courage, hope, tranquility to suffering men!

To-day our minds go back across the century to that little band of patriotic pioneers who, for the sake of the nation as well as themselves, broke ground for civilization on this spot beside "the beautiful river." Of their heroic character and achievements you have already heard. They came from their Eastern homes with high resolve. Imperial States, one after another, should rise out of that almost unbroken wilderness stretching toward the setting sun. Those States should be dedicated to human freedom. Unfettered religion, pure morals, a broad and universal education, public and private security under protection of equal law, industry, thrift and plenty should here be the inheritance of their children forever. They were planning great things. Prophetic hope lent them inspiring visions. They were "building better than they knew."

But their visions are yet no more than half fulfilled. The progress of nations in the higher things is slow. The swing of the pendulum is but once in a century, and we die waiting a vibration. God is a patient toiler. We haste and murmur. His life is eternity; ours a flicker of time. He waits to fortify advances; a point once gained

is secure. He is changing the world from within, and the results are not base metal plated which might wear thin, but transmuted to wear bright to the last. The great convictions, faiths, principles of His kingdom are slow-wrought experiences. Only these enter life as chyle the blood. With mingled goodness and severity He is slowly and patiently bringing men to that state where heaven comes down to earth. The centuries drop out of His hand, but He toils on quietly. No haste mars the smoothness or finish of His work. Righteousness, truth go down to-day under the majority; but majorities, the nation, must then go into His smelting pot. He always wins who sides with God. The dynamics of physical laws, the expanding or contractile forces of races, the operations of social conditions may be made, if we will, to interpret for us this involved, complex, slow, and yet sublimely evident onwardness and upwardness of our human progress. But the grandeur of it is gone then! We need to recognize a Something higher, moving on side by side with us, and breaking through upon the human field by the weight and tenderness of its mightier personality—an invisible Divine Presence—our God and Father—working "all things after the counsel of his own will" to bring out, in the fullness of times, a readjusted world!

Such visions as these, it would seem, inspired and animated those pioneers of a century ago, and gave them patience to labor and to wait. This whole American nation now needs to be strengthened for its great place and work on earth by faiths as great and positive, by visions as high and clear. So inspired and strengthened, to what splendid glory of character shall it not advance in those new centuries before us? We may not be able to measure, but we cannot fail to see on what a vast pattern God is moulding our national form. We are compelled to believe in a destiny which no other nation has dared to desire or dream as its own! Cramped within no insular limits, we have secured the best part of this Western world. The very

center of the human family, we divide and yet unite the whole. The best blood of the most vigorous races flows in our veins and nourishes our national life. The cherished hopes of ages are bound up with our success. The prayers of nations, whose children are gathered here, are ours. A government created for freedom, equal justice and generous education—distributed and guarded by an almost divinely inspired wisdom; religion unfettered and unweakened by alliance with the State, at work without pause on every interest of human life and deeply incorporated with the convictions of the nation as it is profoundly associated with all its history—*these* are some of those massive foundations on which our structure and future greatness stand.

Are we ready to accept and administer this trust for mankind which has come down to us from the fathers and noble pioneers, and which they in turn received from God, the greater Founder of our nation? The grandeur of the trust and the honor was never exceeded.

ADDRESSES OF SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL EIGHTH.

Address of Rev. A. L. Chapin, D.D.

My Christian Friends and Fellow Citizens:—My connection with this celebration is so peculiar that I shall crave a moment simply to explain it. This occasion has been looked forward to by many of your people and not by the people of Marietta or the people of Ohio alone.

Many months ago, Dr. Andrews, whom I chanced to meet, spoke to me of the occasion to come in the course of a couple of years. It has been my duty for some years to be a student and a teacher of the Constitution of the United States, and of the Ordinance of 1787. I told him my interest in both these documents—which are essentially the same—was such that I should be here if I could be. So I am here on personal considerations, with a view to learn what I can about that which is the fundamental document of authority to our Government.

As you have just been told, the Council of Congregational Churches, which met a year ago last fall, have looked forward to this occasion, and named five of their number with a request that they would be here to represent their interests, and to speak for them, if it might be, in regard to the great principles which are here involved. I am happy to say that one of my colleagues is here with me—Dr. Sturtevant; the other three are not.

But a few days ago, I received from the Governor of our State—Hon. Jeremiah Rusk—a commission requesting me to come here to represent the State; the youngest sister of the States which have grown out of this ordinance and its history.

I think I stand here in a peculiar position,—a commissioner from one of the States and from the Church Council; and in these capacities I wish to say a word or two.

First, with reference to that great fundamental document of our nation, from which it derives all its authority, which was meant to be, which has been, and which I believe is destined to be the continued source of authority and of life to the nation for a great while to come.

I have long been confident that the Ordinance of 1787 was essentially a part of the Constitution, necessary to it —a true exponent of it, throwing light upon it, and giving force to it. What I have heard here respecting the history of that document and all the contingent history has convinced me more and more. I have been charmed by what was here presented; and I want to say here, as I mean to say everywhere, when I have a chance to say it, to all those who are engaged in teaching the Constitution of the United States, take the Ordinance of 1787, and with it the Constitution, which is incomplete without it. The ordinance throws light upon the Constitution, and shows just those things which every youth needs to understand in order to be a true-hearted citizen of the United States. I carry that away with me as one of the things of this meeting. I hope others will do the same thing, and feel more than repaid for it.

Then, as representing the State of Wisconsin: Forty-five years ago I landed at the port of Milwaukee. Milwaukee was advanced a little beyond what Marietta was a hundred years ago; yet it is out of very small things we are come. All these years I have watched the development of city and State, and I am here to testify that Wisconsin owes what she is to-day, and what she may hope to become, to the fact that she was a member of this territory, which was covered by the Ordinance of 1787.

I have seen there the blessed result of having that ordinance established—established and fixed beyond recall. At the time when I landed in Wisconsin the chief settlement of that State was on the west side of the State. Perhaps it came up the Mississippi river from the Southern States; in love with slavery they would have been glad to

have introduced it into Wisconsin, but they could not do it. There was a barrier that fixed it and settled forever the freedom of that State in which we all rejoice. And so the precious principles of the constitution as they come in that ordinance, have guided the organization of the constitution of our State, and the administration of our government in various emergencies as they have come forward.

We have seen that Wisconsin was one of the five States of the Northwest Territory, and that the Ordinance of 1787 belongs to it as much as it does to Ohio. Once or twice I have found myself, while sitting here and listening with a great deal of pleasure to all that was said about Marietta and Ohio, beginning to be a little afraid that, in this assembly and on this occasion, another part of the country that had as much interest in this ordinance as you had here might be unmentioned. I am glad of this opportunity simply to say that Wisconsin rejoices with you in this day, and in all it commemorates.

It has been a great pleasure to learn since I came here that our excellent Governor himself was born in Ohio, not very far from here. He is a man of whom we are proud as a United States citizen. He has done honor to Ohio and won great honor for our own State. You remember how well he has stood for law and order against the recent rising. Perhaps among all the Governors of the States, he stood up as boldly in an emergency as man could, and crushed the very inception of that anarchical movement. He stands as a son of Ohio, and one who has received his principles from this same ordinance — and Wisconsin will stand with you for years and generations to come as a part of this grand inheritance, and as a monument to its fathers who framed that ordinance. These names that have been mentioned here are *our* names, a monument of which we are very proud, and to the results of whose labors we are so largely indebted.

I did not wish to go away without saying so much for myself and the people of Wisconsin with reference to our

interest in this occasion. And then, with reference to my relations to the Congregational churches — that, perhaps, is a more fitting theme for this evening than the other part. In this relation I feel a special interest. Their action in sending delegates here was not taken in any denominational spirit; it was not taken with any thought of magnifying the Congregational church over other churches of our land; but it was, on the part of this church, a definite recognition of the fact, which nobody can deny, that the great element of their righteousness, and of the brotherhood with man, in the relation of all parts of humanity to each other, was as a part of mankind; this one brotherhood is such that these principles have come to be established in the Congregational churches.

The Congregational church was the first to bring out these principles on the shores of New England. They have spread all over the States, and they have carried those principles. I do not know that they are any more strongly adopted than by other denominations, but I may say without boasting, that the Congregational church did speak specifically light, and to an ordinance that was peculiarly their own, they owe perhaps that great union with fellow-creatures — the principles of evangelical faith, that gospel truth which we heard this afternoon was the foundation and spring of this life from the beginning; which was its strength from the first, and which has furnished this strength throughout all history.

They stand together, not as a particular denomination, but they stand with open hearts and hands, representing a determination to maintain those principles and to keep alive the same state of results which was indicated in the Ordinance of 1787.

It is the spirit of Puritanism, I mean pure and true Puritanism. One said of the fathers who came here, that they had advanced somewhat upon the old Puritanism of New England in that they did not hang witches, nor persecute heretics. That was never any part of Puritanism; it was

an encumbrance that could not be shaken off; it belonged to the age in which it came over. It took them a little while to get rid of these things.

The spirit of Puritanism is the spirit of the gospel of Christ; it has the great truth of love to each other; it must be forever imperishable and enduring.

The idea of full personal government, the idea of one personal God, and of individual accountability to Him; to Him as the God of the world, and no less the Father of mankind; maintaining the simple government which has in it a force of righteousness which cannot be changed, and yet which is pervaded through and through with the life of that Kingdom which shines out from Genesis to Revelation as the peculiar characteristic of Him who ordained the Kingdom and who is carrying it out; recognition of what He has done to lift up men; restoring them from the power of sin, by the gift of His own Son to be their Saviour, and in the recognition of the truth taught by that Saviour; this truth which teaches the accountability of every man to God; out of which—and out of which only—grows the thoroughly good conscience which is the foundation of right in the character of any individual man; which recognizes law as the basis of all right action—that law of love which rises even before that sense of accountability, and is made to pervade the hearts of men until, through this ascendency, the man himself becomes a law unto himself; then he is divinely good, because he is self-governed through the principle which Christ ordained to possess the souls of men.

It is just these principles which are to be upheld if our Union is to continue — if they are to be remembered elsewhere in the world — through the spreading of these doctrines, not of any denomination, not of any dogma, but the grand doctrine which underlies the whole; and I am glad to believe that there is growing among those who accept these principles — and thus accepting, try to live up to them — that large liberty which will draw them

together and make them one in the propagation of these principles. My hopes for the future are based upon this. I believe the Congregational churches will certainly not be behind others. We have, I think, great leaders in carrying forth this work. And it is because I believe this, that I am glad here to represent them in their high purpose to be leaders, to put forth all their energies to bring out these great measures and propagate these principles; and to bring out all that is most important in our nation and in the application of our government. I will add only a word further. As I have listened, and have had things I had heard before presented to me in a new light, I am struck with the wonderful providence of God, which has ordained the course of events, which has brought about just this condition of things in which we do so much rejoice.

I am exceedingly glad that it has been my privilege to be here. I go away instructed. I go away confirmed in all my love of the Constitution under which I live, in all my purpose to do what I can for it while I live, that it may be sustained and prospered. I go away with a heart raised in devout thanksgiving to the God of the Nation. I go away with a hope based upon His promise, based upon that which we have experienced in the past — that in the future, in spite of all the difficult problems which we have before us, in spite of the threatening evils which prevail — this Union is not to be governed by man's wisdom; but by God's guidance of man, in the application of all these principles, put to greater good, till it shall be indeed the Government of the earth, delivered from all evil, gladdening all nations, and established in the Kingdom of God, whose law is love, and which shall stand forever.

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D.

PRESIDENT CHAPIN represents Wisconsin and the Congregational Church. He brings a commission from Governor Rusk. I don't know whom I represent.

One of the chief elements of success in Manasseh Cutler as a negotiator was not mentioned yesterday in the very beautiful and exhaustive discussion which was given by the gentleman who made the address. He was spoken of as a brave man, as a man of learning, a man of courtesy; but I think that one great element was his power of administering very elegant and sweet taffy to the people of that day, and I rather think I can augur great success for my youthful brother, General Eaton, from his prominence and great excellence in the same department.[1]

I have listened to what has been presented here, with great interest. I have heard that there is, or was, or is to come, an Ordinance of 1787. I have heard, also, that there is a place called Massachusetts; that seems to be a pretty well fixed fact. And Colonel Tucker, yesterday, made it clear that there is also a place called Virginia. I was delighted with this fresh information. But really, my friends, when you come to think of it, this Ordinance of 1787—practically carried into operation in 1788, and about which our friends, the descendants of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, make so much, and the descendants of General Rufus Putnam make so much, about which indeed all the descendants of these great men come here and make so much—and none too much—when you come to think of it, I repeat, how youthful you are in comparison with Indiana; and

[1] General Eaton, the presiding officer of the evening, had introduced Dr. Tuttle in the following words: "Many of you have been greeting during these meetings an old friend, formerly a student and instructor here, long prominent as the very able, successful and scholarly President of Wabash College. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Dr. Tuttle, of Wabash College."

still more so in comparison with the the great State which lies right west of it!

Why, when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed, there had been a settlement in Illinois—a Christian people of Christian lands and with Christian institutions—about a hundred years, founded in 1682. There was also a still larger planting of Christian institutions and civil laws in the State of Indiana in 1702. Why, *that* is venerable! That is something of age! But 1787 and 1788—what are they?

But really there is a difference when you come to think of these Christian settlements which they made in Illinois and in Indiana, the one in 1682 and the other in 1702. There didn't seem to come out anything for some reason or other; that is the matter, as Mr. Cutler once said with regard to Kentucky; that is the matter; something didn't seem to come of it. But when the forty-eight men stepped off of the Mayflower, here at the Point, and Mr. Jarvis Cutler cut down the first twig, or first branch, or first tree, or whatever it was, and they had established their tents to go to work, it seemed as though a *power* had reached here—a power that was bent upon *doing something*. They began immediately to survey, to put up their tents, to build their cabins, to get their institutions at work. They came here to do something, and they did it. That is the difference between the French civilization which reached Indiana and Illinois and the civilization which reached Marietta, Ohio. The whole difference was that there was an idea, a great idea in the one case, and in the other there seemed to be no very great idea.

Now I wish to speak for a few moments with regard to one feature, which I think has not been made as prominent as it deserves. When I look at the history of the great emigration which took place from England and Holland and Plymouth to Massachusetts and New England, I find it was not money that was at the bottom of it; it was not political power that seemed to be at the bottom of it.

The moving power was religion; the moving force was piety, reverence towards God, and the determination to find somewhere in the world a place where they might worship God according to the dictates of their consciences.

It is religion that has done this work; it was in the name of the God of Israel that this emigration took place. It came to Plymouth; it went from New England to New Jersey; it came from New England to Pennsylvania; it came from the north of Ireland to Pennsylvania and to North Carolina. It came as a great religious idea. It was a great power, because it was a power which had God in it; they were seeking a place in which they might worship God.

And so, when I look at these scenes which have been portrayed here before us with such great faithfulness, as connected with the 7th of April, 1788, I am moved with this fact, that the controlling power there was religion; it was piety—that kind of piety which led them when they organized their Government in proper form and opened their courts—led them to observe the forms of religion, and to have their work, as it were, baptized in that power and under those influences. It was religion that did this; and so when you look at the work which was begun in the same way at Cincinnati, at the mouth of the Miami, you will find that Judge Symmes was a religious man; it was a power which was upon him too, and was with all the men that settled further up towards Dayton, and the men who went to Granville, and the men who spread over the Western Reserve. They were religious men; they were the men that pioneered this country, and when we look at it in this light, it seems to me we need to bring into prominent notice a power of which I will speak presently.

We are college men; this gentleman [indicating President Eaton] is my foster-father; he is at the head of Marietta College; I am one of its sons. Will you allow me to say, my friends, that I am proud of this parentage? I would rather be a son of that institution that lies so

sweetly up there on the hill than of Yale or Harvard or Princeton. In the words of Mr. Webster—pardon those who are smaller for saying them—we love it. If you wish that institution to grow in the confidence of the people as well as in endowments, it must be in the filial affection of its sons, and—presently I hope—in that of its *daughters* also.

The question as to this education, I asked myself as I was looking at the public schools here—these public schools, how finely they look. Those public schools in Cincinnati! Those public schools in Cleveland! Those millions of children, for aught I know—they told large stories about them yesterday, here, but not too large—not more than they deserve. I asked myself—how did these public schools, these libraries get here? Where did they come from? Does the Legislature give them?

Do not forget it my friends. Let history have its proper respect; give it due regard; it was because Manasseh Cutler put into the fundamental ordinance about which we have heard so much, the elements, the seed corn which brought this glorious grain, this wonderful harvest of public schools.

Who was Manasseh Cutler? A man that feared God, a just man, a religious man. The very development of this great system of education is the development of the piety of the pioneers. There were no colleges here in 1788. Was there a college west of the Alleghanies? Was there one north of the Ohio? Could you find one from Pittsburg to where San Francisco now stands? You might have gone from New Orleans up to the Lakes and searched carefully, and you could not find a college or an academy. But now, when you come to Ohio, you may find an institution at Athens, and, in fact, all over this State you may find them, founded by these men. They were religious men; they founded these institutions. You will find them everywhere. They come from the very heart of this movement—from the heart of the pioneers. The

college has been the institution of religon, as well as of education, in this great and goodly heritage.

Sometimes I look at this thing with a degree of respect and delight which I cannot express, when I come to trace the history of these enterprises, these institutions for learning, and these for the unfortunate. Somehow, when you go to trace them back, you will bring them back to the heart and mind that loves God, to this great and wonderful development of the higher education in this country, as the child of the Church; it is the child of piety. I have great joy in feeling that there is, underlying this wonderful movement, a great power, which is the power of Godliness, power of religion, love to God, and love to man.

But when we come to look at what has been accomplished in a hundred years in other respects — in the way of manufactories — in developing the soil — in one word, in the development of the entire country into such gigantic proportions as we have in the six States covered by the great ordinance, we see the same change—the same results, which are perfectly stupendous —wonderful in their extent.

I have asked myself what is the cause of this stupendous development. How did it come to pass? Where is the great underlying cause which has produced it? Was it the Ordinance of 1787? Did it grow out of the generosity of Connecticut in relinquishing her almost fabulous title to lands in Ohio? Did it grow out of that stupendous claim which Virginia made, which seemed to cover about all the territory west of her? It was generous, magnanimous of Virginia to yield that claim. I will say nothing to her discredit. She has done great things in the past, and I hope she will do great things in the future. But was that the cause—was that the cause that led to these stupendous results? My friends, I will give you the cause as I believe it to be. I think the true explanation of this whole business is found in the explanation which the

Queen of England gave the Shah of Persia. He asked her how England became so great, and she laid her queenly right hand on an open English Bible — King James' version—not the revised edition—the King James version so wonderfully praised by men, and which runs its roots into hearts of men of every age, and especially in this country. She laid her hand on that Bible and said: "Here is the explanation of England's greatness."

And, my friends, I, too, will lay my hand upon the English Bible, and looking at the stupendous developments—the results which we have in the Northwest—in the great country which is covered by the Ordinance of 1787, and I will say, and you will not contradict me, that the underlying power of the public school—the underlying power of the college—the underlying power which armed so many hundreds of thousands of brave men to defend their flag, to vindicate the country—the underlying power which has made these States what they are—is the English Bible.

And I hope that when the great monument is raised here which shall perpetuate that which was begun in 1787, you will not forget this great thing, and will somehow symbolize this great fact, that the underlying power which has produced all this is the English Bible. And may God bless it and bless you also.

REMARKS OF I. N. STURTEVANT, D.D.

I HAVE an ambition to speak on this occasion. I wish to make a statement in the line of what has been said to-day, which it may be bold for me to make, and yet there is a fire in my bones that will not let me rest unless I make it.

I have looked to-day on the cemeteries here; the burial places of the Indians—nothing left of these but the monuments of their day; the cemetery where sleep the dead, the soldier heroes of four wars; and somehow, filled as I have been with reverence for those tombs of the ancient dead, and especially for those of the glorious fathers of the Northwest, it has come to me as a sort of inspiration. There is a reverence for the tombs of the prophets, there is a reverence for our fathers' tombs. In Egypt tombs were temples that carried the thoughts upward. In Hindostan were tombs and temples that carried the thoughts upward. In North America were tombs and remains of temples, a nation that built tombs; but the story of the race is past, and if you remember and commemorate and glorify only a dead race then your glory is departed.

I noticed a sign here to-day, "The well." I don't suppose the well is here to-day; but it is the place where the well of the old Block-house was. I think there is one thing that lasts as long as tombs. That was put in existence by the well-digging race—a race that brought or left a blessing for the children that came afterwards.

It is said of one of the ancient Romans that he rendered such favors to Rome that they built a monument and directed that for five feet around his children should have perpetual inheritance, so that no matter how hard-pressed they should be, they should have some place to stand close to their ancestor.

Now, I take it, the men who formed the Northwest Territory should have something for a representation, a perpetual reminder, and that their children under a monu-

ment to their fathers might flourish and be at peace; and it seems to me that somebody ought to say that whatever other monument is built here for the founders of our Territory, there should be a fountain of pure learning, as sound a place of instruction as the Northwest has anywhere—or, indeed, as exists anywhere else.

And I believe that if a man will take in one hand that address of Senator Hoar's, printed in good type so that any man can read it, and a subscription paper in the other, he could go up and down and raise $100,000 or $200,000 for that institution with as much ease as a man can raise anything in this way.

I have no objection to monuments, but I do believe in fountains; and I do long to see here that very rich, glorious fountain of sound learning, even the carrying out of the idea so well begun here, where it shall be copious for generations to come.

Therefore I have ventured to stand here,—and may I not say it in the name of those who have sent me?—and propose to urge that we should have some such expression, in that living Institution, that living fountain of water, to our succession that we were doing the same work the fathers did.

The lesson of this Centennial is—or should have been, "He that is greatest among you let him be the servant"; for those who made these great foundations—they were servants to you and to me, and unless you and I can manage to be servants to those who come after us, we will be forgotten—and we ought to be; but if we are willing to be servants, our ministrations shall be remembered by our children and our grand-children.

REMARKS OF EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

I AM sure that all of us who have come from a distance, and listened to so many things, have been impressed with the change in things. I for one recollect perfectly well that the fathers of one hundred years ago would have all gone to bed at nine o'clock at night, whoever came to address them, whether it was a Shawnee Chief or Mad Anthony himself. I am quite sure that at the bottom of the heart of even an Ohio gentleman there must be a certain satisfaction existing that this speech is not to be two hours and a half long.

I should not say a word more, but that my friend, Dr. Sturtevant, has made this excellent suggestion of what is a fit memorial to such men as we commemorate here.

And it is the great good fortune of the State of Ohio, that she has succeeded in calling to the chair a gentleman whom I will not simply say is one of the most distinguished educators in this country, but one of the most distinguished educators known to the world; I should think the State of Ohio would be glad fitly to endow the Institution over which Dr. Eaton presides.

I do not forget on what day I am speaking, and that this is a religious meeting, and the lesson of the day should be, as one of us has said, that of being servants. He has touched a chord which has vibrated in the hundred years gone by and will vibrate in the hundred years to come.

Men write great volumes, pile up great libraries about religion, and yet the whole of religion may be expressed in these words: it is the love of man, when he loves with God, his fellow man.

REMARKS OF REV. B. W. ARNETT, D.D.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There are times in the history and in the life of individuals when language fails to express the throbbings and longings as well as the aspirations of the heart; and I find myself, sir, this evening without words to express my sentiments to you and to this intelligent audience, the representatives of this great Commonwealth of ours.

But your call to me to say a word[1] was a command which I could not disobey, without feeling that which a man feels when he fails to do the duty he owes to himself, to his wife, to his children, to his race, to his church, to his country, to his God.

For while you have been discussing the blessings, the joy that the Ordinance of 1787 brought to you, and when the distance traveled by the speakers to be present with you on this occasion was referred to—I looked back at the distance traveled the first century by myself and by my race, to reach you on this platform. And I concluded that I have traveled further than my distinguished friend, the eloquent Senator from Massachusetts; I feel that I have come further than the distinguished gentleman from the Old Dominion. I feel that I have traveled further than a gentleman I met on the corner who had traveled from San Francisco here.

But, one hundred years ago where was my father, where was my mother, in relation to their condition when this

[1] President Eaton introduced Dr. Arnett as follows: "My friends, we have had a wonderful feast; we have heard much about liberty; we have heard much about the good things that have come out of the Ordinance of '87; we have had one with us representing a different race from the Anglo-Saxon, who has been listening with peculiar feelings to these developments of this country and the providence which it has brought to us, and he has been asked to say a word this evening. I refer to Rev. Dr. Arnett, who has earned for himself by his faithful scholarly service a distinguished place in Wilberforce University."

Ordinance of 1787 by Virginia and the thirteen States was hung out, like a bow of hope, over the darkened pathway of the coming years? Where were they as that was hung out o'er Ohio?

Then, my friends, there was no star of hope to guide them in the darkness of the night. O, sir, that "love of liberty,"—the expression of that great and noble son of Virginia when he declared that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"—all this *we* saw in the Ordinance of 1787.

