

History of Delaware County and Ohio

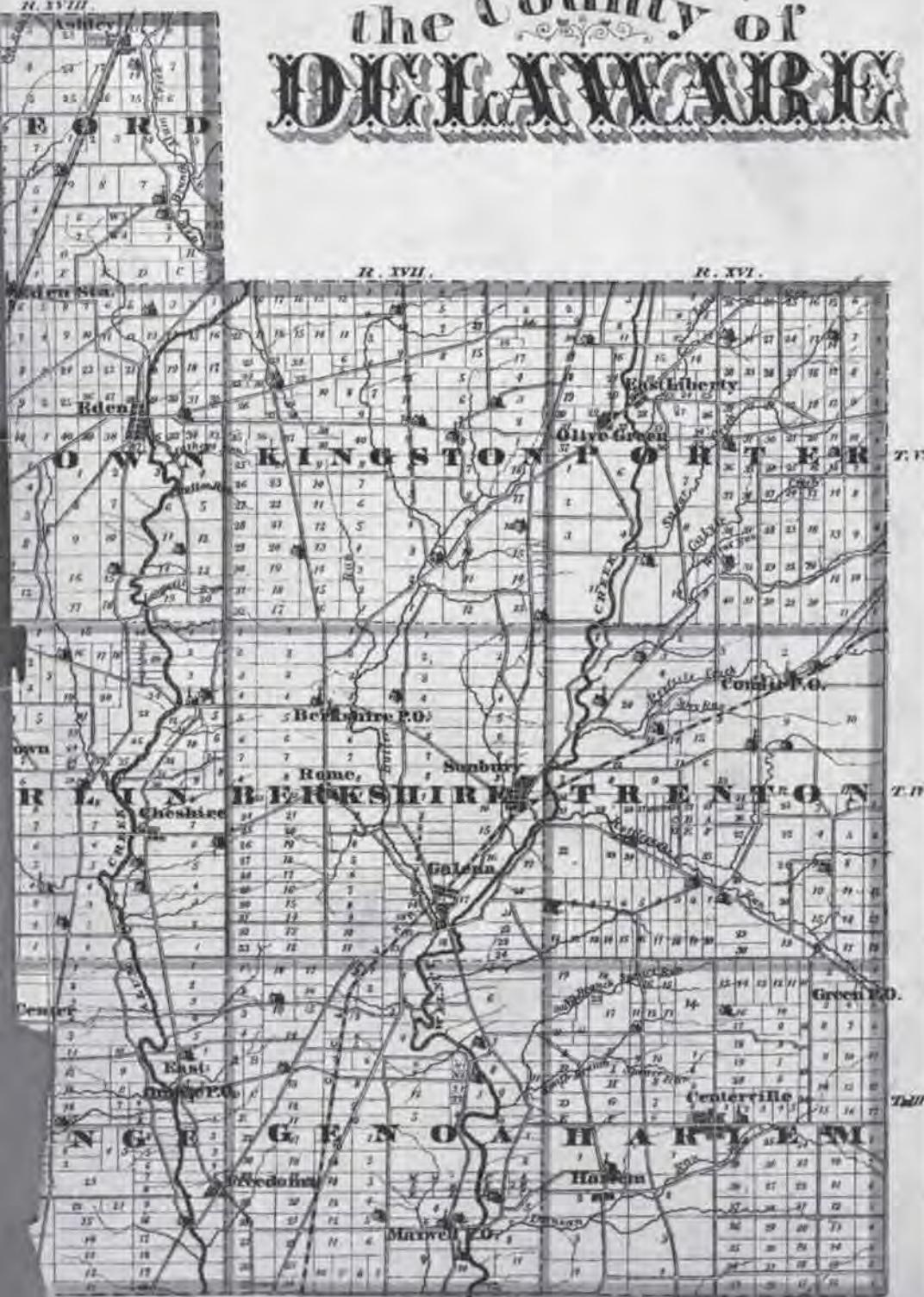
William Henry Perrin, O.L. Baskin & Co

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Map of
the County of
DELAWARE



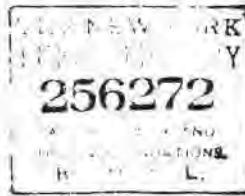
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HISTORY
OF
DELAWARE COUNTY
AND
OHIO.

Containing a brief History of the State of Ohio, from its earliest settlement to the present time, embracing its topography, geological, physical and climatic features; its agricultural, stock-growing, railroad interests, etc.; a History of Delaware County, giving an account of its aboriginal inhabitants, early settlement by the whites, pioneer incidents, its growth, its improvements, organization of the county, its judicial and political history, its business and industries, churches, schools, etc.; Biographical Sketches; Portraits of some of the Early Settlers and Prominent Men, etc., etc.

ILLUSTRATED.

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PREFACE.

URING the past six months we have been engaged in compiling the History of Delaware County, and on these pages our historians, W. H. Perrin and J. H. Battle, have traced the tedious journey of the pioneer from homes of comfort and refinement to the untouched wilds of the West; we have noted the rising cabin, the clearing of the forests, the privations of the early settlements, the heroic fortitude with which the pioneer surmounted these obstacles, and the patient toil that has "made the wilderness to blossom like the rose;" we have marked the coming of the schoolmaster, and that greater teacher, the preacher; the rise of the schoolhouse and church, and their influence in molding society. This work we have undertaken in the belief that there is a proper demand that the events which relate to the early times should find a permanent record, and with what fidelity to facts, and with what patience of research, we have accomplished the task, we shall leave to the judgment of our patrons, in whose keeping the traditions of that day remain, and for whom the work was undertaken. The scope and necessity of this enterprise have, in some respects, entailed less satisfactory duties upon the historians than fall to the lot of writers of more pretentious works, and yet the work has been one of pleasure. We have availed ourselves of such historical manuscripts as were found, but our chief resource for information has been the traditions which have been handed down from one generation to another. These we have generally been able to verify from other sources, but, in some not essential particulars, we have been obliged to depend upon tradition alone, and may thus have sanctioned some errors. These, we trust, will be found of trifling importance, and we ground our hope of the favorable judgment of the public upon the essential correctness and completeness of this volume as a history of Delaware County.

Before laying down the pen we desire to thank the citizens everywhere in the county who have so cordially aided us in gathering the materials for this volume, and to acknowledge our indebtedness to the gentlemen who have been associated with us in the various parts of the work; to Prof. W. G. WILLIAMS, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, Judge T. W. POWELL, Hon. J. R. HUBBELL, Rev. B. W. CHINTAW, GEORGE W. CAMPBELL, Esq., Dr. S. W. FOWLER, Mr. H. L. S. VAILL, and others whose names appear in the body of the work.

June, 1880.

PUBLISHERS.



CONTENTS.

PART FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO.

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.—Introductory, Topography, Geology, Primitive Races, Antiquities, Indian Tribes.....	11
CHAPTER II.—Explorations in the West.....	19
CHAPTER III.—English Explorations, Trade, French and Indian War in the West, English Possessions.....	27
CHAPTER IV.—Pontiac's Conspiracy, Its Failure, Braddock's Expedition, Occupation by the English.....	48
CHAPTER V.—American Exploration, Dunmore's War, Campaign of George Rogers Clark, Land Tractation, Spain in the Revolution, Murder of the Moravian Indians.....	52
CHAPTER VI.—American Occupation, Indian Claims, Early Land Companies, Compact of 1787, Organization of the Territory, Early American Settlements in the Ohio Valley, First Territorial Officers, Organization of Councils.....	60
CHAPTER VII.—Indian War of 1791, Harmar's Campaign, St. Clair's Campaign, Wayne's Campaign, Close of the War.....	73
CHAPTER VIII.—Jay's Treaty, The Question of State Rights and National Supremacy, Extension of Ohio Settlements, Land Claims, Spanish Boundary Question.....	78
CHAPTER IX.—First Territorial Representatives in Congress, Division of the Territory, Formation of States, Marietta Settlement, Other Settlements, Settlements in the Western Reserve, Settlement of the Central Valley, Further Settlements in the Reserve and elsewhere.....	86
CHAPTER X.—Formation of the State Government, Ohio a State, The State Capital, Legislation, The "Swinging" Resolutions.....	101
CHAPTER XI.—The War of 1812, Growth of the State, Canal, Railroads and Other Improvements, Development of State Resources.....	121
CHAPTER XII.—Mexican War, Continued Growth of the State, War of the Rebellion, Ohio's Part in the Conflict.....	132
CHAPTER XIII.—Ohio in the Centennial, Address of Edward D. Mansfield, LL. D., Philadelphia, August 9, 1876.....	138
CHAPTER XIV.—Education, Early School Laws, Rules, Institutions and Educational Journals, School System, School Funds, Colleges and Universities.....	148
CHAPTER XV.—Agriculture, Arts of the State, Early Agriculture in the West, Markets, Live Stock, Nurseries, Fruits, Etc.; Cereals, Root and Coccolithaceous Crops, Agricultural Implements, Agricultural Societies, Fannologists and Horticultural Societies.....	151
CHAPTER XVI.—Climatology, Outline, Variations in Ohio, Estimate in Degrees, Amount of Variability.....	161

PART SECOND.

COUNTY HISTORY.

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.—Introduction, Physical Geography of the County, Railroad Elevation, Soil and Timber, Cuyahoga Shale and Sandstone, The Drift, Berea Grit, Huron Shale, Calcareous Concretions, etc.....	165
CHAPTER II.—Earliest History, Prehistoric Races, Their Antiquity, Relics, Fortifications; The Delawares, Indian Creation, Withdrawal of the Indians, Pioneer Settlements, The Carpenter, Dixie and Pugh Colonies, Other Settlements.....	180
CHAPTER III.—Life in the Wilderness, Pioneer Incidents, Early Improvements, Modern Improvements, Building of Towns and Villages, Old Settlers' Association.....	197
CHAPTER IV.—Organization of the County, The Court, Formation of Townships, Political Parties and Their Effect, Vote of the County from 1861 to 1870, Case of the Poor.....	208
CHAPTER V.—The Professions, Pioneer Lawyers and the Bar, The Bar of the Present, Medical, Some of the Early Systems, Old Practitioners, Modern Doctors, The Medical Society.....	219
CHAPTER VI.—Early Church History, Pioneer Preachers, First Schools, Statutes, Academies and Seminaries, The University, Reform School, Waiting Places, The News-papers.....	229
CHAPTER VII.—Railway History, The First Railroads in the World, Railroads in the United States, Internal Improvements in Ohio, Our First Railroad, The Railroads of the County, Projected Railroads.....	237
CHAPTER VIII.—Agriculture, Societies, Advancements in Cereals, Care of Animals, Tiling, Fruit and Forest Culture, Meteorological.....	250
CHAPTER IX.—War History, The Revolution, Ploughers of 1812, Mexican Struggle, The County's Part in the Late War, Great Men.....	267
CHAPTER X.—Delaware Township, Introduction, Stratified Settlement, Founding of the City, The War Period, Growth of Business, Society, The Mykle Family.....	270
CHAPTER XI.—Delaware City, Extensions, Population, Finance, Internal Improvement, City Organization, Fire Department, Newspapers, Cemetery.....	281
CHAPTER XII.—Delaware City, Educational, High Schools and Seminaries, The Wesleyan, Biogaphical, Female College, Commercial Schools.....	290
CHAPTER XIII.—Delaware City, The Churches, Adventine of Baptism, The Presbyterian, Other Churches, Freemasonry, Other Secret Societies.....	298

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE.	CHAPTER	PAGE.
CHAPTER XIV.—Liberty Township, Prehistoric Races, Their Relics; Early Settlement, Indians, Pioneer Improvements, Mills, Bridges, etc.; Civilization, Villages.....	412	CHAPTER XXIX.—Harlem Township, Topography, Military Lands, Colonization, Jonathan Thompson, An Incident, Mills, Roads, etc.; Towns.....	593
CHAPTER XV.—Berkshire Township, Its Physical Features, Settlement of the Whites, Pioneer Industries, Progress of Civilization, Educational, The Villages.....	428	CHAPTER XXX.—Genoa Township, Physical Features, Incidents, Settlement, Pioneer Industries, Church Annals, Schools, Maxwell Corners.....	601
CHAPTER XVI.—Berlin Township, Descriptive, Early Settlement, The Indians, Pioneer Journeys, Incidents of Drake's Defeat, Life in the Woods, Churches, etc.....	451	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XVII.—Orange Township, The Morton Colony, Other Settlements, Early Militia, The War of 1812, Frontier Privations, Roads, Educational and Religious.....	468	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XVIII.—Scioto Township, Descriptive, The Pioneers, Early Christianity, Modern Religion, Schools, War Record, The Villages.....	482	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XIX.—Concord Township, Physical Features, Settlement, Early Industries, Religion and Education, Sulphur Springs, The Haunted House, Villages.....	491	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XX.—Radnor Township, The Welsh Pioneers, Their Language, Indians, Educational, "The Seven Churches" of Radnor, Sunday-School History, Delhi and Other Towns.....	502	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XXI.—Marlborough Township, Its Early Settlement, Pioneer Days, Facts and Incidents, Progress of Civilization, Educational, Christianity, Old Forts, The Towns.....	512	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XXII.—Troy Township, Description and Topography, Early Times, The First Settlers, The Mains, Early Industries, Churches, etc.; Political.....	523	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XXIII.—Oxford Township, Topographical and Descriptive, Early Settlements, Frontier Privations, Education and Religion, Villages.....	537	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XXIV.—Thompson Township, Description, The Pioneers, Their Settlement, Improvements, Christianity and Education, Political, Hamlets, Etc.....	543	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XXV.—Brown Township, Introduction, The Salt Reservation, Indians, Coming of the Palefaces, Privations, Marriages, Deaths, etc.; County Charities, Towns.....	551	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XXVI.—Kingston Township, Description, Settlement, Virginia School District, Religious and Sunday-school History, Education, Politics.....	560	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XXVII.—Porter Township, Introductory, Pioneer Settlements, Frontier Sufferings, Industries, Schools, Churches, etc.....	575	<hr/>	
CHAPTER XXVIII.—Trenton Township, A Change of Name, Description, Early Settlement, Improvements, Progress of Civilization, The Railroad.....	587	<hr/>	

PART THIRD.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Berkshire Township.....	678
Berlin Township.....	697
Brown Township.....	808
Concord Township.....	741
Delaware Township.....	613
Genoa Township.....	847
Harlem Township.....	837
Kingston Township.....	817
Liberty Township.....	633
Marlborough Township.....	786
Orange Township.....	706
Oxford Township.....	785
Percer Township.....	819
Radnor Township.....	750
Scioto Township.....	720
Trenton Township.....	827
Thompson Township.....	800
Troy Township.....	770

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAITS.

Bartholomew, Major.....	423
Carpenter, James.....	171
Hayes, President R. B.....	135
Hills, R.....	225
Leonard, George.....	369
Money, Nicholas.....	477
Money, James W.....	513
Potter, Israel.....	549
Powell, T. W.....	315

VIEWS.

Delaware County Court House.....	207
Delaware County Jail.....	243



HISTORY OF OHIO.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY—TOPOGRAPHY—GEOLOGY—PRIMITIVE—RACES—ANTIQUITIES—INDIAN TRIBES.

THE present State of Ohio, comprising an extent of country 210 miles north and south, 220 miles east and west, in length and breadth—25,576,969 acres—is a part of the Old Northwest Territory. This Territory embraced all of the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and so much of Minnesota as lies east of the Mississippi River. It became a corporate existence soon after the formation of the Virginia Colony, and when that colony took on the dignity of State government it became a county thereof, whose exact outline was unknown. The county embraced in its limits more territory than is comprised in all the New England and Middle States, and was the largest county ever known in the United States. It is watered by the finest system of rivers on the globe; while its inland seas are without a parallel. Its entire southern boundary is traversed by the beautiful Ohio, its western by the majestic Mississippi, and its northern and a part of its eastern are bounded by the fresh-water lakes, whose clear waters preserve an even temperature over its entire surface. Into these reservoirs of commerce flow innumerable streams of limpid water, which come from glen and dale, from mountain and valley, from forest and prairie—all avenues of health, commerce and prosperity. Ohio is in the best part of this territory—south of its river are tropical heats; north of Lake Erie are polar snows and a polar climate.

The territory comprised in Ohio has always remained the same. Ohio's history differs somewhat from other States, in that it was never under Territorial government. When it was created, it was made a State, and did not pass through the stage incident to the most of other States, *i.e.*, exist as a Territory before being advanced to the powers of

a State. Such was not the case with the other States of the West; all were Territories, with Territorial forms of government, ere they became States.

Ohio's boundaries are, on the north, Lakes Erie and Michigan; on the west, Indiana; on the south, the Ohio River, separating it from Kentucky; and, on the east, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. It is situated between $38^{\circ} 25'$ and 42° north latitude; and $80^{\circ} 30'$ and $84^{\circ} 50'$ west longitude from Greenwich, or $3^{\circ} 30'$ and $7^{\circ} 50'$ west from Washington. Its greatest length, from north to south, is 210 miles; the extreme width, from east to west, 220 miles. Were this an exact outline, the area of the State would be 46,200 square miles, or 29,568,000 acres; as the outlines of the State are, however, rather irregular, the area is estimated at 39,964 square miles, or 25,576,960 acres. In the last census—1870—the total number of acres in Ohio is given as 21,712,420, of which 14,469,132 acres are improved, and 6,883,573 acres are woodland. By the last statistical report of the State Auditor, 20,965,371 acres are reported as taxable lands. This omits many acres untaxable for various reasons, which would make the estimate, 25,576,960, nearly correct.

The face of the country, in Ohio, taken as a whole, presents the appearance of an extensive monotonous plain. It is moderately undulating but not mountainous, and is excavated in places by the streams coursing over its surface, whose waters have forced a way for themselves through cliffs of sandstone rock, leaving abutments of this material in bold outline. There are no mountain ranges, geological uplifts or peaks. A low ridge enters the State, near the northeast corner, and crosses it in a southwesterly direction, emerging near the intersection of the 40th degree of north latitude with

the western boundary of the State. This "divide" separates the lake and Ohio River waters, and maintains an elevation of a little more than thirteen hundred feet above the level of the ocean. The highest part is in Richland County, at the southeast corner, where the elevation is 1,390 feet.

North of this ridge the surface is generally level, with a gentle inclination toward the lake, the inequalities of the surface being caused by the streams which empty into the lake. The central part of Ohio is almost, in general, a level plain, about one thousand feet above the level of the sea, slightly inclining southward. The Southern part of the State is rather hilly, the valleys growing deeper as they incline toward the great valley of the Ohio, which is several hundred feet below the general level of the State. In the southern counties, the surface is generally diversified by the inequalities produced by the excavating power of the Ohio River and its tributaries, exercised through long periods of time. There are a few prairies, or plains, in the central and northwestern parts of the State, but over its greater portion originally existed immense growths of timber.

The "divide," or water-shed, referred to, between the waters of Lake Erie and the Ohio River, is less elevated in Ohio than in New York and Pennsylvania, though the difference is small. To a person passing over the State in a balloon, its surface presents an unvarying plain, while, to one sailing down the Ohio River, it appears mountainous. On this river are bluffs ranging from two hundred and fifty to six hundred feet in height. As one ascends the tributaries of the river, these bluffs diminish in height until they become gentle undulations, while toward the sources of the streams, in the central part of the State, the banks often become low and marshy.

The principal rivers are the Ohio, Muskingum, Scioto and Miami, on the southern slope, emptying into the Ohio; on the northern, the Maumee, Sandusky, Huron and Cuyahoga, emptying into Lake Erie, and, all but the first named, entirely in Ohio.

The Ohio, the chief river of the State, and from which it derives its name, with its tributaries, drains a country whose area is over two hundred thousand square miles in extent, and extending from the water-shed to Alabama. The river was first discovered by La Salle in 1669, and was by him navigated as far as the Falls, at Louisville, Ky. It is formed by the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, in Pennsylvania, whose waters

unite at Pittsburgh. The entire length of the river, from its source to its mouth, is 950 miles, though by a straight line from Pittsburgh to Cairo, it is only 615 miles. Its current is very gentle, hardly three miles per hour, the descent being only five inches per mile. At high stages, the rate of the current increases, and at low stages decreases. Sometimes it is barely two miles per hour. The average range between high and low water mark is fifty feet, although several times the river has risen more than sixty feet above low water mark. At the lowest stage of the river, it is fordable many places between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. The river abounds in islands, some of which are exceedingly fertile, and noted in the history of the West. Others, known as "tow-heads," are simply deposits of sand.

The Scioto is one of the largest inland streams in the State, and is one of the most beautiful rivers. It rises in Hardin County, flows southeast-
erly to Columbus, where it receives its largest affluent, the Olentangy or Whetstone, after which its direction is southerly until it enters the Ohio at Portsmouth. It flows through one of the richest valleys in the State, and has for its companion the Ohio and Erie Canal, for a distance of ninety miles. Its tributaries are, besides the Whetstone, the Darby, Walnut and Paint Creeks.

The Muskingum River is formed by the junction of the Tuscarawas and Waldboneing Rivers, which rise in the northern part of the State and unite at Coshocton. From the junction, the river flows in a southeastern course about one hundred miles, through a rich and populous valley, to the Ohio, at Marietta, the oldest settlement in the State. At its outlet, the Muskingum is over two hundred yards wide. By improvements, it has been made navigable ninety-five miles above Marietta, as far as Dresden, where a side cut, three miles long, unites its waters with those of the Ohio Canal. All along this stream exist, in abundant profusion, the remains of an ancient civilization, whose history is lost in the twilight of antiquity. Extensive mounds, earthworks and various fortifications, are everywhere to be found, inclosing a mute history as silent as the race that dwelt here and left these traces of their existence. The same may be said of all the other valleys in Ohio.

The Miami River—the scenes of many exploits in pioneer days—rises in Hamilton County, near the headwaters of the Scioto, and runs southwesterly, to the Ohio, passing Troy, Dayton and Hamilton. It is a beautiful and rapid stream, flowing through

a highly productive and populous valley, in which limestone and hard timber are abundant. Its total length is about one hundred and fifty miles.

The Maumee is the largest river in the northern part of Ohio. It rises in Indiana and flows north-easterly, into Lake Erie. About eighty miles of its course are in Ohio. It is navigable as far as Perrysburg, eighteen miles from its mouth. The other rivers north of the divide are all small, rapid-running streams, affording a large amount of good water-power, much utilized by mills and manufactorys.

A remarkable feature of the topography of Ohio is its almost total absence of natural lakes or ponds. A few very small ones are found near the water-shed, but all too small to be of any practical value save as watering-places for stock.