Thank God we have lived to see the day, to enjoy the blessings of that empire that your fathers founded; that was to bring to mankind, and to be to mankind, an empire of freedom of thought and of action, an empire of morality, an empire of knowledge, an empire where men and women should live together, having no masters, save God in Heaven, and their own free will. That government we have lived to see; and to-day I rejoice with you that the *coming* century is not as the *past*, as I look on the darkness of the past, and then to-day look on the prospect of the future. In the past no schools; to-day, friends and citizens, we have in our midst, as your chairman, the man who collected the broken fragments of the moral and religious forces of my race, and brought them together and started them on a grand career. A power that shall elevate mankind, and bless the Nation, has sustained its grand departments of education.

A half century ago there were no schools East or West, North or South, for my race; but to-day even in South Carolina, in Georgia, and at Richmond the citizens of Virginia have contributed of their means, and they have established an institution of learning whose spires, pointing to the sky, and whose bells, pealing, bid my son and my daughter come and drink of the living water of life and knowledge, and fit themselves to be citizens, to bring the light to mankind. Oh! it is wonderful! With, sir, in this

new century thousands of children in schools spread all over this land; with 11,500 of our teachers that have passed examinations to teach our own children; with 6,500 of our sons who have graduated in colleges and who now are prepared to go forth, to lift up the race and to teach them their duty to themselves, to their government, and to their God.

And, sir, I congratulate the citizens of Ohio, for it was in Ohio, on Ohio soil, that the first experiment of race education began. Oberlin, standing in the pathway, threw a beacon light into the darkness of the night, bidding our sons to come and walk in the way of life; and to-day, thank God, Oberlin is all over the land! Oberlin is established in Florida! Oberlin is everywhere; and men of this race are bid to drink of the life waters.

Is it wonderful that I feel full of rejoicing? that I have no language to tell you what I feel? And, sir, in conclusion, I say to you, Mr. Chairman, and to these others, that in the future, as in the past, we will ever try to be true to the best interest of our country. We, sir, will strive, by the grace of the God that bore us out of the darkness of the night, to stand and sustain our Constitution, and the institutions of learning.

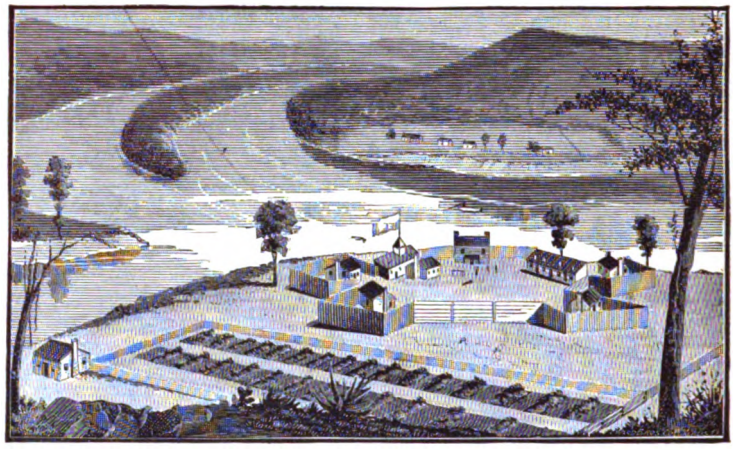
And, while you were hearing of the honorable men and women of Massachusetts, I thought how in Washington, the other day, I went out to Lincoln Park to see the great monument to Abraham Lincoln, in bronze, standing, pointing his finger to the sky; at his foot the freedman with broken shackles; on one side of the monument the freedman's memorial to Abraham Lincoln; and on the other side the inscription that the first money contributed for this monument was $5, by Charlotte Scott, of Marietta, Ohio. Lincoln and Charlotte Scott, of Marietta, will go down through the centuries side by side.

And then sir, *we* will not forget Charlotte Scott. And the Methodists must not forget John Stewart the pioneer missionary to the Indians of this land Down at the

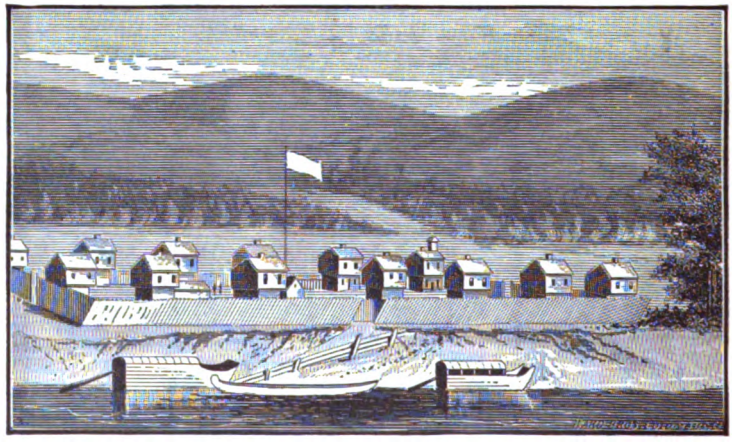
church here in Marietta where Marcus Lindsay was preaching in 1814, John Stewart stood outside and heard the gospel. It found way to his soul and he was converted; and in the night he heard a voice which said to him, "Preach my word to the unknown." He paid his debts and started, going to the Delaware Indians and from there to the Wyandottes. There a colored boy, whom the Indians had brought from Virginia, heard him, and was converted under the preaching of John Stewart of Marietta. He preached the first sermon to the Wyandotte Indians, and many were converted. He returned to Marietta, and J. B. Finley the great missionary to the Wyandotte village came after.

So, while you are celebrating this great event, and while distinguished men have come to represent their States, I have come commissioned by no State; but I am here to represent Charlotte Scott and John Stewart.

May God bless you in the future, my friends, and may we continue in this grand work until our Nation from ocean to ocean and from sea to sea shall unite in the full intent of the Ordinance of 1787.



FORT HARMAR, 1788.



FARMER'S CASTLE (BELPRE), 1791.

ADDRESSES BEFORE THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AT MARIETTA, APRIL 5 AND 6, IN CONNECTION WITH THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Annual Address of President F. C. Sessions.

The invitation to hold the third annual meeting of this Society in Marietta came with singular appropriateness. It is certainly gratifying to those of us who have seen the movement to celebrate this occasion properly to be permitted to participate in these exercises.

The few remarks that I shall make in this, the opening of the meeting, can add but little to the historic interest which attaches to the occasion; but this I may say, that I voice the sentiments of all the members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, looking back to that day in March, 1885, when a few persons gathered in the State Library at Columbus to form the Society, that one of its prime objects then decided upon, is now being realized. We are not all here who met on that day; one or two of the number are resting that "eternal rest" which another century will bring to all of us; the end of which century another generation will celebrate.

One hundred years ago the advance guard of our present civilization in this part of our country were slowly floating down the river the Indians call "beautiful." Did this band of forty-eight men—"The Pilgrims of the Northwest"—realize what one century of time would do in this part of their country which they were now about to occupy? Then the whole territory, of which our State is but one-sixth, was practically a wilderness. Scarcely a white man's home, save small French settlements, whose people, in the century in which they had occupied the alluvial Illinois

bottoms, were hardly civilized. Not a road, not a settlement aside from those established by Moravian missionaries, could be found in any part of what is now Ohio. The pioneers found a wilderness that promised much for their labor. Could they appear with us in these commemorative exercises to-day, would their expectations be realized? We can only leave to history the answer.

To an individual one hundred years seems a long lapse of time. To a nation it is short. It lacks but four years of four centuries since Columbus gave to civilized mankind a new world, whose age rivals that known in history as the Old World. Less than two centuries after Columbus came there landed on a "wild tempestuous shore" a band of Pilgrim fathers, seeking in America the freedom denied them in Catholic Europe. Again two centuries and the second band of Pilgrims, whose coming we of to-day celebrate, landed on our "wild Muskingum shores," and laid the foundations of a civilization, which neither they nor their fathers of 1620, nor those of 1492, could contemplate.

I shall not attempt to trace the historic associations gathered here to-day. We stand, as it were, on consecrated ground. On this soil, for the first time in the history of our country, were planted the principles of *freedom*, education, civil and religious liberty; and here was also planted the system of land-ownership by all people, as against the feudal system that, coming down through unnumbered years of English history, had fastened itself on many parts of our country. I can revert only in the most casual manner to these inestimable blessings, planted on the ground where we now stand. Their results are their monuments; their endurance and their influence, their history.

I may be pardoned, however, if I refer to some of the results obtained, as shown in the history of the century just closed.

When this colony landed there were but thirteen States in the Union, whose people, confined chiefly to the Atlan-

tic coast, were confronted with the problem of building a nation on an untried basis, and whose form of government was yet untested. Sagacious statesmen, looking to all parts of our national problem, saw that a colony, firmly planted in the extreme parts (and this was then our Western border), would not only be an influence to perpetuate those principles they had fought so hard so secure, but it would be an integral factor in cementing incongruous elements manifesting themselves in the country. Washington, Jefferson, the Adamses, Franklin, and others, saw in the country "westward of the mountains" something more than a mere colony, where men could retrieve their fallen fortunes. They saw States whose people, bound by the strongest ties of kindred and of patriotism, would unite with the older States in perpetuating those principles that all the world is slowly recognizing as the only ones on which a nation can live. And so the colony became, in a large measure, national in character, and hence national in its influences. Many colonies had gone out to other localities, many have gone out since, but how many can point to influences such as led this band in the years 1787 and 1788. The success or failure of this colony carried with it the final success or failure of freedom in America. Its success or failure decided the individual ownership of land; the township system of government, and the inalienable rights of man in person, speech, property, religion, and education. Among its first acts was the employment of teachers, both secular and religious, and before a church was built or a school house seen, secular and religious teachings were established.

The founding of this colony was watched with greater solicitude by public men, and was better known, than that of any colony in our history. Its planting meant new States in the country westward of the Alleghenies, and new States meant an increase of population, wealth, resources, and power. Hence, one is not surprised to see it often mentioned in the correspondence of Washington

and others, a few of whose names I have recalled. I need not repeat their assertions here; they are familiar to all.

I have only casually glanced at the national features connected with the planting of this colony. The subject itself is far-reaching and important, and on this point I will only add a word to the young among us—study well this question. Learn its bearings on our history. Plant firmly in your minds all that relates to it, and should you be called in after life to assume such a duty for your country, see to it that the lofty and enduring principles that actuated the men at the close of the last century, be your chief guide. Such an example and such a history could have no higher eulogy.

Aside from the national effects produced by and growing out of this settlement, is it not equally profitable to note the effect produced in local or State affairs? How has this settlement and its establishment affected the State in which it was founded? Has it left an impress that can be shown through the first century of our history? Can we read it on the pages of our history of to-day—the end of the cycle?

The annals of few States in our Union present a more striking array of names than Ohio, and few States possess a local history more conspicuous in our country's life. A State founded on the principles established on these shores one hundred years ago, could not help attracting to itself the best elements of the older States. As a consequence we see in the history of Ohio, especially in its early years, a strong, predominating element consisting of the best and most progressive men of our country. A State where the choicest blessings of civil and religious freedom could be assured, not only to themselves, but also to their children, was a magnet that, of its very nature, would attract just such men.

Ohio, which, in 1788, was the home of wild beasts and wilder men, and which ranks seventeenth in admission

into the Union, to-day stands third in the family of American States in population, wealth, resources and advancement. Not an American State has made greater progress, and no part of our Union excels that set aside in that matchless organic law—the Ordinance of 1787—to freedom and education. One does not need to recite the facts necessary to prove the statement; the hands of progress, refinement, and culture can be clearly traced in all parts of America where these principles have been made the fundamental and the controlling influences.

I shall leave to those who speak to us at this meeting to amplify these ideas. I have merely opened the door, and I am glad to bid you enter and enjoy the feast of intellectual good things that awaits us.

ADDRESS OF JUDGE JOSEPH COX.

The Building of the State.

The first settlement in this State, at Marietta, and organization of the Northwest Territory, under the Ordinance of 1787, were the most notable events in the history of our country, and deserve to rank among the greatest of the civilized world. The Territory having been wrested from the domination of foreign nations by the combined strength of the American Colonies after the eight years' struggle of the Revolutionary war, it became at once a subject of intense interest as to what disposition should be made of it. The soldiers of the Revolution, who had periled their all in defense of the country, claimed it as the common inheritance of all the Colonies, and to be disposed of by a central government. Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts also made claims of different kinds to it, and it was not until 1786 that these conflicting contentions were settled, and it was agreed by their relinquishment that the land should be the property of the United States, then existing under the "Articles of Confederation," to be formed into States, and to be admitted into the Union when so formed, upon equal footing in all respects with the original States, and the land disposed of for the common benefit of all the States, the manner and conditions of sale to be regulated exclusively by Congress.

Consider the vastness of the territory thus to be controlled, embracing nearly 240,000 square miles, or 150,000,000 acres! A land not then fully explored by white men, but so far as known, considered to be one of boundless forests, immense swamps, extensive prairies, impassable rivers, rough and barren hills, yet rich in all the possible resources for future habitations, but filled with wild beasts alert in pursuit of their prey, and roving

bands of savages numbering, as was supposed, nearly sixty thousand warriors, claiming title to the soil, and jealous of every encroachment on their hunting grounds by their enemy, the white man. This wilderness, thus beset with hardships and danger, if settled, must be by men and women reared in the civilization of the Eastern States, abandoning their long-cherished homes and all the comforts and refinements to which they had been accustomed, and taking a long and toilsome march over the Alleghany mountains. The hostile Indian must be appeased by treaty or kindness; these failing, by war, ere their new homes or lives were safe. The wolf, and bear, and panther must be kept from the door by long and weary watches; the wilderness must be cleared by hard and exhaustive toil before bread could be raised, and all this, with the sickness, incident to a new country, wearing their strength and lives away.

All this aboriginal rudeness and savagery lurked at the western border of the old States, a standing menace to all peace and security. No treaty had thus far been sufficient to prevent this. The independence of the colonies having been achieved and acknowledged, the eyes of the world were turned to America as the paradise of nations, where man could be the arbiter of his own destiny, and there was every probability that the available lands along the eastern stretch of the Alleghanies to the Atlantic Ocean would be rapidly filled by the incoming hosts from foreign lands. National needs, as well as national security, required that the vast Western territory should no longer be the sole homes of savages, but should be reclaimed and converted into homes for civilized men.

But who shall be equal to this great task? Where are the men with sufficient nerve and muscle to face these dangers and conquer them? With a rich and powerful government behind them to protect and aid, the demand might easily have been filled. But a long and exhaustive war had depleted the Treasury, left the nation almost hope-

lessly involved in debt to its citizen soldiery, its bonds and obligations for millions outstanding unpaid, with no resources by which to redeem them, and to add to this, the land filled with counterfeited scrip and bills, almost impossible to be distinguished from the genuine. What, therefore, could be expected from the government? In this emergency there stepped forward nearly three hundred soldiers who had borne the heat and burden of a long campaign of eight years, under Washington, who had left their wives and children at home to eke out a scanty living as best they might while the husbands and fathers were fighting for their country's independence, and now with broken fortunes and health, and tattered clothes, but with hearts overflowing with patriotism, they presented themselves to the Congress by their leader, General Rufus Putnam, and said: "Ten years ago, when war was proclaimed against the Mother Country, you promised bounties in land to the soldiers of the Revolution who should continue to the close of the war, or until discharged, and to their representatives, should they be slain by the enemy, where the remainder of their days might be passed on their own lands, in the enjoyment of that freedom for which they periled their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. We have faithfully performed our duty, as history will record. We come to you now and ask that in redemption of your promise you give us homes in that Western wilderness, and our stout arms will cope with the savages if need be; we will hew down the forests, and therein erect temples to the living God, raise and educate our children to serve and love and honor the Nation for which their fathers fought, cultivate farms, build towns and cities, and make that wilderness the pride and glory of the nation. All we ask is that it shall be consecrated to us and our children forever, with the blessings of that Declaration which proclaimed to the world, and sustained by our arms, established as self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with cer-

tain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure these ends governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed."

It is not necessary that I should here repeat the long struggle and many endeavors of Washington, General Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, and others, to surmount the difficulties in their path, but which were ultimately successful, in the grant to the Ohio Company and the adoption of that wonderful Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory. I call it wonderful, for the clearness of its enunciation of principles of government, based on the true rights of man, not only for that time, but for all time, has had no equal in history. It is sometimes said of great events "that men build wiser than they know." But that can not be said of this instrument. It was not framed in the dark or by guesswork. It was the work of wise, thoughtful men who were framing, as they believed, an instrument on which depended all the future fortune and happiness of themselves and their posterity to remote generations, and the history of its birth shows that every part was carefully scanned, and every principle it contains tenaciously adhered to, until success crowned their efforts. How few there are who fully comprehend its great importance and the invaluable guarantees it gave! By the general mind, it is referred to as only an ordinance, which provided that slavery and involuntary servitude should never exist in the Territory. This, it is true, is one of its great features. But it contained infinitely more than that. Its principles are greater than those of Magna Charta wrested by the English barons from King John. It was the first fruits of the Declaration of Independence—the first crystalization of its principles into organic law. It fixed rights and obligations which are of the very essence of the natural and inherent rights of man. It provided for the protection of personal property and freedom of conscience of

every man. It declares that the estates of residents and non-resident proprietors in the Northwest Territory dying without wills should descend to and be distributed among their children and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts, the descendant of a deceased child, or grandchild, to take the share of their parents in equal parts among them; and when there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parent's share; and there shall be in no case a distinction between the kindred of the whole and of the half blood, saving in all cases to the widow one-third part of the real estate for life and one-third part of the personalty; thus striking down with one blow the old English law of primogeniture, by which the first-born alone inherited the estate—a law which has been the curse of that and every other country where it has been adopted.

It gave the proprietor the right to devise his property by will to whomsoever he chose—to convey it by lease or bargain and sale, thus giving him the absolute ownership of all the property he might accumulate.

It proclaimed absolute freedom in religion by providing that no person should ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments; that all should be entitled to the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* to test the legality of detention or imprisonment, and should be also entitled to trial by jury; and all should be protected by judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law; that all should be bailable, except for capital cases, when the proof should be evident or the presumption great; fines for offenses should be moderate, no cruel or unusual punishment inflicted; no man to be deprived of his liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; if the public necessity demanded that his property be taken for the common benefit, or his

own services so required, that full compensation be paid; and that no law ought ever to be passed which shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements *bona fide* and without fraud previously formed.

It declared the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty to form the basis whereon these Republics, their laws and constitutions are founded, and that this ordinance was to fix and establish these principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in said Territory. And that religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

That the utmost good faith should be observed toward the Indian; his property shall not be taken without his consent, and they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just or lawful war, authorized by Congress; and it provided for a Governor, Executive officers, Legislative Assembly, and Courts of Justice; for the formation of not less than three, nor more than five, States in the territory, under constitutions to be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and that such States might be admitted, so far as might be consistent with the general interest of the Confederacy, with a number of free inhabitants less than 60,000. And it declared that these articles shall be considered articles of compact between the original States and the people and States of said territory, and forever unalterable, unless by common consent.

Looking over this whole Ordinance, section by section, who can point to any previous one which so clearly defined and so fully provided for the protection of all the rights of persons and property?

Armed and protected with this charter and pledge of their government, a portion of this brave remnant of the soldiers of the Revolution, in the dreary midwinter of

1787–8, bade farewell to all the cherished endearments of the homes of their birth and childhood, and took their solitary way over fields made gory by the blood of their slain kinsmen in many a hard-fought battle, crossed rough and inhospitable mountains, waded through snow and streams, scantily clothed and poorly fed, and, after many weary weeks, on the seventh of April, one hundred years ago, landed on yonder point beneath the shadows of those monuments of a race long since swept from the face of the earth, their homes melted away and their sites recovered with the forests of ages, and their name and history unwrit and forgotten. That memorable seventh of April, 1788, should never be forgotten, or passed over in silence, by any one who venerates the heroic character of the grand men who first planted their feet on this soil on that day.

Here on that day, on the broad and true foundation of the Declaration of Independence and the Ordinance of 1787, these brave men began the work of the building of this State. But in that great work they were not to be left unaided. Reports of the vast resources of the Western territory, its fine climate, its great possibilities for agriculture, manufacture and commerce, its great lakes, noble rivers and the free character impressed on it by the government, spread through all classes of society, and application was made to Congress for the sale of other portions and its opening to settlement by other associations, similar to that of the Ohio Company. A portion in the south-western part of the State had been reserved by Virginia for the soldiers from that State who had fought for their country, and another by Connecticut in the central part for those of her citizens who had suffered by fire from the incursions of the British in that State, and these were beginning to be occupied. Judge John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, who had been a Delegate in Congress and was now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of that State, on the 29th of August, 1787, made application to the Pres-

ident and Congress for the purchase of lands lying at the mouth of the Big Miami (now the southwestern end of the State), thence up the Ohio to the mouth of the Little Miami so as to embrace about a million of acres.

After many negotiations with the Commissioners and frequent changes in terms (owing, as in that of the Ohio Company, to the difficulty of obtaining government scrip, because it had risen rapidly as soon as it was seen that the government would take it in payment for land), Judge Symmes, supposing his contract agreed upon, started in July, 1788, with a train of fourteen four-horse wagons and sixty persons, to locate on his new purchase.

He came, as did the Ohio Company, over the Alleghany mountains, and by way of Pittsburg and Wheeling in flat-boats, stopping a brief time at Marietta to confer with the inhabitants there, a portion of whom, with Manasseh Cutler, he had seen at Bedford, Penn., on their route, and on the 22d of September landed at the mouth of the Little Miami river, above Cincinnati, and explored a portion of the country in the rear. But he made no permanent settlement then, but returned to Limestone (now Maysville), Kentucky. The Indians had become restive under the now apparent determination of the whites to make large permanent settlements in the territory, and, under pretense that former treaties made with some of their tribes had been with persons unauthorized to act for whole tribes, made frequent incursions on all the white settlements, stealing property, burning cabins, and killing the inmates. Repeated attempts had been made to hold definitive treaties with persons acknowledged as authorized by all the tribes, but in vain.

In October, 1786, General Clark had invited all the savages of the Northwest to meet him in council in November, but they replied it was too late in the season, and the meeting was postponed until April, 1787. Nothing had been done, however, until July, when the Superintendent of Indian Affairs was ordered to proceed to Vincennes and

hold a council with the Wabash and Shawnees. It was finally determined that a treaty should be held early in '88 with these tribes, by the Governor of the new Territory, and troops to preserve peace were stationed at Venango, Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, the Muskingum, Miami, Vincennes and Louisville, Ky., and the militia of Kentucky were held in readiness for any emergency. But these preparations had no effect; the Indians were neither overawed, conquered, nor satisfied, and all further proceedings were continued until January, 1789, when the meeting was held at Fort Harmar.

But, notwithstanding these difficulties, the settlers went on with their improvements, guarding as well as they might against the incursions of the savages. When Symmes returned to Limestone from the Miamis, Major Benjamin Stites went down with twenty-six persons and built a block-house near the mouth of the Little Miami, on the 25th of November, 1788, and established the town of Columbia, now a part of Cincinnati.

During all this time the Indians were lingering about the settlements at Marietta and the Miamis, evidently hostile, but apparently friendly, until satisfactory treaties could be made.

At Marietta the settlement increased and went on prosperously. The inhabitants were watchful and industrious. Houses were built to shelter them, new improvements projected, a church and school-house erected, and now it contained one hundred and thirty-three men, fifteen of whom had families. That all might be protected under some kind of law, the Governor not having yet arrived to promulgate any, the people met together and framed such as were necessary for their temporary security, and that all might became acquainted with them they were publicly nailed on a large oak tree on the Point, the most public place in the village, and Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them. As a strong evidence of the good habits of the people, it is said that during the three

months of their existence but one difference arose, and that was compromised. This well justified the assertion of Washington that "no colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."

On the second of July, 1788, the village was publicly christened Marietta, after the unfortunate French Queen, Marie Antoinette, it having before that borne the name of Adelphia. On the fourth, a celebration of the anniversary of independence was held, Judge Varnum delivering the oration, and on the ninth, General Arthur St. Clair, who had been appointed Governor, arrived. The first law regulating the militia was published, and on the twenty-sixth the Governor issued a proclamation creating all the country which had been ceded by the Indians east of the Scioto into the county of Washington. On the second of September, 1788, the first Court was opened with appropriate ceremonies. The description, as given by the historian, is one worthy of the pencil of the greatest of painters, and I well remember when, as a boy, I first read it, the enthusiastic feelings it raised in me. Never was a court established with a more becoming sense of the great importance of that tribunal, which should ever sit as the representative of God dispensing justice on earth. I love still to read that description, and fancy myself one of the interested spectators.

The procession was formed at the Point, where most of the settlers resided, in the following order:

1. The High Sheriff (Colonel Ebenezer Sproat) with drawn sword. He is described as a man of uncommonly tall, portly person and commanding figure, who at once attracted the attention of the Indians, who styled him the Big Buckeye. He had been conspicuous in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth and many others in the

Revolutionary war. He was a man of bold and dauntless courage, and bore that sword of sheriff for fourteen years.

2. The citizens! What a grand company of citizens! Generals and colonels, majors, captains, inferior officers and private soldiers who had passed through the bloody fires of the Revolution, now marching in the quiet garbs of citizens to enthrone a court of justice, which should in peace be the arbiter of all their rights of life, person and property.

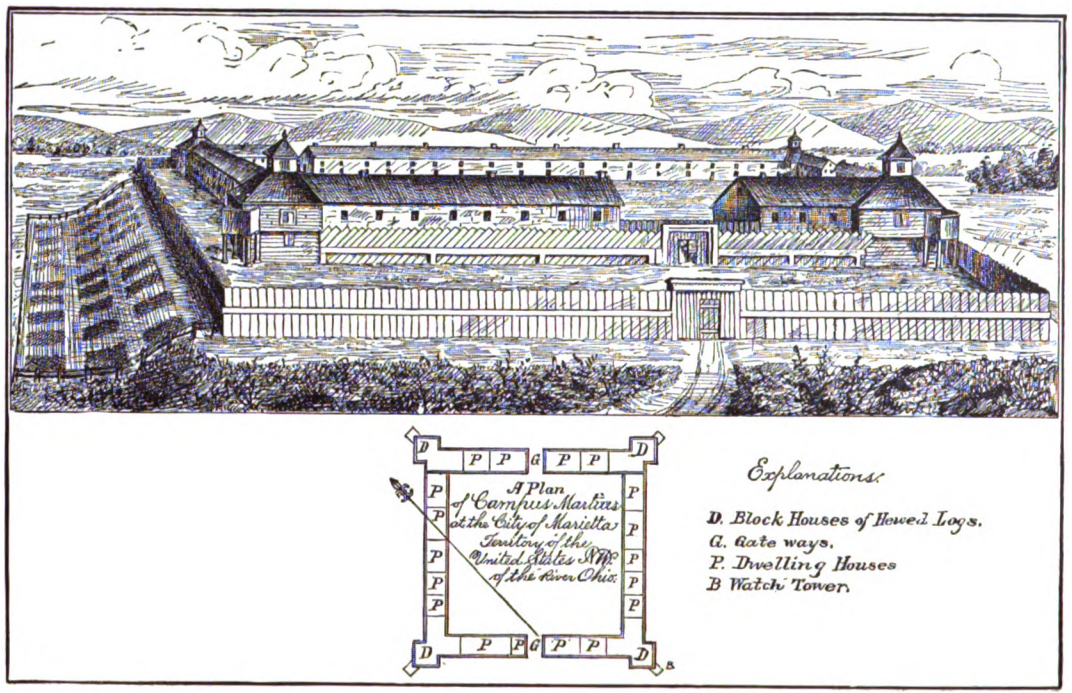
3. Officers of the garrison of Fort Harmar, composed of the same class of men, but yet in the military service to protect the colony.

4. Members of the bar, now transferred from the fierce arena of war to the calm contention of mind with mind.

5. The Supreme Judges, General Samuel H. Parsons and General James M. Varnum, both distinguished officers of the Revolutionary army, and eminent lawyers and statesmen.

6. The Governor, General Arthur St. Clair, distinguished also in the same war and as President of the Continental Congress.

7. The newly-appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper, both also distinguished in that war, and also as the fathers of the new colony and its most active promoters. This august procession marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius (the stockade), when the whole countermarched and the Judges took their seats. Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, one of the most eminent clergymen of the time, a chaplain in the Revolutionary army, a member of Congress afterward, and one of the most active and intelligent in forming the Ohio Company, then invoked the Divine blessing, and the sheriff solemnly proclaimed that a Court is now open for the administration of even-handed justice to the poor and rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without a trial by their



PLAN OF CAMPUS MARTIUS.

peers, and then in pursuance of the law and evidence in the case. As witnesses to this spectacle was a large body of Indians from the most powerful tribes in the entire West, who had assembled for the purpose of making a treaty. The court of justice of the State then so solemnly opened has, in all these hundred years, never been closed; but is still open to all classes who seek redress for wrongs. The Territorial government, having been now established, with General St. Clair, Governor; Winthrop Sargent, Secretary; Samuel H. Parsons, John C. Symmes (in place of John Armstrong, resigned,) and James M. Varnum began the duty of legislating for the Territory, and continued in session until December, enacting a number of laws, which, however, were not approved by Congress, on the ground that the Governor and Judges had authority only to adopt existing laws from the codes of the original States, but not to enact laws of their own formation. On July 2, 1788, Congress was informed officially that a sufficient number of States had ratified the new constitution of the United States, and measures were taken to put it in force.

On January 9, 1789, at Fort Harmar, a treaty of peace was made with the Indian tribes. With the Iroquois, confirming the previous one at Fort Stanwix in 1784; another with the Wyandottes, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and Sacs, confirming and extending the treaty of Fort McIntosh of January, 1785.

The first Congress under the new constitution of the United States assembled at Federal Hall, Wall street, New York, in April, 1789, and installed George Washington as the first President of the United States, and one of its first official acts was to confirm the treaty made at Fort Harmar.

The terms of Territorial officers having expired on the adoption of the new constitution, President Washington appointed General St. Clair, Governor; Winthrop Sargent, Secretary; Samuel H. Parsons, John Cleves Symmes and William Barton, Judges of the General Court. William

Barton declined, and George Turner was appointed in his stead. Judge Parsons died shortly after, and General Rufus Putnam was appointed in his place.

While affairs were thus progressing at Marietta, active steps were being taken in the Miami Purchase. On the 24th of December, 1788, Israel Ludlow, Matthias Denman, Robert Patterson, Joel Williams and twenty-three other men left Limestone, and on the 28th of December, amid floating ice that filled the Ohio from shore to shore, landed at Losantiville, now Cincinnati. This party proceeded at once to lay out, survey and make a plat of the new town. By the close of the year eleven families and twenty-four unmarried men were residents. On the 9th of August Captain Strong, with Lieutenant Kingsbury and Ensign Hartshorn and a company of seventy men left Marietta, and on the 11th Captain Ferguson and Major Doughty followed, for the purpose of clearing ground and laying out a new fort for the protection of the settlers in Symmes' Purchase. After reconnoitering for three days from the Little to the Big Miami for an eligible site, he at length fixed on that opposite the mouth of the Licking river, which he represented as high and healthy, abounding with never-failing springs, and the most proper position he could find. On the 26th of September, 1789, he began the building of Fort Washington, in Cincinnati on the square bounded by Third and Fourth and Broadway and Ludlow street, on a reservation of fifteen acres made by the government. On the 24th of December, 1789, General Harmar left Fort Harmar with a small fleet of boats and three hundred men, and on the 28th landed at, and took command of, Fort Washington. Major Doughty returned to the command of Fort Harmar, and thenceforth for a number of years Fort Washington was the headquarters of the United States army in the West.

In this settlement, as well as at Marietta, was felt the necessity of religious services and educational privileges. On the twenty-fourth of January, 1790, the Baptist Church

was organized at Columbia, with Rev. Stephen Gano as pastor, and shortly after an academy, with John Reilly as teacher; and in 1791 Rev. James Kemper was installed as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Cincinnati, and a church erected in 1792, on the corner of Fourth and Main, where the present church stands, and on the same lot the Cincinnati College building.

On the second of January, 1790, Governor St. Clair arrived at Cincinnati and organized the County of Hamilton, and changed the name of the town from Losantiville to Cincinnati, after that of the society organized by the officers of the Revolutionary army, of which he was a prominent member. William Goforth, William Wells, and William McMillan were appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, I. Brown Sheriff, and Israel Ludlow Prothonotary or Clerk, and officers of the militia were appointed. As at Marietta before Governor St. Clair arrived, the people had been governed by laws of their own making, with Israel Ludlow appointed by them as Sheriff to execute them. But after the Governor arrived Courts began to sit regularly, and the community came easily under the forces of law and order. A celebration was held on the fourth of July, with a salute of thirteen guns and a military parade. The original settlers of Cincinnati were, like those of Marietta, mostly composed of officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary war.

But now the depredations of the Indians became more frequent and alarming. No settlement was safe from attack by day or night. The Indians threw off all restraints of tactics, and seemed bent on annihilating every settlement with the torch, tomahawk, and scalping-knife. It was then determined that General Harmar should march to the Indian towns at the head of the Miami of the Lakes, and inflict such chastisement upon them as would protect from further depredations. His command consisted of 320 regular troops from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and 1,133 drafted militia from Pennsylvania and Kentucky.

He proceeded on his toilsome journey through the wilderness and the great swamp, and on the 30th of September, 1790, arrived at the Indian towns on the Maumee, and in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne, Ind., and, after destroying a number of them and laying waste their corn-fields, he was attacked at different points by large bodies of Indians, and, after suffering great loss of men, was compelled to retreat with the remnant of his forces to Fort Washington, which he left shortly after for Philadelphia, being succeeded in command by General St. Clair. Repeated attempts were made after this to induce the Indians to cease their depredations, but in vain, and the situation at every point became more alarming. General Putnam, writing to the President, January 2, 1791, reported an attack on Big Bottom, forty miles up the river, in which eleven men, one woman and two children were killed, three men missing and six escaped. "Thus," he says, "the war which was partial before the campaign of last year is in all probability become general. Our situation is truly critical. * * * Several settlements are broken up * * * and unless Government speedily send a body of troops for our protection we are a ruined people."

Similar complaints and appeals were made by Judge Symmes and others. The government became aroused to a true appreciation of the real danger and determined to take the most active measures. From the high character of General St. Clair in the army, Washington appointed him Major-General of all the troops to be employed on the frontier, and he was directed to proceed to the Indian country and attempt to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes; but, if all lenient means failed, to use such coercive measures as he should possess. Under these orders he proceeded to organize his army at Ludlow Station, now in the northern part of Cincinnati, and on the 17th of September, 1792, with 2,300 men, exclusive of militia, he moved forward twenty-five miles to the Great Miami river and erected Fort Hamilton on the site of the

present city of Hamilton; thence forty-four miles and erected Fort Jefferson, six miles south of where Greenville, in Darke county, now stands, and on the 24th of October marched northward through the wilderness. The roads were heavy and wet, the militia began deserting, the commander was enfeebled by disease, when, on the morning of November 4th, near what is now Fort Recovery, in Mercer county, just at daylight, they were attacked by an overwhelming force of Indians and terribly defeated (over six hundred killed) and the army straggled back bleeding and torn to Fort Washington. This defeat sent a thrill of horror through the nation.

The Indians, triumphant and instigated by British traders, were truly on the war path. Every attempt to mollify them utterly failed, and it was determined to send a new force against them under another commander. The selection was a difficult one; two brave and distinguished Generals had already failed. Generals Morgan, Scott, Wayne, Henry Lee and Colonel Darke were suggested. Washington finally selected General Anthony Wayne, to the extreme disgust of all orders, it is said, in the Old Dominion, as Governor Lee then wrote him. But Washington was inflexible in his choice; and it was well, for it inspired everywhere confidence in the desponding. The old soldiers of the Revolution remembered him at Brandywine, Monmouth, Valley Forge, and at Stony Point, where, when leading his forces and falling, as was supposed, mortally wounded, he yet cried out to his men: "March on! Carry me into the fort, for I will die at the head of my column!" Never was confidence better warranted. On the 15th of August, 1794, with an army of 2,600, he started on his march from Fort Washington to the Indian country. Victory perched on his banner at the battle of The Fallen Timbers, on the Maumee. His name became a terror to the Indians as Mad Anthony. They sued for peace, and the treaty at Greenville, in 1795, followed, giving peace to all the Territory for seventeen years. The remnant of his

victorious army returned in triumph to Fort Washington and was disbanded. The gallant General shortly after retiring to Erie, Penn., in broken health, where he died the following year, leaving an honored name for bravery and patriotism, which can never be forgotten by the people of these States. Conspicuous on his staff in all this campaign was a young officer, who but a year or two before had come from Virginia, and whom he afterward placed in command of Fort Washington as Captain, William Henry Harrison, the son of the President of the Congressional Committee of the Whole when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and whose name is appended to that instrument, and who was three times elected Governor of Virginia. The history of the son is too well known to more than name his career as first Delegate in Congress from this Territory, Governor of Indiana Territory, United States Senator, Commander-in-Chief of the Western forces at Tippecanoe, River Rasin, and the Thames, Minister to Columbia, and President of the United States.

And now, with peace once more restored, the people returned to all the peaceful avocations of life which had so long been invaded by war. All the old States poured the men and women of their best and bravest blood into the Territory. A new impulse was given to trade and agriculture. Forests were rapidly felled, towns sprang up as if by magic, all the hopes of the early pioneers were fast blossoming into fruit.

In 1798 the territory contained 15,000 white male inhabitants, and it was, therefore, entitled to enter on the second grade of the Territorial government. The government accordingly called the people to elect representatives to the first General Assembly, and required the members elected to meet at Cincinnati in convention, to nominate ten persons to be returned to the President of the United States, out of whom five were to be selected by him, with the consent of the Senate, to be commis-

sioned as a Legislative Council. The representatives were chosen, and on the fourth of February, 1799, nominated ten names, out of which were commissioned Jacob Burnet and James Findlay, of Cincinnati; Henry Vanderburgh, of Vincennes; Robert Oliver, of Marietta, and David Vance, of Vanceville. A legislative body was selected, composed of the most substantial men of thecountry.

Both branches assembled at Cincinnati September 16, 1799, and elected their officers. On the 3d of October in joint session they elected William H. Harrison as the first Delegate to Congress. He had been acting as Secretary of the Territory, but immediately resigned and went to Philadelphia and took his seat in Congress. His first act was to offer a resolution to subdivide the surveys of public lands and have them offered for sale in small tracts. This he succeeded in having passed, although resisted by land speculators. This was a most beneficient measure. It put it in the power of every industrious man, however poor, to own his own home. He also obtained liberal extension for the payment of those who had acquired preemption rights. At the same session Congress divided the Northwest Territory by establishing the new Territory of Indiana, and Harrison was appointed Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, which he accepted and resigned his seat in Congress. The new Legislature applied itself assiduously to the work of reorganizing the laws of the Territory, and the subject of education engaged their most serious attention, and Congress was urged to secure to the Territory the title of lands promised for the support of schools and colleges, including section 16 in every township.

During the session a memorial was presented by officers of the Virginia line in Continental service in the Revolutionary war praying for toleration to remove with their slaves to the military bounty lands. As the Ordinance of 1787 prohibited it, the body had no other alternative but to reject it. "But," said Judge Burnet, a member of the body, (and the author of most of the early laws of the

State,) "the public feeling on the subject of admitting slavery into the Territory was such that the request would have been denied by a unanimous vote of the Legislature if it had the power of granting it." The next session was by act of Congress removed to Chillicothe, when William McMillan was elected delegate to Congress to fill the place of Mr. Harrison till March 4th and Paul Fearing, of Marietta, for the two years thereafter. The Legislature met in Chillicothe in 1801, and sat from November to January, 1802, and adjourned to meet in Cincinnati in November following. In January, 1802, a census was taken of the eastern division of the Territory, which was found to contain 45,028 persons of both sexes, and application was made to Congress for leave to call a convention to establish a State government. This was granted, and on the 1st of November, 1802, the convention met at Chillicothe and remained in session till the 29th, when the constitution was ratified and signed by the members, and thus became the fundamental law without any submission to the people. The entire proceedings of the convention are contained in a pamphlet of forty-nine pages.

Its provisions were in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Ordinance of 1787, and Ohio then became one of the States of the Union, on equal terms with the other States, and under it our fathers proceeded to build up this great State. Although many thought the formation of the State was premature, yet it really proved the wisest course. It gave a spirit of ambition and independence to the people, which became visible in every avocation. This constitution remained in force fifty years, when a new one was adopted to suit the growing necessities of the people. Under that constitution new emigration set to the State, and soon the active industry of the farmers produced more food than supplied their necessities, and they began to seek market for it. But there were no railroads or turnpikes or canals, and the only available route for transportation was by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers

to the markets of New Orleans or the sea. This had, to some extent, been used by flat-boats, and in 1801 a ship was built at Marietta and successfully passed down to the ocean. But as Spain owned Louisiana, she put obstructions in the way of navigating these waters until her overthrow by Napoleon, who in 1803 conveyed the whole territory to the United States for eighty millions of francs, or about $15,000,000, thus giving an unvexed way through the whole route to the sea.

Under all these favorable circumstances the State grew rapidly. The building of vessels began at Marietta, by that brave veteran seaman of the Revolution, Commodore Whipple, which carried the produce of the valley to New Orleans, England and Russia. Population rapidly increased, and peace spread all over our border, till in June, 1812, the incursion of the Indians on our northern and western borders, aided by the British traders, and the claim of Great Britain of the right to impress our seamen on the high seas, made it necessary for the United States to declare war against Great Britain. The Northwest Territory and Ohio were the principal theatres of the war. We met with defeat and disaster at first from the combined efforts of the British and Indians under command of Proctor and Tecumseh, but these were wiped out by the splendid achievements of Colonel Croghan's defense of Fort Stephenson, Perry's victory on Lake Erie, the total defeat of the allied British and savages on the Thames by General Harrison, and the closing triumph of General Jackson at New Orleans.

In all these contests the men of Ohio had a large share, and performed feats of valor worthy of their heroic ancestors.

Nor did this stay the onward progress of the State. In 1800 Ohio was the seventeenth State in population; in 1810, the thirteenth; in 1820, the fifth; in 1830, the fourth; in 1840, the third. In 1790 her population was 3,000; in 1800, 45,365; in 1820, 581,484; in 1830, 935,872;

in 1840, 1,519,467; in 1850, 1,980,408; in 1860, 2,339,511; in 1870, 2,665,260; in 1880, 3,198,239; and increased possibly in 1888 to 3,600,000, nearly equal to the population of the whole United States at the time of the Revolutionary war.

Its religious progress is marked by over ten thousand churches of all denominations.

In education—12,703 public school-houses, value, $28,467,409; 24,620 teachers; number of pupils in daily attendance, 577,844; annual expense, $10,123,897. Besides these there are 320 incorporated colleges and academies, and 270 incorporated literary and library associations.

We have 9,363 miles of railroads, value $91,264,178, paying an annual tax of $1,504,093; 697 miles of canals, innumerable turnpikes, stretching over every one of the eighty-eight counties, most of them without toll to travelers; and the great swamps of the Northwest are drained by thousands of miles of ditches, making them the most fertile lands on the continent.

The State contains 25,535,846 acres of land of the value of $712,436,424; this is divided into 240,000 farms. The chattel property in the duplicate is $509,913,568, making a total value of chattel and real property of $1,670,079,568, on which is paid an annual tax of $31,167,510. Of the land 9,805,305 acres are cultivated as farms, and 6,214,862 acres as pasture. Over these farms and pasture roam 1,665,223 cattle, 4,295,839 sheep, 746,366 horses, 24,818 mules, 1,606,936 hogs. In 1886 we raised 40,366,868 bushels of wheat and 112,192,744 bushels of corn. We had 595,524 milch cows, from which were churned 45,769,819 pounds of butter. While the hens, partaking of the general industrial activity, laid 32,620,451 dozen of eggs. Of cheese 38,420,451 pounds were made, and 3,588,248 pounds exported from the State. Of wool we clipped 23,558,070 pounds.

We have 588 coal mines, employing 19,704 men, and produce 7,816,017 tons of coal, while the product of the numerous oil and natural gas wells simply defies all arith-

metical computation. In the last twenty-two months 6,694,539 barrels of oil have been produced. In every town in the State are numerous manufactories with steam engines, roaring and hammering, cutting and sawing out all articles of usefulness for other manufactories, for the farmers and for every useful avocation at home, and shipping machinery and manufactured articles to all parts of our own and foreign countries. The Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, reports his inspection in 1887 of 3581 factories and workshops in thirty towns, as employing 168,570 persons. Connecting all parts of the State and our own and foreign lands by instantaneous communication, there are 473,642 miles of telegraphic wire, and innumerable newspapers, daily and weekly, in nearly every city and town, to convey to every house the news from all the world. This is but a small fraction of the census of a State first settled one hundred years ago, and which, when admitted into the Union eighty-six years ago, John Randolph denominated "a mere geographical diagram beyond the Ohio River of vast deserts of woods inhabited by the Aborigines."

The mind staggers on an examination of the figures showing our vast resources and productions. And let it be remembered that all this has been accumulating amid the convulsion of many wars and financial difficulties. The war of 1812 drew thousands of men from industrial pursuits, but others kept the plow of agriculture going in the furrow. The Mexican war drew largely on our men and means, while the great rebellion, raging for four years, had in its ranks, marching and fighting to maintain the Union, nearly 400,000 Ohio soldiers, thousands of whom laid down their lives in the battle-fields, the swamps, prison-houses, and hospitals. Notwithstanding this great depletion, her farms were all the while being tilled to furnish food. All articles of useful machinery were being made, gun-boats built on her rivers and cannon at her foundries, and the humming of thousands of sewing-machines was heard,

propelled by wives and daughters in making clothing for the patriot soldiers. But, greater than all the physical wealth of the State is the constantly maintained high standard of industrial, moral, religious and intellectual wealth of character. She has been richly blessed with

> "Men, high-minded men,
> With powers as far above dull brutes endued
> As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
> Men who their duties know,
> But know their rights and knowing, dare maintain."

The valor of the Revolutionary hero, the stern, religious character of the Puritan, the lofty character of the Cavalier, have been mingled with the blood of all the best representatives who from foreign lands have here sought freedom from oppression. Enterprise, skill in all branches, education, religious teachings, law, statesmanship, oratory, military genius have here had representatives, the equal of any in the world. Ohio has had four Presidents of the United States, and has numerous other possibilities for the future; two Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and has been otherwise ably represented on that bench; three Generals of the army by special act of Congress for greatest distinguished ability, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, an honor before that conferred alone on Washington; and well does this quartet wear the distinction of being first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of their countrymen. We have been represented in the Senate, Cabinet, Foreign Ministers and every important public position until it would seem that wherever great ability was desired there was a call for the Ohio man.

The hardy, adventurous, emigrant character which marked the men and women who first settled her soil is strongly inherited by their descendants, for we find them going out from her borders to populate all the Western and Southern States, and even to revive the lagging energies of the East. In 1870 she had, of her native-born children, 806,983 resident in other States. The Ohio

man as farmer, mechanic, professional man, governor, or judge, is in every State from her western border to the Rocky mountains, and climbing over the summit in the mines and vineyards, ranches and cities of California to the Pacific Ocean. He seems to be ubiquitous, and to permeate the land like the atmosphere.

Such is a meager sketch of our State for the past century. Slowly but surely has the building of it gone on, and to-day it stands before the world with its solid foundation of religion, morality, education, freedom, equality before the law and protection to the rights of all persons and property, all the more strongly cemented by those years. As a State of the Union she has ever maintained the highest position in peace and in war, and her obligations to that government formed by the people and for the people have been most religiously performed. To that Union she owes her existence, and to sustain it she has poured out her richest blood and treasure, and will again in the future if occasion requires.

While we recognize the wisdom and toils of our fathers in all this wonderful growth, let us now, in the spirit of that religion which sustained and cheered them through it all, not forget that God, who was their Father and Leader, and guided them as by a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, who rules over the armies of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth in righteousness, in whose hands are the destinies of all men and nations; and let our hearts go up to Him in thankfulness, for His hand hath wrought it all, and those men and women were but His ministers. May they who stand here at the the end of another century look upon this temple of our State, still strong and stable, its foundation sure and steadfast, its towers and columns captivating by their beauty the eyes of the world, its people happy, united and prosperous in a government, the union of whose States shall be one of both hands and hearts, and the sun of religious liberty shining its pure and untarnished rays into every heart and home.

WHY IS OHIO CALLED THE BUCKEYE STATE?

An Address by William M. Farrar.

The name Buckeye, as applied to the State of Ohio, is an accepted sobriquet, so well recognized and so generally understood throughout the United States, that its use requires no explanation, although the origin of the term and its significance are not without question, and therefore become proper subjects of consideration during this Centennial year.

The usual and most commonly accepted solution is, that it originates from the buckeye tree, which is indigenous to the State of Ohio and is not found elsewhere. This, however, is not altogether correct, as it is also found both in Kentucky and Indiana, and in some few localities in Western Virginia, and perhaps elsewhere. But while such is the fact, its natural locality appears to be in the State of Ohio, and its native soil in the rich valleys of the Muskingum, Hockhocking, Scioto, Miamis, and Ohio, where in the early settlement of the State it was found growing in great abundance, and because of the luxuriance of its foliage, the richly colored dyes of its fruit, and its ready adaptation to the wants and conveniences of the pioneers, it was highly prized by them for many useful purposes.

It was also well known to and much prized by the Indians, from whose rude language comes its name, "Hetuck," meaning the eye of the buck, because of the striking resemblance in color and shape between the brown nut and the eye of that animal, the peculiar spot upon the one corresponding to the iris in the other. In its application, however, we have reversed the term, and call the person or thing to which it is applied a buckeye.