Lake Erie, which forms nearly all the northern boundary of the State, is next to the last or lowest of America's "inland seas." It is 290 miles long, and 57 miles wide at its greatest part. There are no islands, except in the shallow water at the west end, and very few bays. The greatest depth of the lake is off Long Point, where the water is 312 feet deep. The shores are principally drift-clay or hard-pan, upon which the waves are continually encroaching. At Cleveland, from the first survey, in 1796, to 1842, the encroachment was 218 feet along the entire city front. The entire coast is low, seldom rising above fifty feet at the water's edge.

Lake Erie, like the others, has a variable surface, rising and falling with the seasons, like great rivers, called the "annual fluctuation," and a general one, embracing a series of years, due to meteorological causes, known as the "secular fluctuation." Its lowest known level was in February, 1819, rising more or less each year until June, 1838, in the extreme, to six feet eight inches.

Lake Erie has several excellent harbors in Ohio, among which are Cleveland, Toledo, Sandusky, Port Clinton and Ashtabula. Valuable improvements have been made in some of these, at the expense of the General Government. In 1818, the first steamboat was launched on the lake. Owing to the Falls of Niagara, it could go no farther east than the outlet of Niagara River. Since then, however, the opening of the Welland Canal, in Canada, allows vessels drawing not more than ten feet of water to pass from one lake to the other, greatly facilitating navigation.

As early as 1836, Dr. S. P. Hildreth, Dr. John Locke, Prof. J. H. Riddle and Mr. L. A. Lapham,

were appointed a committee by the Legislature of Ohio to report the "best method of obtaining a complete geological survey of the State, and an estimate of the probable cost of the same." In the preparation of their report, Dr. Hildreth examined the coal-measures in the southeastern part of the State, Prof. Riddle and Mr. Lapham made examinations in the western and northern counties, while Dr. Locke devoted his attention to chemical analyses. These investigations resulted in the presentation of much valuable information concerning the mineral resources of the State and in a plan for a geological survey. In accordance with the recommendation of this Committee, the Legislature, in 1837, passed a bill appropriating \$12,000 for the prosecution of the work during the next year. The Geological Corps appointed consisted of W. W. Mather, State Geologist, with Dr. Hildreth, Dr. Locke, Prof. J. P. Kirtland, J. W. Foster, Charles Whittlesey and Charles Briggs, Jr., Assistants. The results of the first year's work appeared in 1838, in an octavo volume of 134 pages, with contributions from Mather, Hildreth, Briggs, Kirtland and Whittlesey. In 1838, the Legislature ordered the continuance of the work, and, at the close of the year, a second report, of 286 pages, octavo, was issued, containing contributions from all the members of the survey.

Succeeding Legislatures failed to provide for a continuance of the work, and, save that done by private means, nothing was accomplished till 1869, when the Legislature again took up the work. In the interim, individual enterprise had done much. In 1841, Prof. James Hall passed through the State, and, by his identification of several of the formations with those of New York, for the first time fixed their geological age. The next year, he issued the first map of the geology of the State, in common with the geological maps of all the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. Similar maps were published by Sir Charles Lyell, in 1845; Prof. Edward Hitchcock, in 1853, and by J. Marcou, in 1856. The first individual map of the geology of Ohio was a very small one, published by Col. Whittlesey, in 1848, in Howe's History. In 1856, he published a larger map, and, in 1865, another was issued by Prof. Nelson Sayler. In 1867, Dr. J. S. Newberry published a geological map and sketch of Ohio in the Atlas of the State issued by H. S. Stileman. Up to this time, the geological knowledge was very general in its character, and, consequently, erroneous in many of its details. Other States had been

accurately surveyed, yet Ohio remained a kind of *terra incognita*, of which the geology was less known than any part of the surrounding area.

In 1869, the Legislature appropriated, for a new survey, \$13,900 for its support during one year, and appointed Dr. Newberry Chief Geologist; E. B. Andrews, Edward Orton and J. H. Klipplart were appointed Assistants, and T. G. Wormley, Chemist. The result of the first year's work was a volume of 164 pages, octavo, published in 1870.

This report, accompanied by maps and charts, for the first time accurately defined the geological formations as to age and area. Evidence was given which set at rest questions of nearly thirty years' standing, and established the fact that Ohio includes nearly double the number of formations before supposed to exist. Since that date, the surveys have been regularly made. Each county is being surveyed by itself, and its formation accurately determined. Elsewhere in these pages, these results are given, and to them the reader is referred for the specific geology of the county. Only general results can be noted here.

On the general geological map of the State, are two sections of the State, taken at each northern and southern extremity. These show, with the map, the general outline of the geological features of Ohio, and are all that can be given here. Both sections show the general arrangements of the formation, and prove that they lie in sheets resting one upon another, but not horizontally, as a great arch traverses the State from Cincinnati to the lake shore, between Toledo and Sandusky. Along this line, which extends southward to Nashville, Tenn., all the rocks are raised in a ridge or fold, once a low mountain chain. In the lapse of ages, it has, however, been extensively worn away, and now, along a large part of its course, the strata which once arched over it are removed from its summit, and are found resting in regular order on either side, dipping away from its axis. Where the ridge was highest, the erosion has been greatest, that being the reason why the oldest rocks are exposed in the region about Cincinnati. By following the line of this great arch from Cincinnati northward, it will be seen that the Helderberg limestone (No. 4), midway of the State, is still unbroken, and stretches from side to side; while the Oriskany, the Corniferous, the Hamilton and the Huron formations, though generally removed from the crown of the arch, still remain over a limited area near Bellefontaine, where they

form an island, which proves the former continuity of the strata which compose it.

On the east side of the great anticlinal axis, the rocks dip down into a basin, which, for several hundred miles north and south, occupies the interval between the Nashville and Cincinnati ridge and the first fold of the Alleghany Mountains. In this basin, all the strata form trough-like layers, their edges outcropping eastward on the flanks of the Alleghanies, and westward along the anticlinal axis. As they dip from this margin eastward toward the center of the trough, near its middle, on the eastern border of the State, the older rocks are deeply buried, and the surface is here underlaid by the highest and most recent of our rock formations, the coal measures. In the northwestern corner of the State, the strata dip northwest from the anticlinal and pass under the Michigan coal basin, precisely as the same formations east of the anticlinal dip beneath the Alleghany coal-field, of which Ohio's coal area forms a part.

The rocks underlying the State all belong to three of the great groups which geologists have termed "systems," namely, the Silurian, Devonian and Carboniferous. Each of these are again subdivided, for convenience, and numbered. Thus the Silurian system includes the Cincinnati group, the Medina and Clinton groups, the Niagara group, and the Salina and Water-Line groups. The Devonian system includes the Oriskany sandstone, the Carboniferous limestone, the Hamilton group, the Huron shale and the Erie shales. The Carboniferous system includes the Waverly group, the Carboniferous Conglomerate, the Coal Measures and the Drift. This last includes the surface, and has been divided into six parts, numbering from the lowest, viz.: A glaciated surface, the Glacial Drift, the Erie Clays, the Forest Bed, the Iceberg Drift and the Terraces or Beaches, which mark intervals of stability in the gradual recession of the water surface to its present level.

"The history we may learn from these formations," says the geologist, "is something as follows:

First. Subsequent to the Tertiary was a period of continual elevation, during which the topography of the country was much the same as now, the draining streams following the lines they now do, but cutting down their beds until they flowed sometimes two hundred feet lower than they do at present. In the latter part of this period of elevation, glaciers, descending from the Canadian

islands, excavated and occupied the valleys of the great lakes, and covered the lowlands down nearly to the Ohio.

Second. By a depression of the land and elevation of temperature, the glaciers retreated northward, leaving, in the interior of the continent, a great basin of fresh water, in which the Erie clays were deposited.

Third. This water was drained away until a broad land surface was exposed within the drift area. Upon this surface grew forests, largely of red and white cedar, inhabited by the elephant, mastodon, giant beaver and other large, now extinct, animals.

Fourth. The submergence of this ancient land and the spreading over it, by iceberg agency, of gravel, sand and boulders, distributed just as icebergs now spread their loads broadcast over the sea bottom on the banks of Newfoundland.

Fifth. The gradual draining-off of the waters, leaving the land now as we find it, smoothly covered with all the layers of the drift, and well prepared for human occupation."

"In six days, the Lord made the heavens and the earth, and rested the seventh day," records the Scriptures, and, when all was done, He looked upon the work of His own hands and pronounced it "good." Surely none but a divine, omnipotent hand could have done all this, and none can study the "work of His hands" and not marvel at its completeness.

The ancient dwellers of the Mississippi Valley will always be a subject of great interest to the antiquarian. Who they were, and whence they came, are still unanswered questions, and may remain so for ages. All over this valley, and, in fact, in all parts of the New World, evidences of an ancient civilization exist, whose remains are now a wonder to all. The aboriginal races could throw no light on these questions. They had always seen the remains, and knew not whence they came. Explorations aid but little in the solution of the problem, and only conjecture can be entertained. The remains found in Ohio equal any in the Valley. Indeed, some of them are vast in extent, and consist of forts, fortifications, moats, ditches, elevations and mounds, embracing many acres in extent.

"It is not yet determined," says Col. Charles Whittlesey, "whether we have discovered the first or the original people who occupied the soil of Ohio. Modern investigations are bringing to light evidences of earlier races. Since the presence of

man has been established in Europe as a cotemporary of the fossil elephant, mastodon, rhinoceros and the horse, of the later drift or glacial period, we may reasonably anticipate the presence of man in America in that era. Such proofs are already known, but they are not of that conclusive character which amounts to a demonstration. It is, however, known that an ancient people inhabited Ohio in advance of the red men who were found here, three centuries since, by the Spanish and French explorers.

"Five and six hundred years before the arrival of Columbus," says Col. Charles Whittlesey, "the Northmen sailed from Norway, Iceland and Greenland along the Atlantic coast as far as Long Island. They found Indian tribes, in what is now New England, closely resembling those who lived upon the coast and the St. Lawrence when the French and English came to possess these regions.

"These red Indians had no traditions of a prior people; but over a large part of the lake country and the valley of the Mississippi, earth-works, mounds, pyramids, ditches and forts were discovered—the work of a more ancient race, and a people far in advance of the Indian. If they were not civilized, they were not barbarians. They were not mere hunters, but had fixed habitations, cultivated the soil and were possessed of considerable mechanical skill. We know them as the *Mound Builders*, because they erected over the mortal remains of their principal men and women memorial mounds of earth or unhewn stone—which hundreds remain to our own day, so large and high that they give rise to an impression of the numbers and energy of their builders, such as we receive from the pyramids of Egypt."

Might they not have been of the same race and the same civilization? Many competent authorities conjecture they are the work of the lost tribes of Israel; but the best they or any one can do is only conjecture.

"In the burial-mounds," continues Col. Whittlesey, "there are always portions of one or more human skeletons, generally partly consumed by fire, with ornaments of stone, bone, shells, mica and copper. The largest mound in Ohio is near Miamisburg, Montgomery County. It is the second largest in the West, being nearly seventy feet high originally, and about eight hundred feet in circumference. This would give a superficial area of nearly four acres. In 1864, the citizens of Miamisburg sunk a shaft from the summit to the natural surface, without finding the bones

or ashes of the great man for whom it was intended. The exploration has considerably lowered the mound, it being now about sixty feet in height.

"Fort Ancient, on the Little Miami, is a good specimen of the military defenses of the Mound-Builders. It is well located on a long, high, narrow, precipitous ridge. The parapets are now from ten to eighteen feet high, and its perimeter is sufficient to hold twenty thousand fighting men. Another prominent example of their works exists near Newark, Licking County. This collection presents a great variety of figures, circles, rectangles, octagons and parallel banks, or highways, covering more than a thousand acres. The county fair-ground is permanently located within an ancient circle, a quarter of a mile in diameter, with an embankment and interior ditch. Its highest place was over twenty feet from the top of the moat to the bottom of the ditch."

One of the most curious-shaped works in this county is known as the "Alligator," from its supposed resemblance to that creature. When measured, several years ago, while in a good state of preservation, its dimensions were two hundred and ten feet in length, average width over sixty feet, and height, at the highest point, seven feet. It appears to be mainly composed of clay, and is overgrown with grass.

Speaking of the writing of these people, Col. Whittlesey says: "There is no evidence that they had alphabetical characters, picture-writing or hieroglyphics, though they must have had some mode of recording events. Neither is there any proof that they used domestic animals for tilling the soil, or for the purpose of erecting the imposing earthworks they have left. A very coarse cloth of hemp, flax or nettles has been found on their burial-hearths and around skeletons not consumed by fire.

"The most extensive earthworks occupy many of the sites of modern towns, and are always in the vicinity of excellent land. Those about the lakes are generally irregular earth forts, while those about the rivers in the southern part of the State are generally altars, pyramids, circles, cones and rectangles of earth, among which fortresses or strongholds are exceptions.

"Those on the north may not have been contemporary or have been built by the same people. They are far less prominent or extensive, which indicates a people less in numbers as well as industry, and whose principal occupation was war among

themselves or against their neighbors. This style of works extends eastward along the south shore of Lake Ontario, through New York. In Ohio, there is a space along the water-shed, between the lake and the Ohio, where there are few, if any, ancient earthworks. It appears to have been a vacant or neutral ground between different nations.

"The Indians of the North, dressed in skins, cultivated the soil very sparingly, and manufactured no woven cloth. On Lake Superior, there are ancient copper mines wrought by the Mound-Builders over fifteen hundred years ago." Copper tools are occasionally found tempered sufficiently hard to cut the hardest rocks. No knowledge of such tempering exists now. The Indians can give no more knowledge of the ancient mines than they can of the mounds on the river bottoms.

"The Indians did not occupy the ancient earthworks, nor did they construct such. They were found as they are now—a hunter race, wholly averse to labor. Their abodes were in rock shelters, in caves, or in temporary sheds of bark and boughs, or skins, easily moved from place to place. Like most savage races, their habits are unchangeable; at least, the example of white men, and their efforts during three centuries, have made little, if any, impression."

When white men came to the territory now embraced in the State of Ohio, they found dwelling here the Iroquois, Delawares, Shawanees, Miamis, Wyandots and Ottawas. Each nation was composed of several tribes or clans, and each was often at war with the others. The first mentioned of these occupied that part of the State whose northern boundary was Lake Erie, as far west as the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, where the city of Cleveland now is; thence the boundary turned southward in an irregular line, until it touched the Ohio River, up which stream it continued to the Pennsylvania State line, and thence northward to the lake. This nation were the implacable foes of the French, owing to the fact that Champlain, in 1609, made war against them. They occupied a large part of New York and Pennsylvania, and were the most insatiate conquerors among the aborigines. When the French first came to the lakes, these monsters of the wilderness were engaged in a war against their neighbors, a war that ended in their conquering them, possessing their territory, and absorbing the remnants of the tribes into their own nation. At the date of Champlain's visit, the southern shore of Lake Erie was occupied by the Eries, or, as the orthography of the word is

sometimes given, Erigos, or Errienous.* About forty years afterward, the Iroquois (Five Nations) fell upon them with such fury and in such force that the nation was annihilated. Those who escaped the slaughter were absorbed among their conquerors, but allowed to live on their own lands, paying a sort of tribute to the Iroquois. This was the policy of that nation in all its conquests. A few years after the conquest of the Eries, the Iroquois again took to the war-path, and swept through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, even attacking the Mississippi tribes. But for the intervention and aid of the French, these tribes would have shared the fate of the Hurons and Eries. Until the year 1700, the Iroquois held the south shore of Lake Erie so firmly that the French dared not trade or travel along that side of the lake. Their missionaries and traders penetrated this part of Ohio as early as 1650, but generally suffered death for their zeal.

Having completed the conquest of the Hurons or Wyandots, about Lake Huron, and murdered the Jesuit missionaries by modes of torture which only they could devise, they permitted the residue of the Hurons to settle around the west end of Lake Erie. Here, with the Ottawas, they resided when the whites came to the State. Their country was bounded on the south by a line running through the central part of Wayne, Ashland, Richland, Crawford and Wyandot Counties. At the western boundary of this county, the line diverged northwesterly, leaving the State near the northwest corner of Fulton County. Their northern boundary was the lake; the eastern, the Iroquois.

The Delawares, or "Lenni Lenapes," whom the Iroquois had subjugated on the Susquehanna, were assigned by their conquerors hunting-grounds on the Muskingum. Their eastern boundary was the country of the Iroquois (before defined), and their northern, that of the Hurons. On the west, they

extended as far as a line drawn from the central part of Richland County, in a semi-circular direction, south to the mouth of Leading Creek. Their southern boundary was the Ohio River.

West of the Delawares, dwelt the Shawanees, a troublesome people as neighbors whether to whites or Indians. Their country was bounded on the north by the Hurons, on the east, by the Delawares; on the south, by the Ohio River. On the west, their boundary was determined by a line drawn southwesterly, and again southeasterly—semi-circular—from a point on the southern boundary of the Hurons, near the southwest corner of Wyandot County, till it intersected the Ohio River.

All the remainder of the State—all its western part from the Ohio River to the Michigan line—was occupied by the Miamis, Mineamis, Twigtwees, or Tawixtaues, a powerful nation, whom the Iroquois were never fully able to subdue.

These nations occupied the State, partly by permit of the Five Nations, and partly by inheritance, and, though composed of many tribes, were about all the savages to be found in this part of the Northwest.

No sooner had the Americans obtained control of this country, than they began, by treaty and purchase, to acquire the lands of the natives. They could not stem the tide of emigration; people, then as now, would go West, and hence the necessity of peacefully and rightfully acquiring the land. "The true basis of title to Indian territory is the right of civilized men to the soil for purposes of cultivation." The same maxim may be applied to all uncivilized nations. When acquired by such a right, either by treaty, purchase or conquest, the right to hold the same rests with the power and development of the nation thus possessing the land.

The English derived title to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi partly by the claim that, in discovering the Atlantic coast, they had possession of the land from "ocean to ocean," and partly by the treaty of Paris, in February, 1763. Long before this treaty took place, however, she had granted, to individuals and colonies, extensive tracts of land in that part of America, based on the right of discovery. The French had done better, and had acquired title to the land by discovering the land itself and by consent of the Indians dwelling thereon. The right to possess this country led to the French and Indian war, ending in the supremacy of the English.

* Father Louis Hennepin, in his work published in 1684, thus alludes to the Eries: "These good fathers," referring to the priests, "were great friends of the Hurons, who told them that the Iroquois went to war beyond Virginia, or New Sweden, near a lake which they called 'Erié,' or 'Erie,' which signifies 'the cat,' or 'action of the cat,' and because these savages brought captives from this nation in returning to their cantons along this lake, the Hurons named it, in their language, 'Erié,' or 'Erie,' 'the lake of the cat,' and which our Canadians, in softening the word, have called 'Lake Erie.'"

Charlevoix, writing in 1721, says: "The name it bears is that of an Indian nation of the Huron-Wyandot language, which was formerly seated on its banks, and who have been entirely destroyed by the Iroquois. Erie, in that language, signifies 'cat,' and, in some accounts, this nation is called the 'cat nation.' This name, probably, comes from the large numbers of that animal found in this region."

The Five Nations claimed the territory in question by right of conquest, and, though professing friendship to the English, watched them with jealous eyes. In 1684, and again in 1726, that confederacy made cessions of lands to the English, and these treaties and cessions of lands were regarded as sufficient title by the English, and were insisted on in all subsequent treaties with the Western Nations. The following statements were collected by Col. Charles Whittlesey, which show the principal treaties made with the red men wherein land in Ohio was ceded by them to the whites:

In September, 1726, the Iroquois, or Six Nations, at Albany, ceded all their claims west of Lake Erie and sixty miles in width along the south shore of Lakes Erie and Ontario, from the Cuyahoga to the Oswego River.

In 1744, this same nation made a treaty at Lancaster, Penn., and ceded to the English all their lands "that may be within the colony of Virginia."

In 1752, this nation and other Western tribes made a treaty at Logstown, Penn., wherein they confirmed the Lancaster treaty and consented to the settlements south of the Ohio River.

February 13, 1763, a treaty was made at Paris, France, between the French and English, when Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley were ceded to the English.

In 1783, all the territory south of the Lakes, and east of the Mississippi, was ceded by England to America—the latter country then obtaining its independence—by which means the country was gained by America.

October 24, 1784, the Six Nations made a treaty, at Fort Stanwix, N. Y., with the Americans, and ceded to them all the country claimed by the tribe, west of Pennsylvania.

In 1785, the Chippewas, Delawares, Ottawas, and Wyandots ceded to the United States, at Fort McIntosh, at the mouth of the Big Beaver, all their claims east and south of the "Cayahaga," the Portage Path, and the Tuscarawas, to Fort Laurens (Bolivar), thence to Loramie's Fort (in Shelby County); thence along the Portage Path to the St. Mary's River and down it to the "Omeo," or Maumee, and along the lake shore to the "Cayahaga."

January 3, 1786, the Shawanees, at Fort Finney, near the mouth of the Great Miami (not owning the land on the Scioto occupied by them), were allotted a tract at the heads of the two

Miamis and the Wabash, west of the Chippewas, Delawares and Wyandots.

February 9, 1789, the Iroquois made a treaty at Fort Harmar, wherein they confirmed the Fort Stanwix treaty. At the same time, the Chippewas, Ottawas, Delawares, and Wyandots—to which the Sauks and Pottawatomies assented—confirmed the treaty made at Fort McIntosh.

Period of war now existed till 1795.

August 3, 1795, Gen. Anthony Wayne, on behalf of the United States, made a treaty with twelve tribes, confirming the boundaries established by the Fort Harmar and Fort McIntosh treaties, and extended the boundary to Fort Recovery and the mouth of the Kentucky River.

In June, 1796, the Senecas, represented by Brant, ceded to the Connecticut Land Company their rights east of the Cuyahoga.

In 1805, at Fort Industry, on the Maumee, the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Shawanees, Menses, and Pottawatomies relinquished all their lands west of the Cuyahoga, as far west as the western line of the Reserve, and south of the line from Fort Laurens to Loramie's Fort.

July 4, 1807, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, and Pottawatomies, at Detroit, ceded all that part of Ohio north of the Maumee River, with part of Michigan.

November 25, 1808, the same tribes with the Shawanees, at Brownstone, Mich., granted the Government a tract of land two miles wide, from the west line of the Reserve to the rapids of the Maumee, for the purpose of a road through the Black Swamp.

September 18, 1815, at Springwells, near Detroit, the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Wyandots, Delawares, Senecas and Miamis, having been engaged in the war of 1812 on the British side, were confined in the grants made at Fort McIntosh and Greenville in 1785 and 1795.

September 29, 1817, at the rapids of the Maumee, the Wyandots ceded their lands west of the line of 1805, as far as Loramie's and the St. Mary's River and north of the Maumee. The Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas ceded the territory west of the Detroit line of 1807, and north of the Maumee.