In a very interesting after-dinner speech, made by Dr. Daniel Drake, the eminent botanist and historian of the Ohio Valley, at a banquet given at the city of Cincinnati on the occasion of the forty-fourth anniversary of the

State, the buckeye was very ably discussed, its botanical classification given, its peculiar characteristics and distinctive properties referred to, and the opinion expressed that the name was at first applied as a nickname, or term of derision, but has since been raised into a title of honor.

This conclusion does not seem to be altogether warranted, for the name is not only of Indian origin, as stated, but the first application of it ever made to a white man was made by the Indians themselves, and intended by them as an expression of their highest sense of admiration.

S. P. Hildreth, the pioneer historian of Marietta, to whom we are indebted for so many interesting events relating to the settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum, tells us that upon the opening of the first court in the Northwest Territory, to-wit: on the 2d day of September, 1788, a procession was formed at the Point, where most of the settlers resided, and marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius Hall, in the following order:

1st. The High Sheriff with drawn sword.

2d. The citizens.

3d. Officers of the garrison at Fort Harmar.

4th. Members of the Bar.

5th. Supreme Judges.

6th. The Governor and clergymen.

7th. The newly appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, General Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper.

There, the whole countermarched and the judges, Putnam and Tupper took their seats; the clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, invoked the divine blessing, and the sheriff, Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, proclaimed with his solemn O yes! that a court is opened for the administration of even-handed justice, to the poor as well as to the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons, none to be punished without a trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of law; and that although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the State, few ever

equalled it in the dignity and exalted characters of the actors; and that among the spectators who witnessed the ceremony and were deeply impressed by its solemnity and seeming significance, was a large body of Indians collected from some of the most powerful tribes of the Northwest, for the purpose of making a treaty with the whites. Always fond of ceremony among themselves, they witnessed the parade of which they little suspected the import, with the greatest interest, and were especially impressed with the high sheriff who led the procession with drawn sword; we are told that he was over six feet in height, well proportioned and of commanding presence, and that his fine physical proportions and dignified bearing excited their highest admiration, which they expressed by the word "Hetuck," or in their language "big buckeye." It was not spoken in derision, but was the expression of their greatest admiration, and was afterwards often jocularly applied to Colonel Sproat, and became a sort of nickname by which he was familiarly known among his associates. That was certainly its first known application to an individual in the sense now used, but there is no evidence that the name continued to be so used and applied from that time forward, or that it became a fixed and accepted soubriquet of the State and people until more than half a century afterwards.

During all of which time the buckeye continued to be an object of more or less interest, and as immigration made its way across the State, and the settlements extended into the rich valleys, where it was found by travelers and explorers, and was by them carried back to the East and shown as a rare curiosity, from what was then known as the "Far West," possessing certain medicinal properties for which it was highly prized. But the name never became fully crystallized until 1840, when in the crucible of what is known as the "bitterest, longest, and most extraordinary political contest ever waged in the United States," the name Buckeye became a fixed sobri-

COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.

quet of the State of Ohio and its people, known and understood wherever either is spoken of, and likely to continue as long as either shall be remembered or the English language endures.

The manner in which this was brought about is one of the singular events of that political epoch.

General William Henry Harrison having become the candidate of his party for President, an opposition newspaper said "that he was better fitted to sit in a log cabin and drink hard cider than rule in the White House." The remark was at once taken up by his friends and became a party slogan of that ever-memorable canvass. Harrison became the log cabin candidate, and was pictured as sitting by the door of a rude log cabin through which could be seen a barrel of hard cider, while the walls were hung with coon skins and decorated with strings of buckeyes.

Political excitement spread with wonderful rapidity; there was music in the air, and on the 22d of February, 1840, a State convention was held at the city of Columbus to nominate a candidate for Governor. That was before the day of railroads, yet from most of the counties of the State, large delegations in wagons and on horseback made their way to the capital to participate in the convention. Among the many curious devices resorted to to give expression to the ideas embodied in the canvass, there appeared in the procession a veritable log cabin, from Clarke county, built of buckeye logs upon a wagon and drawn in the procession by horses, while from the roof and inside of the cabin was sung this song:

"Oh where, tell me where
Was your buckeye cabin made.
. . . . . .
'Twas built among the merry boys,
Who wield the plough and spade,
Where the log cabins stand,
In the bonnie buckeye shade."
. . . . . .
"Oh what, tell me what, is to be your cabin's fate?
. . . . . .

We'll wheel it to the capitol and place it there elate,
For a *token* and a *sign* of the Bonnie Buckeye State."

From that time forward the buckeye became an important factor in the canvass, cabins were multiplied and drawn in processions at all the leading meetings. The name was applied to General Harrison as —

"Hurrah for the father of the Great West,
For the Buckeye who follows the plow."

The name was also applied to Mr. Corwin, the candidate for Governor, as —

"Tom Corwin is a Buckeye boy,
Who stands not for the pay."

And generally as —

"Come all ye jolly Buckeye boys,
And listen to my song."

. . . . . .

"See what a host of lumber,
And buckeye poles are here —
And Buckeye boys without number,
Aloft the logs to rear."

But the buckeye was not only thus woven into song and sung and shouted from every log cabin, but it became a popular emblem of the party and an article of commerce, more especially along the old National Road, over which the public travel of the country was carried at that day in stage coaches; and men are yet living, who, in 1840, resided at Zanesville, and can remember seeing crowds of men and boys going to the woods in the morning and returning later in the day carrying great bundles of buckeye sticks, to be converted into canes and sold to travelers, or sent to adjoining States to be used for campaign purposes.

At a mass meeting held in western Pennsylvania in 1840, delegations were organized by townships, and at a preliminary meeting held to appoint officers to marshal the procession and make other necessary arrangements, it was resolved that each officer so appointed should provide himself with a buckeye cane as a badge of authority, and thereupon committees were sent to Ohio to procure a supply of canes for the occasion; with what success can be

judged from the fact that while a procession extending over two miles in length and numbering more than fifteen hundred people, halted on one of the Chartiers Creek hills until the one in front moved out of its way, an inventory taken showed the number of buckeye canes carried in the delegation to be 1,432, and in addition over one hundred strings of buckeye beads were worn by a crew of young ladies dressed in white, who rode in an immense canoe and carried banners representing the several States of the Union.

These may seem to be rather trivial affairs to be referred to on such an occasion as the present, but they serve to show the extent of the sentiment that prevailed at the time, and the molding process going on, so that when the long and heated canvass finally closed with a sweeping victory for the Buckeye candidate, the crystallization was complete, and the name "Buckeye" was irrevocably fixed upon the State and people of Ohio, and continues to the present day one of the most popular and familiar sobriquets in use.

So early as 1841 the President of an Eastern College established for the education of young women, showing a friend over the establishment said, "there is a young lady from New York, that one is from Virginia, and this," pointing to another, "is one of our new Buckeye girls." A few years later the Hon. S. S. Cox, a native Buckeye, and then a resident of Ohio, made a tour of Europe and wrote home a series of bright and interesting letters over the *nom de plume* of "A Buckeye Abroad," which were extensively read and helped still further to fix the name and give it character. The Buckeye State has now a population of more than three million live Buckeyes, Buckeye coal and mining companies, Buckeye manufactories of every kind and description, Buckeye reapers and mowers, Buckeye stock, farms, houses, hotels, furnaces, rolling mills, gas and oil wells, fairs, conventions, etc., and on to-morrow we propose to celebrate a Buckeye centennial.

COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.

A Paper by His Great-Grandson, David Fisher.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen — From the printed circular I hold in my hand, I read, "the seventh of April, 1888, is a day in which the immediate descendants of the first settlers of Marietta principally have an interest."

As a descendant of Commodore Whipple, it is with emotions of reverence, pleasure, and pride that I am permitted to be present at the Centennial Celebration of Marietta, and pay respect to the memory of those resolute, determined, fearless pioneers, who founded this beautiful city, from which has extended the civilization, growth, prosperity, and influence of the "Great Northwest." How many, or who of these descendants there may be present, I am not aware, but to all such I extend a hearty greeting.

The little I may have to say will have reference particularly to Commodore Whipple and incidents in his earlier life, leaving to other and more competent persons the eulogies of Putnam, Cutler, Varnum, Parsons, Tupper, Sproat, Devol, Meigs, and others.

Commodore Abraham Whipple was born near Providence, R. I., September 26, 1733. At the age of thirteen, his father having sold his farm, he, with his parents, removed to Providence. In 1761, August 2, Whipple married Sarah Hopkins, a niece of Governor Hopkins. By this marriage they had two daughters, Catherine, who married Lieutenant Colonel Sproat, and Polly, who married Dr. Ezekial Comstock, of Smithfield, R. I. By this last marriage there were two children, Dr. W. W. Comstock, who died a few years since at Middleboro, Mass., and Sarah Ann, who was my mother, and who died at Wrentham, Mass., in September, 1855. Colonel Sproat died at Marietta, August 29, 1819, his wife having died October 15, 1818.

The close of the Revolutionary war found many, who

had risked their all in sustaining the government, *penniless* and in want, the paper currency in which they had been paid having depreciated to almost a worthless value. This poverty was, in great measure, the cause of the forming of the "Massachusetts and Rhode Island Company," who hoped by seeking new homes in the then far West to regain at least a small part of what they had lost, or at least to secure a living for themselves and families. If I have been rightly informed, Commodore Whipple and Rufus Putnam made the journey from Providence to Marietta in the fall of 1787, and on their return to New England with a favorable report, the colony decided to remove in the spring of 1788 to where Marietta now stands, arriving April seventh of the same year.

From boyhood Whipple had a strong love for the sea, and before he was twenty-one years of age had made several voyages. During these voyages he taught himself navigation and book-keeping.

In the old French war he became captain of the privateer sloop "Game Cock," and, as reported in the Boston *Post Boy and Advertiser* of February 4, 1760, he, during one voyage, took twenty-three prizes, from which he realized some $60,000, a very large sum at that time.

Commodore Whipple was a man of great muscular power, undoubted courage and daring, a lover of the truth, generous and kind, possessed of a mind fertile in expedients, which often made him a match for superior forces. As an illustration: In one voyage he was chased by a French privateer, with more men and guns than himself, but having made as great a show of men as possible, by setting up hand spikes with hats and caps on them, he boldly turned his vessel and bore square on the enemy, who, taken aback by the maneuver, with all haste escaped from their cunning opponent.

The *one thing* for which Commodore Whipple's name should be kept in remembrance is the fact that he struck the *first* blow of the Revolution, in 1772, on the water.

On the 17th of June, 1772, the packet "Hannah," plying between Providence and New York, was chased by the armed British vessel "Gaspee," and was decoyed by Whipple to a shoal place, where the "Gaspee" stuck fast, while Whipple, in the "Hannah," reached Providence in safety. The news created great excitement, and a large crowd was soon collected by the beating of drums. On a sudden a man, disguised as an Indian, appeared on the roof of a house near by, and gave notice of a secret expedition that night, and invited all stout hearts to assemble at the wharf at nine o'clock that evening, disguised like himself. That man was Whipple. That night sixty men obeyed the call, and went out in eight row boats to capture an armed vessel. There was but one musket in the expedition. They were hailed by the sentinel on board the "Gaspee," demanding who commanded those boats. Whipple replied: "I am Sheriff of the County of Kent and Providence Plantations. I come to arrest Captain Dudingston, and if you do not at once surrender will blow you to atoms." The boats were well supplied with stones of a convenient size, which were brought into use. Whipple fired the musket, wounding the sentinel in the thigh, and at the same time the men poured in a broadside of stones, which soon cleared the deck of the "Gaspee," and Whipple, leading the men, soon had possession. They secured the men as prisoners, fired the vessel, returning to Providence without casualties. A Royal Commission offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the capture of any one engaged in the assault, and afterwards a reward for the body of the Sheriff of the County of Kent, dead or alive, but without success, as those loyal men could not be bought. The silver cup I now hold in my hand was at that time taken from the "Gaspee."

In May, 1776, the Legislature of Rhode Island passed an act renouncing all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and *ten days before* the battle of Bunker Hill the same Legislature purchased and armed two sloops, giving

the command of one to Whipple. On the 15th of June, 1775, Whipple, in his official capacity, attacked two British boats, capturing them and, by this act, fired the first gun of the Revolution on the water.

This bold act was done under the guns of the British frigate "Rose," commanded by Sir William Wallace. Wallace in the meantime had learned who captured and burnt the "Gaspee" and wrote the following curt note: "You, Abraham Whipple, burned His Majesty's vessel, the 'Gaspee,' and I will hang you at yard arm. Signed, William Wallace." To this Whipple replied with commendable point, "To Sir William Wallace, Sir: Always catch a man before you hang him. Abraham Whipple."

Whipple soon after received an appointment under Congress, and did great execution among the trading resorts of the enemy, and there is nothing more admirable in the history of the Revolution than the daring shown by Whipple in attacking armed vessels many times superior in size, men, and armament.

One of the boldest exploits performed by Whipple was in 1778, when he was ordered to fit the frigate "Providence" for sea and carry important despatches to our Minister in France. The great difficulty was to get to sea through the cordon of the enemy's ships; but with a picked crew, the bold mariners, who knew every channel, taking advantage of a very dark and stormy night, succeeded. He passed within half a pistol shot of the British frigate "Lark," of forty guns, pouring in a broadside and then passing the frigate "Renown," of sixty-eight guns, by a ruse deceiving the enemy as he cried in stentorian voice to his helmsman, "Pass her on the Narragansett side," while in a quiet tone he ordered the man to steer to the opposite side.

He reached Nantes, a French port, in twenty-six days, capturing, during the voyage, a merchant ship. On his return voyage he loaded his ship with clothing, arms and ammunition, and safely reached the United States. For

this gallant act Whipple received from Washington, Franklin, Adams and others, complimentary letters.[1]

At the capture of Charleston, S. C., in 1778, Whipple was taken prisoner and with his companions remained such to the close of the war, because the British saw no other way to preserve their commerce from the bold seaman. At Chester, Pa., where he was confined as prisoner, he hired a house for the use of his sick men, and in 1786 petitioned Congress to refund his expenses, stating that, in order to perform this act of humanity, he had been obliged to mortgage his little farm. He says: "The farm is now gone, and having been sued out of possession, I am turned out into the world at an advanced age, feeble and penniless, with my wife and children, destitute of a house or home I can call my own, or have the means of hiring." "This calamity has arisen from two causes, viz.: In France, Charleston, and Chester I expended in the service of the United States three hundred and sixty guineas, besides the sea stores for a number of gentlemen sent by the commissioner in France to the United States in my care, for which I received nothing; and secondly, my having served the United States from June 15, 1775, to December, 1782, without receiving a farthing of wages or subsistence from them since 1776. My advances in France and Charleston amount to nearly $7,000 in specie, exclusive of interest. The repayment of this, or a part, might be the means of my regaining my farm, and snatch my family from misery, want and ruin." The result of this petition was his being paid for his expenditure in France only, and this payment in "Continental" paper money, which he was obliged to dispose of at *eighty per cent. discount* to keep his family from suffering. On more than one occasion he was forced to beg for bread. Who can listen to this recital without feelings of pity and mortification? The neglect and indifference manifested by Congress towards the just rights and claims of Whipple

[1] For two letters, never before published, concerning this voyage, see p. 186.

will always remain a stigma and blot on the United States.

In 1784 Whipple commanded the first American vessel that unfurled the stars and stripes in the Thames after the Peace.

In April, 1788, he emigrated to Marietta, and after "Mad Anthony's" peace with the Indians in 1796, he removed to a farm of about twelve acres on the Muskingum river, a few miles from Marietta, sixty-three years old, broken in health, with no other means of support. He and his aged partner lacked even comfortable food and clothing. In 1811, when he was seventy-eight years old, he was granted a pension of $30 per month.

In 1802 he commanded the first rigged vessel built on the Ohio, and had the honor of conducting her to the ocean.

Commodore Whipple lived to be eighty-five years of age, dying May 29th, 1819; his wife died the year previous. In yonder beautiful "City of the Dead" they rest, his grave marked with a monument on which is inscribed an epitaph from which nothing could be erased, but much added. I am unable to determine the exact location of the grave of Mrs. Whipple.

Such, Mr. President, is a hurried and brief history of Commodore Whipple — the lives of other of the emigrants to Marietta were equally honorable — all contributing of their ability and means to found and sustain that liberty and independence which has made the United States "the greatest of nations."

What noble examples for us all, and especially the young, to emulate. Would that the same integrity of purpose, the same liberality, love of right, and love of country which actuated our forefathers, might always be our standard! May we fully appreciate our responsibilities! Let every one feel it their duty and obligation to assist in the performance of these sacred duties and act accordingly.

Then may you ask the patriotic American, "when will you sell the liberties you now prize so highly?" With his

hand resting on the tombs of his fathers, whose examples he venerates, and his eyes raised to the God in whom he trusts, he will answer, "Never!"

NOTE.—The following letters have never before been published. They are in the possession of Mrs. Agnes B. Tribon, of Middleboro, Mass., great-granddaughter of Commodore Whipple.

[B. Franklin, A. Lee and John Adams to Abrm. Whipple.]

PARIS, June 23–1778.

Sir:—As we have a prospect of an Exchange of Prisoners you are directed to send us with all possible dispatch, a list or Return of all the prisoners you have in your custody, and we shall give orders concerning them as soon as we shall be informed to what place they are to be sent, to be exchanged.

As to your future destination, we desire you to take on Board your Frigate as many arms and cloaks or other merchandise as you can without impeding her in sailing or fighting, and no more, with which you are to acquaint Mr. Schwerghauser who will send them on Board—if Mr. Schwerghauser should have a Vessel bound to America, with stores for the public you are to take her under your convoy.

You are to use your best endeavors to make Prizes in the course of your Passage and in all respects to annoy the enemy, as much as you can and are at liberty to go out of your way, for so good a purpose. If you can take or destroy any of the enemies Fisheries on the Banks of New Foundland you are not to omit the opportunity.

As transports are constantly passing between England and Halifax, Rhode Island, New York and Philadelphia, and from each of these places to all the others, you will use your very best Endeavors to intercept some of them.

If you should have despatches committed to your care, either from the government of this Kingdom, or from us, you are to have them carefully enclosed in lead, and in case of misfortune, which God forbid you are to take effectual care, by sinking them that they may not fall into the enemies hands. We wish you a prosperous Cruise and voyage, and are with much respect Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servants.

B. FRANKLIN
ARTHUR LEE
JOHN ADAMS

Capt. Abraham Whipple
of the Providence Frigate.

[G. Washington to Abm. Whipple.]

HEAD QUARTERS FREDRICK'SBURG
25, Nov, 1778.

Sir:—Major Nicolass handed me your favor of the 12th, inst.

I am greatly pleased with the gallant circumstance of your passage through a blockaded harbour; and much obliged to you for the detail of your voyage. It was very agreeable to hear of your safe arrival, with the valuable articles of your invoice. With my best wishes for your future success I am sir Your most humble Servant.

G. WASHINGTON.

Capt. Ab'm Whipple Esq.

A FAMILIAR TALK ABOUT MONARCHISTS AND JACOBINS.

An Address by William Henry Smith.

When I received an invitation to address the Historical Society here to-night, the suggestion was made by a member of your committee that I take the life and public services of John Brough for my theme. Born within the limits of your city, the son of one of the pioneer fathers, it were fitting that he should be remembered on an occasion of such historical interest. It was gratifying to be remembered in connection with one whom I knew and loved so well. But the greatness of his abilities, the eminent services he rendered the State in early manhood, and the self-sacrificing and patriotic devotion to the National cause during the final struggle which resulted in the restoration of the Union, required more careful attention than a very busy man could devote to the subject on such brief notice. Furthermore, my library, papers, and private memoranda of conversations during those eventful years were a thousand miles away, and inaccessible.

Instead of addressing you on that larger and, to me personally, more interesting subject, I am to talk to you in a desultory way of the men and parties that controlled Ohio as a territory, and for some years as a State, with special reference to the life and public career of Jeremiah Morrow.

The members of the little colony planted here one hundred years ago were ardent Federalists. Their strong personality was impressed upon every measure establishing social order, and the settlements made by the Ohio Company, as well as those on the Scioto and Miami rivers, and the Lake, grew up and flourished under this influence. The French on the Wabash, the Illinois and Mississippi, when they received the Ordinance of 1787 from Governor

St. Clair, gave assurance of loyal support. The selection of the President of the Congress that passed the Ordinance — the last Continental Congress — for Governor, was a wise one. The enterprise was essentially an experiment. A wilderness controlled and peopled by savages was to be subdued, and out of it five Commonwealths, the equal of the thirteen colonies, created. The task was an arduous one, and certainly hazardous, requiring courage, endurance, patience, and a high order of intelligence. Congress had provided the most perfect charter yet devised for republican government — the first charter distinctly proclaiming the brotherhood of man — a charter declaring in plain terms that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind. New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia provided the men and women, among the very best members of their respective communities, to establish government under it. Their chief magistrate was a man of ripe experience, as well as of thorough education. A soldier under Wolfe, a trusted agent of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, a magistrate over an extensive district, a Major General during the Revolutionary war, honored by the friendship of Washington, a friend and associate of La Fayette, President of the Continental Congress, and, because of his brilliant conversational powers, a favorite in the drawing room; handsome in form and dignified in bearing, he was a leader calculated to win the hearts of all. St. Clair, during the years of war, sacrificed a fortune for his country; in taking upon himself the labor and risk of administering a government over a vast territory stretching from the Ohio to the Mississippi, he sacrificed the comforts of home, the social advantages of the East, and brilliant political prospects which would have justified him in refusing the office.

It is worth our while to review some of his opinions of government, to enable us to judge correctly of his fitness for this important administrative office. We find these

expressed in pamphlets and communications to the press, written after the Peace and in the reports and recommendations of the majority of the Council of Censors, of which he was a member.

One of Dr. Franklin's political hobbies was, that the supreme legislative power of the State should be vested in a single body. This principle was incorporated in the Constitution of the Province of Pennsylvania, which was formed and adopted in 1776, under the influence of that great man. It led to much mischief and oppression, and yet to the great surprise of the students of history, the debates in the convention that framed the Federal Constitution in 1787, show that he was not convinced, at that period, that it was not the best form of government.[1]

In the colonial days the principles of Republican government, by which harmony is preserved between the legislative, executive and judicial departments, and all made immediately responsible to the people, were not everywhere accepted and not in Pennsylvania in 1776. The leaders in the constitutional convention of that year devised an ingenious and unique plan for bringing the government of Pennsylvania under popular review. It was a provision for the election in 1783, and thereafter every seven years by the freemen of the cities and counties, of a body of review and recommendation to be called the Council of Censors. This council was to inquire whether the constitution had been preserved inviolate in every part; whether the legislative and executive branches of the goverment had performed their duties as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves greater powers than they were entitled to; and whether the public taxes had been justly laid and collected. This was a device

[1] This statement is based upon rather vague passages in the Madison paper and Elliot's Debates. If correct, it would show that Dr. Franklin had changed his opinion on this subject a second time, as in a foot note in one of his pamphlets issued from the press in 1783, General St. Clair speaks of the "inconsistency of that great man"—Dr. Franklin at that time being classed with the opponents of a single legislative body.

worthy of a speculative philosopher, but impracticable, as the Council had no power to enforce its findings.

The Pennsylvania constitution provided that a new constitutional convention could not be called unless recommended by a two-thirds vote of the Council of Censors. This could not be secured, because six of the members were office holders under the old system, who were sure to lose by any change, and they voted steadily with the minority against a new convention, and against all recommendations for reform of the civil service. St. Clair, indignant at the corruption, addressed the public in a pamphlet, in which he laid bare the fact that these six men had been found unfaithful to their trust, and by their unwarranted presence in the Council prevented reform and prosecutions for violations of law. This failure of the scheme to protect the people is a striking illustration of the impracticable in politics, and invites to humorous reflections at the expense of the philosopher, who was undoubtedly the author of it.

St. Clair, as the leader of the majority, made an exhaustive report on the Constitution of 1776, pointing out its defects, and subsequently submitted a plan of government embodying his views of what the fundamental law of a State should be. It is not my purpose to traverse his reports to-night; suffice it to remark that his plan was similar as to a division of the powers of government to that embodied in the Federal constitution and in most of the State constitutions; and that this and his arguments in its support were made public four years before the Federal Convention of 1787. Many of the arguments advanced in the discussions in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and in the Federalist, which have been applauded by writers and statesmen, were made use of in 1783 by St. Clair.

His comment on a many-headed executive, as exemplified in the Pennsylvania Executive Council, which choose one of their number President, deserves to be repeated. He said:

"An Executive Council is a monster. It may do great harm, and never can do any good; it will ever want that energy and promptness that are essential to an executive body, for it is not executive, but deliberative. It destroys all responsibility, and is a very useless expense. If the President has abilities, the Council are but the solemn witnesses of his acts; if he is ambitious at the same time, they will be found to be his useful instruments; if he is cruel or revengeful, at once his ready tools and a defense behind which he at any time can shelter himself; if rapacious, they will share with him in the plunder of their country. I wish for the honor of human nature, no such combination could ever be found; but we know they have existed together in other countries; they may exist together in this."