October 6, 1818, the Miamis, at St. Mary's, made a treaty in which they surrendered the remaining Indian territory in Ohio, north of the Greenville treaty line and west of St. Mary's River.

The numerous treaties of peace with the Western Indians for the delivery of prisoners were

one by Gen. Forbes, at Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburgh), in 1758; one by Col. Bradstreet, at Erie, in August, 1764; one by Col. Boquet, at the mouth of the Waldboning, in November, 1764; in May, 1765, at Johnson's, on the Mohawk, and at Philadelphia, the same year; in 1774, by Lord Dunmore, at Camp Charlotte, Pickaway County. By the treaty at the Maumee Rapids, in 1817, reservations were conveyed by the United States to all the tribes, with a view to induce them to cultivate the soil and cease to be hunters. These were, from time to time, as the impracticability of the plan became manifest, purchased by the Government, the last of these being the Wyandot Reserve, of twelve miles square, around Upper Sandusky, in 1842, closing out all claims and composing all the Indian difficulties in Ohio. The open war had ceased in 1815, with the treaty of Ghent.

"It is estimated that, from the French war of 1754 to the battle of the Maumee Rapids, in 1794, a period of forty years, there had been at least 5,000 people killed or captured west of the

Alleghany Mountains. Eleven organized military expeditions had been carried on against the Western Indians prior to the war of 1812, seven regular engagements fought and about twelve hundred men killed. More whites were slain in battle than there were Indian braves killed in military expeditions, and by private raids and murders; yet, in 1811, all the Ohio tribes combined could not muster 2,000 warriors."

Attempts to determine the number of persons comprising the Indian tribes in Ohio, and their location, have resulted in nothing better than estimates. It is supposed that, at the commencement of the Revolution, there were about six thousand Indians in the present confines of the State, but their villages were little more than movable camps. Savage men, like savage beasts, are engaged in continual migrations. Now, none are left. The white man occupies the home of the red man. Now

"The verdant hills
Are covered o'er with growing grain,
And white men till the soil.
Where once the red man used to reign."

CHAPTER II.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS IN THE WEST.

WHEN war, when ambition, when avarice fail, religion pushes onward and succeeds. In the discovery of the New World, wherever man's aggrandizement was the paramount aim, failure was sure to follow. When this gave way, the followers of the Cross, whether Catholic or Protestant, came on the field, and the result before attempted soon appeared, though in a different way and through different means than those supposed.

The first permanent efforts of the white race to penetrate the Western wilds of the New World preceded any permanent English settlement north of the Potomac. Years before the Pilgrims anchored their bark on the cheerless shores of Cape Cod, "the Roman Catholic Church had been planted by missionaries from France in the Eastern moiety of Maine; and Le Caron, an ambitious Franciscan, the companion of Champlain, had passed into the hunting-grounds of the Wyandots, and, bound by the vows of his life, had, on foot or paddling a bark canoe, gone onward, taking alms of the savages until he reached the rivers of Lake

Huron." This was in 1615 or 1616, and only eight years after Champlain had sailed up the waters of the St. Lawrence, and on the foot of a bold cliff laid the foundation of the present City of Quebec. From this place, founded to hold the country, and to perpetuate the religion of his King, went forth those emissaries of the Cross, whose zeal has been the admiration of the world. The French Colony in Canada was suppressed soon after its establishment, and for five years, until 1622, its immunities were enjoyed by the colonists. A grant of New France, as the country was then known, was made by Louis XIII to Richelieu, Champlain, Razilly and others, who, immediately after the restoration of Quebec by its English conquerors, entered upon the control and government of their province. Its limits embraced the whole basin of the St. Lawrence and of such other rivers in New France as flowed directly into the sea. While away to the south on the Gulf coast, was also included a country rich in foliage and claimed in virtue of the unsuccessful efforts of Coligny.

Religious zeal as much as commercial prosperity had influenced France to obtain and retain the dependency of Canada. The commercial monopoly of a privileged company could not foster a colony; the climate was too vigorous for agriculture, and, at first there was little else except religious enthusiasm to give vitality to the province. Champlain had been touched by the simplicity of the Order of St. Francis, and had selected its priests to aid him in his work. But another order, more in favor at the Court, was interested, and succeeded in excluding the mendicant order from the New World, established themselves in the new domain and, by thus enlarging the borders of the French King, it became entrusted to the Jesuits.

This "Society of Jesus," founded by Loyola when Calvin's Institutes first saw the light, saw an unequalled opportunity in the conversion of the heathen in the Western wilds; and, as its members, pledged to obtain power only by influence of mind over mind, sought the honors of opening the way, there was no lack of men ready for the work. Through them, the motive power in opening the wilds of the Northwest was religion. "Religious enthusiasm," says Bancroft, "colonized New England, and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness about the upper lakes, and explored the Mississippi."

Through these priests—increased in a few years to fifteen—a way was made across the West from Quebec, above the regions of the lakes, below which they dared not go for the relentless Mohawks. To the northwest of Toronto, near the Lake Iroquois, a bay of Lake Huron, in September, 1634, they raised the first humble house of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons. Through them they learned of the great lakes beyond, and resolved one day to explore them and carry the Gospel of peace to the heathen on their shores. Before this could be done, many of them were called upon to give up their lives at the martyr's stake and receive a martyr's crown. But one by one they went on in their good work. If one fell by hunger, cold, cruelty, or a terrible death, others stood ready, and carrying their lives in their hands, established other missions about the eastern shores of Lake Huron and its adjacent waters. The Five Nations were for many years hostile toward the French and murdered them and their red allies whenever opportunity presented. For a quarter of century, they retarded the advance of the missionaries, and then only after wearied with a long struggle, in which they began to see their

power declining, did they relinquish their warlike propensities, and allow the Jesuits entrance to their country. While this was going on, the traders and Jesuits had penetrated farther and farther westward, until, when peace was declared, they had seen the southwestern shores of Lake Superior and the northern shores of Lake Michigan, called by them Lake Illinois.* In August, 1654, two young adventurers penetrated the wilds bordering on these western lakes in company with a band of Ottawas. Returning, they tell of the wonderful country they have seen, of its vast forests, its abundance of game, its mines of copper, and excite in their comrades a desire to see and explore such a country. They tell of a vast expanse of land before them, of the powerful Indian tribes dwelling there, and of their anxiety to become annexed to the Frenchman, of whom they have heard. The request is at once granted. Two missionaries, Gabriel Druillettes and Leonard Garesu, were selected as envoys, but on their way the fleet, propelled by tawny rowers, is met by a wandering band of Mohawks and by them dispersed. Not daunted, others stood ready to go. The lot fell to René Mesnard. He is charged to visit the wilderness, select a suitable place for a dwelling, and found a mission. With only a short warning he is ready, "trusting," he says, "in the Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert and clothes the wild flowers of the forest." In October, 1660, he reached a bay, which he called St. Theresa, on the south shore of Lake Superior. After a residence of eight months, he yielded to the invitation of the Hurons who had taken refuge on the Island of St. Michael, and bidding adieu to his neophytes and the French, he departed. While on the way to the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon, probably at a portage, he became separated from his companion and was never afterward heard of. Long after, his cassock and his breviary were kept as amulets among the Sioux. Difficulties now arose in the management of the colony, and for awhile it was on the verge of dissolution. The King sent a regiment under command of the aged Tracy, as a safeguard against the Iroquois, now proving themselves enemies to

* Mr. C. W. Butterfield, author of *Crawford's Campaign*, and good authority, says: "John Nicholot, a Frenchman, left Quebec and Three Rivers in the summer of 1634, and visited the Hurons on Georgian Bay, the Chippewas at the Sault Ste. Marie, and the Winnebagoes in Wisconsin, returning to Quebec in the summer of 1635. This was the first white man to see any part of the Northwest Territory. In 1641, two Jesuit priests were at the Sault Ste. Marie for a brief time. Then two French traders reached Lake Superior, and after them came that tide of emigration on which the French based their claim to the country."

the French. Accompanying him were Courcelles, as Governor, and M. Talon, who subsequently figures in Northwestern history. By 1665, affairs were settled and new attempts to found a mission among the lake tribes were projected.

"With better hopes—undismayed by the sad fate of their predecessors" in August, Claude Allouez embarked on a mission by way of Ottawa to the Far West. Early in September he reached the rapids through which rush the waters of the lakes to Huron. Sailing by lofty sculptured rocks and over waters of crystal purity, he reached the Chippewa village just as the young warriors were bent on organizing a war expedition against the Sioux. Commanding peace in the name of his King, he called a council and offered the commerce and protection of his nation. He was obeyed, and soon a chapel arose on the shore of the bay, to which admiring crowds from the south and west gathered to listen to the story of the Cross.

The scattered Hurons and Ottawas north of Lake Superior; the Pottawatomies from Lake Michigan; the Sacs and Foxes from the Far West; the Illinois from the prairies, all came to hear him, and all besought him to go with them. To the last nation Allouez desired to go. They told him of a "great river that flowed to the sea," and of "their vast prairies, where herds of buffalo, deer and other animals grazed on the tall grass." "Their country," said the missionary, "is the best field for the Gospel. Had I had leisure, I would have gone to their dwellings to see with my own eyes all the good that was told me of them."

He remained two years, teaching the natives, studying their language and habits, and then returned to Quebec. Such was the account that he gave, that in two days he was joined by Louis Nicholas and was on his way back to his mission.

Peace being now established, more missionaries came from France. Among them were Claude Dablon and James Marquette, both of whom went on to the mission among the Chippewas at the Sault. They reached there in 1668 and found Allouez busy. The mission was now a reality and given the name of St. Mary. It is often written "Sault Ste. Marie," after the French method, and is the oldest settlement by white men in the bounds of the Northwest Territory. It has been founded over two hundred years. Here on the inhospitable northern shores, hundreds of miles away from friends, did this trimvirate employ themselves in extending their religion and the influence of their

King. Traversing the shores of the great lakes near them, they pass down the western bank of Lake Michigan as far as Green Bay, along the southern shore of Lake Superior to its western extremity, everywhere preaching the story of Jesus. "Though suffering be their lot and martyrdom their crown," they went on, only conscious that they were laboring for their Master and would, in the end, win the crown.

The great river away to the West of which they heard so much was yet unknown to them. To explore it, to visit the tribes on its banks and preach to them the Gospel and secure their trade, became the aim of Marquette, who originated the idea of its discovery. While engaged at the mission at the Sault, he resolved to attempt it in the autumn of 1669. Delay, however, intervened—for Allouez had exchanged the mission at Che-goi-me-gon for one at Green Bay, whither Marquette was sent. While here he employed a young Illinois Indian to teach him the language of that nation, and thereby prepare himself for the enterprise.

Continued commerce with the Western Indians gave protection and confirmed their attachment. Talon, the intendant of the colony of New France, to further spread its power and to learn more of the country and its inhabitants, convened a congress of the Indians at the Falls of St. Mary, to which he sent St. Lusson on his behalf. Nicholas Perrot sent invitations in every direction for more than a hundred leagues round about, and fourteen nations, among them Sacs, Foxes and Miamiis, agreed to be present by their ambassadors.

The congress met on the fourth day of June, 1671. St. Lusson, through Allouez, his interpreter, announced to the assembled natives that they, and through them their nations, were placed under the protection of the French King, and to him were their furs and peltries to be traded. A cross of cedar was raised, and amidst the groves of maple and of pine, of elm and hemlock that are so strangely intermingled on the banks of the St. Mary, the whole company of the French, bowing before the emblem of man's redemption, chanted to its glory a hymn of the seventh century:

"The banners of heaven's King advance;
The mysteries of the Cross shines forth."

A cedar column was planted by the cross and marked with the lilies of the Bourbons. The power of France, thus uplifted in the West of which Ohio is now a part, was, however, not destined

to endure, and the ambition of its monarchs was to have only a partial fulfillment.

The same year that the congress was held, Marquette had founded a mission among the Hurons at Point St. Ignace, on the continent north of the peninsula of Michigan. Although the climate was severe, and vegetation scarce, yet fish abounded, and at this establishment, long maintained as a key to further explorations, prayer and praise were heard daily for many years. Here also Marquette gained a footing among the founders of Michigan. While he was doing this, Allouez and Dablon were exploring countries south and west, going as far as the Mascoutins and Kickapoos on the Milwaukee, and the Miamis at the head of Lake Michigan. Allouez continued even as far as the Sacs and Foxes on the river which bears their name.

The discovery of the Mississippi, heightened by these explorations, was now at hand. The enterprise, projected by Marquette, was received with favor by M. Talon, who desired thus to perpetuate his rule in New France, now drawing to a close. He was joined by Joliet, of Quebec, an emissary of his King, commissioned by royal magnate to take possession of the country in the name of the French. Of him but little else is known. This one excursion, however, gives him immortality, and as long as time shall last his name and that of Marquette will endure. When Marquette made known his intention to the Pottawatomies, they were filled with wonder, and endeavored to dissuade him from his purpose. "Those distant nations," said they, "never spare the strangers; the Great River abounds in monsters, ready to swallow both men and canoes; there are great cataracts and rapids, over which you will be dashed to pieces; the excessive heats will cause your death." "I shall gladly lay down my life for the salvation of souls," replied the good man; and the docile nation joined him.

On the 9th day of June, 1673, they reached the village on Fox River, where were Kickapoos, Mascoutins and Miamis dwelling together on an expanse of lovely prairie, dotted here and there by groves of magnificent trees, and where was a cross garlanded by wild flowers, and bows and arrows, and skins and belts, offerings to the Great Manitou. Allouez had been here in one of his wanderings, and, as was his wont, had left this emblem of his faith.

Assembling the natives, Marquette said, "My companion is an envoy of France to discover new countries; and I am an ambassador from God to

enlighten them with the Gospel." Offering presents, he begged two guides for the morrow. The Indians answered courteously, and gave in return a mat to serve as a couch during the long voyage.

Early in the morning of the next day, the 10th of June, with all nature in her brightest robes, these two men, with five Frenchmen and two Algonquin guides, set out on their journey. Lifting two canoes to their shoulders, they quickly cross the narrow portage dividing the Fox from the Wisconsin River, and prepare to embark on its clear waters. "Uttering a special prayer to the Immaculate Virgin, they leave the stream, that, flowing onward, could have borne their greetings to the castle of Quebec. The guides returned," says the gentle Marquette, "leaving us alone in this unknown land, in the hand of Providence. France and Christianity stood alone in the valley of the Mississippi. Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed west, went solitarily down the stream between alternate prairies and hillsides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forests; no sound broke the silence but the ripple of the canoe and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days, they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed; and the two birchbark canoes, raising their happy sails under new skies and to unknown breezes, floated down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over the broad, clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable water-fowl—gliding past islets that swelled from the bosom of the stream, with their tufts of massive thickets, and between the wild plains of Illinois and Iowa, all garlanded with majestic forests, or checkered by island groves and the open vastness of the prairie."*

Continuing on down the mighty stream, they saw no signs of human life until the 25th of June, when they discovered a small foot-path on the west bank of the river, leading away into the prairie. Leaving their companions in the canoes, Marquette and Joliet followed the path, resolved to brave a meeting alone with the savages. After a walk of six miles they came in sight of a village on the banks of a river, while not far away they discovered two others. The river was the "Mou-in-gou-e-na," or Moingona, now corrupted into Des Moines. These two men, the first of their race who ever trod the soil west of the Great

* Bancroft.

River, commended themselves to God, and, uttering a loud cry, advanced to the nearest village. The Indians hear, and thinking their visitors celestial beings, four old men advance with reverential mien, and offer the pipe of peace. "We are Illinois," said they, and they offered the calumet. They had heard of the Frenchmen, and welcomed them to their wigwams, followed by the devouring gaze of an astonished crowd. At a great council held soon after, Marquette published to them the true God, their Author. He also spoke of his nation and of his King, who had chastised the Five Nations and commanded peace. He questioned them concerning the Great River and its tributaries, and the tribes dwelling on its banks. A magnificent feast was spread before them, and the conference continued several days. At the close of the sixth day, the chieftains of the tribes, with numerous trains of warriors, attended the visitors to their canoes, and selecting a peace-pipe, gayly comparisoned, they hung the sacred calumet, emblem of peace to all and a safeguard among the nations, about the good Father's neck, and bid the strangers good speed. "I did not fear death," writes Marquette; "I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God." On their journey, they passed the perpendicular rocks, whose sculptured sides showed them the monsters they should meet. Farther down, they pass the turgid flood of the Missouri, known to them by its Algonquin name, Pekitanoni. Resolving in his heart to one day explore its flood, Marquette rejoiced in the new world it evidently could open to him. A little farther down, they pass the bluffs where now is a mighty emporium, then silent as when created. In a little less than forty leagues, they pass the clear waters of the beautiful Ohio, then, and long afterward, known as the Wabash. Its banks were inhabited by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who then quailed under the incursions of the dreadful Iroquois. As they go on down the mighty stream, the canes become thicker, the insects more fierce, the heat more intolerable. The prairies and their cool breezes vanish, and forests of white-wood, admirable for their vastness and height, crowd close upon the pebbly shore. It is observed that the Chickasaws have guns, and have learned how to use them. Near the latitude of 33 degrees, they encounter a great village, whose inhabitants present an inhospitable and warlike front. The pipe of peace is held aloft, and instantly the savage foe drops his arms and extends a friendly greeting.

Remaining here till the next day, they are escorted for eight or ten leagues to the village of Akansca. They are now at the limit of their voyage. The Indians speak a dialect unknown to them. The natives show furs and axes of steel, the latter proving they have traded with Europeans. The two travelers now learn that the Father of Waters went neither to the Western sea nor to the Florida coast, but straight south, and conclude not to encounter the burning heats of a tropical clime, but return and find the outlet again. They had done enough now, and must report their discovery.

On the 17th day of July, 1673, one hundred and thirty-two years after the disastrous journey of De Soto, which led to no permanent results, Marquette and Joliet left the village of Akansca on their way back. At the 38th degree, they encounter the waters of the Illinois which they had before noticed, and which the natives told them afforded a much shorter route to the lakes. Padding up its limpid waters, they see a country unsurpassed in beauty. Broad prairies, beautiful uplands, luxuriant groves, all mingled in excellent harmony as they ascend the river. Near the head of the river, they pause at a great village of the Illinois, and across the river behold a rocky promontory standing boldly out against the landscape. The Indians entreat the gentle missionary to remain among them, and teach them the way of life. He cannot do this, but promises to return when he can and instruct them. The town was on a plain near the present village of Utica, in La Salle County, Ill., and the rock was Starved Rock, afterward noted in the annals of the Northwest. One of the chiefs and some young men conduct the party to the Chicago River, where the present mighty city is, from where, continuing their journey along the western shores of the lake, they reach Green Bay early in September.

The great valley of the West was now open. The "Mississippi" rolled its mighty flood to a southern sea, and must be fully explored. Marquette's health had keenly suffered by the voyage and he concluded to remain here and rest. Joliet hastened on to Quebec to report his discoveries. During the journey, each had preserved a description of the route they had passed over, as well as the country and its inhabitants. While on the way to Quebec, at the foot of the rapids near Montreal, by some means one of Joliet's canoes became capsized, and by it he lost his box of papers and two of his men. A greater calamity could have

hardly happened him. In a letter to Gov. Frontenac, Joliet says:

"I had escaped every peril from the Indians; I had passed forty-two rapids, and was on the point of disembarking, full of joy at the success of so long and difficult an enterprise, when my canoe capsized after all the danger seemed over. I lost my two men and box of papers within sight of the French settlements, which I had left almost two years before. Nothing remains now to me but my life, and the ardent desire to employ it in any service you may please to direct."

When Joliet made known his discoveries, a *Te Deum* was chanted in the Cathedral at Quebec, and all Canada was filled with joy. The news crossed the ocean, and the French saw in the vista of coming years a vast dependency arise in the valley, partially explored, which was to extend her domain and enrich her treasury. Fearing England might profit by the discovery and claim the country, she attempted as far as possible to prevent the news from becoming general. Joliet was rewarded by the gift of the Island of Anticosti, in the St. Lawrence, while Marquette, conscious of his service to his Master, was content with the salvation of souls.

Marquette, left at Green Bay, suffered long with his malady, and was not permitted, until the autumn of the following year (1674), to return and teach the Illinois Indians. With this purpose in view, he left Green Bay on the 25th of October with two Frenchmen and a number of Illinois and Pottawatomie Indians for the villages on the Chicago and Illinois Rivers. Entering Lake Michigan, they encountered adverse winds and waves and were more than a month on the way. Going some distance up the Chicago River, they found Marquette too weak to proceed farther, his malady having assumed a violent form, and landing, they erected two huts and prepared to pass the winter. The good missionary taught the natives here daily, in spite of his afflictions, while his companions supplied him and themselves with food by fishing and hunting. Thus the winter wore away, and Marquette, renewing his vows, prepared to go on to the village at the foot of the rocky citadel, where he had been two years before. On the 13th of March, 1675, they left their huts and, rowing on up the Chicago to the portage between that and the Desplaines, embarked on their way. Amid the incessant rains of spring, they were rapidly borne down that stream to the Illinois, on whose rushing flood they floated to the

object of their destination. At the great town the missionary was received as a heavenly messenger, and as he preached to them of heaven and hell, of angels and demons, of good and bad deeds, they regarded him as divine and besought him to remain among them. The town then contained an immense concourse of natives, drawn hither by the reports they heard, and assembling them before him on the plain near their village, where now are prosperous farms, he held before their astonished gaze four large pictures of the Holy Virgin, and daily harangued them on the duties of Christianity and the necessity of conforming their conduct to the words they heard. His strength was fast declining and warned him he could not long remain. Finding he must go, the Indians furnished him an escort as far as the lake, on whose turbulent waters he embarked with his two faithful attendants. They turned their canoes for the Mackinaw Mission, which the afflicted missionary hoped to reach before death came. As they coasted along the eastern shores of the lake, the vernal hue of May began to cover the hillsides with robes of green, now dimmed to the eye of the departing Father, who became too weak to view them. By the 19th of the month, he could go no farther, and requested his men to land and build him a hut in which he might pass away. That done, he gave, with great composure, directions concerning his burial, and thanked God that he was permitted to die in the wilderness in the midst of his work, an unshaken believer in the faith he had so earnestly preached. As twilight came on, he told his weary attendants to rest, promising that when death should come he would call them. At an early hour, on the morning of the 20th of May, 1675, they heard a feeble voice, and hastening to his side found that the gentle spirit of the good missionary had gone to heaven. His hand grasped the crucifix, and his lips bore as their last sound the name of the Virgin. They dug a grave near the banks of the stream and buried him as he had requested. There in a lonely wilderness the peaceful soul of Marquette had at last found a rest, and his weary labors closed. His companions went on to the mission, where the news of his death caused great sorrow, for he was one beloved by all.

Three years after his burial, the Ottawas, hunting in the vicinity of his grave, determined to carry his bones to the mission at their home, in accordance with an ancient custom of their tribe. Having opened the grave, at whose head a cross had been planted, they carefully removed the bones and

cleaning them, a funeral procession of thirty canoes bore them to the Mackinaw Mission, singing the songs he had taught them. At the shores of the mission the bones were received by the priests, and, with great ceremony, buried under the floor of the rude chapel.

While Marquette and Joliet were exploring the head-waters of the "Great River," another man, fearless in purpose, pious in heart, and loyal to his country, was living in Canada and watching the operations of his fellow countrymen with keen eyes. When the French first saw the inhospitable shores of the St. Lawrence, in 1535, under the lead of Jacques Cartier, and had opened a new country to their crown, men were not lacking to further extend the discovery. In 1608, Champlain came, and at the foot of a cliff on that river founded Quebec. Seven years after, he brought four Recollet monks; and through them and the Jesuits the discoveries already narrated occurred. Champlain died in 1635, one hundred years after Cartier's first visit, but not until he had explored the northern lakes as far as Lake Huron, on whose rocky shores he, as the progenitor of a mighty race to follow, set his feet. He, with others, held to the idea that somewhere across the country, a river highway extended to the Western ocean. The reports from the missions whose history has been given aided belief; and not until Marquette and Joliet returned was the delusion in any way dispelled. Before this was done, however, the man to whom reference has been made, Robert Cavalier, better known as La Salle, had endeavored to solve the mystery, and, while living on his grant of land eight miles above Montreal, had indeed effected important discoveries.

La Salle, the next actor in the field of exploration after Champlain, was born in 1643. His father's family was among the old and wealthy burghers of Rouen, France, and its members were frequently entrusted with important governmental positions. He early exhibited such traits of character as to mark him among his associates. Coming from a wealthy family, he enjoyed all the advantages of his day, and received, for the times, an excellent education. He was a Catholic, though his subsequent life does not prove him to have been a religious enthusiast. From some cause, he joined the Order of Loyola, but the circumscribed sphere of action set for him in the order ill concurred with his independent disposition, and led to his separation from it. This was effected, however, in a good spirit, as they

considered him fit for a different field of action than any presented by the order. Having a brother in Canada, a member of the order of St. Sulpice, he determined to join him. By his connection with the Jesuits he had lost his share of his father's estate, but, by some means, on his death, which occurred about this time, he was given a small share; and with this, in 1666, he arrived in Montreal. All Canada was alive with the news of the explorations; and La Salle's mind, actively grasping the ideas he afterward carried out, began to mature plans for their perfection. At Montreal he found a seminary of priests of the St. Sulpice Order who were encouraging settlers by grants of land on easy terms, hoping to establish a barrier of settlements between themselves and the Indians, made enemies to the French by Champlain's actions when founding Quebec. The Superior of the seminary, learning of La Salle's arrival, gratuitously offered him a grant of land on the St. Lawrence, eight miles above Montreal. The grant, though dangerously near the hostile Indians, was accepted, and La Salle soon enjoyed an excellent trade in furs. While employed in developing his claim, he learned of the great unknown route, and burned with a desire to solve its existence. He applied himself closely to the study of Indian dialects, and in three years is said to have made great progress in their language. While on his farm his thoughts often turned to the unknown land away to the west, and, like all men of his day, he desired to explore the route to the Western sea, and thence obtain an easy trade with China and Japan. The "Great River, which flowed to the sea," must, thought they, find an outlet in the Gulf of California. While musing on these things, Marquette and Joliet were preparing to descend the Wisconsin; and La Salle himself learned from a wandering band of Senecas that a river, called the Ohio, arose in their country and flowed to the sea, but at such a distance that it would require eight months to reach its mouth. This must be the Great River, or a part of it: for all geographers of the day considered the Mississippi and its tributary as one stream. Placing great confidence on this hypothesis, La Salle repaired to Quebec to obtain the sanction of Gov. Courcelles. His plausible statements soon won him the Governor and M. Talon, and letters patent were issued granting the exploration. No pecuniary aid was offered, and La Salle, having expended all his means in improving his

estate, was obliged to sell it to procure the necessary outfit. The Superior of the seminary being favorably disposed toward him, purchased the greater part of his improvement, and realizing 2,800 livres, he purchased four canoes and the necessary supplies for the expedition. The seminary was, at the same time, preparing for a similar exploration. The priests of this order, emulating the Jesuits, had established missions on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. Hearing of populous tribes still further west, they resolved to attempt their conversion, and deputized two of their number for the purpose. On going to Quebec to procure the necessary supplies, they were advised of La Salle's expedition down the Ohio, and resolved to unite themselves with it. La Salle did not altogether favor their attempt, as he believed the Jesuits already had the field, and would not care to have any aid from a rival order. His disposition also would not well brook the part they assumed, of asking him to be a co-laborer rather than a leader. However, the expeditions, merged into one body, left the mission on the St. Lawrence on the 6th of July, 1669, in seven canoes. The party numbered twenty-four persons, who were accompanied by two canoes filled with Indians who had visited La Salle, and who now acted as guides. Their guides led them up the St. Lawrence, over the expanse of Lake Ontario, to their village on the banks of the Genesee, where they expected to find guides to lead them on to the Ohio. As La Salle only partially understood their language, he was compelled to confer with them by means of a Jesuit stationed at the village. The Indians refused to furnish him the expected aid, and even burned before his eyes a prisoner, the only one who could give him any knowledge he desired. He surmised the Jesuits were at the bottom of the matter, fearful lest the disciples of St. Sulpice should gain a foothold in the west. He lingered here a month, with the hope of accomplishing his object, when, by chance, there came by an Iroquois Indian, who assured them that at his colony, near the head of the lake, they could find guides; and offered to conduct them thither. Coming along the southern shore of the lake, they passed, at its western extremity, the mouth of the Niagara River, where they heard for the first time the thunder of the mighty cataract between the two lakes. At the village of the Iroquois they met a friendly reception, and were informed by a Shawanese prisoner that they could reach the Ohio in six weeks' time, and that he

would guide them there. While preparing to commence the journey, they heard of the missions to the northwest, and the priests resolved to go there and convert the natives, and find the river by that route. It appears that Louis Joliet met them here, on his return from visiting the copper mines of Lake Superior, under command of M. Talon. He gave the priests a map of the country, and informed them that the Indians of those regions were in great need of spiritual advisers. This strengthened their intention, though warned by La Salle, that the Jesuits were undoubtedly there. The authority for Joliet's visit to them here is not clearly given, and may not be true, but the same letter which gives the account of the discovery of the Ohio at this time by La Salle, states it as a fact, and it is hence inserted. The missionaries and La Salle separated, the former to find, as he had predicted, the followers of Loyola already in the field, and not wanting their aid. Hence they return from a fruitless tour.

La Salle, now left to himself and just recovering from a violent fever, went on his journey. From the paper from which these statements are taken, it appears he went on to Onondaga, where he procured guides to a tributary of the Ohio, down which he proceeded to the principal stream, on whose bosom he continued his way till he came to the falls at the present city of Louisville, Ky. It has been asserted that he went on down to its mouth, but that is not well authenticated and is hardly true. The statement that he went as far as the falls is, doubtless, correct. He states, in a letter to Count Frontenac in 1677, that he discovered the Ohio, and that he descended it to the falls. Moreover, Joliet, in a measure his rival, for he was now preparing to go to the northern lakes and from them search the river, made two maps representing the lakes and the Mississippi, on both of which he states that La Salle had discovered the Ohio. Of its course beyond the falls, La Salle does not seem to have learned anything definite, hence his discovery did not in any way settle the great question, and elicited but little comment. Still, it stimulated La Salle to more effort, and while musing on his plans, Joliet and Marquette push on from Green Bay, and discover the river and ascertain the general course of its outlet. On Joliet's return in 1673, he seems to drop from further notice. Other and more venturesome souls were ready to finish the work begun by himself and the zealous Marquette, who, left among the far-away nations, laid down his life. The spirit of

La Salle was equal to the enterprise, and as he now had returned from one voyage of discovery, he stood ready to solve the mystery, and gain the country for his King. Before this could be accomplished, however, he saw other things must be done, and made preparations on a scale, for the time, truly marvelous.

Count Frontenac, the new Governor, had no sooner established himself in power than he gave a searching glance over the new realm to see if any undeveloped resources lay yet unnoticed, and what country yet remained open. He learned from the exploits of La Salle on the Ohio, and from Joliet, now returned from the West, of that immense country, and resolving in his mind on some plan whereby it could be firmly taken, entered heartily into the plans of La Salle, who, anxious to solve the mystery concerning the outlet of the Great River, gave him the outline of a plan, sagacious in its conception and grand in its comprehension. La Salle had also informed him of the endeavors of the English on the Atlantic coast to divert the trade with the Indians, and partly to counteract this, were the plans of La Salle adopted. They were, briefly, to build a chain of forts from Canada, or New France, along the lakes to the Mississippi, and on down that river, thereby holding the country by power as well as by discovery. A fort was to be built on the Ohio as soon as the means could be obtained, and thereby hold that country by the same policy. Thus to La Salle alone may be ascribed the bold plan of gaining the whole West, a plan only thwarted by the force of arms. Through the aid of Frontenac, he was given a proprietary and the rank of nobility, and on his proprietary was erected a fort, which he, in honor of his Governor, called Fort Frontenac. It stood on the site of the present city of Kingston, Canada. Through it he obtained the trade of the Five Nations, and his fortune was so far assured. He next repaired to France, to perfect his arrangements, secure his title and obtain means.

On his return he built the fort alluded to, and prepared to go on in the prosecution of his plan. A civil discord arose, however, which for three years prevailed, and seriously threatened his projects. As soon as he could extricate himself, he again repaired to France, receiving additional encouragement in money, grants, and the exclusive privilege of a trade in buffalo skins, then considered a source of great wealth. On his return, he was accompanied by Henry Tonti, son of an illustrious Italian nobleman, who had fled from his

own country during one of its political revolutions. Coming to France, he made himself famous as the founder of Tontine Life Insurance. Henry Tonti possessed an indomitable will, and though he had suffered the loss of one of his hands by the explosion of a grenade in one of the Sicilian wars, his courage was undimmed, and his ardor undimmed. La Salle also brought recruits, mechanics, sailors, cordage and sails for rigging a ship, and merchandise for traffic with the natives. At Montreal, he secured the services of M. La Motte, a person of much energy and integrity of character. He also secured several missionaries before he reached Fort Frontenac. Among them were Louis Hennepin, Gabriel Ribourde and Zenabe Membre. All these were Flemings, all Recollets. Hennepin, of all of them, proved the best assistant. They arrived at the fort early in the autumn of 1678, and preparations were at once made to erect a vessel in which to navigate the lakes, and a fort at the mouth of the Niagara River. The Senecas were rather adverse to the latter proposals when La Motte and Hennepin came, but by the eloquence of the latter, they were pacified and rendered friendly. After a number of vexatious delays, the vessel, the Griffin, the first on the lakes, was built, and on the 7th of August, a year after La Salle came here, it was launched, passed over the waters of the northern lakes, and, after a tempestuous voyage, landed at Green Bay. It was soon after stored with furs and sent back, while La Salle and his men awaited its return. It was never afterward heard of. La Salle, becoming impatient, erected a fort, pushed on with a part of his men, leaving part at the fort, and passed over the St. Joseph and Kankakee Rivers, and thence to the Illinois, down whose flood they proceeded to Peoria Lake, where he was obliged to halt, and return to Canada for more men and supplies. He left Tonti and several men to complete a fort, called Fort "Urevéeur"—broken-hearted. The Indians drove the French away, the men mutinied, and Tonti was obliged to flee. When La Salle returned, he found no one there, and going down as far as the mouth of the Illinois, he retraced his steps, to find some trace of his garrison. Tonti was found safe among the Pottawatomies at Green Bay, and Hennepin and his two followers, sent to explore the head-waters of the Mississippi, were again home, after a captivity among the Sioux.

La Salle renewed his force of men, and the third time set out for the outlet of the Great River,

He left Canada early in December, 1681, and by February 6, 1682, reached the majestic flood of the mighty stream. On the 24th, they ascended the Chickasaw Bluffs, and, while waiting to find a sailor who had strayed away, erected Fort Prudhomme. They passed several Indian villages further down the river, in some of which they met with no little opposition. Proceeding onward, ere long they encountered the tide of the sea, and April 6, they emerged on the broad bosom of the Gulf, "tossing its restless billows, limitless, voiceless and lonely as when born of chaos, without a sign of life."

Coasting about a short time on the shores of the Gulf, the party returned until a sufficiently dry place was reached to effect a landing. Here another cross was raised, also a column, on which was inscribed these words:

"LOUIS LE GRAND, ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE,
REGNE; LE NEUVIÈME, AVRIL, 1682." *

"The whole party," says a "procès verbal," in the archives of France, "chanted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat* and the *Domine solcum sic Regem*, and then after a salute of fire-arms and cries of *Vive le Roi*, La Salle, standing near the column, said in a loud voice in French:

"In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty two, I, in virtue of the commission of His Majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of His Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbor, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers, comprised in the extent of said Louisiana, from the north of the great river St. Louis, otherwise called the Ohio, Alighin, Sipore or Chukagona, and this with the consent of the Chavunons, Chickachaws, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the river Colbert or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein from its source beyond the Kiou or Nadiouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Illinois, Mescigameas, Natchez, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also

we have made alliance, either by ourselves or others in our behalf, as far as its mouth at the sea or Gulf of Mexico, about the twenty-seventh degree of its elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the river Colbert, hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, peoples or lands, to the prejudice of the right of His Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named."

The whole assembly responded with shouts and the salutes of fire-arms. The Sieur de La Salle caused to be planted at the foot of the column a plate of lead, on one side of which was inscribed the arms of France and the following Latin inscription:

Robertus Cavellier, cum Domino de Tracy, Legato, R. P. Zenobi Membro, Recollecto, et, Viginti Gallis Primos Hoc Flumen Inde ab illeorum Pago, enavigavit, ejusque astum fecit Pervivum, anno Aprilis via i.e. LXXXII.

The whole proceedings were acknowledged before La Metairie, a notary, and the conquest was considered complete.

Thus was the foundation of France laid in the new republic, and thus did she lay claim to the Northwest, which now includes Ohio, and the county, whose history this book perpetuates.

La Salle and his party returned to Canada soon after, and again that country, and France itself, rang with anthems of exultation. He went on to France, where he received the highest honors. He was given a fleet, and sailors as well as colonists to return to the New World by way of a southern voyage, expecting to find the mouth of the Mississippi by an ocean course. Sailing past the outlets, he was wrecked on the coast of Texas, and in his vain endeavors to find the river or return to Canada, he became lost on the plains of Arkansas, where he, in 1687, was basely murdered by one of his followers. "You are down now, Grand Bashaw," exclaimed his slayer, and despoiling his remains, they left them to be devoured by wild beasts. Thus fell an ignominious end came this daring, bold adventurer. Alone in the wilderness, he was left, with no monument but the vast realm he had disengaged, on whose bosom he was left without covering and without protection.

* Louis the Great, King of France and of Navarre, reigning the ninth day of April, 1682.

For force of will and vast conception; for various knowledge, and quick adaptation of his genius

to untried circumstances; for a sublime magnanimity, that resigned itself to the will of Heaven, and yet triumphed over affliction by energy of purpose and unfaltering hope—he had no superior among his countrymen. He had won the affections of the governor of Canada, the esteem of Colbert, the confidence of Seignelay, the favor of Louis XIV. After the beginning of the colonization of Upper Canada, he perfected the discovery of the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to its mouth; and he will be remembered through all time as the father of colonization in the great central valley of the West.*

Avarice, passion and jealousy were not calmed by the blood of La Salle. All of his conspirators perished by ignoble deaths, while only seven of the sixteen succeeded in continuing the journey until they reached Canada, and thence found their way to France.

Tonti, who had been left at Fort St. Louis, on "Starved Rock" on the Illinois, went down in search of his beloved commander. Failing to find him, he returned and remained here until 1700, thousands of miles away from friends. Then he went down the Mississippi to join D'Iberville, who had made the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi by an ocean voyage. Two years later, he went on a mission to the Chickasaws, but of his subsequent history nothing is known.

The West was now in possession of the French. La Salle's plans were yet feasible. The period of exploration was now over. The great river and its outlet was known, and it only remained for that nation to enter in and occupy what to many a Frenchman was the "Promised Land." Only eighteen years had elapsed since Marquette and Joliet had descended the river and shown the course of its outlet. A spirit, less bold than La Salle's would never in so short a time have penetrated for more than a thousand miles an unknown wilderness, and solved the mystery of the world.

When Joutel and his companions reached France in 1688, all Europe was on the eve of war. Other nations than the French wanted part of the New World, and when they saw that nation greedily and rapidly accumulating territory there, they endeavored to stay its progress. The league of Augsburg was formed in 1687 by the princes of the Empire to restrain the ambition of Louis XIV, and in 1688, he began hostilities by the capture of Philipburg. The next year, England, under the

lead of William III, joined the alliance, and Louis found himself compelled, with only the aid of the Turks, to contend against the united forces of the Empires of England, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Yet the tide of battle wavered. In 1689, the French were defeated at Walcourt, and the Turks at Widin; but in 1690, the French were victorious at Charleroy, and the Turks at Belgrade. The next year, and also the next, victory inclined to the French, but in 1693, Louvois and Luxembourg were dead and Namur surrendered to the allies. The war extended to the New World, where it was maintained with more than equal success by the French, though the English population exceeded it more than twenty to one. In 1688, the French were estimated at about twelve thousand souls in North America, while the English were more than two hundred thousand. At first the war was prosecuted vigorously. In 1689, De Ste. Helene and D'Iberville, two of the sons of Charles le Morne, crossed the wilderness and reduced the English forts on Hudson's Bay. But in August of the same year, the Iroquois, the hereditary foes of the French, captured and burned Montreal. Frontenac, who had gone on an expedition against New York by sea, was recalled. Fort Frontenac was abandoned, and no French posts left in the West between Trois Rivieres and Mackinaw, and were it not for the Jesuits the entire West would now have been abandoned. To recover their influence, the French planned three expeditions. One resulted in the destruction of Schenectady, another, Salmon Falls, and the third, Casco Bay. On the other hand, Nova Scotia was reduced by the colonies, and an expedition against Montreal went as far as to Lake Champlain, where it failed, owing to the dissensions of the leaders. Another expedition, consisting of twenty-four vessels, arrived before Quebec, which also failed through the incompetency of Sir William Phipps. During the succeeding years, various border conflicts occurred, in all of which border scenes of savage cruelty and savage ferocity were enacted. The peace of Ryswick, in 1697, closed the war. France retained Hudson's Bay, and all the places of which she was in possession in 1688; but the boundaries of the English and French claims in the New World were still unsettled.

The conclusion of the conflict left the French at liberty to pursue their scheme of colonization in the Mississippi Valley. In 1698, D'Iberville was sent to the lower provinces, which, ere long, was made a separate independence called Louisiana.

* Bancroft.

Forts were erected on Mobile Bay, and the division of the territory between the French and the Spaniards was settled. Trouble existed between the French and the Chickasaws, ending in the cruel deaths of many of the leaders, in the fruitless endeavors of the Canadian and Louisianian forces combining against the Chickasaws. For many years the conflict raged, with unequal successes, until the Indian power gave way before superior military tactics. In the end, New Orleans was founded, in 1718, and the French power secured.

Before this was consummated, however, France became entangled in another war against the allied powers, ending in her defeat and the loss of Nova Scotia, Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland. The peace of Utrecht closed the war in 1713.

The French, weary with prolonged strife, adopted the plan, more peaceful in its nature, of giving out to distinguished men the monopoly of certain districts in the fur trade, the most prosperous of any avocation then. Crozat and Cadillac—the latter the founder of Detroit, in 1701—were the chief ones concerned in this. The founding of the villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, and others in the Mississippi and Wabash Valleys, led to the rapid development, according to the French custom of all these parts of the West, while along all the chief water-courses, other trading posts and forts were established, rapidly fulfilling the hopes of La Salle, broached so many years before.

The French had, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, four principal routes to their western towns, two of which passed over the soil of Ohio. The first of these was the one followed by Marquette and Joliet, by way of the Lakes to Green Bay, in Wisconsin; thence across a portage to the Wisconsin River, down which they floated to the Mississippi. On their return they came up the Illinois River, to the site of Chicago, whence Joliet returned to Quebec by the Lakes. La Salle's route was first by the Lakes to the St. Joseph's River, which he followed to the portage to the Kankakee, and thence downward to the Mississippi. On his second and third attempt, he crossed the lower peninsula of Michigan to the Kankakee, and again traversed its waters to the Illinois. The third route was established about 1716. It followed the southern shores of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Maumee River; following this stream, the voyagers went on to the

junction between it and the St. Mary's, which they followed to the "Oubache"—Wabash—and then to the French villages in Vigo and Knox Counties, in Indiana. Vincennes was the oldest and most important one here. It had been founded in 1702 by a French trader, and was, at the date of the establishment of the third route, in a prosperous condition. For many years, the traders crossed the plains of Southern Illinois to the French towns on the bottoms opposite St. Louis. They were afraid to go on down the "Waba" to the Ohio, as the Indians had frightened them with accounts of the great monsters below. Finally, some adventurous spirit went down the river, found it emptied into the Ohio, and solved the problem of the true outlet of the Ohio, heretofore supposed to be a tributary of the Wabash.

The fourth route was from the southern shore of Lake Erie, at Presqueville, over a portage of fifteen miles to the head of French Creek, at Waterford, Penn.; thence down that stream to the Ohio, and on to the Mississippi. Along all these routes, ports and posts were carefully maintained. Many were on the soil of Ohio, and were the first attempts of the white race to possess its domain. Many of the ruins of these posts are yet found on the southern shore of Lake Erie, and at the outlets of streams flowing into the lake and the Ohio River. The principal forts were at Mackinaw, at Presqueville, at the mouth of the St. Joseph's, on Starved Rock, and along the Father of Waters. Yet another power was encroaching on them: a sturdy race, clinging to the inhospitable Atlantic shores, were coming over the mountains. The murmurs of a conflict were already heard—a conflict that would change the fate of a nation.

The French were extending their explorations beyond the Mississippi; they were also forming a political organization, and increasing their influence over the natives. Of a passive nature, however, their power and their influence could not withstand a more aggressive nature, and they were obliged, finally, to give way. They had the fruitful valleys of the West more than a century; yet they developed no resources, opened no mines of wealth, and left the country as passive as they found it.