Justices of the peace, he thought, should be elected by the freemen, but as the lives and property of the citizens depended in a great degree upon the judges of the higher courts, he held that they should be appointed for life, or during good behavior, in order that they might be made independent of political influences.

He held that the Legislature should consist of an upper and a lower house—or a Senate and an Assembly—and that the action of the majority should be final, except in the case of the exercise of the veto power by the Governor, when a two-thirds vote should be required to pass a bill over the executive negative. It was his opinion that no reasons against a law ought to appear upon the minutes. "If," said he, "the bill passes by a majority of one only, it is as binding as if it had passed with unanimous consent. A dissent, with reasons, on the minutes can answer no end but to foment party disputes and weaken the force of the law and impede its execution. But the happiness of a State is so intimately combined with a vigorous execution of, and prompt obedience to, the laws that, where these are wanting, anarchy must ensue. If the laws are found imperfect or oppressive, they should be amended or repealed.

The privilege of entering the yeas and nays is all that any member should desire, and is as much as is consistent with order and good government."

All very trite to-day, but over a hundred years ago in Pennsylvania a desperate contest followed this public utterance of St. Clair's — Smilie, Findlay and others who took on the character of a fierce democracy, declared that such a restriction would prove to be the instrument of a corrupt aristocracy leading to tyranny, and filling the lands with their cries.

St. Clair also held advanced views on other questions which to-day very much disturb the peace of politicians wearing Democratic and Republican labels. He objected to the clause in the Constitution of '76 which provided for rotation in office, as he declared it to be against the public good, for the following reasons:

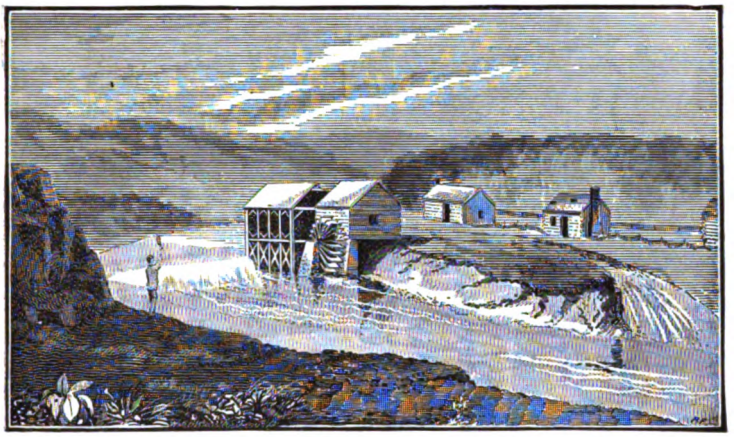
1. Because the hope to reappointment to office is amongst the strongest incentives to the due execution of the trust it confers.

2. Because the State is thereby necessarily deprived of the services of useful men for a time, and compelled to make experiment of others who may not prove equally wise and virtuous.

3. Because the check intended by such principle of rotation can be of no good effect to repress inordinate ambition, unless it were extended so as to preclude a man from holding any office whatever.

4. Because the privilege of the people in elections is so far infringed as that they are thereby deprived of the right of choosing those persons whom they would prefer.

St. Clair objected to giving to immigrants all of the privileges of citizens after only a brief residence, as it was calculated to prevent the establishment of a goverment by habits and prejudices, "which often bind mankind more powerfully than laws." Coming from monarchial and aristocratic governments, they brought with them ideas at war with republican principles, and being the victims of



WOLF CREEK MILLS, 1789.

FORT FRYE, WATERFORD, 1792.

oppression they would be too often moved to view all forms of law as unjustly restraining and threatening personal liberty. A period should be allowed for educating the newcomers before entrusting them with all the responsibilities of American citizenship. A moderate share of property he deemed essential to make an elector independent. "I do not count independence and wealth always together," said he, "but I pronounce poverty and dependence to be inseparable."

These views enable us to estimate the ability and character of the leader chosen to establish Government in the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, under the first purely Republican — the first purely American — charter formed on the Western continent. For thirteen years he never faltered; for thirteen years he had the support of the little colony headed by Rufus Putnam, whose landing on this spot you celebrate to-morrow—and in the end the work was crowned with success.

Although so distant from the centre of political strife, Washington's former companions in arms here located, sympathized with the National administration and gave it loyal support.

Soon political affairs in the territory took on the character of those east of the mountains, and the dominating power was Federal; the opposing Anti-Federal. The act defining the boundaries of a county, the selection of a site for a county seat, the appointment of justices, attorneys, and sheriffs, arrayed men against each other on the lines of national politics, notwithstanding the real motive often originated in personal gain or loss. The whisky rebels of Western Pennsylvania received no sympathy from the loyal people of the territory, whose officers joined in search for the fugitives from justice. As population increased, and the victims of baffled ambition multiplied, the Anti-Federalists took on a bolder front, and in some places defied the territorial administration. They received encouragement from the Kentucky Republicans, who were

building up a commonwealth under conditions less favorable, in important respects, than those enjoyed by the people north of the Ohio. "News, we have none," wrote St. Clair to his son Daniel in 1798; "but the madness of Kentucky, and of that you will hear enough from the public papers without my troubling either you or myself with it. Everything in the political hemisphere is as right on our side of the river as I could wish it. Although we are so near neighbors, the people on this side of the river are the very antipodes of Kentuckians."

It will be seen that four years wrought a change that must have surprised the Federalists of the territory. They did not hold their supremacy, as they confidently expected. The contests led to irregularities in the admission of Ohio into the Union, to which I will now invite your attention.

The Ordinance of 1787 was a compact made between the government of the thirteen colonies and the inhabitants of the Territory, and could not be changed without the consent of both parties. It was so perfect an instrument that there was no warrant for tampering with it. Effort was made repeatedly to change it, at the instance of inhabitants of Southern origin, for the purpose of introducing slavery, and it came near meeting with success in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois as well as in Congress. That disaster was averted through the labors of a few wise men who looked beyond their day and generation. We shall see that there was tampering for political purposes, and because of this Ohio was admitted at an earlier day than would otherwise have been possible. Mr. Jefferson's first election was secured on a very narrow margin—it was by the grace and personal interposition of his old enemy, Alexander Hamilton. It was desirable that a new Republican State should be formed before the next election, in 1804. The parties were so evenly divided in the Territory that the political complexion of the electoral vote of the State would depend on whether it was admitted

through the instrumentalities of the Republican or the Federalist party. The Virginia colony in Ross county were ambitious to give the State to Jefferson and win the right to share in the national councils. They were young and ambitious and skillful in the manipulation of politics. At first they proposed to make Ohio a Republican State, with St. Clair as Governor, but Symmes and Findlay and John Smith (the Smith of Burr's conspiracy) protested so vigorously, the scheme was abandoned. St. Clair had offended Symmes by insisting that he should set apart the university section in his purchase, as he had contracted to do. He had removed Findlay from an office he had disgraced, and later he had reported Thomas Worthington for violation of the land laws and the rights of settlers. St. Clair was stiff and uncompromising, and these politicians determined to break his neck, as they could not bend it. They assailed his character, and preferred charges against him, only one of which proved serious, and that was due to a misunderstanding of the instructions of the State Department. Mr. Jefferson refused to act on these, and the scheme was likely to fail, when the Federalists themselves, by imprudence in countermining, made a breach through which the enemy marched to victory. St. Clair, General Putnam, Dr. Cutler and Judge Burnet, who were the real founders of Ohio, were anxious that when admitted as a State Ohio should be Federalist. They got up a scheme so to alter the boundaries of the eastern division of the Territory as to make the Scioto the western boundary line. This would have reduced the population of the Eastern division, and kept it in territorial condition for some years longer. A bill, drafted by Judge Burnet, was passed by the Territorial Legislature. This gave the Republicans a fulcrum at Washington, and they used it with such effect as to knock the Federalists out in the second round.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided for the State lines, and

for the admission of the territorial divisions into the Union as States. The language is mandatory:

"Whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government."

An enabling act was not called for. All necessary authority was already provided, and hence the act of Congress of April 30, 1802, was a direct interference in the internal affairs of the territory. If General Putnam and Dr. Cutler had stood stoutly up to this, and had not set the example of departing from the work of the Continental Congress, the result would have been different. They were masters of the situation, as they had all of the machinery in Federalist hands. But they made a fatal mistake in attempting to compete with the Virginians in political intrigue; a mistake often made since in succeeding generations.

The leaders of the Virginia (or Republican) party were Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, Dr. Edward Tiffin, Jeremiah Morrow, and Return J. Meigs, Jr., young men of high character, who were actuated by an honorable ambition to give to the new State a more liberal form of government than they believed the Federalists would or could give. They denounced the latter as monarchists with as glib a tongue as the followers of St. Thomas east of the mountains, and in return were denounced as Jacobins, sympathizers with the reign of blood and anarchy in France. The partizanship of the beginning of the nineteenth century was a blind, unreasoning partizanship, that turned brother against brother, and filled the land with hate and unhappiness. That is a striking picture Dr. Cutler gives us of Martha Washington pouring tea and coffee for visiting Federalists, while entertaining them with sarcastic remarks on the new order of things. We

are assured that "she spoke of the election of Mr. Jefferson, whom she considered as one of the most detestable of mankind, as the greatest misfortune our country had ever experienced."

Dr. Cutler himself thought at first, from the tone of Jefferson's inaugural, that he would disappoint the Jacobins, and give the country a conservative administration; but when the bill for remodeling the Judiciary passed Congress he was certain that the Cabinet had decreed the destruction of the Constitution.

On the other hand if we were to read the original draft of a letter on file in the State department from James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, written one month after the inauguration of the latter, we would find the party of Washington denounced as enemies of a Republican government, and the new President advised to turn out the rascals who had been commissioned by that great man, and fill their places with trustworthy Democrats.

Having sent Governor Arthur St. Clair, the leader of the Federalists, back to his Pennsylvania hermitage, I crave your attention for a few moments longer while I introduce to your notice another Pennsylvanian, one of the ablest of the leaders of the Democracy, whose honorable career is a part of the history of Ohio.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF JEREMIAH MORROW.

While looking over some old manuscripts the other day, I chanced upon the following sentence in a letter to John Sargeant, from a correspondent in 1827, who was canvasing the names of persons mentioned for the office of Vice President:

"Governor Morrow," he said, "is an estimable, but assuredly not a strong man." This is the judgment of a contemporary who was favorable to the pretensions of another. We shall see whether it is correct.

Jeremiah Morrow was a member of the Legislature of the Northwest Territory; a member of the Constitutional

Convention of November, 1802; of the first General Assembly of Ohio; he was the first, and for ten years the sole representative of the State in the lower house of Congres; six years a member of the United States Senate; was elected Governor of the State for two terms, and at the earnest solicitation of his neighbors served them again in his old age in Congress and in the Legislature. This is not the record of an ordinary man.

Governor Morrow was of Scotch-Irish descent, his family being a branch of the Scotch family of Murray. His ancestors are traced through the north of Ireland to Scotland. Some of his ancestors bore a conspicuous part in the siege of Londonderry in 1689, and from this place his grandfather, Jeremiah Murray, emigrated to America in 1730. He had but one son, John, who first adopted the present orthography of the name, and who was a well-to-do farmer of Adams county, Pennsylvania. This John Morrow, or Murray, had three sons, the eldest of whom, named after the grandfather, is the subject of my sketch. He was born near Gettysburg, October 6th, 1771. Jeremiah had the experience of all farmers' boys, plenty of work to do and limited terms at such schools as the country afforded. Like other ambitious young men he acquired enough of mathematics to become an efficient surveyor, and thus equipped, with a taste for reading, he entered on practical life and soon made up for the lack of the extrinsic aids of a college education. He went to the Ohio valley in about the year 1796, and was employed as a school teacher and surveyor at Columbia. While thus engaged he purchased a considerable tract of land on the Little Miami, about thirty miles from its mouth, in what is now Warren county. He returned to Pennsylvania for a wife, and on the 19th of February, 1799, he married Mary Parkhill of Fayette county, who accompanied him to the west to share the privations of a pioneer life. He had erected a log cabin, and was soon busy felling trees and preparing the land for cultivation.

Mr. Morrow won the confidence of his neighbors, and in 1801 they sent him to represent them in the Territorial Legislature—the first legislative body that met in the old State House at Chillicothe.

Mr. Morrow had been in correspondence with Colonel Worthington, and although the Federalists were very strong in Hamilton county, which he represented, he was recognized as belonging to the Republican party, which had been organized in the new country by the Virginians. When Jacob Burnet, of the Council, had succeeded in getting his bill providing for a division of the territory enacted into a law, the minority protested so vigorously that Congress refused to approve of the measure, and the Federalists never afterwards recovered. Within one year a convention had convened, and Mr. Morrow participated in the work of framing the Constitution for the new State. He was Chairman of the committee that prepared and reported the fourth article of the Constitution prescribing the qualifications of electors.

After the admission of the State into the Union, Mr. Morrow, as member of the first State Senate, bore a distinguished part in the work of adapting the territorial laws to the new order of things introduced by the adoption of a State government. At the special election, held on the twenty-first of June, 1803, he was elected a representative in Congress, and held that office for ten consecutive years. When, under a new apportionment, the State was allowed a larger representation, Mr. Morrow was transferred to the Senate.

When Mr. Morrow entered the House he was assigned to the Committee on Public Lands, the very first standing committee charged with the care of this important interest appointed in the House. He subsequently served in both Houses as Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. He was by nature and experience well fitted for this work, which required a practical mind and a sound judgment. He knew thoroughly the wants of the settlers, and

possessed the firmness, independence and moral courage to resist the lobby-scheming of land speculators. His opinion on any subject relating to the public domain uniformly commanded the respect of Congress, so that it came to pass that almost all of the laws providing for the survey and disposal of the public lands during the period he was in Congress, were drafted by him.

Let us pause to hear the estimate put upon this part of Mr. Morrow's public services by the most competent authority of his day: "During the long period in the House of Representatives and in the Senate," said Henry Clay, "that Ohio's upright and unambitious citizen, the first representative of the State, and afterwards Senator and Governor, presided over the Committee on Public Lands we heard of no chimerical schemes. All went on smoothly, quietly and safely. No man in the sphere within which he acted ever commanded or deserved the implicit confidence of Congress more than Jeremiah Morrow. There existed a perfect persuasion of his entire impartiality and justice between the old States and the new. A few artless but sensible words pronounced in his plain Scotch-Irish dialect were always sufficient to insure the passage of any bill or resolution which he reported."

In 1806, Mr. Morrow, in the House, in connection with Mr. Worthington, of Ohio, and General Samuel Smith, of Maryland, of the Senate, introduced measures which led to the improvement known as the Cumberland road. It is scarcely possible at this day, when every part of the continent is accessible by railroad or steamboat, and almost every neighborhood has its paved or macadamized road for wagons and pleasure carriages, to conceive of the great commercial importance this macadamized highway, connecting the navigable waters of the Atlantic with a tributary of the Mississippi, was to the people of Ohio and Kentucky. The policy of internal improvements was one that Washington had much at heart, and as a part of a general system, especially a road connecting the Potomac

with the Ohio. It remained for particularists to deny to the national government under the Constitution any power to aid in the work of internal improvements. Mr. Morrow and Colonel Worthington, although active members of Mr. Jefferson's Republican party, continued zealous in seeking governmental aid in the extension of commerce. At the opening of the Fourteenth Congress—a congress celebrated not less for the important measures it originated than for the distinguished men enrolled as members—Mr. Morrow was placed at the head of a committee in the Senate to whom was referred so much of the President's message as related to roads and canals, and on the 6th of February, 1816, he presented an able and lucid report on the whole subject, the first, I believe, ever presented in either house recommending a general system of internal improvements.

When Mr. Morrow's term in the Senate expired in 1819, he declined a re-election, and returned to his farm. But public sentiment was against his retiring, and he was appointed a Canal Commissioner in 1820, and again in 1822. As, however, he was elected Governor in this latter year, he declined to act as commissioner. During the four years he filled the gubernatorial chair, he was industriously furthering the interests of the State, encouraging the construction of roads and promoting the great enterprise of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio river by means of canals, an enterprise that had a remarkable influence over the future character of the population of the State and of advancing the grade of the State in the Union. It was the Fourth of July, 1825, that the work was begun, De Witt Clinton assisting Governor Morrow at the ceremonies. Clinton was induced to visit Ohio by a few over-zealous friends who promised a presidential boom, but we are assured by the correspondence of the day that the influence of "Harry of the West" was so manifest wherever he went as to disturb the mind of the New York guest. He said many ugly things about Mr.

Clay afterwards, and while he did not reach the presidential chair, he did defeat Mr. Clay in New York, and thereby broke the hearts of thousands.

During this same year Governor Morrow welcomed La Fayette to the State — the occasion being made much of by all who could possibly reach Cincinnati, where the reception took place. In his account of his tour, La Fayette speaks pleasantly of the Governor and of the people of Ohio.

At the close of his second gubernatorial term, Governor Morrow again tried to retire to public life, but his neighbors sent him to the State Senate. In 1828 he headed the electoral ticket for John Quincy Adams, and in 1832 the Clay and Sargeant electoral ticket. He was also the first President of the Little Miami Railroad Company.

In 1840, when Governor Morrow was in his seventieth year, he was again sent to Congress, under the following interesting circumstances. That was the log cabin year, when the people of the State went wild over the brilliant speeches of America's greatest orator, Corwin, and the songs of John Griener. Mr. Corwin resigned his seat in Congress to accept the Whig nomination for Governor, and a mass convention was held at Wilmington to nominate a successor. It is said that ten thousand people were present on that occasion, and I believe it to be true. It would have been hard to find a section in Ohio so poor in people, or in spirit, at any time in 1840 or 1844 where ten thousand people could not be got together on two weeks' notice to hear a political discussion. At this Wilmington meeting, where Corwin gave an account of his stewardship, and drew philosophical lessons for the benefit of his auditors in his inimitable style, each county appointed fifty delegates to select a successor, and Governor Morrow was their unanimous choice to fill the unexpired term and the succeeding term. It was ratified by the mass convention with great enthusiasm. When Governor Morrow went to Washington to take his seat he

found in the House but one member who had served with him in the Eighth Congress when he first entered on a Congressional career in 1803—and this member, then a Representative, a Senator in 1803, and subsequently President, was perhaps the most eminent American citizen of the day—John Quincy Adams, the Old Man Eloquent, who was then contending for the right of petition and the freedom of speech. But the change in manners was not less than in men. "My old associates," said Governor Morrow in a tone of sadness to a friend, "are nearly all gone. I am acting with another generation. The courtesies which members formerly extended to each other are, in a great measure, laid aside, and I feel that I am in the way of younger men."

This service closed the public career of Jeremiah Morrow—a career that extended over a period of forty years. During this whole time Mr. Morrow never sought an office, nor did he ever refuse one. His opinion, always modestly expressed, was that a citizen of a republic should be ready to discharge any duty to which he was called by the voices of his fellow-citizens.

I think it well here to repeat the words of General Durbin Ward on the retirement of Mr. Morrow. He said:

"I well remember when the venerable old man declined serving longer in Congress. With that gravity of intonation for which he was remarkable, he announced to his fellow-citizens that he wished to be excused from serving them longer; that he had lived through his age and generation and served it as best he could; that new men and new interests had grown up around him, and that it was now proper for him to leave those interests to the keeping of the present generation, who better understood, and who more warmly sympathized in the wants of the present age. He made the same response when solicited to take a seat in the second constitutional convention. He said he had assisted in forming one constitution; it was

now worn out, and he was worn out with it. The new one ought to be formed by those who would live under it."

These were words of wisdom uttered by one who had had bestowed upon him the highest honors without himself apparently being conscious of possessing any merit beyond that belonging to the humblest citizen in the community. In the discharge of a public duty he put forth all his powers, but place never exalted him; he was superior to it. Justice John McLean, a neighbor who knew him intimately in public and private life, said of him: "No man was firmer in matters of principle, and on these, as in matters of detail, he always maintained himself with great ability. His mind was sound and discriminating. No man in Congress who served with him had a sounder judgment. His opinions on great questions were of more value, and were more appreciated in high quarters, than the opinions of many others whose claims of statesmanship and oratory were much higher than his. Mr. Jefferson had much reliance in him, and Mr. Gallatin gave him, in every respect, the highest evidence of his confidence. There never sat in Congress a man more devoted to the public interests, and of a fairer or more elevated morality."

During the last years of his life Governor Morrow resided in a plain frame house at the foot of a steep hill and close to the bank of the Little Miami, one of several plain dwellings he had erected near his mills, which were turned by that stream. His wife preceded him to the grave by some years; his children were married and settled. In his old age he preserved the same simplicity of life and unpretending manners which had characterized his earlier life. He occupied a single but spacious room plainly furnished, which was the sitting room, parlor and library. His library was large and well selected, and here, occupied with his books and newspapers, in the full use of his mental faculties, he lived in the enjoyment of a

happy and comparatively healthful old age. He died on the 22d day of March, 1852, in the 81st year of his age.

This, all too briefly related, is the story of a useful life. There is not a trace of genius; nothing of evil to attribute to eccentricity. It is clear that Mr. Morrow was not "a child of destiny," but a plain man who feared God and loved his fellow-men. And here, friends of Ohio, I wish to proclaim in this age of unbelief, of the false and meretricious, the ancient and divine doctrine of CHARACTER as being the highest type of manhood. Wit may edify, genius may captivate, but it is *truth* that blesses and endures and becomes immortal. It is not what a man seems to be, but what he is that should determine his worth.

It is in the light of this doctrine, that I wish you to form an opinion of Jeremiah Morrow. A few additional words descriptive of his person and of traits of character will bring the man more plainly before you.

He was of medium stature, rather thin, very straight, strong and active, and capable of enduring much fatigue. His eyes and hair were dark, but in the last years of his life the latter was nearly perfectly white. In dress he was exceedingly careless, even while in public life. At home his usual attire was as plain and homely as that worn by his neighbor farmers, or his work-hands. At no period of his life did he consider manual labor beneath him, and few men with a sickle could reap more grain in a day than he. These homely ways occasionally led ambitious and officious politicians to the conclusion that he would be as potters' clay in their hands. His pastor, the Rev. Dr. Mac Dill, of the Associate Reformed, or United Presbyterian Church, of which Mr. Morrow was a life-long and consistent member, relates that "when his first gubernatorial term was nearly expired, some gentlemen about Columbus, who seemed to regard themselves as a board specially appointed to superintend the distribution of offices in the State of Ohio, had a meeting, and appointed a committee to wait on him and advise him as

to his duty. The committee called, and speedily made known their business. It was to prevail on him (for the public good, of course) not to stand as a candidate for a second term, but to give way in favor of another. They promised that if he would do this they would use their influence to return him to the United States Senate, where, they assured him, he would be more useful to the State. Having patiently heard them through, he calmly replied: 'I consider office as belonging to the people. A few of us have no right to make bargains on the subject, and I have no bargain to make. I have concluded to serve another term if the people see fit to elect me, though without caring much about it.'"

A friend relates this anecdote of the Governor: "On one occasion, an officer from one of the Eastern States came to Columbus as the agent in an important criminal case. The Governor was on his farm, and as the case admitted of no delay the agent went post-haste to find him. Arriving at the old mansion he asked for Governor Morrow. A lady directed him to the barn. Feeling that he was being humbugged the man went under protest, as directed. He found two men busy with a load of hay, one pitching to the mow, the other mowing away. He looked in vain for Governor Morrow, and a little out of humor, asked of the man on the wagon of his whereabouts. The individual addressed pitched his last fork full to the mow, and taking off his hat, wiping the perspiration from his brow, said: 'I am Governor Morrow, what can I do for you, sir?' The agent, now sure of the humbug, became indignant, said he wished to see Governor Morrow on business, and none of his servants. The farmer descended from the wagon, directed 'John' to drive the oxen out to the meadow; assured the man that he was the Governor; led the way to the house, and being one of the best talkers of the day, he soon convinced the indignant agent that the Governor of Ohio was the right man in the right place, and that he understood the dignity of the gubernatorial chair

as well as the mysteries of the hay-mow. Years afterwards I met this man in Boston, and he said that the strangest adventure in his career was his meeting with Governor Morrow in the barn."

One more illustration and I am done: When Charles Anderson was Governor, and I Secretary of State, we represented the State government at Urbana on the occasion of the removal of the remains of Simon Kenton to the new cemetery of that place, where a handsome monument had been erected to the famous pioneer. And here I interrupt my narrative to remark parenthetically, and not as pertinent to my subject, that while the dignified officers of the State and hundreds of worthy citizens followed the remains of the pioneers to their final resting place in solemn silence, the descendants of Kenton were enjoying themselves at a feast—a grim commentary, you will say, on family pride. But so far as the public were concerned, the ceremony had its sentimental, its patriotic side.