Of the growth of the West under French rule, but little else remains to be said. The sturdy Anglo-Saxon race on the Atlantic coast, and their progenitors in England, began, now, to turn their attention to this vast country. The voluptuousness

of the French court, their neglect of the true basis of wealth, agriculture, and the repressive tendencies laid on the colonists, led the latter to adopt a hunter's life, and leave the country undeveloped and ready for the people who claimed the country from "sea to sea." Their explorers were now at work. The change was at hand.

Occasional mention has been made in the history of the State, in preceding pages, of settlements and trading-posts of the French traders, explorers and missionaries, within the limits of Ohio. The French were the first white men to occupy the northwestern part of the New World, and though their stay was brief, yet it opened the way to a sinewy race, living on the shores of the Atlantic, who in time came, saw, and conquered that part of America, making it what the people of to-day enjoy.

As early as 1669, four years before the discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette, La Salle, the famous explorer, discovered the Ohio River, and paddled down its gentle current as far as the falls at the present city of Louisville, but he, like others of the day, made no settlement on its banks, only claiming the country for his King by virtue of this discovery.

Early in the beginning of the eighteenth century, French traders and voyagers passed along the southern shores of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Maumee, up whose waters they rowed their bark canoes, on their way to their outposts in the Wabash and Illinois Valleys, established between 1675 and 1700. As soon as they could, without danger from their inveterate enemies, the Iroquois, masters of all the lower lake country, erect a trading-post at the mouth of this river, they did so. It was made a depot of considerable note, and was, probably, the first permanent habitation of white men in Ohio. It remained until after the peace of 1763, the termination of the French and Indian war, and the occupancy of this country by the English. On the site of the French trading-post, the British, in 1794, erected Fort Miami, which they garrisoned until the country came under the control of Americans. Now, Maumee City covers the ground.

The French had a trading-post at the mouth of the Huron River, in what is now Erie County. When it was built is not now known. It was, however, probably one of their early outposts, and may have been built before 1750. They had another on the shore of the bay, on or near the site of Sandusky City. Both this and the one at the

mouth of the Huron River were abandoned before the war of the Revolution. On Lewis Evan's map of the British Middle Colonies, published in 1755, a French fort, called "Fort Junandat, built in 1754," is marked on the east bank of the Sandusky River, several miles below its mouth. Fort Sandusky, on the western bank, is also noted. Several Wyandot towns are likewise marked. But very little is known concerning any of these trading-posts. They were, evidently, only temporary, and were abandoned when the English came into possession of the country.

The mouth of the Cuyahoga River was another important place. On Evan's map there is marked on the west bank of the Cuyahoga, some distance from its mouth, the words "*French House*," doubtless, the station of a French trader. The ruins of a house, found about five miles from the mouth of the river, on the west bank, are supposed to be those of the trader's station.

In 1786, the Moravian missionary, Zeisberger, with his Indian converts, left Detroit in a vessel called the Mackinaw, and sailed to the mouth of the Cuyahoga. From there they went up the river about ten miles, and settled in an abandoned Ottawa village, where Independence now is, which place they called "*Saint's Rest*." Their stay was brief, for the following April, they left for the Huron River, and settled near the site of Milan, Erie County, at a locality they called New Salem.

There are but few records of settlements made by the French until after 1750. Even these can hardly be called settlements, as they were simply trading-posts. The French easily affiliated with the Indians, and had little energy beyond trading. They never cultivated fields, laid low forests, and subjugated the country. They were a half-Indian race, so to speak, and hence did little if anything in developing the West.

About 1749, some English traders came to a place in what is now Shelby County, on the banks of a creek since known as Loramie's Creek, and established a trading-station with the Indians. This was the first English trading-place or attempt at settlement in the State. It was here but a short time, however, when the French, hearing of its existence, sent a party of soldiers to the Twigtwees, among whom it was founded, and demanded the traders as intruders upon French territory. The Twigtwees refusing to deliver up their friends, the French, assisted by a large party of Ottawas and Chippewas, attacked the trading-house, probably a block-house, and after a severe

battle, captured it. The traders were taken to Canada. This fort was called by the English "Pickawillany," from which "Piqua" is probably derived. About the time that Kentucky was settled, a Canadian Frenchman, named Loramie, established a store on the site of the old fort. He was a bitter enemy of the Americans, and for a long time Loramie's store was the headquarters of mischief toward the settlers.

The French had the faculty of endearing themselves to the Indians by their easy assimilation of their habits; and, no doubt, Loramie was equal to any in this respect, and hence gained great influence over them. Col. Johnston, many years an Indian Agent from the United States among the Western tribes, stated that he had often seen the "Indians burst into tears when speaking of the times when their French father had dominion over them; and their attachment always remained unabated."

So much influence had Loramie with the Indians, that, when Gen. Clarke, from Kentucky, invaded the Miami Valley in 1782, his attention was attracted to the spot. He came on and burnt the Indian settlement here, and destroyed the store of the Frenchman, selling his goods among the men at auction. Loramie fled to the Shawnees, and, with a colony of that nation, emigrated west of the Mississippi, to the Spanish possessions, where he again began his life of a trader.

In 1794, during the Indian war, a fort was built on the site of the store by Wayne, and named Fort Loramie. The last officer who had command here was Capt. Butler, a nephew of Col. Richard Butler, who fell at St. Clair's defeat. While here with his family, he lost an interesting boy, about eight years of age. About his grave, the sorrowing father and mother built a substantial picket-fence, planted honeysuckles over it, which, long after, remained to mark the grave of the soldier's boy.

The site of Fort Loramie was always an important point, and was one of the places defined on the boundary line at the Greenville treaty. Now a barn covers the spot.

At the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers, on the site of Fort Defiance, built by Gen. Wayne in 1794, was a settlement of traders, established some time before the Indian war began. "On the high ground extending from the Maumee a quarter of a mile up the Auglaize, about two hundred yards in width, was an open space, on the west and south of which were oak

woods, with hazel undergrowth. Within this opening, a few hundred yards above the point, on the steep bank of the Auglaize, were five or six cabins and log houses, inhabited principally by Indian traders. The most northerly, a large hewed-log house, divided below into three apartments, was occupied as a warehouse, store and dwelling, by George Ironside, the most wealthy and influential of the traders on the point. Next to him were the houses of Pirault (Pero) a French baker, and McKenzie, a Scot, who, in addition to merchandising, followed the occupation of a silversmith, exchanging with the Indians his brooches, ear-drops and other silver ornaments, at an enormous profit, for skins and furs.

Still further up were several other families of French and English; and two American prisoners, Henry Ball, a soldier taken in St. Clair's defeat, and his wife, Polly Meadows, captured at the same time, were allowed to live here and pay their masters the price of their ransom—he, by boating to the rapids of the Maumee, and she by washing and sewing. Fronting the house of Ironside, and about fifty yards from the bank, was a small stockade, inclosing two hewed-log houses, one of which was occupied by James Girty (a brother of Simon), the other, occasionally, by Elliott and McKee, British Indian Agents living at Detroit."*

The post, cabins and all they contained fell under the control of the Americans, when the British evacuated the shores of the lakes. While they existed, they were an undoubted source of Indian discontent, and had much to do in prolonging the Indian war. The country hereabouts did not settle until some time after the creation of the State government.

As soon as the French learned the true source of the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, both were made a highway to convey the products of their hunters. In coursing down the Ohio, they made trading-places, or depots, where they could obtain furs of the Indians, at accessible points, generally at the mouths of the rivers emptying into the Ohio. One of these old forts or trading-places stood about a mile and a half south of the outlet of the Scioto. It was here in 1740; but when it was erected no one could tell. The locality must have been pretty well known to the whites, however; for, in 1783, three years before the settlement of Marietta was made, four families

* Narrative of O. M. Spencer.

made an ineffectual attempt to settle near the same place. They were from Kentucky, but were driven away by the Indians a short time after they arrived, not being allowed to build cabins, and had only made preparations to plant corn and other necessities of life. While the men were encamped near the vicinity of Piketown, in Pike County, when on a hunting expedition, they were surprised by the Indians, and two of them slain. The others hastened back to the encampment at the mouth of the Scioto, and hurriedly gathering the families together, fortunately got them on a flat-boat, at that hour on its way down the river. By the aid of the boat, they were enabled to reach Maysville, and gave up the attempt to settle north of the Ohio.

The famous "old Scioto Salt Works," in Jackson County, on the banks of Salt Creek, a tributary of the Scioto, were long known to the whites before any attempt was made to settle in Ohio. They were indicated on the maps published in 1755. They were the resort, for generations, of the Indians in all parts of the West, who annually came here to make salt. They often brought white prisoners with them, and thus the salt works became known. There were no attempts made to settle here, however, until after the Indian war, which closed in 1795. As soon as peace was assured, the whites came here for salt, and soon after made a settlement. Another early salt spring was in what is now Trumbull County. It is also noted on Evan's map of 1755. They were occupied by the Indians, French, and by the Americans as early as 1780, and perhaps earlier.

As early as 1761 Moravian missionaries came among the Ohio Indians and began their labors. In a few years, under the lead of Revs. Fredrick Post and John Heckewelder, permanent stations were established in several parts of the State, chiefly on the Tuscarawas River in Tuscarawas County. Here were the three Indian villages—Shoenburn, Gnadenhutten and Salem. The site of the first is about two miles south of New Philadelphia; Gnadenhutten was seven miles further south, and about five miles still on was Salem, a short distance from the present village of Port Washington. The first and last named of these villages were on the west side of the Tuscarawas River, near the margin of the Ohio Canal. Gnadenhutten was on the east side of the river. It was here that the brutal massacre of these Christian Indians, by the rangers under Col. Williamson, occurred March 8, 1782. The account of the massacre and of these tribes

appears in these pages, and it only remains to notice what became of them.

The hospitable and friendly character of these Indians had extended beyond their white brethren on the Ohio. The American people at large looked on the act of Williamson and his men as an outrage on humanity. Congress felt its influence, and gave them a tract of twelve thousand acres, embracing their former homes, and induced them to return from the northern towns whither they had fled. As the whites came into the country, their manners degenerated until it became necessary to remove them. Through Gen. Cass, of Michigan, an agreement was made with them, whereby Congress paid them over \$6,000, an annuity of \$400, and 24,000 acres in some territory to be designated by the United States. This treaty, by some means, was never effectually carried out, and the principal part of them took up their residence near a Moravian missionary station on the River Thames, in Canada. Their old churchyard still exists on the Tuscarawas River, and here rest the bones of several of their devoted teachers. It is proper to remark here, that Mary Heckewelder, daughter of the missionary, is generally believed to have been the first white child born in Ohio. However, this is largely conjecture. Captive women among the Indians, before the birth of Mary Heckewelder, are known to have borne children, which afterward, with their mothers, were restored to their friends. The assertion that Mary Heckewelder was the first child born in Ohio, is therefore incorrect. She is the first of whom any definite record is made.

These outposts and the Gallipolis settlement are about all that are known to have existed prior to the settlement at Marietta. About one-half mile below Bolivar, on the western line of Tuscarawas County, are the remains of Fort Laurens, erected in 1778 by a detachment of 1,000 men under Gen. McIntosh, from Fort Pitt. It was, however, occupied but a short time, vacated in August, 1779, as it was deemed untenable at such a distance from the frontier.

During the existence of the six years' Indian war, a settlement of French emigrants was made on the Ohio River, that deserves notice. It illustrates very clearly the extreme ignorance and credulity prevalent at that day. In May or June of 1788, Joel Barlow left this country for Europe, "authorized to dispose of a very large body of land in the West." In 1790 he distributed proposals in Paris for the disposal of lands at five

shillings per acre, which, says Volney, "promised a climate healthy and delightful; scarcely such a thing as a frost in the winter; a river, called by way of eminence 'The Beautiful,' abounding in fish of an enormous size; magnificent forests of a tree from which sugar flows, and a shrub which yields candles; venison in abundance; no military enrollments, and no quarters to find for soldiers." Purchasers became numerous, individuals and whole families sold their property, and in the course of 1791 many embarked at the various French sea-ports, each with his title in his pocket. Five hundred settlers, among whom were many wood carvers and gilders to His Majesty, King of France, coachmakers, friseurs and peruke makers, and other artisans and *artistes*, equally well fitted for a frontier life, arrived in the United States in 1791-92, and acting without concert, traveling without knowledge of the language, customs and roads, at last managed to reach the spot designated for their residence. There they learned they had been cruelly deceived, and that the titles they held were worthless. Without food, shelterless, and danger closing around them, they were in a position that none but a Frenchman could be in without despair. Who brought them thither, and who was to blame, is yet a disputed point. Some affirm that those to whom large grants of land were made when the Ohio Company procured its charter, were the real instigators of the movement. They failed to pay for their lands, and hence the title reverted to the Government. This, coming to the ears of the poor Frenchmen, rendered their situation more distressing. They never paid for their lands, and only through the clemency of Congress, who afterward gave them a grant of land, and confirmed them in its title, were they enabled to secure a foothold. Whatever doubt there may be as to the

causes of these people being so grossly deceived, there can be none regarding their sufferings. They had followed a jack-o-lantern into the howling wilderness, and must work or starve. The land upon which they had been located was covered with immense forest trees, to level which the coachmakers were at a loss. At last, hoping to conquer by a *coup de main*, they tied ropes to the branches, and while a dozen pulled at them as many fell at the trunk with all sorts of edged tools, and thus soon brought the monster to the earth. Yet he was a burden. He was down, to be sure, but as much in the way as ever. Several lopped off the branches, others dug an immense trench at his side, into which, with might and main, all rolled the large log, and then buried him from sight. They erected their cabins in a cluster, as they had seen them in their own native land, thus affording some protection from marauding bands of Indians. Though isolated here in the lonely wilderness, and nearly out of funds with which to purchase provisions from descending boats, yet once a week they met and drowned care in a merry dance, greatly to the wonderment of the scout or lone Indian who chanced to witness their revelry. Though their vivacity could work wonders, it would not pay for lands nor buy provisions. Some of those at Gallipolis (for such they called their settlement, from Gallia, in France) went to Detroit, some to Kaskaskia, and some bought land of the Ohio Company, who treated them liberally. Congress, too, in 1795, being informed of their suffering, and how they had been deceived, granted them 24,000 acres opposite Little Sandy River, to which grant, in 1798, 12,000 acres more were added. The tract has since been known as French Grant. The settlement is a curious episode in early Western history, and deserves a place in its annals.



CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS—TRADERS—FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR IN THE WEST—ENGLISH POSSESSION.

A S has been noted, the French title rested on the discoveries of their missionaries and traders, upon the occupation of the country, and upon the construction of the treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle. The English claims to the same region were based on the fact of a prior occupation of the corresponding coast, on an opposite construction of the same treaties, and an alleged cession of the rights of the Indians. The rights acquired by discovery were conventional, and in equity were good only between European powers, and could not affect the rights of the natives, but this distinction was disregarded by all European powers. The inquiry of an Indian chief embodies the whole controversy: "Where are the Indian lands, since the French claim all on the north side of the Ohio and the English all on the south side of it?"

* The English charters expressly granted to all the original colonies the country westward to the South Sea, and the claims thus set up in the West, though held in abeyance, were never relinquished. The primary distinction between the two nations governed their actions in the New World, and led finally to the supremacy of the English. They were fixed agricultural communities. The French were mere trading-posts. Though the French were the prime movers in the exploration of the West, the English made discoveries during their occupation, however, mainly by their traders, who penetrated the Western wilderness by way of the Ohio River, entering it from the two streams which uniting form that river. Daniel Coxie, in 1722, published, in London, "A description of the English province of Carolina, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French called La Louisiane, as also the great and famous river Meschacebe, or Mississippi, the five vast navigable lakes of fresh water, and the parts adjacent, together with an account of the commodities of the growth and production of the said province." The title of this work exhibits very clearly the opinions of the English people respecting the West. As early as 1630, Charles I granted to Sir Robert Heath "All that part of America lying between thirty-

one and thirty-six degrees north latitude, from sea to sea," out of which the limits of Carolina were afterward taken. This immense grant was conveyed in 1638, to the Earl of Arundel, and afterward came into the possession of Dr. Daniel Coxie. In the prosecution of this claim, it appeared that Col. Wood, of Virginia, from 1654 to 1664, explored several branches of the Ohio and "Meschacebe," as they spell the Mississippi. A Mr. Needham, who was employed by Col. Wood, kept a journal of the exploration. There is also the account of some one who had explored the Mississippi to the Yellow, or Missouri River, before 1676. These, and others, are said to have been there when La Salle explored the outlet of the Great River, as he found tools among the natives which were of European manufacture. They had been brought here by English adventurers. Also, when Iberville was colonizing the lower part of Louisiana, these same persons visited the Choctaws and stirred them up against the French. It is also stated that La Salle found that some one had been among the Natchez tribes when he returned from the discovery of the outlet of the Mississippi, and excited them against him. There is, however, no good authority for these statements, and they are doubtless incorrect. There is also an account that in 1678, several persons went from New England as far south as New Mexico, "one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Meschacebe," the narrative reads, and on their return wrote an account of the expedition. This, also, cannot be traced to good authority. The only accurate account of the English reaching the West was when Bienville met the British vessel at the "English Turn," about 1700. A few of their traders may have been in the valley west of the Alleghany Mountains before 1700, though no reliable accounts are now found to confirm these suppositions. Still, from the earliest occupation of the Atlantic Coast by the English, they claimed the country, and, though the policy of its occupation rested for a time, it was never fully abandoned. Its revival dates from 1710 properly, though no immediate endeavor was made for many years after. That

year, Alexander Spottswood was made Governor of Virginia. No sooner did he assume the functions of ruler, than, casting his eye over his dominion, he saw the great West beyond the Alleghany Mountains unoccupied by the English, and rapidly filling with the French, who he observed were gradually confining the English to the Atlantic Coast. His prophetic eye saw at a glance the animus of the whole scheme, and he determined to act promptly on the defensive. Through his representation, the Virginia Assembly was induced to make an appropriation to defray the expense of an exploration of the mountains, and see if a suitable pass could not then be found where they could be crossed. The Governor led the expedition in person. The pass was discovered, a route marked out for future emigrants, and the party returned to Williamsburg. There the Governor established the order of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," presented his report to the Colonial Assembly and one to his King. In each report, he exposed with great boldness the scheme of the French, and advised the building of a chain of forts across to the Ohio, and the formation of settlements to counteract them. The British Government, engrossed with other matters, neglected his advice. Forty years after, they remembered it, only to regret that it was so thoughtlessly disregarded.

Individuals, however, profited by his advice. By 1730, traders began in earnest to cross the mountains and gather from the Indians the stores beyond. They now began to adopt a system, and abandoned the heretofore renegade habits of those who had superseded them, many of whom never returned to the Atlantic Coast. In 1742, John Howard descended the Ohio in a skin canoe, and, on the Mississippi was taken prisoner by the French. His captivity did not in the least deter others from coming. Indeed, the date of his voyage was the commencement of a vigorous trade with the Indians by the English, who crossed the Alleghanies by the route discovered by Gov. Spottswood. In 1748, Conrad Weiser, a German of Herenberg, who had acquired in early life a knowledge of the Mohawk tongue by a residence among them, was sent on an embassy to the Shawnees on the Ohio. He went as far as Logstown, a Shawnee village on the north bank of the Ohio, about seventeen miles below the site of Pittsburgh. Here he met the chief-in-counsel, and secured their promise of aid against the French.

The principal ground of the claims of the English in the Northwest was the treaty with the

Five Nations—the Iroquois. This powerful confederation claimed the jurisdiction over an immense extent of country. Their policy differed considerably from other Indian tribes. They were the only confederation which attempted any form of government in America. They were often termed the "Six Nations," as the entrance of another tribe into the confederacy made that number. They were the conquerors of nearly all tribes from Lower Canada, to and beyond the Mississippi. They only exacted, however, a tribute from the conquered tribes, leaving them to manage their own internal affairs, and stipulating that to them alone did the right of cession belong. Their country, under these claims, embraced all of America north of the Cherokee Nation, in Virginia; all Kentucky, and all the Northwest, save a district in Ohio and Indiana, and a small section in Southwestern Illinois, claimed by the Miami Confederacy. The Iroquois, or Six Nations, were the terror of all other tribes. It was they who devastated the Illinois country about Rock Fort in 1680, and caused wide-spread alarm among all the Western Indians. In 1684, Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, held a treaty with the Iroquois at Albany, when, at the request of Col. Duncan, of New York, they placed themselves under the protection of the English. They made a deed of sale then, by treaty, to the British Government, of a vast tract of country south and east of the Illinois River, and extending into Canada. In 1726, another deed was drawn up and signed by the chiefs of the national confederacy by which their lands were conveyed in trust to England, "to be protected and defended by His Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs."¹¹

If the Six Nations had a good claim to the Western country, there is but little doubt but England was justified in defending their country against the French, as, by the treaty of Utrecht, they had agreed not to invade the lands of Britain's Indian allies. This claim was vigorously contested by France, as that country claimed the Iroquois had no lawful jurisdiction over the West. In all the disputes, the interests of the contending nations was, however, the paramount consideration. The rights of the Indians were little regarded.

The British also purchased land by the treaty of Lancaster, in 1744, wherein they agreed to pay the Six Nations for land settled unlawfully in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. The In-

¹¹ Annals of the West.

dians were given goods and gold amounting to near a thousand pounds sterling. They were also promised the protection of the English. Had this latter provision been faithfully carried out, much blood would have been saved in after years. The treaties with the Six Nations were the real basis of the claims of Great Britain to the West; claims that were only settled by war. The Shawnee Indians, on the Ohio, were also becoming hostile to the English, and began to assume a threatening exterior. Peter Chartiez, a half-breed, residing in Philadelphia, escaped from the authorities, those by whom he was held for a violation of the laws, and joining the Shawnees, persuaded them to join the French. Soon after, in 1743 or 1744, he placed himself at the head of 400 of their warriors, and lay in wait on the Alleghany River for the provincial traders. He captured two, exhibited to them a captain's commission from the French, and seized their goods, worth £1,600. The Indians, after this, emboldened by the aid given them by the French, became more and more hostile, and Weiser was again sent across the mountains in 1748, with presents to conciliate them and sound them on their feelings for the rival nations, and also to see what they thought of a settlement of the English to be made in the West. The visit of Conrad Weiser was successful, and Thomas Lee, with twelve other Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington, formed a company which they styled the Ohio Company, and, in 1748, petitioned the King for a grant beyond the mountains. The monarch approved the petition and the government of Virginia was ordered to grant the Company 500,000 acres within the bounds of that colony beyond the Alleghanies, 200,000 of which were to be located at once. This provision was to hold good for ten years, free of quit rent, provided the Company would settle 100 families within seven years, and build a fort sufficient for their protection. These terms the Company accepted, and sent at once to London for a cargo suitable for the Indian trade. This was the beginning of English Companies in the West, this one forming a prominent part in the history of Ohio, as will be seen hereafter. Others were also formed in Virginia, whose object was the colonization of the West. One of these, the Loyal Company, received, on the 12th of June, 1749, a grant of 800,000 acres, from the line of Canada on the north and west, and on the 29th of October, 1751, the Greenbrier Company received a grant of 100,000 acres.

To these encroachments, the French were by no means blind. They saw plainly enough that if the English gained a foothold in the West, they would inevitably endeavor to obtain the country, and one day the issue could only be decided by war. Vaudreuil, the French Governor, had long anxiously watched the coming struggle. In 1774, he wrote home representing the consequences that would surely come, should the English succeed in their plans. The towns of the French in Illinois were producing large amounts of bread-stuffs and provisions which they sent to New Orleans. These provinces were becoming valuable, and must not be allowed to come under control of a rival power. In 1749, Louis Celeron was sent by the Governor with a party of soldiers to plant leaden plates, suitably inscribed, along the Ohio at the mouths of the principal streams. Two of these plates were afterward exhumed. One was sent to the Maryland Historical Society, and the inscription* deciphered by De Witt Clinton. On these plates was clearly stated the claims of France, as will be seen from the translation below.

England's claim, briefly and clearly stated, read as follows: "That all lands, or countries westward from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, between 48 and 34 degrees of North Latitude, were expressly included in the grant of King James the First, to divers of his subjects, so long time since as the year 1606, and afterwards confirmed in the year 1620; and under this grant, the colony of Virginia claims extent so far west as the South Sea, and the ancient colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, were by their respective charters, made to extend to the said South Sea, so that not only the right to the sea coast, but to all the inland countries from sea to sea, has at all times been asserted by the Crown of England."†

To make good their titles, both nations were now doing their utmost. Professedly at peace, it only needed a torch applied, as it were, to any point, to instantly precipitate hostilities. The French were

* The following is the translation of the inscription of the plate found at Venango. "In the year 1749, reign of Louis XV, King of France, we, Celeron, commandant of a detachment by Monsieur the Marquis of Gallioniere, Commandant-in-Chief of New France, to establish tranquillity in certain Indian villages in those quarters, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Totakakouin, this twenty ninth of July, near the River Ohio—otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river, and all its tributaries; and of all the land on both sides, as far as the sources of said rivers, inasmuch as the preceding Kings of France have owned it, and maintained it by their arms and by treaty, especially by those of Rywick, Uticet, and Aix la Chapelle."

† Colonial Records of Pennsylvania.

busily engaged erecting forts from the southern shores of Lake Erie to the Ohio, and on down in the Illinois Valley; up at Detroit, and at all its posts, preparations were constantly going on for the crisis, now sure to come. The issue between the two governments was now fully made up. It admitted of no compromise but the sword. To that, however, neither power desired an immediate appeal, and both sought rather to establish and fortify their interests, and to conciliate the Indian tribes. The English, through the Ohio Company, sent out Christopher Gist in the fall of 1750, to explore the regions west of the mountains. He was instructed to examine the passes, trace the courses of the rivers, mark the falls, seek for valuable lands, observe the strength, and to conciliate the friendship of the Indian tribes. He was well fitted for such an enterprise. Hardy, sagacious, bold, an adept in Indian character, a hunter by occupation, no man was better qualified than he for such an undertaking. He visited Logstown, where he was jealously received, passed over to the Muskingum River and Valley in Ohio, where he found a village of Wyandots, divided in sentiment. At this village he met Crogan, another equally famous frontiersman, who had been sent out by Pennsylvania. Together they held a council with the chiefs, and received assurance of the friendship of the tribe. This done, they passed to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto, received their assurances of friendship, and went on to the Miami Valley, which they crossed, remarking in Crogan's journal of its great fertility. They made a raft of logs on which they crossed the Great Miami, visited Piqua, the chief town of the Pickawillanyes, and here made treaties with the Weas and Piankeshaws. While here, a deputation of the Ottawas visited the Miami Confederacy to induce them to unite with the French. They were repulsed through the influence of the English agents, the Miamis sending Gist word that they would "stand like the mountains." Crogan now returned and published an account of their wanderings. Gist followed the Miami to its mouth, passed down the Ohio till within fifteen miles of the falls, then returned by way of the Kentucky River, over the highlands of Kentucky to Virginia, arriving in May, 1751. He had visited the Mingoes, Delawares, Wyandots, Shawnees and Miamis, proposed a union among these tribes, and appointed a grand council to meet at Logstown to form an alliance among themselves and with Virginia. His journey was marvelous for the day. It was extremely hazardous, as he

was part of the time among hostile tribes, who could have captured him and been well rewarded by the French Government. But Gist knew how to act, and was successful.

While Gist was doing this, some English traders established themselves at a place in what is now known as Shelby County, Ohio, and opened a store for the purpose of trading with the Indians. This was clearly in the limits of the West, claimed by the French, and at once aroused them to action. The fort or stockade stood on the banks of Loramie's Creek, about sixteen miles northwest of the present city of Sidney. It received the name Loramie from the creek by the French, which received its name in turn from the French trader of that name, who had a trading-post on this creek. Loramie had fled to the Spanish country west of the Mississippi, and for many years was a trader there; his store being at the junction of the Kansas and Missouri, near the present city of Kansas City, Mo. When the English traders came to Loramie's Creek, and erected their trading-place, they gave it the name of Pickawillany, from the tribe of Indians there. The Miami confederacy granted them this privilege as the result of the presents brought by Crogan and Gist. It is also asserted that Andrew Montour, a half-breed, son of a Seneca chief and the famous Catharine Montour, who was an important factor afterward in the English treaties with the Indians, was with them, and by his influence did much to aid in securing the privilege. Thus was established the first English trading-post in the Northwest Territory and in Ohio. It, however, enjoyed only a short duration. The French could not endure so clear an invasion of their country, and gathering a force of Ottawas and Chippewas, now their allies, they attacked the stockade in June, 1752. At first they demanded of the Miamis the surrender of the fort, as they were the real cause of its location, having granted the English the privilege. The Miamis not only refused, but aided the British in the defense. In the battle that ensued, fourteen of the Miamis were slain, and all the traders captured. One account says they were burned, another, and probably the correct one, states that they were taken to Canada as prisoners of war. It is probable the traders were from Pennsylvania, as that commonwealth made the Miami presents as condolence for their warriors that were slain.

Blood had now been shed. The opening gun of the French and Indian war had been fired, and both

nations became more deeply interested in affairs in the West. The English were determined to secure additional title to the West, and, in 1752, sent Messrs. Fry, Lomax and Patton as commissioners to Logstown to treat with the Indians, and confirm the Lancaster treaty. They met the Indians on the 9th of June, stated their desires, and on the 11th received their answer. At first, the savages were not inclined to recognize the Lancaster treaty, but agreed to aid the English, as the French had already made war on the Twigtees (at Pickawillany), and consented to the establishment of a fort and trading-post at the forks of the Ohio. This was not all the Virginians wanted, however, and taking aside Andrew Montour, now chief of the Six Nations, persuaded him to use his influence with the red men. By such means, they were induced to treat, and on the 13th they all united in signing a deed, confirming the Lancaster treaty in its full extent, consenting to a settlement southwest of the Ohio, and covenanting that it should not be disturbed by them. By such means was obtained the treaty with the Indians in the Ohio Valley.

All this time, the home governments were endeavoring to out-maneuver each other with regard to the lands in the West, though there the outlook only betokened war. The French understood better than the English how to manage the Indians, and succeeded in attaching them firmly to their cause. The English were not honest in their actions with them, and hence, in after years, the massacres that followed.

At the close of 1752, Gist was at work, in conformity with the Lancaster and Logstown treaties, laying out a fort and town on Chartier's Creek, about ten miles below the fork. Eleven families had crossed the mountains to settle at Gist's residence west of Laurel Hill, not far from the Youghiogheny. Goods had come from England for the Ohio Company, which were carried as far West as Will's Creek, where Cumberland now stands; and where they were taken by the Indians and traders.

On the other hand, the French were gathering cannon and stores on Lake Erie, and, without treaties or deeds of land, were gaining the good will of the inimical tribes, and preparing, when all was ready, to strike the blow. Their fortifications consisted of a chain of forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio, on the border. One was at Presque Isle, on the site of Erie; one on French Creek, on the site of Waterford, Penn.; one at the mouth of French Creek, in Venango County, Penn.; while opposite it was another, effectually commanding

that section of country. These forts, it will be observed, were all in the limits of the Pennsylvania colony. The Governor informed the Assembly of their existence, who voted £600 to be used in purchasing presents for the Indians near the forts, and thereby hold their friendship. Virginia, also, took similar measures. Trent was sent, with guns and ammunition and presents, to the friendly tribes, and, while on his mission, learned of the plates of lead planted by the French. In October, 1753, a treaty was consummated with representatives of the Iroquois, Delawares, Shawanees, Twigtees and Wyandots, by commissioners from Pennsylvania, one of whom was the philosopher Franklin. At the conferences held at this time, the Indians complained of the actions of the French in forcibly taking possession of the disputed country, and also bitterly denounced them for using rum to intoxicate the red men, when they desired to gain any advantage. Not long after, they had similar grounds of complaint against the English, whose lawless traders cared for nothing but to gain the furs of the savage at as little expense as possible.

The encroachments of the French on what was regarded as English territory, created intense feeling in the colonies, especially in Virginia. The purpose of the French to inclose the English on the Atlantic Coast, and thus prevent their extension over the mountains, became more and more apparent, and it was thought that this was the opening of a scheme already planned by the French Court to reduce all North America under the dominion of France. Gov. Dinwiddie determined to send an ambassador to the French posts, to ascertain their real intentions and to observe the amount and disposition of their forces. He selected a young Virginian, then in his twenty-first year, a surveyor by trade and one well qualified for the duty. That young man afterward led the American Colonies in their struggle for liberty. George Washington and one companion, Mr. Gist, successfully made the trip, in the solitude of a severe winter, received assurance from the French commandant that they would by no means abandon their outposts, and would not yield unless compelled by force of arms. The commandant was exceedingly polite, but firm, and assured the young American that "we claim the country on the Ohio by virtue of the discovery of La Salle (in 1699) and will not give it up to the English. Our orders are to make prisoners of every Englishman found trading in the Ohio Valley."

During Washington's absence steps were taken to fortify the point formed by the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany; and when, on his return, he met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio, and, soon after, some families going out to settle, he knew the defense had begun. As soon as Washington made his report, Gov. Dinwiddie wrote to the Board of Trade, stating that the French were building a fort at Venango, and that, in March, twelve or fifteen hundred men would be ready to descend the river with their Indian allies, for which purpose three hundred canoes had been collected; and that Logstown was to be made headquarters, while forts were to be built in other places. He sent expresses to the Governors of Pennsylvania and New York, apprising them of the nature of affairs, and calling upon them for assistance. He also raised two companies, one of which was raised by Washington, the other by Trent. The one under Trent was to be raised on the frontiers, and was, as soon as possible, to repair to the Fork and erect there a fort, begun by the Ohio Company. Owing to various conflicting opinions between the Governor of Pennsylvania and his Assembly, and the conference with the Six Nations, held by New York, neither of those provinces put forth any vigorous measures until stirred to action by the invasions on the frontiers, and until directed by the Earl of Holderness, Secretary of State.

The fort at Venango was finished by the French in April, 1754. All along the creek resounded the clang of arms and the preparations for war. New York and Pennsylvania, though inactive, and debating whether the French really had invaded English territory or not, sent aid to the Old Dominion, now all alive to the conquest. The two companies had been increased to six; Washington was raised to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and made second under command of Joshua Fry. Ten cannon, lately from England, were forwarded from Alexandria; wagons were got ready to carry westward provisions and stores through the heavy spring roads; and everywhere men were enlisting under the King's promise of two hundred thousand acres of land to those who would go. They were gathering along Will's Creek and far beyond, while Trent, who had come for more men and supplies, left a little band of forty-one men, working away in hunger and want at the Fork, to which both nations were looking with anxious eyes. Though no enemy was near, and only a few Indian scouts were seen, keen eyes had observed the low

fortifications at the Fork. Swift feet had borne the news of it up the valley, and though Ensign Ward, left in command, felt himself secure, on the 17th of April he saw a sight that made his heart sick. Sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes were coming down the Alleghany. The commandant sent him a summons, which evaded no words in its meaning. It was useless to contend, that evening he supped with his conqueror, the next day he was bowed out by the polite Frenchman, and with his men and tools marched up the Monongahela. The first birds of spring were filling the air with their song; the rivers rolled by, swollen by April showers and melting snows; all nature was putting on her robes of green; and the fortress, which the English had so earnestly strived to obtain and fortify, was now in the hands of the French. Fort Du Quesne arose on the incomplete fortifications. The seven years' war that followed not only affected America, but spread to all quarters of the world. The war made England a great imperial power; drove the French from Asia and America; dispelled the brilliant and extended scheme of Louis and his voluptuous empire.

The active field of operations was in the Canadas principally, and along the western borders of Pennsylvania. There were so few people then in the present confines of Ohio, that only the possession of the country, in common with all the West, could be the animus of the conflict. It so much concerned this part of the New World, that a brief résumé of the war will be necessary to fully understand its history.

The fall of the post at the fork of the Ohio, Fort Du Quesne, gave the French control of the West. Washington went on with his few militia to retake the post. Though he was successful at first, he was in the end defeated, and surrendered, being allowed to return with all his munitions of war. The two governments, though trying to come to a peaceful solution of the question, were getting ready for the conflict. France went steadily on, though at one time England gave, in a measure, her consent to allow the French to retain all the country west of the Alleghanies and south of the lakes. Had this been done, what a different future would have been in America! Other destinies were at work, however, and the plan fell stillborn.

England sent Gen. Braddock and a fine force of men, who marched directly toward the post on the Ohio. His ill-fated expedition resulted only in the total defeat of his army, and his own death.

Washington saved a remnant of the army, and made his way back to the colonies. The English needed a leader. They next planned four campaigns; one against Fort Du Quesne; one against Crown Point; one against Niagara, and one against the French settlements in Nova Scotia. Nearly every one proved a failure. The English were defeated on sea and on land, all owing to the incapacity of Parliament, and the want of a suitable, vigorous leader. The settlements on the frontiers, now exposed to a cruel foe, prepared to defend themselves, and already the signs of a government of their own, able to defend itself, began to appear. They received aid from the colonies. Though the French were not repulsed, they and their red allies found they could not murder with impunity. Self-preservation was a stronger incentive in conflict than aggrandizement, and the cruelty of the Indians found avengers.

The great Pitt became Prime Minister June 29, 1757. The leader of the English now appeared. The British began to regain their losses on sea and land, and for them a brighter day was at hand. The key to the West must be retaken, and to Gen. Forbes was assigned the duty. Preceding him, a trusty man was sent to the Western Indians at the head-waters of the Ohio, and along the Monongahela and Alleghany, to see if some compromise with them could not be made, and their aid secured. The French had been busy through their traders inciting the Indians against the English. The lawless traders were another source of trouble. Caring nothing for either nation, they carried on a distressing traffic in direct violation of the laws, continually engendering ill-feeling among the natives. "Your traders," said one of them, "bring scarce anything but rum and flour. They bring little powder and lead, or other valuable goods. The rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities by regulating the traders." * * * These wicked whisky sellers, when they have got the Indians in liquor, make them sell the very clothes off their backs. If this practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it." They complained of the French traders the same way. They were also beginning to see the animus of the whole conflict. Neither power cared as much for them as for their land, and flattered and bullied by turns as served their purposes best.

The man selected to go upon this undertaking was Christian Frederic Post, a Moravian, who had lived among the Indians seventeen years, and mar-

ried into one of their tribes. He was a missionary, and though obliged to cross a country whose every stream had been dyed by blood, and every hillside rung with the death-yell, and grown red with the light of burning huts, he went willingly on his way. Of his journey, sufferings and doings, his own journal tells the story. He left Philadelphia on the 15th of July, 1758, and on the 7th of August safely passed the French post at Venango. Went on to Big Beaver Creek, where he held a conference with the chiefs of the Indians gathered there. It was decided that a great conference should be held opposite Fort Du Quesne, where there were Indians of eight nations. "We will bear you in our bosoms," said the natives, when Post expressed a fear that that he might be delivered over to the French, and royally they fulfilled their promises. At the conference, it was made clear to Post that all the Western Indians were wavering in their allegiance to the French, owing largely to the failure of that nation to fulfill their promises of aid to prevent them from being deprived of their land by the Six Nations, and through that confederacy, by the English. The Indians complained bitterly, moreover, of the disposition of the whites in over-running and claiming their lands. "Why did you not fight your battles at home or on the sea, instead of coming into our country to fight them?" they asked again and again, and mournfully shook their heads when they thought of the future before them. "Your heart is good," said they to Post. "You speak sincerely; but we know there is always a great number who wish to get rich; they have enough; look! we do not want to be rich and take away what others have. The white people think we have no brains in our heads; that they are big, and we are a handful; but remember when you hunt for a rattlesnake, you cannot always find it, and perhaps it will turn and bite you before you see it."* When the war of Pontiac came, and all the West was desolated, this saying might have been justly remembered. After concluding a peace, Post set out for Philadelphia, and after incredible hardships, reached the settlement uninjured early in September. His mission had more to do than at first is apparent, in the success of the English. Had it not been for him, a second Braddock's defeat might have befallen Forbes, now on his way to subjugate Fort Du Quesne.

Through the heats of August, the army hewed its way toward the West. Early in September it

* Post's Journal.

reached Raystown, whither Washington had been ordered with his troops. Sickness had prevented him from being here already. Two officers were sent out to reconnoiter the fort, who returned and gave a very good account of its condition. Gen. Forbes desired to know more of it, and sent out Maj. Grant, with 800 men, to gain more complete knowledge. Maj. Grant, supposing not more than 200 soldiers to be in the fort, marched near it and made a feint to draw them out, and engage them in battle. He was greatly misinformed as to the strength of the French, and in the engagement that followed he was badly beaten—270 of his men killed, 42 wounded, and several, including himself, taken prisoners. The French, elated with their victory, attacked the main army, but were repulsed and obliged to retreat to the fort. The army continued on its march. On the 24th of November they reached Turtle Creek, where a council of war was held, and where Gen. Forbes, who had been so ill as to be carried on a litter from the start, declared, with a mighty oath, he would sleep that night in the fort, or in a worse place. The Indians had, however, carried the news to the French that the English were as plenty as the trees of the woods, and in their fright they set fire to the fort in the night and left up and down the Ohio River. The next morning the English, who had heard the explosion of the magazine, and seen the light of the burning walls, marched in and took peaceful possession. A small fortification was thrown up on the bank, and, in honor of the great English statesman, it was called Fort Pitt. Col. Hugh Mercer was left in command, and the main body of the army marched back to the settlements. It reached Philadelphia January 17, 1759. On the 11th of March, Gen. Forbes died, and was buried in the chancel of Christ's Church, in that city.

Post was now sent on a mission to the Six Nations, with a report of the treaty of Easton. He was again instrumental in preventing a coalition of the Indians and the French. Indeed, to this obscure Moravian missionary belongs, in a large measure, the honor of the capture of Fort Du Quesne, for by his influence had the Indians been restrained from attacking the army on its march.

The garrison, on leaving the fort, went up and down the Ohio, part to Presque Isle by land, part to Fort Venango, while some of them went on down the Ohio nearly to the Mississippi, and there, in what is now Massac County, Ill., erected a fort, called by them Fort Massac. It was afterward named by many Fort Massacre, from the erroneous

supposition that a garrison had been massacred there.

The French, though deprived of the key to the West, went on preparing stores and ammunition, expecting to retake the fort in the spring. Before they could do this, however, other places demanded their attention.

The success of the campaign of 1758 opened the way for the consummation of the great scheme of Pitt—the complete reduction of Canada. Three expeditions were planned, by which Canada, already well nigh annihilated and suffering for food, was to be subjugated. On the west, Prideaux was to attack Niagara; in the center, Amherst was to advance on Ticonderoga and Crown Point; on the east, Wolfe was to besiege Quebec. All these points gained, the three armies were to be united in the center of the province.

Amherst appeared before Ticonderoga July 22. The French blew up their works, and retired to Crown Point. Driven from there, they retreated to Isle Aux Nois and entrenched themselves. The lateness of the season prevented further action, and Amherst went into winter quarters at Crown Point. Early in June, Wolfe appeared before Quebec with an army of 8,000 men. On the night of September 12, he silently ascended the river, climbed the heights of Abraham, a spot considered impregnable by the French, and on the summit formed his army of 5,000 men. Montcalm, the French commander, was compelled to give battle. The British columns, flushed with success, charged his half-formed lines, and dispersed them.

"They fly! they fly!" heard Wolfe, just as he expired from the effect of a mortal wound, though not till he had ordered their retreat cut off, and exclaimed, "Now, God be praised, I die happy." Montcalm, on hearing from the surgeon that death would come in a few hours, said, "I am glad of it. I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." At five the next morning he died happy.

Prideaux moved up Lake Ontario, and on the 6th of July invested Niagara. Its capture would cut off the French from the west, and every endeavor was made to hold it. Troops, destined to take the small garrison at Fort Pitt, were held to assist in raising the siege of Niagara. M. de Aubry, commandant in Illinois, came up with 400 men and 200,000 pounds of flour. Cut off by the abandonment of Fort Du Quesne from the Ohio route, he ascended that river as far as the Wabash, thence to portage of Fort Miami, or Fort Wayne,

down the Maumee to Lake Erie, and on to Presquile, or Presque Isle, over the portage to Le Bœuf, and thence down French Creek to Fort Venango. He was chosen to lead the expedition for the relief of Niagara. They were pursued by Sir William Johnson, successor to Prideaux, who had lost his life by the bursting of a cannon, and were obliged to flee. The next day Niagara, cut off from succor, surrendered.

All America rang with exultation. Towns were bright with illuminations; the hillsides shone with bonfires. From press, from pulpit, from platform, and from speakers' desks, went up one glad song of rejoicing. England was victorious everywhere. The colonies had done their full share, and now learned their strength. That strength was needed now, for ere long a different conflict raged on the soil of America—a conflict ending in the birth of a new nation.

The English sent Gen. Stanwix to fortify Fort Pitt, still looked upon as one of the principal fortresses in the West. He erected a good fortification there, which remained under British control fifteen years. Now nothing of the fort is left. No memorial of the British possession remains in the West but a single redoubt, built in 1764 by Col. Bouquet, outside of the fort. Even this can hardly now be said to exist.