The occasion was calculated to inspire reminiscences and anecdotes of early Ohio days, and Governor Anderson proved to be in his happiest mood, the full meaning of which will be appreciated by those here present to-night who were ever so fortunate as to listen to the conversation of that brilliant man. He had a great deal to say about Governor Morrow, who, as Trustee of Miami University, often visited that institution and invariably, from choice, roomed with young Anderson. He therefore came to know him well, and within a few months, at my request, has put in writing his opinion of Mr. Morrow. He says:

"If I were compelled to choose and name the one ablest and best of all the Governors whom I knew it would be this Jeremiah Morrow, of Warren county. * * * * * * * I believe I have known but one man who had so little of the spirit 'to show off'—of false pretense; of selfish vanity or ambition—as he had. And as for his merely intellectual powers and culture, without being, as far as I know, very profound or original, and surely being

neither brilliant nor eloquent, he had so many exact, yet various and extensive, knowledges, with such accuracy and aptness of memory and citation, that I am compelled to adjudge him a high place as well in scholarship as statesmanship."

The anecdote I am about to relate will give you the estimate of an intelligent foreigner of this Ohio pioneer. Governor Anderson said in the conversation, to which I have referred, that after he had graduated at Oxford he went abroad to spend a year in Europe. Some time in the month of October of the year 1845 he chanced to meet at Prague, in Bohemia, an English party of three gentlemen —a couple of barristers traveling for pleasure, and a Scotch commercial traveler. They together visited all the noted places throughout that country, and by these associations became welded into a sufficient homogeneity to be called "Our Party." At an early hour on a fine autumn day they turned their faces homeward, and followed the Moldaw toward, but not as far as the river Elbe, until they reached the little steamboat on which they were to embark, some distance above the junction of these classic streams. While they were lounging around the dock awaiting the arrival of the "captain," as we Americans always dub such officers, a sudden shower came up and drove the passengers into the close quarters of the cabin. Among these passengers so packed together was a curiously and elegantly dressed personage, in clean, bright scarlet coat, buff vest and shirt, fair top boots, a very jaunty little cap, with an elegant whip in his hand. Being fresh shaven, except his oiled side whiskers, clean as new cloth and fine linen could make him, he was, with his fresh pink complexion, his handsome regular features and comely stoutish figure, to a novice like young Anderson, one of the most curious and elegant figures he had ever seen off the stage. It was a pity he had not remained as a figure "to be seen, not heard," as parents in the good old days were wont to say to the boys. But alas! he spoke.

And such grammar, such metallic tones, interlarded with slang and vulgar profanity, as never before offended mortal ears in the presence of ladies. It is needless to say that all this outrage was in English. Indeed, declared Governor Anderson, no other language on earth, dead or living, ever had the capability of such slang and profanity as was then heard. Undoubtedly this "Professor" of the profane branch of the Queen's English did not dream that any of those present, except his own associates and the Anderson party, known by their dress, understood a word of his chaffing. But he was soon to be undeceived in a surprising manner; for after two or three repetitions, there arose from his seat between two ladies, of very plain but most genteel apparel and most quiet, refined appearance and demeanor, another figure as striking as his own, but in a very different fashion. He was a very giant in size and proportions. Very much above six feet in height, he was broad, straight, compact, sinewy — one of the noblest and most majestic human beings Anderson had ever beheld. And he spoke also, to the amazement of the little party, in the best tones and clearest sense in our own dear tongue. "Steward," he called calmly. No response. "*Steward*," with a slight crescendo. Still no response. "STEWARD," he shouted, so as to be heard throughout the boat. Whereupon the steward showed his face. "Where is the master of this vessel?" The steward replied that he had not yet arrived from Prague. Then our modern Ajax announced in effect that he would usurp that office for the present occasion. And thereupon pointing his finger to the ascending steps, he coolly ordered the burly Britisher in scarlet and buff tights to move up and out. The free-born Briton refused peremptorily. He said he had paid for his ticket, that he had equal rights, that it was raining and he would not go for any man. To all which the new master said "Go," his stalwart finger still pointing the way. After a slight but impressive pause he added: "I know you, sir. You are a low servant of my friend

the Earl of Chesterfield — the head groom of his racing stud, and you have forgotten that you are not in the presence of his horses and your other fellow-brutes. Now move, sirrah! or I will move you." And thereupon out moved the bold Briton into the rain.

In a short time the shower passed, and the little family-party of Anglo-Saxons went on deck for the freshened air and the sunlight. Of course, a squad of four of that race of bipeds could never be collected in which there would not, after such a scene, arise a split, a taking of sides; a discussion of the rights of the parties; much vague reference to Magna Charta, to the Bill of Rights, etc. And so in this case there was a division. The Scotchman, keen in debate and jealous of the English, began the schism by rejoicing over the discomfiture of the groom. The two English barristers were inclined, for argument's sake, to stand upon the free speech of Magna Charta, and as Anderson, who sympathized with the young ladies and admired the masterful stranger, sided with the Scotchman, their discussion became animated. As the words of strife closed, the Scotchman disappeared below to gather fresh items. In a little while, as it turned out, he informed our hero of the debates that they had settled down into unanimity on his side, but that his American friend, with whom he had traveled the Danube, had been very warm in his advocacy of his procedure and admiration of his bearing. The big stranger then said he would like to be made acquainted with an American; that this was his country almost; that he had never seen an American so far east in Europe, and that having spent many happy days in the United States, he would be really glad to chat with this American friend of Campbell's. And thereupon up came the twain, like Douglas and his page, and so young Anderson had the honor of a presentation to the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar — a soldier of Waterloo, a relative of the royal family of England, and, among other distinctions, the author of two of the

most highly esteemed, as well as expensive, volumes of Americana.

During the trip down the beautiful river to Dresden the Grand Duke paid marked attention to the young American, and in conversation showed the most accurate familiarity with our history and institutions, and acquaintance with prominent citizens in every section of the country. For instance, in relating his experience in Ohio, he spoke of Governor Morrow, Judge Burnet, General Lyttle, General Findlay, Peyton Symmes, Robert Buchanan, A. W. Gazlay, Nicholas Longworth, and others, rightly estimating the ability and characteristics of each. "Next to your great statesman, Henry Clay," said he, "I took the greatest liking to the Governor of your State — Governor Morrow — whose acquaintance I made in the most thoroughly American manner." And thereupon he related how, taking a carriage at Cincinnati, he traveled to Columbus to pay his respects to the Governor, but, on the advice of a Cincinnati friend, he called *en route* at the farm of Governor Morrow. When he reached the farm he saw a small party of men in a new field, rolling logs. This scene of a deadening, or clearing, is familiar to those of us fortunate enough to have been brought up in Ohio, but to a European raised in courts, it must have been an amazing sight. After twenty years, he gave a quick and picturesque, almost poetic description of this remarkable scene on the Little Miami; but I must hasten to the end. Accosting one of the workmen, a homely little man in a red flannel shirt, and with a smutch of charcoal across his cheek, he asked, as he did on the Elbe boat, "Where is your master, sir?" "Master!" exclaimed the other, "I own no master—no master but Him above." The Duke then said, rather testily, "It is the Governor of the State, Governor Morrow, I am inquiring for." "Well, I am Jeremiah Morrow," replied the son of toil, with unaffected and unconscious simplicity. The Grand Duke stood amazed.

This little man, in a red flannel shirt and home-made tow linen trousers, leaning on a dogwood hand-spike, with a coal smutched face and the jeweled sweat drops of real labor now on his brow, and a marked Scotch-Irish brogue when he spoke! He the Governor of Ohio? Was it possible? He could scarcely credit his senses. The history of Sparta and Rome, were as household words to him. Cincinnatus the model of rural, if not rustic, statesmen and heroes, had so filled the world with his fame, that he had indirectly given his name to the neighboring town on the bank of the Ohio. But here was a real, living farmer, rustic laborer, and a statesman too; not a figure-head of a Plutarch, nor the dream of a poet fancy, but a present reality, a man with simple, natural manners and downright honesty of character, who was quite the equal of any classic Cincinnatus or Cato of them all. He had seen, as he had expected in this new and wild country, many institutions in the process of development, all along the line, from germ to grain; but a real head of a commonwealth, in such a show of man—or any likeness to it—was a spectacle he had not seen nor expected to see.

After he had somewhat recovered from his surprise, he accepted a graceful invitation to go to the house, where he of the red flannel shirt excused himself, and soon reappeared fittingly apparelled for the governor of a republic. The Grand Duke was his guest in Warren county, and also at Columbus, for some days, and it was during this time that a plain head of a plain people made such a profound impression.

It has come to be the fashion with biographical writers to dwell upon the unfavorable conditions attending the growth and education of successful men, who in early youth had to labor and save, or share with kin the hard-earned dollars. If a boy voluntarily or of necessity went barefooted, or, if in manhood, he took a contract to split rails, it is accepted as evidence that his relations were not only poor but ignorant and unfamiliar with the decencies

of life, not to say deficient in those delicate sensibilities inseparable from noble characters. To heighten the contrast, humble friends and associates are made to appear coarse and repulsive—unjustly, we may be sure. Great souls are not born of evil. Strong characters surmount difficulties before which weaker ones succumb and the effort is a valuable aid to intellectual growth. But there are external influences that help to mold the man. In the case of Jeremiah Morrow there was an element in his education which must not be overlooked, for which he was indebted to Christian parents. He was by them instructed by precept and example in the great principles which guide and control a moral and religious life. Similar conditions influenced the education of the leading pioneers, who wrought a mighty work in the Ohio Valley, and of their successors who have departed, lamented by the whole American people — Hammond, and Harrison, and McLean, and Corwin, and Brough, and Ewing, and Wade, and Chase, and Garfield. These like those came of poor but of the best American families, dating back to the time when there was no marked distinction except that of human worth; and they died as they lived, comparatively poor. The history of the lives of these devoted and patriotic men, of the work wrought by the pioneers, and of the manly and unpretentious career of Jeremiah Morrow, to which I have called your attention to-night, is a precious heritage to the people of Ohio.

And here, Mr. President, I ought to close my remarks, as I have already detained you too long. But we are in the midst of great social dangers, and I am constrained to dwell a little longer on the central thought of my theme. New conditions confront each generation, and changes have to be made to meet them. But there are principles that are immutable, and a people's history is glorious or infamous as these are made conspicuous or are trampled upon in private and official life. We have been accused

by foreignors of making a fetich of the Constitution. If we were to live up to the spirit of the Constitution, we would be strong enough to confront any danger from without or within. But the real American fetich is the pride of money, which is rapidly destroying the republican simplicity and honesty in which our strength as a people heretofore lay. Rufus King, in a private letter in 1803, predicted that if we had another war, there would be afforded another opportunity of gaining riches, the consequences whereof might be an aristocracy of the most odious character. But the picture he drew falls far short of the reality. It is not likely that Mr. King, or other Americans in that day, dreamed that men would count their hundred millions, largely acquired by wrecking corporations and other questionable methods; or through the power of combination destroy individual enterprise — the keystone of the American business arch; or that, through the selfish greed of a few, and indifference to the just claims and welfare of the many, we should be brought, at the close of the first century of the Constitution, face to face with anarchy and revenge. And yet is not this the condition of affairs in our country to-day?

Let us not despair of the Republic, but, acquiring the faith that strengthened the immortal Lincoln in days as dark, believe that Providence will find a way for rendering useful for good the enormous wealth in the possession of the few, and of transforming into conservative American citizens the refugees of Europe without the horrors of crime and bloody revolution. Much depends upon Ohio, whose central location gives her great power. Heretofore her leaders have been actuated by a noble ambition; her citizens have responded to every call of patriotism. Private and public virtue still abound. As the example of a simple, dignified, and useful life, after the enjoyment of the highest honors, was to be found in the early days of the Republic at Mount Vernon, Monticello and Montpelier, so is it to be found to-day at Fremont. The value of this

influence cannot be overestimated. Let the citizens of Ohio not forget the living lesson which is worthy the glorious past; or those to whose hands hereafter shall be confided the power of the State and of the Nation, the words of the poet:

"Goodness and greatness are not means, but ends."

THE TRIUMPH OF LIBERTY.

1788–1888.

WRITTEN FOR THE MARIETTA CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

By R. K. Shaw.

We meet this splendid April morn
Where Equal Liberty was born.
We meet to celebrate the birth
Of her whose hand redeems the earth.
This day in joy and pride we meet
To worship at triumphal feet.
Her age this day—a hundred years,
As measured by the rolling spheres,
As measured by her works sublime
She grandly runs abreast of time.

Here Freedom built her perfect arch
Through which her faithful legions march;
Here wisely formed her model State,
Here reared her inner temple-gate,
And on its stainless pillars white
Her deft and matchless fingers write
"The human race are EQUAL—FREE;
"Mankind are born to liberty."
O, matchless boon of human years,
We celebrate thy pioneers.

We meet within that temple-gate
Where human slavery met its fate.
Here conscience trembles not in fear,
And woman walks the earth a peer.
Each plants his fig tree and his vine,
And says, "A part of earth is mine;
"I own the land that's great—and free;
"I worship God in liberty."

To lands untrodden by the slave
Earth's heroes came, the strong, the brave,
Who freedom's race had nobly run
When marching with a Washington.
They bought these hills at costly price—
They tendered life a sacrifice;
Their manhood's strength, their manhood's years
They spent in war, in blood and tears;
They grandly grew to freedom's height

In freedom's struggle for the right.
Their works stand out in bold relief,
All others lean upon their sheaf.

The Mayflower on Atlantic's sea
Brought base alloy with liberty;
The Mayflower on Ohio's breast
Brought FREEDOM PURE unto the West.
Glorious day—glorious birth—
While human hands shall till the earth.

The freedom flag that they unfurled
Shall float in triumph o'er the world.
Our freedom made New England free,
Led Middle States to liberty.
More glorious than all the rest,
Made sunny South free as the West.
That banner crosses o'er the waves,
And lo! it breaks the chains of slaves;
'Tis planted on the old world's turf,
And Russia frees her Cossac serf;
It floats above the soil of Spain
And rends her bondsmen's links in twain.

And marching on in triumph still
It carries freedom to Brazil.
For human slavery can not be
Where floats that flag of liberty.
It bears aloft upon its folds
The thought that earth's redemption holds,
"The human race are EQUAL—FREE;
"Mankind are born to LIBERTY."

The little spring that sparkled here
In billows washes o'er the sphere.
All men shall celebrate the day
When FREEDOM here her altar lay,
As we to-day here celebrate
Her pioneers—her model State.

Wise men, they left the cultured East,
Fought savage men and savage beast
Within the western wilderness,
And made it bloom with loveliness.
Grand was the thought their purpose led,
Magnificent its growth and spread;
For human records give no age
That bears a brighter, purer page.

To all the people gave the helm
And launched their state "The Freedom Realm."
Its keel and ribs are grand—are great—
"All the people are the State,
And of and by them, government,
And for them, all its blessings sent."
And say what shall its limits be,
And what Our Freedom's boundary?
The narrow breadth of fifty States
Already in, or at the gates?
Nay more, far more than all of these,
Our country's limits shall be seas;
Columbia, on every side
Thou shalt be washed by ocean's tide.
Nor then is Freedom's measure full,
In other lands shall PEOPLE rule;
And when all men in every land,
On human rights, in freedom stand,
Shall FREEDOM in her grandest years
Plant laurels o'er her pioneers.

JOHN GRAY, WASHINGTON'S LAST SOLDIER.

BORN NEAR MT. VERNON, VA., JANUARY 6TH, 1764; DIED NEAR HIRAMSBURG, O., MARCH 29TH, 1868.

BY PRIVATE DALZELL.

[Read at the Marietta Centennial Celebration.]

One by one the severed links have started
Bonds that bound us to the sacred past;
One by one, our patriot sires departed,
Time hath brought us to behold the last;
Last of all who won our early glory,
Lonely traveler of the weary way,
Poor, unknown, unnamed in song or story,
In his western cabin lives John Gray.

Deign to stoop to rural shades, sweet Clio!
Sing the hero of the sword and plow;
On the borders of his own Ohio,
Weave a laurel for the veteran's brow;
While attuned unto the murmuring waters
Flows the burden of our pastoral lay,
Bid the fairest of Columbia's daughters,
O'er his locks of silver crown John Gray.

Slaves of self and serfs of vain ambition—
Toilful strivers of the city's mart,
Turn a while, and bless the sweet transition
Unto scenes that soothe the careworn heart;
Turn with me to yonder moss-thatched dwelling,
Wreathed in woodbine and wild-rose spray,
While the muse his simple tale is telling,
Tottering on his crutches, see John Gray.

When Defeat had pressed his bitter chalice
To the lips of England's haughty lord,—
Bowed in shame the brow of stern Cornwallis,
And at Yorktown claimed his bloody sword;
At the crowning of the siege laborious—
At the triumph of their glorious day,
Near his chieftain, in the ranks victorious,
Stood the youthful soldier, brave John Gray.

While he vowed through peace their love should burn on—
While he bade his tearful troops farewell,

One alone unto thy shades, Mount Vernon,
Called the Chieftain with himself to dwell.
Proud to serve the Father of the Nation,
Glad to hear the voice that bade him stay
Year by year upon the broad plantation,
Unto ripened manhood toiled John Gray.

Sowed and reaped and gathered to the garner
All the Summer plenty's golden sheaves,—
Sowed and reaped, till Time, the ruthless warner,
Whispered through the dreary Autumn leaves:
"Wherefore tarry? Freedom's skies are o'er thee;
Winter frowneth ere the blush of May:
Lo! Is not a goodly land before thee?
Up and choose thee now a home, John Gray."

Thus he heard the words of duty's warning,
And he saw the rising Empire-star
Dawning dimly on the Nation's morning—
Guiding westward Emigration's car.
Heard and saw and quickly rose to follow.
He bore his rifle for the savage prey,
Bore his axe, that soon in greenwood hollow
Timed thy sylvan ballads, bold John Gray.

Blessed with love, his lonely labors cheering,
Blithe the hearthstone of that forest nook,
Where arose his cabin in the "clearing,"
Near the meadow with its purling brook;
Where his children from their noonday laughter
Turned at eve and left their joyous play,
Hushed and still, when the great hereafter
Spake the Christian father, meek John Gray.

Oh, the years of mingled joy and sadness!
Oh, the hours—the countless hours of toil,
Shared alike through sorrow and through gladness
By loved hands now mouldering in the soil;
Oh, the anguish stifled in the shadow
Of the gloom that bore her form away!
'Neath yon mound she slumbers in the meadow,
Waiting, meekly waiting thee, John Gray.

All day long upon the threshold sitting,
Where the sunbeams through the bright leaves shine—
Where the zephyrs, through his white locks flitting,
Softly whispers of "the auld lang syne."
How he loves on holy thoughts to ponder;

How his eyes the azure heaven survey,
Or toward yon meadow dimly wander;—
Yes, beside her thou shalt sleep, John Gray.

In the tomb thy comrades' bodies slumber,—
Unto heaven their souls have flown before;
Only one is "missing" of their number,—
Only one to win the radiant shore;—
Only one to join the sacred chorus,—
Only one to burst the bonds of clay;
Soon the sentry's trumpet sounding o'er us,
To their ranks shall summon thee, John Gray.

Peace be with thee—gentle spirit guard thee,
Noble type of heroes now no more!
In thine age may gratitude reward thee,
In thy need may bounty bless thy store;
Care of woman—gentle, true and tender,
Strength of manhood be thy guide and stay;
Let not those who roll in idle splendor,
To their shame forget thee, lone John Gray.

Five-score winters on thy head have whitened—
Five-score summers o'er thy brow have passed;
All the sunshine that the pathway brightened,
Clouds of want and care o'ercast.
Thus the last of those who won our glory,
Lonely traveler of the weary way,
Poor, unknown, unnamed in song or story,
In his western cabin, died John Gray.

THE MEMORIAL STRUCTURE AT MARIETTA.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MADE APRIL 6, 1888.

THE erection of a monumental structure at Marietta, to commemorate the important historical events that became a fulfillment of the past, as well as the foundation of the future, when on the 7th day of April, 1788, the pioneer band settled down upon the virgin soil of the Northwest Territory, has been a favorite object in the proceedings of this Society.

At the first meeting held in the City of Columbus, March 12, 1885, it was resolved, "that this Society cordially approves of the erection at Marietta of a suitable monumental structure to commemorate the services of the patriotic men who obtained a valid title to the Northwestern Territory, and established therein the principles of civil and religious liberty, as expressed in the Ordinance of July 13th, 1787."

At the annual meeting held February 19th, 1886, this Society memorialized the Ohio Legislature in the following words: "In order that the virtues and services of a most worthy ancestry may be presented to posterity in an impressive form, that will be best calculated to inspire a patriotic devotion to institutions and inheritances established for their benefit, we ask that a monumental structure, worthy alike of this great nation and the noble men who laid these foundations, be erected at the City of Marietta in time to be completed by the 7th of April, 1888."

At its annual meeting held February 24th, 1887, this Society renewed its former expressions of approval of the monument, and resolved that a cordial invitation be extended to the "Old Thirteen and the Western States" to "take such interest in the monumental structure as may be most convenient and agreeable to each of them respect-

ively;" also that "circulars be issued to the State Historical Societies, requesting them to furnish such legends and historical inscriptions as may be properly placed upon the proposed monumental structure."

A corporation has been formed under the laws of the State of Ohio for the purpose of erecting this monument. This corporation has adopted a code of regulations, by which any person subscribing $100, and paying it in for the purposes of the Association, may become a member.

Two donations of $500 each have been offered contingent upon raising a fund of $10,000, another donation of $500 has been paid into the Treasury, and some progress has been made in the way of memberships.

While this Society has not assumed the pecuniary responsibility of erecting this monumental structure, the aid it has already imparted to the enterprise is such that further support may well be extended. It is certainly an object directly in the line of its purposes and highest aspirations.

The object of the monument is to preserve and perpetuate *history*. The *libraries* of Egypt have crumbled into *ashes* or *dust*. Her *monuments stand*, and will stand, as long as enquiring eyes seek to unravel their mysteries. They stand as sign boards to guide posterity to the *past;* the lessons of ages are inscribed upon them.

No better conservatism can be offered to your posterity, no brighter lights to guide their feet, no purer models to stimulate their conduct, than the deeds, the services, the virtues of your own ancestry.

The pageants, displays, and expositions of to-day will pass away. They may stimulate that pride which "goeth before a fall." Like the mighty monarch of old, we may look around over our surpluses of wealth and prosperity with the fatal boast, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built?"

The grand historical ideas and events which cluster around this Centennial occasion, which found practical

expression and application on this spot one hundred years ago, were not wrought by dwellers in palaces, by vain boasters, or idle schemers. "There were giants in those days."

The "Old Continental Congress" and the "Old Continental Army" were competent to turn aside the tide of ages and mark out new channels for the energies of the entire human race. They met their giant foe as the stripling Israelite met his Goliah. That Congress of May 26, 1779, have placed it upon record that "America, without arms, without ammunition, discipline, revenue, government, or ally, almost totally stripped of commerce, and in the weakness of youth, as it were, with 'a sling and staff only,' dared, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, to engage a gigantic adversary prepared at all points, boasting of his strength, and of whom mighty warriors were greatly afraid." (*See Jour. of Congress.*)

That old Continental army undertook their first campaign with only nine rounds of powder to the man, and with two brass cannon, presented by Massachusetts, as one-half of their arms in that branch of the service. Has history in any age recorded grander results than were wrought out with such slender supplies? The bricks they moulded *without straw* are the foundations of our homesteads.

We are not in concourse here to-day to celebrate an accident, a mere haphazard adventure. The first permanent occupation of this vast interior was affected upon wise plans, carefully considered, and deliberately matured. The great organic law of 1787 embodies the wisdom, skill, and best judgment of men who were building their own homes, as well as of those who were invested with the responsibilities of legislation.

The Ohio Company of Associates, in their outlook for the future, turned away from homes made desolate by the war, and wrought in a line of policy that Congress had marked out for the Northwest Territory. They bought

Gallipolis 22 Sept 1807 Robt Safford

Nath[l] Cushing Silas Bent

Samuel Denny Dean Tyler

Joseph Lincoln W Woodbridge

Wm Rufus Putnam Hatfield White

Gilbert Devol Jun[r] Paul Searing

Witness —

Griffin Greene Matthew Backus

Rufus Putnam

Oliver Peirce Henry Bartlett

Truman Guthrie Collector

land, and made payments in that which represented their personal toils, privations and blood. They sought civil government, without which land was of no value to them.

They understood the principles upon which republican institutions can only be maintained. They fairly represented the army—as the originators all held commissions in that service — but they were competent judges of *civil rights.*

They had fought for personal rights, as well as governmental control for their country, through the Revolutionary struggle. With them personal rights placed every man who bore the Divine image on an equality before the law. With them social order could only be maintained by religion, morality, and knowledge.

From the inception of their plans "distinct government," "a new State westward of the Ohio," was at all times kept in view. They *intended* to have a government, and that accounts for the enactment of an organic law before they converted their military services into lands. They ventured into this wide wilderness to plant principles as well as cereals. They came in the face of dangers as great as any they had ever encountered. But they came to stay.

Thirty thousand dollars of their own money was expended in defenses that ought to have been borne by their government. They built and held their forts against the combined force of twenty-one tribes of savages, supported and encouraged by the emissaries of Great Britain.