The fall of Quebec did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. M. de Levi, on whom the command devolved, retired with the French Army to Montreal. In the spring of 1760, he besieged Quebec, but the arrival of an English fleet caused him to again retreat to Montreal.

Amherst and Johnson, meanwhile, effected a union of their forces, the magnitude of whose armies convinced the French that resistance would be useless, and on the 8th of September, M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, surrendered Montreal, Quebec, Detroit, Mackinaw and all other posts in Canada, to the English commander-in-chief, Amherst, on condition that the French inhabitants should, during the war, be "protected in the full and free exercise of their religion, and the full enjoyment of their civil rights, leaving their future destinies to be decided by the treaty of peace."

Though peace was concluded in the New World, on the continent the Powers experienced some difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory settlement. It was finally settled by what is known in history as the "family compact." France and Spain saw in the conquest the growing power of England.

and saw, also, that its continuance only extended that power. Negotiations were re-opened, and on the 3d of November, 1762, preliminaries were agreed to and signed, and afterward ratified in Paris, in February, 1763. By the terms of the compact, Spain ceded to Great Britain East and West Florida. To compensate Spain, France ceded to her by a secret article, all Louisiana west of the Mississippi.

The French and Indian war was now over. Canada and all its dependencies were now in possession of the English, who held undisputed sway over the entire West as far as Mississippi. It only remained for them to take possession of the outposts. Major Robert Rogers was sent to take possession of Detroit and establish a garrison there. He was a partisan officer on the borders of New Hampshire, where he earned a name for bravery, but afterward tarnished it by treasonable acts. On his way to Detroit, on the 7th of November, 1760, he was met by the renowned chief, Pontiac, who authoritatively commanded him to pause and explain his acts. Rogers replied by explaining the conquest of Canada, and that he was acting under orders from his King. Through the influence of Pontiac, the army was saved from the Indians sent out by the French, and was allowed to proceed on its way. Pontiac had assured his protection as long as the English treated him with due deference. Belterre, the commandant at Detroit, refused to surrender to the English commander, until he had received positive assurance from his Governor, Vaudreuil, that the country was indeed conquered. On the 29th of September, the colors of France gave way to the ensign of Great Britain amid the shouts of the soldiery and the astonishment of the Indians, whose savage natures could not understand how such a simple act declared one nation victors of another, and who wondered at the forbearance displayed. The lateness of the season prevented further operations, but early the next spring, Mackinaw, Green Bay, Ste. Marie, St. Joseph and the Outenon surrounded, and nothing was left but the Illinois towns. These were secured as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made.

Though the English were now masters of the West, and had, while many of these events narrated were transpiring, extended their settlements beyond the Alleghanies, they were by no means secure in their possession. The woods and prairies were full of Indians, who, finding the English like the French, caring more for gain than the welfare

of the natives, began to exhibit impatience and resentment as they saw their lands gradually taken from them. The English policy differed very materially from the French. The French made the Indian, in a measure, independent and taught him a desire for European goods. They also affiliated easily with them, and became thereby strongly endeared to the savage. The French were a merry, easy-going race, fond of gayety and delighting in adventure. The English were harsh, stern, and made no advances to gain the friendship of the savage. They wanted land to cultivate and drove away the Indian's game, and forced him farther west. "Where shall we go?" said the Indian, despondently; "you drive us farther and farther west, by and by you will want all the land." And the Anglo-Saxon went sturdily on, paying no heed to the complaints. The French

traders incited the Indian to resent the encroachment. "The English will annihilate you and take all your land," said they. "Their father, the King of France, had been asleep, now he had awakened and was coming with a great army to reclaim Canada, that had been stolen from him while he slept."

Discontent under such circumstances was but natural. Soon all the tribes, from the mountains to the Mississippi, were united in a plot. It was discovered in 1761, and arrested. The next summer, another was detected and arrested. The officers, and all the people, failed to realize the danger. The rattlesnake, though not found, was ready to strike. It is only an Indian discontent, thought the people, and they went on preparing to occupy the country. They were mistaken—the crisis only needed a leader to direct it. That leader appeared.

CHAPTER IV.

PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY—ITS FAILURE—BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION—OCCUPATION BY THE ENGLISH.

PONTIAC, the great chief of the Ottawas, was now about fifty years old. He had watched the conflict between the nations with a jealous eye, and as he saw the gradual growth of the English people, their encroachment on the lands of the Indians, their greed, and their assumption of the soil, his soul was stirred within him to do something for his people. He had been a true friend of the French, and had led the Indians at the defeat of Braddock. Amid all the tumult, he alone saw the true state of affairs. The English would inevitably crush out the Indians. To save his race he saw another alliance with the French was necessary, and a restoration of their power and habits needed. It was the plan of a statesman. It only failed because of the perfidy of the French. Maturing his plans late in the autumn of 1762, he sent messengers to all the Western and Southern tribes, with the black wampum and red tomahawk, emblems of war, from the great Pontiac. "On a certain day in the next year," said the messenger, "all the tribes are to rise, seize all the English posts, and then attack the whole frontier."

The great council of all the tribes was held at the river Ecorces, on the 27th of April, 1763. There, before the assembled chiefs, Pontiac deliv-

ered a speech, full of eloquence and art. He recounted the injuries and encroachments of the English, and disclosed their designs. The French king was now awake and would aid them. Should they resign their homes and the graves of their fathers without an effort? Were their young men no longer brave? Were they squaws? The Great Master of Life had chided them for their inactivity, and had sent his commands to drive the "Red Dogs" from the earth. The chiefs eagerly accepted the wampum and the tomahawk, and separated to prepare for the coming strife.

The post at Detroit was informed of the plot the evening before it was to occur, by an Ojibway girl of great beauty the mistress of the commander, Major Gladwin. Pontiac was foiled here, his treachery discovered, and he was sternly ordered from the conference. A regular seige followed, but he could not prevail. He exhibited a degree of sagacity unknown in the annals of savage warfare, but all to no purpose; the English were too strong for him.

At all the other posts, save one, however, the plans of Pontiac were carried out, and atrocities, unheard of before in American history, resulted. The Indians attacked Detroit on the first of May,

and, foiled in their plans, a siege immediately followed. On the 16th, a party of Indians appeared before the fort at Sandusky. Seven of them were admitted. Suddenly, while smoking, the massacre begins. All but Ensign Paulli, the commander, fall. He is carried as a trophy to Pontiac.

At the mouth of the St. Joseph's, the missionaries had maintained a mission station over sixty years. They gave way to an English garrison of fourteen soldiers and a few traders. On the morning of May 25, a deputation of Pottawatomies are allowed to enter. In less than two minutes, all the garrison but the commander are slain. He is sent to Pontiac.

Near the present city of Fort Wayne, Ind., at the junction of the waters, stood Fort Miami, garrisoned by a few men. Holmes, the commander, is asked to visit a sick woman. He is slain on the way, the sergeant following is made prisoner, and the nine soldiers surrender.

On the night of the last day of May, the wampum reaches the Indian village below La Fayette, Ind., and near Fort Ouitonon. The commander of the fort is lured into a cabin, bound, and his garrison surrender. Through the clemency of French settlers, they are received into their houses and protected.

At Michilimackinac, a game of ball is projected. Suddenly the ball is thrown through the gate of the stockade. The Indians press in and, at a signal, almost all are slain or made prisoners.

The fort at Presque Isle, now Erie, was the point of communication between Pittsburgh and Niagara and Detroit. It was one of the most tenable, and had a garrison of four and twenty men. On the 22d of June, the commander, to save his forces from total annihilation, surrenders, and all are carried prisoners to Detroit.

The capitulation at Erie left Le Beuf without hope. He was attacked on the 18th, but kept off the Indians till midnight, when he made a successful retreat. As they passed Venango, on their way to Fort Pitt, they saw only the ruins of that garrison. Not one of its inmates had been spared.

Fort Pitt was the most important station west of the Alleghanies. "Escape!" said Turtle's Heart, a Delaware warrior; "you will all be slain. A great army is coming." "There are three large English armies coming to my aid," said Eenyey, the commander. "I have enough provisions and ammunition to stand a siege of three years' time." A second and third attempt was

made by the savages to capture the post, but all to no avail. Baffled on all sides here, they destroy Ligonier, a few miles below, and massacre men, women and children. Fort Pitt was besieged till the last day of July, but withstood all attacks. Of all the outposts, only it and Detroit were left. All had been captured, and the majority of the garrison slain. Along the frontier, the war was waged with fury. The Indians were fighting for their homes and their hunting-grounds; and for these they fought with the fury and zeal of fanatics.

Detachments sent to aid Detroit are cut off. The prisoners are burnt, and Pontiac, infusing his zealous and demoniacal spirit into all his savage allies, pressed the siege with vigor. The French remained neutral, yet Pontiac made requisition on them and on their neighbors in Illinois, issuing bills of credit on birch-bark, all of which were faithfully redeemed. Though these two posts could not be captured, the frontier could be annihilated, and vigorously the Indians pursued their policy. Along the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia a relentless warfare was waged, sparing no one in its way. Old age, feeble infancy, strong man and gentle woman, fair girl and hopeful boy—all fell before the scalping-knife of the merciless savage. The frontiers were devastated. Thousands were obliged to flee, leaving their possessions to the torch of the Indian.

The colonial government, under British direction, was inimical to the borders, and the colonists saw they must depend only upon their own arms for protection. Already the struggle for freedom was upon them. They could defend only themselves. They must do it, too; for that defense is now needed in a different cause than settling disputes between rival powers. "We have millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute," said they, and time verified the remark.

Gen. Amherst despatched himself to aid the frontiers. He sent Col. Henry Bouquet, a native of Switzerland, and now an officer in the English Army, to relieve the garrison at Fort Pitt. They followed the route made by Gen. Forbes, and on the way relieved Forts Bedford and Ligonier, both beleaguered by the Indians. About a day's journey beyond Ligonier, he was attacked by a body of Indians at a place called Bushy Run. For awhile, it seemed that he and all his army would be destroyed, but Bouquet was bold and brave and, under a feint of retreat, routed the savages. He passed on, and relieved the garrison at Fort

Pitt, and thus secured it against the assaults of the Indians.

The campaign had been disastrous to the English, but fatal to the plans of Pontiac. He could not capture Detroit, and he knew the great scheme must fail. The battle of Bushy Run and the relief of Fort Pitt closed the campaign, and all hope of co-operation was at an end. Circumstances were combined against the confederacy, and it was fast falling to pieces. A proclamation was issued to the Indians, explaining to them the existing state of affairs, and showing to them the futility of their plans. Pontiac, however, would not give up. Again he renewed the siege of Detroit, and Gen. Gage, now in command of the army in the colonies, resolved to carry the war into their own country. Col. Bradstreet was ordered to lead one army by way of the lakes, against the Northern Indians, while Col. Bouquet was sent against the Indians of the Ohio. Col. Bradstreet went on his way at the head of 1,200 men, but trusting too much to the natives and their promises, his expedition proved largely a failure. He relieved Detroit in August, 1764, which had been confined in the garrison over fifteen months, and dispersed the Indians that yet lay around the fort. But on his way back, he saw how the Indians had duped him, and that they were still plundering the settlements. His treaties were annulled by Gage, who ordered him to destroy their towns. The season was far advanced, his provisions were getting low, and he was obliged to return to Niagara chagrined and disappointed.

Col. Bouquet knew well the character of the Indians, and shaped his plans accordingly. He had an army of 1,500 men, 500 regulars and 1,000 volunteers. They had had experience in fighting the savages, and could be depended on. At Fort Louden, he heard of Bradstreet's ill luck, and saw through the deception practiced by the Indians. He arrived at Fort Pitt the 17th of September, where he arrested a deputation of chiefs, who met him with the same promises that had deceived Bradstreet. He sent one of their number back, threatening to put to death the chiefs unless they allowed his messengers to safely pass through their country to Detroit. The decisive tone of his words convinced them of the fate that awaited them unless they complied. On the 3d of October the army left Fort Pitt, marched down the river to and across the Tuscarawas, arriving in the vicinity of Fredrick Post's late mission on the 17th. There a conference was held with the assembled

tribes. Bouquet sternly rebuked them for their faithlessness, and when told by the chiefs they could not restrain their young men, he as sternly told them they were responsible for their acts. He told them he would trust them no longer. If they delivered up all their prisoners within twelve days they might hope for peace, otherwise there would be no mercy shown them. They were completely humbled, and, separating hastily, gathered their captives. On the 25th, the army proceeded down to the Tuscarawas, to the junction with White Woman River, near the town of Coshocton, in Coshocton County, Ohio, and there made preparations for the reception of the captives. There they remained until the 18th of November; from day to day prisoners were brought in—men, women and children—and delivered to their friends. Many were the touching scenes enacted during this time. The separated husband and wife met, the latter often carrying a child born in captivity. Brothers and sisters, separated in youth, met; lovers rushed into each other's arms; children found their parents, mothers their sons, fathers their daughters, and neighbors those from whom they had been separated many years. Yet, there were many distressing scenes. Some looked in vain for long-lost relatives and friends, that never should return. Others, that had been captured in their infancy, would not leave their savage friends, and when force was used some fled away. One mother looked in vain for a child she had lost years before. Day by day, she anxiously watched, but no daughter's voice reached her ears. One, clad in savage attire, was brought before her. It could not be her daughter, she was grown. So was the maiden before her. "Can not you remember some mark?" asked Bouquet, whose sympathies were aroused in this case. "There is none," said the anxious and sorrowful mother. "Sing a song you sang over her cradle, she may remember," suggested the commander. One is sung by her mother. As the song of childhood floats out among the trees the maiden stops and listens, then approaches. Yes, she remembers. Mother and daughter are held in a close embrace, and the stern Bouquet wipes away a tear at the scene.

On the 18th, the army broke up its encampment and started on its homeward march. Bouquet kept six principal Indians as hostages, and returned to the homes of the captives. The Indians kept their promises faithfully, and the next year representatives of all the Western tribes met Sir William Johnson, at the German Flats, and made

a treaty of peace. A tract of land in the Indian country was ceded to the whites for the benefit of those who had suffered in the late war. The Indians desired to make a treaty with Johnson, whereby the Alleghany River should be the western boundary of the English, but he excused himself on the ground of proper power.

Not long after this the Illinois settlements, too remote to know much of the struggle or of any of the great events that had convulsed an empire, and changed the destiny of a nation, were brought under the English rule. There were five villages at this date: Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Philip, Vincennes and Prairie du Rocher, near Fort Chartres, the military headquarters of these French possessions. They were under the control or command of M. de Abadie, at New Orleans. They had also extended explorations west of the Mississippi, and made a few settlements in what was Spanish territory. The country had been, however, ceded to France, and in February, 1764, the country was formally taken possession of and the present city of St. Louis laid out.

As soon as the French knew of the change of government, many of them went to the west side of the river, and took up their residence there. They were protected in their religion and civil rights by the terms of the treaty, but preferred the rule of their own King.

The British took possession of this country early in 1765. Gen. Gage sent Capt. Stirling, of the English Army, who arrived before summer, and to whom St. Ange, the nominal commandant, surrendered the authority. The British, through a succession of commanders, retained control of the country until defeated by George Rogers Clarke, and his "ragged Virginia militia."

After a short time, the French again ceded the country west of the Mississippi to Spain, and relinquished forever their control of all the West in the New World.

The population of Western Louisiana, when the exchange of governments occurred, was estimated to be 13,538, of which 891 were in the Illinois country—as it was called—west of the Mississippi. East of the river, and before the French crossed into Spanish country, the population was estimated to be about 3,000. All these had grown into communities of a peculiar character. Indeed, that peculiarity, as has been observed, never changed until a gradual amalgamation with the American people effected it, and that took more than a century of time to accomplish.

The English now owned the Northwest. True, they did not yet occupy but a small part of it, but traders were again crossing the mountains, explorers for lands were on the Ohio, and families for settlement were beginning to look upon the West as their future home. Companies were again forming to purchase large tracts in the Ohio country, and open them for emigration. One thing yet stood in the way—a definite boundary line. That line, however, was between the English and the Indians, and not, as had heretofore been the case, between rival European Powers. It was necessary to arrange some definite boundary before land companies, who were now actively pushing their claims, could safely survey and locate their lands.

Sir William Johnson, who had at previous times been instrumental in securing treaties, wrote repeatedly to the Board of Trade, who controlled the greater part of the commercial transactions in the colonies—and who were the first to exclaim against extending English settlements beyond a limit whereby they would need manufactures, and thereby become independent of the Mother Country—urging upon them, and through them the Crown, the necessity of a fixed boundary, else another Indian war was probable. The Indians found themselves gradually hemmed in by the growing power of the whites, and began to exhibit hostile feelings. The irritation became so great that in the summer of 1767, Gage wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania concerning it. The Governor communicated his letter to the General Assembly, who sent representatives to England, to urge the immediate settlement of the question. In compliance with these requests, and the letters of prominent citizens, Franklin among the number, instructions were sent to Johnson, ordering him to complete the purchase from the Six Nations, and settle all differences. He sent word to all the Western tribes to meet him at Fort Stanwix, in October, 1768. The conference was held on the 24th of that month, and was attended by colonial representatives, and by Indians from all parts of the Northwest. It was determined that the line should begin on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Cherokee (Tennessee), thence up the river to the Alleghany and on to Kittanning, and thence across to the Susquehanna. By this line, the whole country south of the Ohio and Alleghany, to which the Six Nations had any claim, was transferred. Part of this land was made to compensate twenty-two traders, whose goods had been stolen in 1763. The deeds made, were upon the express agreement that no claims should

ever be based on the treaties of Lancaster, Logstown, etc., and were signed by the chiefs of the Six Nations for themselves, their allies and dependents, and the Shawanees, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and others; though the Shawanees and Delaware deputies did not sign them. On this treaty, in a great measure, rests the title by purchase to Kentucky, Western Virginia and Western Pennsylvania. The rights of the Cherokees were purchased by Col. Donaldson, either for the King, Virginia, or for himself, it is impossible to say which.

The grant of the northern confederacy was now made. The white man could go in and possess these lands, and know that an army would protect him if necessary. Under such a guarantee, Western lands came rapidly into market. In addition to companies already in existence for the purchase of land, others, the most notable of these being the "Walpole" and the "Mississippi" Land Companies, were formed. This latter had among its organizers such men as Francis Lightfoot Lee, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington and Arthur Lee. Before any of these companies, some of whom absorbed the Ohio Company, could do anything, the Revolution came on, and all land transactions were at an end. After its close, Congress would not sanction their claims, and they fell through. This did not deter settlers, however, from crossing the mountains, and settling in the Ohio country. In

spite of troubles with the Indians—some of whom regarded the treaties with the Six Nations as unlawful, and were disposed to complain at the rapid influx of whites—and the failure of the land companies, settlers came steadily during the decade from 1768 to 1778, so that by the close of that time, there was a large population south of the Ohio River; while scattered along the northern banks, extending many miles into the wilderness, were hardy adventurers, who were carving out homes in the magnificent forests everywhere covering the country.

Among the foremost speculators in Western lands, was George Washington. As early as 1763, he employed Col. Crawford, afterward the leader in "Crawford's campaign," to purchase lands for him. In 1770, he crossed the mountains in company with several gentlemen, and examined the country along the Ohio, down which stream he passed to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, where he shot some buffalo, then plenty, camped out a few nights, and returned, fully convinced, it seems, that one day the West would be the best part of the New-World. He owned, altogether, nearly fifty thousand acres in the West, which he valued at \$3.33 per acre. Had not the war of the Revolution just then broken out, he might have been a resident of the West, and would have been, of course, one of its most prominent citizens.

CHAPTER V.

AMERICAN EXPLORATIONS—DUNMORE'S WAR—CAMPAIGN OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE—
LAND TROUBLES—SPAIN IN THE REVOLUTION—MURDER OF
THE MORAVIAN INDIANS.

MEANWHILE, Kentucky was filling with citizens, and though considerable trouble was experienced with the Indians, and the operations of Col. Richard Henderson and others, who made unlawful treaties with the Indians, yet Daniel Boone and his associates had established a commonwealth, and, in 1777, a county was formed, which, ere long, was divided into three. Louisville was laid out on land belonging to Tories, and an important start made in this part of the West. Emigrants came down the Ohio River, saw the northern shores were inviting, and sent back such accounts that the land north of the river rapidly grew in favor with Eastern people.

One of the most important Western characters, Col. (afterward Gen.) George Rogers Clarke, had had much to do in forming its character. He was born November 19, 1752, in Albemarle County, Va., and early came West. He had an unusually zealous spirit, was an excellent surveyor and general, and took an active interest in all State and national affairs. He understood the animus of the Revolution, and was prepared to do his part. Col. Clarke was now meditating a move unequalled in its boldness, and one that had more to do with the success of America in the struggle for independence than at first appears. He saw through the whole plan of the British,

who held all the outposts, Kaskaskia, Detroit, Vincennes and Niagara, and determined to circumvent them and wrest the West from their power. The British hoped to encircle the Americans by these outposts, and also unite the Indians in a common war against them. That had been attempted by the French when the English conquered them. Then the French had a powerful ally in the person of Pontiac, yet the brave frontiersmen held their homes in many places, though the Indians "drank the blood of many a Briton, scooping it up in the hollow of joined hands." Now the Briton had no Pontiac to lead the scattered tribes—tribes who now feared the unerring aim of a settler, and would not attack him openly—Clarke knew that the Delawares were divided in feeling and that the Shawanees were but imperfectly united in favor of England since the murder of their noted chiefs. He was convinced that, if the British could be driven from the Western posts, the natives could easily be awed into submission, or bribed into neutrality or friendship. They admired, from their savage views of valor, the side that became victorious. They cared little for the cause for which either side was fighting. Clarke sent out spies among them to ascertain the feasibility of his plans. The spies were gone from April 20 to June 22, and fully corroborated his views concerning the English policy and the feelings of the Indians and French.

Before proceeding in the narrative of this expedition, however, it will be well to notice a few acts transpiring north of the Ohio River, especially relating to the land treaties, as they were not without effect on the British policy. Many of the Indians north and south of the Ohio would not recognize the validity of the Fort Stanwix treaty, claiming the Iroquois had no right to the lands, despite their conquest. These discontented natives harassed the emigrants in such a manner that many Indians were slain in retaliation. This, and the working of the French traders, who at all times were bitterly opposed to the English rule, filled the breasts of the natives with a malignant hate, which years of bloodshed could not wash out. The murder of several Indians by lawless whites fanned the coal into a blaze, and, by 1774, several retaliatory murders occurred, committed by the natives in revenge for their fallen friends. The Indian slew any white man he found, as a revenge on some friend of his slain; the frontiersman, acting on the same principle, made the borders extremely dangerous to invaders and invaded. Another cause

of fear occurred about this time, which threatened seriously to retard emigration.