Here is an old soiled manuscript in the handwriting of their leader, General Rufus Putnam—being a statement of account with the United States of America—showing a balance against the goverment, which, if it were paid to-day with the usual interest, would erect the most costly monument that now stands on American soil.[1] This is not the only claim against the United States, growing out of the services and sacrifices of the men who opened to civil-

[1] See Note A at the end of this report.

ization its first gateway to the great valley on April 7th, 1788.

That old veteran Commodore who first defied the power of Britain on the ocean wave—whose bones rest in yonder cemetery—advanced large sums to aid American citizens in foreign ports and in Charleston after its capture. To these advances were added six years service; all repaid in final certificates, worth only twenty cents on the dollar.

In old age he was turned off with a scanty pittance called a *pension*, to save him from a pauper's grave.[1]

The Ohio Company invested a large sum of their funds in Georgia Loan Office Certificates that have never been honored by the government, because their own agent failed to comply with some of the technicalities of the law.[2]

If these amounts, with annual interest, could be placed to the credit of rightful owners the large surplus now puzzling our statesmen would be greatly diminished.

But they are not presented with a view to make a case of pecuniary liability. Doubtless they are outlawed by the statutes of limitations. Will this generation outlaw the self-sacrificing services which these historical items fairly represent? Is ingratitude the *law* of Republics?

Your Committee deem it eminently proper not only that these historical items should be preserved, but that the Society should continue to extend to the erection of a monumental structure all the encouragement and aid that falls within its constitutional power, and therefore offer the following resolutions for adoption.

W. P. CUTLER,
A. W. JONES,
Committee.

RESOLUTIONS AS ADOPTED.

Resolved, That this Society fully recognizes the value and importance of the historic incidents that preceded and

[1] See Note B at the end of this report.

[2] See Note C at the end of this report.

led to the first organized and permanent settlement of the Northwest Territory, begun at Marietta, April 7, 1788.

Resolved, That the eminent and patriotic services of the Congress composed of representatives from the original thirteen States in maintaining the struggle against their powerful enemy; in establishing the independence of their country; in securing quiet possession of the Mississippi valley, and in giving to it the ordinances for disposing of lands and governing its inhabitants, demand from this generation a recognition that will hand their names and services down to future generations in an instructive and monumental form.

Resolved, That a like recognition is due to the Continental Army, by whose valor and endurance these results were achieved.

Resolved, That this Society will continue to encourage the erection of a monumental structure at Marietta, and to this end will co-operate with the Marietta Centennial Monument Association in their efforts to procure pecuniary aid.

NOTE A.

BY W. P. CUTLER.

WHEN the Ohio Company purchased lands of the government, and paid for it in coin of the highest standard — the service of pure patriotism — they had a right to expect that protection would be afforded to them in their peaceful missions of civilization. They were careful to pursue a "peace policy" with the Indians. They were not the dreaded "Long Knives" that had waged savage warfare with savages. But their overtures of peace were in vain. The stern conflict with barbarism was irrepressible. Harmar's expedition in 1790 inflamed but did not subdue. The fearful massacre at Big Bottom, on the Muskingum, on the 2d day of January, 1791, was a warning to depart, or defend their infant settlements. The Directors virtually

proclaimed martial law, called all settlers into the forts, and armed for defence. The superintendent, General Putnam, states the situation in the following extracts of a letter, dated January 6th, 1791, addressed to Caleb Strong and Fisher Ames, members of Congress at that time. He says:

"From the prudence of our people, and the friendship with which we treated the natives, we remained in a state of quiet, without any apprehensions from the Delawares, or other tribes, till the expedition against the Shawnees, (General Harmar's), and had probably done so to this time had that expedition never been undertaken. If, therefore, we had no claim to the protection of government before, I trust we have now. For a parent to invite his children to gather plums under a hornet's nest, and then to beat the nest without giving them notice to get out of the way, or covering them while he provokes the hornets, has something so cruel in its nature that the mind revolts at the idea. Yet, sir, such is our situation at present—nay, the comparison is not strong enough, for our government have not only beat the nest but, in order to do it, have removed the troops that before, in some measure, covered us from those few Indians disposed for mischief, and have left us without protection.

"We are situated 200 miles from any settled country sufficiently populous to afford any relief in case of emergency, or any means of obtaining help short of the general government, (as the Governor and Secretary are both out of the State).

"I ask, are not allegiance and protection reciprocal?

"Have we not given the most unequivocal proof of our allegiance and love of our country with constitutional government, through the Revolution, and ever since? Why, then, in the name of God, will you not protect us? Has government no other view than to sell us their lands and leave the people to protect themselves? If so, it ought

to have been made known at the time of sale. Otherwise there is a cheat, for the purchasers never understood the matter in this light." * * * "If government do not mean to protect this country, I most sincerely wish they would tell us so. It will be much more kind in them to tell us plainly that they will not protect the country they have sold, than to keep us in suspense."

General Putnam made strong representations to the President of the United States, Washington, on this subject. In a letter dated December 20, 1790, he says: "But I trust, sir, that in the multiplicity of public concerns which claim your attention, our little colony will not be forgot.

"Whatever may be the opinion of some, I know that you consider the settlement of this country of utility to the United States, and I believe you will not think me vain or presumptuous, when I say that the inhabitants that compose this settlement have as great a claim to protection as any under the Federal government. A great proportion of us served our country through the war. Our securities are received at par, with which we purchase our lands, and in all other respects we have given unequivocal proofs of our attachment to constitutional government."

In another letter to his old friend and Commander-in-Chief he says: "But however surprising to you, and painful to me, to relate, the people think that we have very little to hope from Governor St. Clair. They believe that both the Governor and Mr. Sargent have, for some reason or other, conceived a prejudice against them." He then relates the disposition that the Governor made of troops, and the disbanding of the militia called out under Colonel Sproat, showing quite plainly that all efficient protection had been withdrawn from the Ohio Company's settlement.

It was under these trying conditions that the Ohio Company undertook the task of protecting the citizens of the

United States. The following is the statement of expense incurred by the company for that purpose:

ABSTRACT OF MILITIA IN THE PAY OF THE OHIO COMPANY DURING THE INDIAN WAR.

1790	At Marietta for 1 month, wages and part of rations		$ 135 03	
	Bellprie for one month		92 00	
	Waterford for 1 month, wages and Rations		70 00	
				$ 297 03
1791	Marietta for Jan., Feb. and March		$ 696 00	
	Marietta for April, May and June		839 03	
	Bellprie, Jan., Feb. and March		613 37	
	Bellprie, April and May		683 00	
	Waterford, Jan., Feb. and March		395 03	
	Waterford, April, May and June		498 00	
				3,724 43
	Paid to Spyes, their wages and rations		$ 878 71	
	Paid to extra Scouts and Guards		183 08	
	Paid to Surgeons, their wages and rations		229 71	
	Paid for medicine and nursing sick		30 21	
				1,321 71
	To the amount of rations issued by Commissaries		$1,729 52	
	To the amount of provisions furnished by Company		813 37	
	To amount of whiskey purchased		387 21	
	To amount of ammunition purchased		506 68	
				3,436 78

EXPENSE OF FORTIFICATIONS ERECTED.

	To the amount of labour on the several works.		$3,888 13	
	To lumber employed, viz.: boards, brick, timber, &c		382 39	
	To Black Smith work, Iron, &c		101 64	
	To Sundries, viz.: nails, tin, paper, trenching tools, &c		296 68	
				4,668 84
				$13,499 59

TO CHARGES MADE BY THE DIRECTORS.

1791	Viz.: To Rufus Putnam		$ 113 00	
	To Robert Olliver at Marietta	$ 351 00		
	To Robert Olliver, extra services and expense	173 33		
	To Robert Oliver at Marietta	90 00	614 33	
1791	To Griffin Greene, at Bellprie and Marietta	$ 373 50		
1792	To Griffin Greene, at Bellprie and Marietta	118 50	492 00	
				$ 1,219 33
				$ 14,668 92
	To goods purchased and applied for the redemption of prisoners			40 00
				$ 14,708 92

Journal Page.	CONTRA CREDIT.		
230	By the United States towards the pay and rations of militia refunded.....	$2,549 42	
250	By the amount of 970 rations, discounted by Elliot & Williams, per Governor's order....	64 66	
	By the amount of provisions, whiskey, ammunition, &c., &c., charged to individuals ...	743 94	3,358 02
	Balance of clear expense.....		$11,350 90

Journal 212. N. B.—Col. Sproat's return of militia, July 5th, 1790, is 246, including officers.

Dr. Hildreth is authority for saying that the above "clear balance" "was never paid by the United States, although justly due them."

NOTE B.

BY W. P. CUTLER.

THE amount of hard money furnished by Commodore Whipple to meet obligations justly belonging to the United States was $16,000. He was forced to accept certificates of indebtedness on a bankrupt Treasury at par in place of the gold and silver he paid out. These certificates netted him twenty per cent. of their face, so that his loss was $12,800. General Putnam urges his claim upon the gratitude of his country in the following, addressed to Timothy Pickering:

"MARIETTA, February 2, 1808.

"*Dear Sir*—Permit me to recommend to your attention the circumstances of Commodore Abraham Whipple, late of Rhode Island, now a neighbor of mine. I presume you will recollect his character as a naval officer in the Revolutionary war. He is now in his seventy-fifth year, with an amiable wife of nearly the same age, who have no means of subsistence but their daily labor in cultivating an eight acre lot. From various circumstances which attended him while in service, he divers times, and especially when captured in Charleston in the year 1780 (with General Lincoln), found himself under the necessity of making large advances from his own property to relieve

the necessities of the ship's crew under his command; for which he was paid only the nominal sum in the depreciated bills of final settlement certificates, which went but little way in discharging the debts he had contracted, or reimbursement of the property he had expended in the service of his country, hence after the close of the war, on the settlement of his accounts, he found himself reduced to a state bordering indigence, and in 1789 removed to Marietta, since which he has been compelled generally to labor in the field for a subsistence, and has now no other means than his own labors to obtain his bread.

"By the mail which carries this letter the Commodore sends a petition to Congress to be presented by Mr. [name illegible], a member from Rhode Island, and acquainted with the Commodore's circumstances previous to his removing to this place.

"I hope Congress will grant some relief to a man in his last moments, who, it is well known, rendered very essential service to his country. Yours, &c.,

RUFUS PUTNAM."

"Colonel Pickering."

NOTE C.

BY W. P. CUTLER.

THE case of the Georgia Loan Office Certificate may be briefly stated as follows:

Forty-three Certificates of $400 each were issued by the Government under an act of February 23d, 1777, through the loan office of the State of Georgia, and became the property of the Ohio Company. The Certificates were dated December 23d, 1777, payable to Thomas Stone, or bearer, on the 1st of December, 1781; signed by Samuel Hillegas, Continental Treasurer, and bearing interest at six per cent., payable annually. On the back of each is endorsed payment of four years interest up to December 23d, 1781. Suit was brought in the United States Circuit

Court, by John A. Rockwell, of Connecticut, attorney, and judgment obtained for $60,876.99.

The judgment upon being reported back to Congress was, however, reversed and an appeal taken to the Supreme Court.

A judgment was rendered by this Court adverse to the claimants from which Justice Fields dissented, saying that he was of the opinion that the demand of the plaintiff was a just obligation against the United States, as binding as any part of the public debt of the country.

COMMUNICATIONS RELATING TO THE CELEBRATION.

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS OF CONGRATULATION.

MARIETTA, April 6, 1888.

Dr. I. W. Andrews, Hartford, Conn.:

The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, in session at its annual meeting, sends greeting, and congratulates you on the great success of the Marietta Centennial, so largely the result of your labors. Nothing but your presence is wanting to complete it. Our best wishes for your speedy recovery. F. C. SESSIONS, *President.*

HARTFORD, CONN., April 7, 1888.

F. C. Sessions, President:

Thanks for your kind greeting. Am gaining slowly. With you in spirit on this memorable day. Congratulations to the eminent visitors and all at home on your successful celebration. I. W. ANDREWS.

PONCE DE LEON,
ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., April 6, 1888.

President I. W. Andrews:

The oldest city in the United States sends hearty greeting to the oldest city in the Northwest Territory.

GEO. S. GREEN, *Mayor.*

MARIETTA, O., April 9, 1888.

Hon. Geo. S. Green, Mayor St. Augustine, Fla.:

Your telegram, addressed to Dr. Andrews, was received, and afforded the highest gratification to the large audience. In the absence of Dr. Andrews, the committee in charge direct me to respond, with the cordial greeting, that while Ohio may have a colder climate, she vies with Florida in warmth of fraternal affection. W. P. CUTLER,

For the Committee.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1888.

Dr. I. W. Andrews, Chairman:

The Ohio Society of New York now assembled, two hundred and fifty strong, sends greeting to the Pioneer Association at Marietta, celebrating the ever memorable Centennial.

CINCINNATI, O., April 7, 1888.

President I. W. Andrews:

Congratulations and good wishes of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

M. F. FORCE,
President.

CINCINNATI, O., March 29, 1888.

The Cincinnati Pioneer Association sends greeting to Pioneer Association at Marietta, O., settled April 7, 1788, by General Putnam's party. Its members and friends, old and young, will meet at Unitarian Church, Eighth and Plum streets, at 2 o'clock p. m., Saturday, April 7, and by speeches and music celebrate the anniversary.

JOHN D. CALDWELL,
Secretary.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1888.

Prof. I. W. Andrews, Marietta, Ohio:

Accept my congratulations and best wishes for a successful celebration. I regret that recent illness prevents my presence.

JAMES M. VARNUM.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

On the 24th of February, 1887, a resolution was adopted by the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society instructing the Secretary to invite each of the State Historical Societies of the old thirteen States and of those formed out of the Northwest Territory, to co-operate in the cele-

bration of April 7th, 1888. In accordance with this resolution the invitations were extended, and among others the following responses were received:

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., March 23, 1888.

DEAR SIR:—Your communication addressed to me as President of the Maine Historical Society, with the accompanying circular extending an invitation to Historical Societies to send delegates to the annual meeting of the Ohio State Historical and Archæological Society and the celebration of Ohio's birthday Centennial, at Marietta, on the 7th of April, reached my residence in Maine after I had left home for the South; and they have been forwarded to me, so that I now have the honor of acknowledging their receipt and of thanking you for your kindness.

I regret that I shall not be able to be present on that occasion, for it will be one that will exhibit a gratifying contrast hardly paralleled in history—a single century transforming the hunting ground of a few scattered savages into the comfortable and elegant homes of a great Christian community of many hundreds of thousands of educated, intelligent and prosperous citizens, enjoying the blessings of a government, the best to be found upon the earth. Most respectfully yours,

I. W. ANDREWS, ESQ., *Chairman.* JAMES W. BRADBURY, *Pres. Maine Hist. Society.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
CONCORD, N. H., March 28, 1888.

I. W. Andrews, Chairman:

MY DEAR SIR—We held a meeting of our Executive Committee yesterday, and they authorized me to appoint delegates on behalf of this Society to attend your Historical Society on the 6th and 7th of April next.

I have appointed yourself and Mr. Perry, of Exeter, as such delegates, and send a commission to you for you both. I doubt if Mr. Perry can attend, but I will notify

him of his appointment at once and request him to do so.

Yours truly, J. E. SARGENT,
Pres't N. H. Hist. Soc.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
NEWARK, N. J., March 21, 1888.

To the Hon. W. P. Cutler, Chairman:

DEAR SIR—Your circular in reference to the "Centennial of Ohio's Birthday" has been received, for which, and the invitation to be present on the interesting occasion, please accept our hearty thanks.

To the State of Ohio, the mother of Presidents and distinguished statesmen, on the hundredth anniversary of the first settlement at Marietta, the New Jersey Historical Society sends "Greeting."

We beg leave to advise you that Israel W. Andrews, D.D., LL.D., an honorary member, is hereby authorized to represent the New Jersey Historical Society at the Centennial celebration of Ohio's birthday, April 7th, 1888.

SAMUEL M. HAMILL,
Pres. N. J. Hist. Society.
STEPHEN WICKES,
Cor. Sec'y N. J. Hist. Society.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
170 SECOND AVENUE,
NEW YORK, March 7, 1888.

I. W. Andrews, Chairman Centennial Committee, Marietta, Ohio.

DEAR SIR—Yours of 28th Feb., inviting, on behalf of the Committee of the Ohio Historical Society, this Society to send delegates to the Centennial celebration to be held at Marietta on the 7th of April next, was laid before this Society last evening, at the first stated meeting held since its reception.

The invitation was accepted with thanks, and in conformity with your expressed wish that a descendant of Hon. John Keane should be chosen, Mr. Nicholas Fish,

the eldest son of the Hon. Hamilton Fish, our first Vice President, was appointed the delegate.

In a few days he will receive his credentials. I notify you of the fact and request that if you have any preference for any particular form of credentials that you will kindly inform me at once.

I am, yours very respectfully,

EDWARD F. DELANCEY,
Corresponding Sec'y. N. Y. Hist. Soc'y.

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
NASHVILLE, March 10th, 1888.

I. W. Andrews, Esq., Chairman Centennial Committee.

DEAR SIR—The Tennessee Historical Society has received your kind invitation to attend the approaching celebration of the settlement of Ohio, at Marietta, on the 7th proximo.

I regret very much to say that, in all probability, none of our members will be able to be present on the interesting occasion.

This Society begs to send fraternal greetings and earnest wishes for the complete success of the celebration. The Washington County Pioneer Association and Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society deserve much credit for inaugurating the movement. Very Respectfully,

ANSON NELSON,
Rec. Sec.

LETTERS OF REGRET.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 2, 1888.

Dr. I. W. Andrews, Chairman, &c.:

DEAR SIR—Your card of invitation to attend the Centennial celebration of the landing of the first settlement at Marietta in the Northwest Territory, and to make an address, was received, and I hoped until within a few days that I would have the pleasure of accepting it, and of sharing with you in the ceremonies of this interesting

event; but it is now manifest that I can only do so by a neglect of the public business committed to my charge, and I know that neither the men who founded the settlement at Marietta nor its citizens of our day would justify a neglect of the public business to participate in a celebration so interesting even as your Centennial. I share in the opinions and enthusiasm of my friend Senator Hoar, who will deliver your principal address. I believe, with him, that the ordinance of 1787, and the settlement of the Northwest Territory chiefly by revolutionary soldiers from New England, was one of the most important civil events of the last century, second only to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution. All that has happened since that time, though not directly traceable to those events, has been colored by the principles and ideas of the first settlement at Marietta, and those which soon followed along the valley of the Ohio. These are the topics which will fill the minds of the descendants of the early settlers and of many millions who have spread over the Northwest and founded States, and cities, and villages, and hamlets without number, populated by many more millions than lived in the United States at the time of the settlement of Marietta, one hundred years ago.

My early association in boyhood times with the people of Marietta and the Muskingum Valley has always spread a halo of enchantment over the familiar scenes about you, and perhaps I, more than strangers less fortunate, will appreciate the interesting surroundings amid which you stand. Many of the old pioneer settlers were living at Marietta and Beverly when, just fifty years ago, I aided as a subordinate in the work of the Muskingum Improvement. A single life then carried me back to the first settlement at Marietta. The stories of hardship, of suffering, of Indian warfare, of constant watchfulness, of sturdy courage, and the simple habits of those early settlers, left an impression upon my mind that can never be effaced.

I would gladly add my affectionate remembrance to the many eloquent words that will be uttered in their praise and in extolling the wonderful progress which their sacrifices and services made possible. Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 1st, 1888.

Mr. Wm. G. Way, Secretary, Marietta, Ohio:

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation to attend the Centennial of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory, on the 6th, 7th and 8th of April next. It is not probable that my official duties here will permit of my being present upon this interesting occasion, but should it be possible to leave I will gladly attend. There are many features of peculiar interest to Americans, and to the entire human race in the development you commemorate. Perhaps the world does not afford an instance in which man has shown all the elements of greatness to such an extent as in the growth of these communities. Very truly yours,

C. R. BRECKINRIDGE.

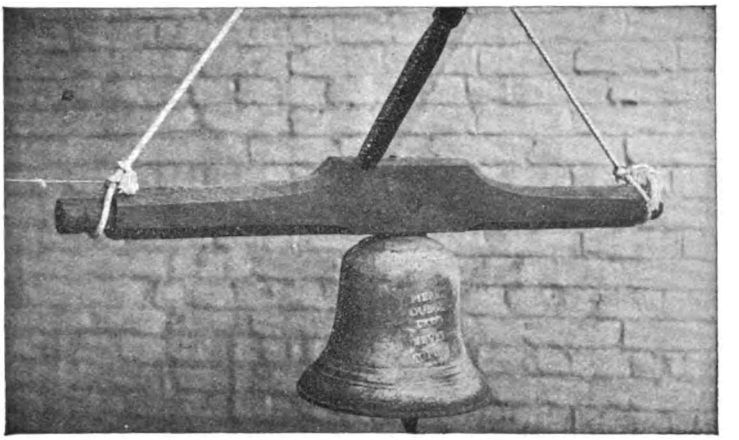
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., 29 March, 1888.

Hon. Douglas Putnam, President, Marietta, Ohio:

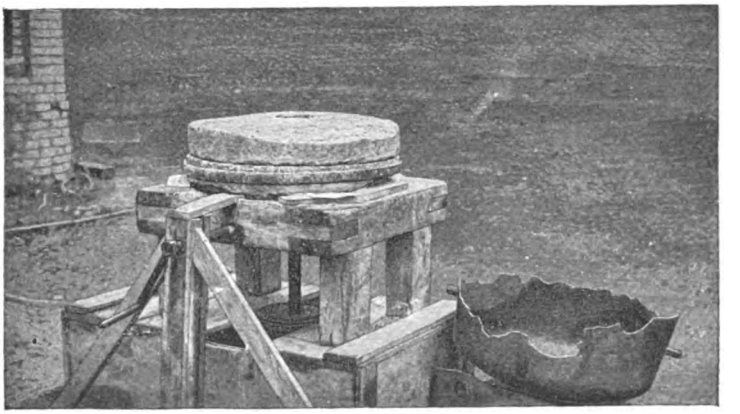
DEAR SIR:—I acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of yourself and Messrs. Andrews and Way, in asking me to be present at your Centennial in April next.

If my engagements permitted, I would gladly embrace the opportunity tendered me, and would join cheerfully, as a son of one of the "old thirteen" States in commemorating the birth of other sisters, which have added so much of glory and greatness to our common country. But other duties prevent my attendance so I am constrained to send my regrets, with my best wishes for the success of your celebration, and the assurance of my appreciation of your kind attention to myself. Very truly yours,

SAM'L DIBBLE.



BELL USED IN CAMPUS MARTIUS, 1788.



FIRST MILLSTONES AND SALT KETTLE IN OHIO.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 1, 1888.

William G. Way, Esq., Secretary, Marietta, O.:

DEAR SIR—The kind invitation to attend the Centennial celebration of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory is received. Distance and press of business precludes my acceptance. However, I should delight to join in a celebration commemorative of an event fraught with such consequences in the history and development of this country, and that laid the foundation for the achievements, greatness, importance and possibilities that cluster around this favored portion of our favored nation. Accept my thanks and regrets.

Yours very truly, WALTER I. HAYES.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
WASHINGTON, March 22, 1888.

Mr. William G. Way, Secretary, etc.:

I have been honored by your invitation to be present at the celebration of the Centenary of the first settlement of the Northwest Territory at Marietta. While prevented by pressing daily labors here from participating in this most interesting historical commemoration, you have my earnest wishes for the success of the laudable endeavor to do honor to the patriotic men who first planted civilisation in the Ohio wilderness a hundred years ago.

Very respectfully, A. R. SPOFFORD.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
BOSTON, March 19, 1888.

Professor Israel W. Andrews, Marietta, O.:

DEAR SIR—I have the pleasure of informing you that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will be represented at the Centennial celebration in your city on the 7th proximo by Hon. George B. Loring of Salem, Professor

Frederick W. Putnam of Cambridge, Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D., of this city, and Rev. Temple Cutler of Essex.

Regretting that I shall not be able to be with you, but feeling glad that the State is to be so well represented,

I am yours very respectfully,

OLIVER AMES.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., March 24, 1888.

William G. Way, Esq.:

Permit me to acknowledge, through you, the Secretary, the invitation to Mrs. Hawkes and myself to attend "the Centennial of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory," which will be on the 6th, 7th and 8th of April.

Such an observance is a most worthy one. It appeals to the lofty sentiment of patriotism in us, and to our veneration for the noble and wise men who, under the Ordinance of 1787, not only settled at Marietta, but also laid the foundation of great States.

I am sure that the event will be fitly commemorated. Of this we have assurance, both in the interest taken in it by the people of Marietta and its vicinity, and the societies that have united in its commemoration, and also in the ability of the distinguished gentlemen who will be the principal speakers.

We greatly regret that we cannot accept the invitation to be present. The many years of our residence in Marietta, the affection we have for the people and institutions, and our sincere sympathy with the spirit that has prompted the observance, and the ends it is intended to promote thereby, impel us to be with you. But engagements and duties that cannot be put aside forbid it.

We shall rejoice in the tidings of a celebration which will, undoubtedly, be befitting and successful.

With sincere esteem, yours truly,

T. H. HAWKES.

BOSTON, March 8, 1888.

To Messrs. Douglas Putnam, Israel W. Andrews and Wm. G. Way, Marietta, Ohio.

DEAR SIRS:—I beg to present to the Committee of Arrangements my acknowledgements of their exceeding favor in extending to me an invitation to attend, at Marietta, Ohio, on the 6th, 7th and 8th proximo, the Centennial celebration of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory, under the auspices of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society and the Washington County Pioneer Association.

The occasion can not fail to be of great interest, and I regret that my engagements here are such as will make it impossible for me to be present. My paternal grandfather, Col. David Cobb, whose compatriots in arms settled Marietta, in 1788, was, I believe, interested personally in that enterprise.

I can not doubt the coming celebration will be one worthy of the important event to be commemorated, as well as a fitting testimonial to the memories of the brave men who left the East to establish for themselves a new home in the then far West.

I thank you sincerely for your kind remembrance of me at this time. I am, gentlemen, with much respect,

Your Obedient Servant,

SAMUEL C. COBB.

In addition to the foregoing many letters and notes were received from those who had been specially invited, regretting inability to be present. Among others in the possession of the Committee are letters from Mr. Justice Blatchford, of the United States Supreme Court, Hon. Chas. S. Fairchild, Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. W. C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, Lieutenant-General P. H. Sheridan, Senators J. D. Cameron, Jonathan Chace, John H. Mitchell, J. R. McPherson, Hon. Henry H. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, Dr. James B. Angell, Major General

D. C. Buell, Hon. J. S. Robinson, Secretary of State of Ohio, Rev. A. P. Putnam, of Concord, Massachusetts, General J. D. Cox, S. R. Reed and E. R. Montfort, of Cincinnati.

RELIC DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTENNIAL.

ONE of the interesting and attractive features of the celebration was the display of historical relics. It was a matter of great regret to the Committee that a list and catalogue of the articles, with the names of owners and exhibitors could not be prepared before the celebration.

The following is a complete list of articles displayed. The value of the list would be greatly enhanced could the name of the owner of each of the articles be given, but this is impossible.

PIONEER DEPARTMENT.

Tailor's goose, shears, thread-box and thimble, used in making suit for Blennerhassett; not dated.

Old lock key, found in old jail cellar; no date.

Pewter platter, used in 1779.

Conch-shell, brought from Vermont in 1800.

Wooden latch, made and used in 1768.

Brass spoon moulds, made in 1768.

Beads and scissors, made in 1813.

Anvil, used by first jeweler in Marietta; date not known.

Powder horn, used in the Revolution.

Pewter platter, supposed to be a hundred years old.

Hunting fork, used 92 years ago.

Pewter platter, used in the blockhouse at Fort Harmar in the years 1788–89.

Pewter plate, date not known.

Curtain knobs or holders, 1700.

Brass padlock, a puzzle; date not known, but over 100 years old.

Rolling-pin, in constant use over 100 years.

Brass ladle, used in 1788.

Memorial tablet of the Misses Eunice and Elizabeth Lankton.

Pin cushions, made in 1800.

Carved corset board, made in 1788.

Shoes worn by the betrothed of Nathan Hale, the hero of the Revolution.

Tea-kettle, used in 1788.

Press-board, on which was pressed clothes for the Revolutionary soldiers.

Masonic apron of deer skin, made in 1788.

Small china tea-pot, used in 1788.

Shoe buckle, 1792.

Very old slippers, date not known.

Piece of Plymouth Rock.

Wine glass, about 75 years old.

Small gilt pitcher, date 1812.

Pewter platter, date 1768.

Silver sugar tongs, date 1738.

Shell sugar bowl, 1830.

Pewter tea pot, date 1768.

Stock buckle, date 1796.

Pill-box, owned and used by Dr. Leonard, who married Lida Moulton, daughter of Wm. Moulton, one of the forty-eight, 1788.

Plate, tea-pot, cup and teaspoon, used by Rufus Putnam.

One bailer, used to bail water from a canal.

Ambrotype of Wm. R. Putnam.

One half skirt woven by Elizabeth Pearson, of Rowley, Miss., who in 1762 married Enoch Tappan, of Newburyport, Mass.

One mirror, almost if not quite 100 years old.

One pocketbook, 1727.

Pieces of velvet and fringe that formed a part of the military saddle-skirt of General George Washington, and used by him during the Revolutionary war.

Two pieces of silk that were a part of a dress that belonged to Mrs. Miles Standish, and which she wore as a wedding dress in 1620, and was brought from England by her in the ship Mayflower in the same year.

A letter from Rufus Putnam to Colonel Ichabod Nye in 1806, relating to the first lodge of Masons in Putnam, then called Springfield.

Six ball tickets, from 1809 to 1814 inclusive.

Feather fan, 50 years old.

Cradle used in the old Fort, 92 years old.

Office chair of the first lawyer admitted to the bar in the Northwest Territory, Paul Fearing.

Candle-sticks owned by Paul Fearing and used in the old Fort, 90 years old.

Baby clothes, 92 years old.

Commodore Whipple's tongs, 109 years old.

Wine-chest belonging to General Joseph Buell, 1786.

Linen pants, 51 years old.

Linen shirt, made in 1803.

One large spinning wheel, 1 small wheel and 1 reel, all 100 years old.

One iron candle-stick, made in 1795.

One cane, date not known.

One sword, 100 years old.

One religious book, published in 1733.

Powder-horn, 75 years old.

One cup and saucer, 65 years old.

One cup, saucer and spoon, 1719.

Mortar and pestle, 1788.

Silver sleeve-buttons, 1798.

Linen thread made in 1778.

Pictures of Captain Wm. Bartlett and wife copied from a painting made in 1777.

Picture of Henry Bartlett, who came to Ohio in 1796.

Picture of Amos Porter, last survivor of the 48, born in 1769.

Picture of the Rt. Hon. Samuel Turner, Lord Mayor of London, sent to America in 1797.

Saw used by Stephen Devol, a ship carpenter, who came to America in 1800.

Warming pan, made in 1713.

Tape loom, age unknown.

Wool cards, age unknown.

Warming pan, age unknown.

Candle-sticks, made in 1788.

Candle sticks, age unknown.

Candle stick, 100 years old, once owned by General Rufus Putnam.

Picture of Mrs. Mary Dana Emerson, born in 1786. Mrs. Mary Dana was in the Farmer's Castle at Belpre during the Indian War. She left New England near the close of the last century.

Piece of first carpet woven in Marietta.

Picture embroidered by Mrs. Nahum Ward in 1815.

Wooden mortar and pestle, used in 1805.

Wooden mortar and pestle, age unknown.

Wooden mortar and pestle, used for pounding coffee and spices in the Fort; was burned in a camp fire.

Picture of Ephraim Cutler.

Bellows, about 100 years old.

Bellows, used in 1810.

Warming pan, age unknown.

A bowl which belonged to Governor Meigs.

Tea kettle, brought from Grave Creek, Va., in 1792.

Pair of brass andirons.

Chair of Governor Meigs.

Box carved by Paul Fearing.

Cedar imported in 1649.

Butter bowl, over 100 years old.

Two pieces of brick from the old well at Campus Martius.

Kettle owned by Mrs. James Owen, the first white woman who settled in the Ohio colony. It was used in cooking their first meal.

Commission of Jonathan Haskell, given in 1797, signed by President Washington.

Painting, age unknown.

Drum made April 22, 1785; it was carried through the War of 1812; age 103.

Andirons.

Pair andirons.

Wooden cradle, used in Fort Harmar.

Traveling trunk, used by Dr Cutler in coming to Ohio in 1788.

OLD CHINA AND OTHER ARTICLES.

La Fayette soup tureen, ladle, 1816.
La Fayette dish, 1816.
La Fayette plate, 1816.
Tea-pot and sugar bowl, 75 years old.
Gravy dish.
Cup, 100 years old.
Custard cup and saucer, 75 years old.
Dish, 135 years old.
Sugar bowl, 100 years old.
Tea caddy, very old.
Two cups from Danbury, Conn., 1810.
Two cups over 100 years old.
Soup ladle.
Vase, very old.
Three custard cups, 75 years old.
Tea caddy.
Cup, 1825.
Plate, 50 years old.
Scent bottle from Ireland, very old.
Irish custard cup, old.
Tea caddy, 119 years old.
Cream pitcher, 1787.
Cream pitcher, over 100 years old.
Pitcher, 80 yers old.
Gravy dish, from Danbury, Conn., 1775.
German wine pitcher, made in the time of Martin Luther.
Cup, 200 years old.
Wine glass, from Danbury, 75 years old.
Cup and saucer, 200 years old.
Brass candle stick, very old.
Cream pitcher, 75 years old.
Plate and saucer, 100 years old.
Plate.
Three saucers, 100 years old.
Snuff-boxes from the battle field of Wilderness.
Sugar-bowl and plate, 88 years old.
Chinese plate, 65 years old.
Tea caddy, 1825.
Plate, 1825.
Vase, 1730.
Cup plate, 100 years old.
Bowl, very old.
Cup and saucer, from Danbury, 1800.
Small plate, 75 years old.
Cream pitcher, 1825.
Chinese idols.
China plate, over 100 years old.
Chinese plates, 65 years old.
Tea-pot, very old.
Mustard pot, over 100 years old.
Large plate, one of the first made in England; over 200 years old.
Cup and saucer, 80 years old.
Custard cup, 1810.
Vegetable dish in four sections, over 100 years old.
Cream jug, over 100 years old.
Brass candle-stick, very old.
Child's silver candle-stick, 1814.
Sugar bowl, bought in New York in 1811; brought to Ohio in 1818.
Old-fashioned combs.
Silver teaspoon, 150 years old.
Silver sugar tongs, 1795.
Large silver spoon, brought by Mr. Peter Gaitree from France, 75 years ago.
Teaspoon, 1773.
Silver candle snuffers.
Silver teaspoon and tablespoon, 125 years old.
Lace collar, woven in 1838.
Cushion lace, made by great-grandmother of Mrs. Rolston, in 1700.
Embroidered swiss, by same lady.
Three beaded reticules, very old.
House-wife, used in 1810.
Work-pocket and pin cushion, 100 years old.
Lack work made in 1827.
Three hand-painted silk collars, very old.
Silk tissue scarf, very old.
Lace wedding veil, worn in 1824; brought to Ohio in 1838.
Dress cap, 75 years old.
Hand embroidery, made in England; very old.
Work pocket, 60 years old.
Bead bag, about 50 years old.
Punch bowl, 125 years old.
Wine glass, owned by first teacher in Ohio—Barheba Rouse Greene.
Tea set, 90 years old.
Silk mits (2 pairs), very old.
Black satin sleeve, 100 years.
Silk tissue scarf, 105 years old.
Wedding slippers, 75 years old.
Silk ribbons, very old.
Ivory fan, 70 years old.
Feather fan, 30 years old.
Cup and saucer, 150 years old; came from England.

Two waiters, 100 years old.
Japanese waiter, very old.
Cup and saucer, 82 years old.
Plate, 1738.
Decanters, 1810.
Cup and saucer, 1810.
Bowl, 150 years old.
Platter, 75 years old.
Cup and saucers, 75 years old.
Decanter, 150 years old.
Decanter, 1816.
Platter, 74 years old.
Tea canister, 1785.
Decanter, 100 years old.
Plate, 150 years old.
Pitcher, made in Liverpool, Eng., to the order of Captain Stone, of Maine, soon after the stars and stripes were adopted as the American flag.
Sampler, 105 years old, wrought by a descendant of John Rogers.
Kensington embroidery, 100 years old.
Cloak clasps of Hon. Paul Fearing.
Silk reticule.
Crape dress, 1778.
Infant dress, 1849.
Apron, 1849.
Valentine, four books, 1830.

GERMAN DEPARTMENT.

Wooden box, 150 years old.
German sermon book, composed by Prof. Alenger, 130 years old.
Two vases, 75 years.
Clothes brush, in use 55 years.
Cream pitcher, 60 years old.
German military hat, supposed to have been in use during the war of the Revolution.
German prayer book, over 100 years old.
Cheese mould, over 100 years old.
China soup bowl, 90 years old.
Piece of German linen sheet, woven by hand, 150 years old.
Cake pan, 100 years old.
Dagger, very old, unknown workmanship.
Two cups and one saucer of Gotha Porcelain, 60 years old.
Cup and saucer (gilded) Meisseur Porcelain, 80 years old.
Baby cap, 85 years old.
Fancy cup and saucer, 75 years old.
Old portrait of a lady of last century, 180 years old.
Bead embroidered memerandum book, 50 years old.
Paper weight from Germany.
Water pitcher, very old.
Cane, 155 years old.
Picture, over 100 years old.
Quilt, 75 years old.
Quilt, 125 years old.
Piece of calico wedding dress, 125 years old.
Table cloth, very old.
Canteen and ammunition bag carried by a German soldier through the Franco-Prussian war in 1870.
Cream pitcher, 50 years old.
German home-made linen towel, 150 years old.
German home-made linen tablecloth, 200 years old.
Warming pan, 100 years.
Pitcher, 40 years.
Bead purse, 75 years.
Gold clasp, 100 years.
Bottle, 67 years.
Black cap, 75 years.
Chinaware from the old country.
Wedding ring, 78 years.
Old piece of money (1738). This piece of money was found in the woods of Germany by some children. It was found buried in a crock in a stump. There were 2000 pieces. This coin was one of them.
Work box, 80 years.
Money case, 200 years old.
Hand-made lace, very fine.
Enameled watch, 100 years old. French make.
Letter box, 75 years.
Books over 100 years.
Martin Luther statue, very good.
A piece of German castle, very old.
A black silk apron, 75 years old.
Suspenders, 35 years old; came from Germany.
A German Bible, 217 years old.
Three books; one is over 118; the second is over 100; the other is over 90.

MOUND-BUILDERS, INDIAN, AND MINERAL SPECIMENS.

George Pilsbury's display.
Deer skin—Miss Hobby.
One bow, 5 arrows, pair moccasins, tobacco pouch, belt, whistle--Mrs. Barbour.
Tomahawk and sheath, tobacco pouch, birch bark canoe—C. W. Newton.
Bead pin cushion, watch case and bag—Miss Letha Putnam.
Leggins, pipe, knife, fork and spoon, birch bark canoe, box and hornet's nest.
Indian necklace—John Garry.
Bracelet—Mrs. Andrews.
Collection of specimens—R. G. Lawton.
Collection from William Russell, Williamstown.
Collection from Richard Greene, Newport.
Gun—S. L. Grosvenor.
Collection from Mr. T. K. Wells.
Pair of moccasins and belt—Miss Dimond.
Shell church—Mr. Silas Chesbro.
A case of beautiful mineral specimens and Indian curiosities—C. G. Slack.
Case of specimens—Mr. Magee, Lower Salem.
Specimens — Wright L. Coffinberry, Grand Rapids, Mich.
One specimen iron pyrites, Grand Rapids, Mich.
One specimen square block polished gypsum, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Two oblong blocks, Grand Rapids, Mich.
One specimen crystaline, Grand Rapids, Mich.
One specimen gypsum crystals, Grand Rapids, Mich.
One gypsum card receiver, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
One specimen lime stone containing crystals, Grand River.
One fossil rock, Grand Rapids.
One hemisphere rock with fossils, Grand Rapids.
One piece ancient coral, Petoskey, Michigan.
Fragment Mastodon tusk, Byron Center, Michigan.
One piece native copper, engraved, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
One piece copper ore, Upper Peninsula, Michigan.

BOOKS AND MISCELLANEOUS RELICS.

One piece battle flag, Bull Run.
One Indian flute.
One Indian vise.
One map of Lowell and township of Lowell.
One bear trap—been through a fire—broken.
One map of City of Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Memorial Poem in German, written on the death of George Washington.
Prayer Book published in 1794.
Account Book of 1789.
Deeds bearing the signature of John Quincy Adams.
English Bible of 1803.
English Bible of 1793.
Arithmetic of 1785.
Chemistry of 1784.
Geography of 1814.
Fifty dollar bill of 1779.
English Bible of 1788.
Arithmetic of 1826.
Sermon on the beginning of England, printed in 1730.
Essay on the Union, by Cotton Mather, printed in 1727.
Plat of Campus Martius, supposed to be the only one in existence.
Photograph of Lewis Clark, the "George Harris" of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."
Ten Dollar Bill of 1815.
Paper printed at Vicksburg during the Siege.
Regimental books of Revolution.
English Bible of 1665.
Account Book of 1743.
English Dictionary of 1759.
Geometry of 1624.
"The Christian Sabbath," 1650.
English Bible of 1648.
Cook Book of 1798.
Cook Book of 1816.
Book of 1664.

Testament of 1795.
"Genesis" of 1830.
Valentine of 1830.
Bible of 1648.
Frame of noted autographs.
Old newspapers of 18th and 19th Centuries.

CANES.

Cane carved with 42 figures by a boy at the Children's Home.
Cane carried by B. F. Hart at Battle of Shiloh in 1862.
Cane made from Waterford block-house.
Persian cane.
Cane made in 1716.
Cane cut on the battlefield of Arbela.
Cane of Colonel Grosvenor, who fought in Revolutionary war.
Ironwood cane from Australia, 88 years old.
Cane cut on Blennerhassett Island in 1840.
Cane from first apple tree in Ohio.

MILLINERY DEPARTMENT.

Bonnet 60 years old.
Wedding bonnet 22 years old.

Loaned by Wm. Dana, Belpre:
Plank from the Mayflower, the boat which brought the first settlers of the Northwest Territory.
Loaned by George Dana, Esq., Belpre, O., the following articles:
Volumes from the first library established in the Northwest Territory. This library was in existence October, 1796, and was first called "the Putnam Family Library."
Portrait of Mrs. Mary Bancroft Dana, taken in 1825.
Portrait of George Dana, senior, taken in 1825.
Portrait of Deborah Ames Fisher, wife of George Dana, senior, taken in 1825.
Silver buckles worn by Deborah Ames Fisher.
Fire shovel (cost $50 in Continental money), brought to Belpre in 1798 by Captain Wm. Dana and Mary Bancroft Dana.

FOREIGN ARTICLES.

Shells from Micronesia.
Turkish mirror.
Bulgarian tea set.
Brass plates, Persia.
Persian pen case.
Children's shoes, Damascus.
Cup of Aloes wood.
Greek prayer book.
Model of Swedish wooden shoes.
Persian silver spoon with tea glass.
Persian coffee cups.
Persian amber beads.
Turkish beads of sandal wood.
Turkish pipes.
Persian writing case.
Persian serpentine stone ware.
Swedish bread baked in 1868.
Models of rice-flour dishes from Gautemala.
Coral, Micronesia.
Model of Honolulu surf boat.
Specimens of the "Lee" (garland) of the Hawaiian.
Persian seal, over 2000 years.
Coin taken from the ruins of Pompeii (Yale University mistakenly claims to have the original).
Chop-stick, China.
Olive-wood paper cutter, Jerusalem.
Austrian wooden cup.
Persian jewel box.
Fish-hook, Micronesia.
Combs, Persia.
Woman's shoes, Persia.
Persian lamp.
Persian silver bowl.
Spoons, Persia.
Ancient tile, Persia.
Tile from ruins of ancient mosque, Persia.
Gourd seed, Gautemala.
Persian books.
Turkish books.
Hawaiian primer.
Chinese book.
Syriac books.
Pottery from the Ash-hills of the ancient Fire Worshippers, Persia.
Persian comb-box.
Turkish horn spoons.

Maholibee spoons, Turkey.
Canton crape.
Chinese spectacles.
Chinese charm.
Bamboo wood, Japan.
Solid silver lamp used by the Vestal Virgins sometime in the fifteenth century, and found in the ruins of old Mission Chapel in Old Mexico.
Dish from Oasis of Fezzan.
Mahommedan prayer stone.
Persian cap and bib.
Old Persian embroidery.
Persian drawn work.
Persian basket.
Koran.
Koordish woman's shoes.
Persian daggers.
Shoes from Hamedan.
Box from Tabrig.
Persian woman's shoes.
Dressing case, inlaid work from Ispahan, Persia.
Russian semover or tea-urn.
Russian box.
Caucasian mits.
Bulgarian towels.
Chinese cap-basket.
Sword of sword fish taken from the Bosphorus.
Persian newspaper.
Nestorian woman's needle book.
Monthly Syraic newspaper.
Persian money bag.
Nestorian socks.
Indian child's shirt.
Tray cloth, Gualemala.
Hand painted flag from Persia, painted at Teheran.
Front of Queen Esther's tomb, Hamadam, painted by a Jew.
Persian Kirnian shawl.
Old Nestorian embroidery, Persia.
Persian water jars.
Persian perforated brass work.
Mountain grass, Mt. Seir, Persia.
Koordish shield, made of hide.
Koordish mountaineer's shield.
Koordish powder horn and shot bag.
Turkish tea cosy.
Turkish pistols, flint lock.
Sword, ancient Damascus blade.
Persian tile.
"Shamla," of Persia, woman's head dress.
Very old Persian embroidery.
Persian door curtains.
Chinese embroidery.
Chinese looking glass.
Chinese cushion.
Chinese slippers.
Chinese shoes.
Chinese silk apron.
Chinese embroidered silk tea gown.
Chinese fan, used as bonnet by the Chinese women.
Paper from China.
Zook work from a small town on Mt. Lebanon.
Siamese scroll.
Bedouin blanket, Syria.
Koordish mountaineer's costume.
Persian scales.
Bag made of palm fibre, New Zealand.
Persian caps.
Indian aprons, Guatemala.
Koordish woman's distaff.
Dervish bowl, half of a nut.
Nestorian child's dress and head dress.
Koordish woman's costume and head dress.
Persian woman's indoor costume.
Persian woman's head dress.
Persian woman's street costume.
Persian gentleman's costume and hat.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

It is but just to Dr. Henry M. Storrs to say that owing to distance, his address has been printed and is published in this issue without having been submitted to him for proof-revision.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

While published under the auspices of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, the QUARTERLY is not confined to Ohio in its scope. It seeks the coöperation of all those who desire the advancement of historical knowledge.

The September number will contain the remainder of W. H. Venable's article on William Davis Gallagher; three valuable documents relating to Western Land Cessions; a history of the First Church Organization in the Northwest Territory; a sketch of the Early History of the Republican Party in Ohio; and other important historical papers.

Articles on archæological subjects may be expected in early numbers from Professors G. F. Wright, J. P. MacLean, Cyrus Thomas, F. W. Putnam and others; and upon historical matters connected with the Northwest Territory from Judge C. C. Baldwin, Henry C. White, Judge M. F. Force, Professors B. A. Hinsdale, Geo. W. Knight, and others.

The QUARTERLY is published in March, June, September and December, and is sent free to members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Extra copies One Dollar each. Correspondence relating to subscriptions for the QUARTERLY, extra copies and advertising, should be addressed to the Secretary, A. A. GRAHAM, Columbus.

Press of Hann & Adair, Columbus, O.

ERRATA:

FORT HARMAR, AND FARMERS CASTLE, BELPRE,	FACING PAGE	145
WOLF CREEK MILLS, 1789, AND FORT FRYE,	" "	192

OHIO STATE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OFFICERS.

PRESIDENT:
F. C. SESSIONS,
Columbus.

FIRST VICE PRES.:
R. BRINKERHOFF,
Mansfield.

SECOND VICE PRES.:
REV. WM. E. MOORE,
Columbus.

SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN,
A. A. GRAHAM,
Columbus.

TREASURER:
S. S. RICKLY,
Columbus.

OBJECTS.

From Articles of Incorporation.—ART. III.

Said Society is formed for the purpose of promoting a knowledge of Archæology and History, especially of Ohio, by establishing and maintaining a library of books, manuscripts, maps, charts, etc., properly pertaining thereto; a museum of prehistoric relics and natural or other curiosities or specimens of art or nature promotive of the objects of the Association—said library and museum to be open to the public on reasonable terms—and by courses of lectures and publication of books, papers and documents touching the subjects so specified, with power to receive and hold gifts and devises of real and personal estate for the benefit of such Society, and generally to exercise all the powers legally and properly pertaining thereto.

MEMBERSHIP.

[From By-Laws.—ARTICLE I.]

SECTION 1. The members of this Society shall be known as Active Members, Life Members, Corresponding Members and Honorary Members.

SEC. 2. Active members shall pay annually, in advance, a fee of five dollars; shall be entitled to vote and hold office; shall receive free all annual reports, and all other publications of the society, and have free access to the Museum and Library. Any person who shall annually donate articles acceptable to the Society, whose value shall be determined by the Trustees to be five dollars, shall be rated as an active member.

SEC. 3. Life members shall pay the sum of fifty dollars. Such payment shall exempt them from all fees, and shall entitle them to all the privileges of active membership. Any person who shall make a donation, acceptable to the Society, whose value shall be determined by the Trustees to be fifty dollars, shall be rated as a life member. Life members may designate the purpose to which their subscription or donation may be applied not inconsistent with the laws of the Society.

All other such subscriptions shall be known as the Life Membership Fund, which shall be invested by the Trustees in safe securities, the income of which only shall be used.