Pittsburgh had been claimed by both Pennsylvania and Virginia, and, in endeavoring to settle the dispute, Lord Dunmore's war followed. Dr. John Connelly, an ambitious, intriguing person, induced Lord Dunmore to assert the claims of Virginia, in the name of the King. In attempting to carry out his intentions, he was arrested by Arthur St. Clair, representing the proprietors of Pennsylvania, who was at Pittsburgh at the time. Connelly was released on bail, but went at once to Staunton, where he was sworn in as a Justice of Peace. Returning, he gathered a force of one hundred and fifty men, suddenly took possession of Pittsburgh, refused to allow the magistrates to enter the Court House, or to exercise the functions of their offices, unless in conformity to his will. Connelly refused any terms offered by the Pennsylvania deputies, kept possession of the place, acted very harshly toward the inhabitants, stirred up the neutral Indians, and, for a time, threatened to make the boundary line between the two colonies a very serious question. His actions led to hostile deeds by some Indians, when the whites, no doubt urged by him, murdered seven Indians at the mouth of the Captina River, and at the house of a settler named Baker, where the Indians were decoyed under promises of friendship and offers of rum. Among those murdered at the latter place, was the entire family of the famous Mingoe chief, Logan. This has been charged to Michael Cresap, but is untrue. Daniel Greathouse had command of the party, and though Cresap may have been among them, it is unjust to lay the blame at his feet. Both murders, at Captina and Yellow Creek, were cruel and unwarranted, and were, without doubt, the cause of the war that followed, though the root of the matter lay in Connelly's arbitrary actions, and in his needlessly alarming the Indians. Whatever may have been the facts in relation to the murder of Logan's family, they were of such a nature as to make all feel sure of an Indian war, and preparations were made for the conflict.

An army was gathered at Wheeling, which, some time in July, under command of Col. McDonald, descended the Ohio to the mouth of Captina Creek. They proposed to march against an Indian town on the Muskingum. The Indians sued for peace, but their pretensions being found spurious, their towns and crops were destroyed. The army then retreated to Williamsburg, having accomplished but little.

The Delawares were anxious for peace; even the Mingoes, whose relatives had been slain at Yellow Creek, and Captina, were restrained; but Logan, who had been turned to an inveterate foe to the Americans, came suddenly upon the Monongahela settlements, took thirteen scalps in revenge for the loss of his family, returned home and expressed himself ready to treat with the Long Knives, the Virginians. Had Connelly acted properly at this juncture, the war might have been ended; but his actions only incensed both borderers and Indians. So obnoxious did he become that Lord Dunmore lost faith in him, and severely reprimanded him.

To put a stop to the depredations of the Indians, two large bodies of troops were gathered in Virginia, one under Gen. Andrew Lewis, and one under command of Dunmore himself. Before the armies could meet at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, their objective point, Lewis' army, which arrived first, was attacked by a furious band of Delawares, Shawnees, Iroquois and Wyandots. The conflict was bitterly prolonged by the Indians, who, under the leadership of Cornstalk, were determined to make a decisive effort, and fought till late at night (October 10, 1774), and then only by a strategic move of Lewis' command—which resulted in the defeat of the Indians, compelling them to cross the Ohio—was the conflict ended. Meanwhile, Dunmore's army came into the enemy's country, and, being joined by the remainder of Lewis' command, pressed forward intending to annihilate the Indian towns. Cornstalk and his chiefs, however, sued for peace, and the conflict closed. Dunmore established a camp on Sippo Creek, where he held conferences with the natives and concluded the war. When he left the country, he stationed 100 men at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, a few more at Pittsburgh, and another corps at Wheeling, then called Fort Fineastle. Dunmore intended to return to Pittsburgh the next spring, meet the Indians and form a definite peace; but the revolt of the colonies prevented. However, he opened several offices for the sale of lands in the West, some of which were in the limits of the Pennsylvania colony. This led to the old boundary dispute again; but before it could be settled, the Revolution began, and Lord Dunmore's, as well as almost all other land speculations in the West, were at an end.

In 1775 and 1776, the chief events transpiring in the West relate to the treaties with the Indians, and the endeavor on the part of the Americans to

have them remain neutral in the family quarrel now coming on, which they could not understand. The British, like the French, however, could not let them alone, and finally, as a retaliatory measure, Congress, under advice of Washington, won some of them over to the side of the colonies, getting their aid and holding them neutral. The colonies only offered them rewards for *prisoners*; never, like the British, offering rewards for *scalps*. Under such rewards, the atrocities of the Indians in some quarters were simply horrible. The scalp was enough to get a reward, that was a mark of Indian valor, too, and hence, helpless innocence and decrepit old age were not spared. They stirred the minds of the pioneers, who saw the protection of their fire-sides a vital point, and led the way to the scheme of Col. Clarke, who was now, as has been noted, the leading spirit in Kentucky. He saw through the scheme of the British, and determined, by a quick, decisive blow, to put an end to it, and to cripple their power in the West.

Among the acts stimulating Clarke, was the attack on Fort Henry, a garrison about one-half mile above Wheeling Creek, on the Ohio, by a renegade white man, Simon Girty, an agent in the employ of the British, it is thought, and one of the worst wretches ever known on the frontier. When Girty attacked Fort Henry, he led his red allies in regular military fashion, and attacked it without mercy. The defenders were brave, and knew with whom they were contending. Great bravery was displayed by the women in the fort, one of whom, a Miss Zane, carried a keg of gunpowder from a cabin to the fort. Though repeatedly fired at by the savages, she reached the fort in safety. After awhile, however, the effect of the frontiersmen's shots began to be felt, and the Indians sullenly withdrew. Re-enforcements coming, the fort was held, and Girty and his band were obliged to flee.

Clarke saw that if the British once got control over the Western Indians the scene at Fort Henry would be repeated, and would not likely, in all cases, end in favor of the Americans. Without communicating any of his designs, he left Harrodburg about the 1st of October, 1777, and reached the capital of Virginia by November 5. Still keeping his mind, he awaited a favorable opportunity to broach his plans to those in power, and, in the meanwhile, carefully watched the existing state of feeling. When the opportunity came, Clarke broached his plans to Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, who at once entered warmly into them, recognizing their great importance.

Through his aid, Clarke procured the necessary authority to prosecute his plans, and returned at once to Pittsburgh. He intended raising men about this post, but found them fearful of leaving their homes unprotected. However, he secured three companies, and, with these and a number of volunteers, picked up on the way down the Ohio River, he fortified Corn Island, near the falls, and made ready for his expedition. He had some trouble in keeping his men, some of those from Kentucky refusing to aid in subduing stations out of their own country. He did not announce his real intentions till he had reached this point. Here Col. Bowman joined him with his Kentucky militia, and, on the 24th of June, 1778, during a total eclipse of the sun, the party left the fort. Before his start, he learned of the capture of Burgoyne, and, when nearly down to Fort Massac, he met some of his spies, who informed him of the exaggerated accounts of the ferocity of the Long Knives that the French had received from the British. By proper action on his part, Clarke saw both these items of information could be made very beneficial to him. Leaving the river near Fort Massac, he set out on the march to Kaskaskia, through a hot summer's sun, over a country full of savage foes. They reached the town unnoticed, on the evening of July 4, and, before the astonished British and French knew it, they were all prisoners. M. Rocheblave, the English commander, was secured, but his wife adroitly concealed the papers belonging to the garrison. In the person of M. Gibault, the French priest, Clarke found a true friend. When the true character of the Virginians became apparent, the French were easily drawn to the American side, and the priest secured the surrender and allegiance of Cahokia through his personal influence. M. Gibault told him he would also secure the post at St. Vincent's, which he did, returning from the mission about the 1st of August. During the interval, Clarke re-enlisted his men, formed his plans, sent his prisoners to Kentucky, and was ready for future action when M. Gibault arrived. He sent Capt. Helm and a single soldier to Vincennes to hold that fort until he could put a garrison there. It is but proper to state that the English commander, Col. Hamilton, and his band of soldiers, were absent at Detroit when the priest secured the village on the "Quabache." When Hamilton returned, in the autumn, he was greatly surprised to see the American flag floating from the ramparts of the fort, and when approaching the gate he was abruptly

halted by Capt. Helm, who stood with a lighted fuse in his hand by a cannon, answering Hamilton's demand to surrender with the imperative inquiry, "Upon what terms, sir?" "Upon the honors of war," answered Hamilton, and he marched in greatly chagrined to see he had been halted by two men. The British commander sat quietly down, intending to go on down the river and subdue Kentucky in the spring in the mean time offering rewards for American scalps, and thereby gaining the epithet "Hair-buyer General." Clarke heard of his actions late in January, 1779, and, as he says, "I knew if I did not take him he would take me," set out early in February with his troops and marched across the marshy plains of Lower Illinois, reaching the Wabash post by the 22d of that month. The unerring aim of the Westerner was effectual. "They will shoot your eyes out," said Helm to the British troops. "There, I told you so," he further exclaimed, as a soldier ventured near a port-hole and received a shot directly in his eye. On the 24th the fort surrendered. The American flag waved again over its ramparts. The "Hair-buyer General" was sent a prisoner to Virginia, where he was kept in close confinement for his cruel acts. Clarke returned to Kaskaskia, perfected his plans to hold the Illinois settlements, went on to Kentucky, from where he sent word to the colonial authorities of the success of his expedition. Had he received the aid promised him, Detroit, in easy reach, would have fallen too, but Gen. Green, failing to send it as promised, the capture of that important post was delayed.

Had Clarke failed, and Hamilton succeeded, the whole West would have been swept, from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. But for this small army of fearless Virginians, the union of all the tribes from Georgia to Maine against the colonies might have been effected, and the whole current of American history changed. America owes Clarke and his band more than it can ever pay. Clarke reported the capture of Kaskaskia and the Illinois country early after its surrender, and in October the county of Illinois was established, extending over an unlimited expanse of country, by the Virginia Legislature. John Todd was appointed Lieutenant Colonel and Civil Governor. In November, Clarke and his men received the thanks of the same body, who, in after years, secured them a grant of land, which they selected on the right bank of the Ohio River, opposite Louisville. They expected here a city would rise one day, to be the peer of Louisville, then coming

into prominence as an important place. By some means, their expectations failed, and only the dilapidated village of Clarkesburg perpetuates their hopes.

The conquest of Clarke changed the face of affairs in relation to the whole country north of the Ohio River, which would, in all probability, have been made the boundary between Canada and the United States. When this was proposed, the strenuous arguments based on this conquest, by the American Commissioners, secured the present boundary line in negotiating the treaty of 1793.

Though Clarke had failed to capture Detroit, Congress saw the importance of the post, and resolved on securing it. Gen. McCosh, commander at Fort Pitt, was put in command, and \$1,000,000 and 3,000 men placed at his disposal. By some dilatory means, he got no further than the Tuscarawas River, in Ohio, where a half-way house, called Fort Laurens, for the President of Congress, was built. It was too far out to be of practicable value, and was soon after abandoned.

Indian troubles and incursions by the British were the most absorbing themes in the West. The British went so far as Kentucky at a later date, while they intended reducing Fort Pitt, only abandoning it when learning of its strength. Expeditions against the Western Indians were led by Gen. Sullivan, Col. Daniel Broadhead, Col. Bowman and others, which, for awhile, silenced the natives and taught them the power of the Americans. They could not organize so readily as before, and began to attach themselves more closely to the British, or commit their depredations in bands, fleeing into the wilderness as soon as they struck a blow. In this way, several localities suffered, until the settlers became again exasperated; other expeditions were formed, and a second chastisement given. In 1781, Col. Broadhead led an expedition against the Central Ohio Indians. It did not prove so successful, as the Indians were led by the noted chief Brant, who, though not cruel, was a foe to the Americans, and assisted the British greatly in their endeavors to secure the West.

Another class of events occurred now in the West, civil in their relations, yet destined to form an important part of its history—its land laws.

It must be borne in mind, that Virginia claimed the greater portion of the country north of the Ohio River, as well as a large part south. The other colonies claimed land also in the West under the old Crown grants, which extended to the South or Western Sea. To more complicate mat-

ters, several land companies held proprietary rights to portions of these lands gained by grants from the Crown, or from the Colonial Assemblies. Others were based on land warrants issued in 1763; others on selection and survey and still others on settlement. In this state of mixed affairs, it was difficult to say who held a secure claim. It was a question whether the old French grants were good or not, especially since the change in government, and the eminent prospect of still another change. To, in some way, aid in settling these claims, Virginia sent a commission to the West to sit as a court and determine the proprietorship of these claims. This court, though of as doubtful authority as the claims themselves, went to work in Kentucky and along the Ohio River in 1779, and, in the course of one year, granted over three thousand certificates. These were considered as good authority for a definite title, and were so regarded in after purchases. Under them, many pioneers, like Daniel Boone, lost their lands, as all were required to hold some kind of a patent, while others, who possessed no more principle than "land-sharks" of to-day, acquired large tracts of land by holding a patent the court was bound to accept. Of all the colonies, Virginia seemed to have the best title to the Northwest, save a few parcels, such as the Connecticut or Western Reserve and some similar tracts held by New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey. When the territory of the Northwest was ceded to the General Government, this was recognized, and that country was counted as a Virginia county.

The Spanish Government, holding the region west of the Mississippi, and a portion east toward its outlet, became an important but secret ally of the Americans. When the French revolt was suppressed by O'Reilly, and the Spanish assumed the government of Louisiana, both Upper and Lower, there was a large tract of country, known as Florida (East and West), claimed by England, and duly regarded as a part of her dominion. The boundaries had been settled when the French first occupied Lower Louisiana. The Spaniards adopted the patriarchal form of rule, as much as was consistent with their interests, and allowed the French full religious and civil liberty, save that all tribunals were after the Spanish fashion, and governed by Spanish rules. The Spaniards, long jealous of England's growing power, secretly sent the Governors of Louisiana word to aid the Americans in their struggle for freedom. Though

they controlled the Mississippi River, they allowed an American officer (Capt. Willing) to descend the river in January, 1778, with a party of fifty men, and ravage the British shore from Manchez Bayou to Natchez.

On the 8th of May, 1779, Spain declared war against Great Britain, and, on the 8th of July, the people of Louisiana were allowed to take a part in the war. Accordingly, Galvez collected a force of 1,400 men, and, on the 7th of September, took Fort Manchac. By the 21st of September, he had taken Baton Rouge and Natchez. Eight vessels were captured by the Spaniards on the Mississippi and on the lakes. In 1780 Mobile fell; in March, 1781, Pensacola, the chief British post in West Florida, succumbed after a long siege, and, on the 9th of May, all West Florida was surrendered to Spain.

This war, or the war on the Atlantic Coast, did not immediately affect Upper Louisiana. Great Britain, however, attempted to capture St. Louis. Though the commander was strongly suspected of being bribed by the English, yet the place stood the siege from the combined force of Indians and Canadians, and the assailants were dispersed. This was done during the summer of 1780, and in the autumn, a company of Spanish and French residents, under La Balme, went on an expedition against Detroit. They marched as far north as the British trading-post Ke-ki-on-ga, at the head of the Maumee River, but being surprised in the night, and the commander slain, the expedition was defeated, having done but little.

Spain may have had personal interests in aiding the Americans. She was now in control of the Mississippi River, the natural outlet of the Northwest, and, in 1780, began the troubles relative to the navigation of that stream. The claims of Spain were considered very unjust by the Continental Congress, and, while deliberating over the question, Virginia, who was jealously alive to her Western interests, and who yet held jurisdiction over Kentucky, sent through Jefferson, the Governor, Gen. George Rogers Clarke, to erect a fort below the mouth of the Ohio. This proceeding was rather unwarrantable, especially as the fort was built in the country of the Chickasaws, who had thus far been true friends to the Americans, and who looked upon the fort as an innovation on their territory. It was completed and occupied but a short time, Clarke being recalled.

Virginia, in 1780, did a very important thing; namely, establishing an institution for higher edu-

cation. The Old Dominion confiscated the lands of "Robert McKenzie, Henry Collins and Alexander McKee, Britons, eight thousand acres," and invested the proceeds of the sale in a public seminary. Transylvania University now lives, a monument to that spirit.

While Clarke was building Fort Jefferson, a force of British and Indians, under command of Capt. Bryd, came down from Canada and attacked the Kentucky settlements, getting into the country before any one was aware. The winter before had been one of unusual severity, and game was exceedingly scarce, hence the army was not prepared to conduct a campaign. After the capture of Riddle's Station, at the south fork of the Licking, Bryd abandoned any further attempts to reduce the settlements, except capturing Martin's Station, and returned to Detroit.

This expedition gave an additional motive for the chastisement of the Indians, and Clarke, on his return from Fort Jefferson, went on an expedition against the Miami Indians. He destroyed their towns at Loranic's store, near the present city of Sidney, Ohio, and at Piqua, humbling the natives. While on the way, a part of the army remained on the north bank of the Ohio, and erected two block-houses on the present site of Cincinnati.

The exploits of Clarke and his men so effectually chastised the Indians, that, for a time, the West was safe. During this period of quiet, the measures which led to the cession of Western lands to the General Government, began to assume a definite form. All the colonies claiming Western lands were willing to cede them to the Government, save Virginia, which colony wanted a large scope of Southern country southeast of the Ohio, as far as South Carolina. All recognized the justice of all Western lands becoming public property, and thereby aiding in extinguishing the debts caused by the war of the Revolution, now about to close. As Virginia held a somewhat different view, the cession was not made until 1783.

The subject, however, could not be allowed to rest. The war of the Revolution was now drawing to a close; victory on the part of the colonies was apparent, and the Western lands must be a part of the public domain. Subsequent events brought about the desired cession, though several events transpired before the plan of cession was consummated.

Before the close of 1780, the Legislature of Virginia passed an act, establishing the town of Louisville, and confiscated the lands of John

Connelly, who was one of its original proprietors, and who distinguished himself in the commencement of Lord Dunmore's war, and who was now a Tory, and doing all he could against the patriot cause. The proceeds of the sale of his lands were divided between Virginia and the county of Jefferson. Kentucky, the next year, was divided into three counties, Jefferson, Lincoln and Fayette. Courts were appointed in each, and the entry and location of lands given into their hands. Settlers, in spite of Indian troubles and British intrigue, were pouring over the mountains, particularly so during the years 1780 and 1781. The expeditions of Clarke against the Miami Indians; Boone's captivity, and escape from them; their defeat when attacking Boonesboro, and other places—all combined to weaken their power, and teach them to respect a nation whose progress they could not stay.

The pioneers of the West, obliged to depend on themselves, owing to the struggle of the colonies for freedom, grew up a hardy, self-reliant race, with all the vices and virtues of a border life, and with habits, manners and customs necessary to their peculiar situation, and suited to their peculiar taste. A resume of their experiences and daily lives would be quite interesting, did the limits of this history admit it here. In the part relating directly to this county, the reader will find such lives given; here, only the important events can be noticed.

The last event of consequence occurring in the West before the close of the Revolution, is one that might well have been omitted. Had such been the case, a great stain would have been spared the character of Western pioneers. Reference is made to the massacre of the Moravian Christian Indians.

These Indians were of the Delaware nation chiefly, though other Western tribes were visited and many converts made. The first converts were made in New York and Connecticut, where, after a good start had been made, and a prospect of many souls being saved, they incurred the enmity of the whites, who, becoming alarmed at their success, persecuted them to such an extent that they were driven out of New York into Pennsylvania, where, in 1744, four years after their arrival in the New World, they began new missions. In 1748, the New York and Connecticut Indians followed their teachers, and were among the founders of Friedenshutten, "Tents of Peace," a hamlet near Bethlehem, where their teachers were sta-

tioned. Other hamlets grew around them, until in the interior of the colony, existed an Indian community, free from all savage vices, and growing up in Christian virtues. As their strength grew, lawless whites again began to oppress them. They could not understand the war of 1754, and were, indeed, in a truly embarrassing position. The savages could form no conception of any cause for neutrality, save a secret sympathy with the English; and if they could not take up the hatchet, they were in the way, and must be removed. Failing to do this, their red brothers became hostile. The whites were but little better. The old suspicions which drove them from New York were aroused. They were secret Papists, in league with the French, and furnished them with arms and intelligence; they were interfering with the liquor traffic; they were enemies to the Government, and the Indian and the white man combined against them. They were obliged to move from place to place; were at one time protected nearly a year, near Philadelphia, from lawless whites, and finally were compelled to go far enough West to be out of the way of French and English arms, or the Iroquois and Cherokee hatchets. They came finally to the Muskingum, where they made a settlement called Schonbrun, "beautiful clear spring," in what is now Tuscarawas County. Other settlements gathered, from time to time, as the years went on, till in 1772 large numbers of them were within the borders of the State.

Until the war of independence broke out, they were allowed to peacefully pursue their way. When that came, they were between Fort Pitt and Detroit, one of which contained British, the other Americans. Again they could not understand the struggle, and could not take up the hatchet. This brought on them the enmity of both belligerent parties, and that of their own forest companions, who could not see wherein their natures could change. Among the most hostile persons, were the white renegades McKee, Girty and Elliott. On their instigation, several of them were slain, and by their advice they were obliged to leave their fields and homes, where they had many comforts, and where they had erected good chapels in which to worship. It was just before one of these forced removals that Mary, daughter of the missionary Heckewelder, was born. She is supposed to be the first white female child born north of the Ohio River. Her birth occurred April 16, 1781. It is but proper to say here, that it is an open question, and one that will probably never be decided,

i. e. Who was the first white child born in Ohio? In all probability, the child was born during the captivity of its mother, as history plainly shows that when white women were released from the Indians, some of them carried children born while among the natives.

When the Moravians were forced to leave their settlements on the Muskingum, and taken to Sandusky, they left growing fields of corn, to which they were obliged to return, to gather food. This aroused the whites, only wanting some pretext whereby they might attack them, and a party, headed by Col. David Williamson, determined to exterminate them. The Moravians, hearing of their approach, fled, but too late to warn other settlements, and Gnadenhutten, Salem and one or two smaller settlements, were surprised and taken. Under deceitful promises, the Indians gave up all their arms, showed the whites their treasures, and went unknowingly to a terrible death. When apprised of their fate, determined on by a majority of the rangers, they begged only time to prepare. They were led two by two, the men into one, the women and children into another "slaughterhouse," as it was termed, and all but two lads were wantonly slain. An infamous and more bloody deed never darkened the pages of feudal times; a deed that, in after years, called aloud for vengeance, and in some measure received it. Some of Williamson's men wrung their hands at the cruel fate, and endeavored, by all the means in their power, to prevent it; but all to no purpose. The blood of the rangers was up, and they would not spare "man, woman or child, of all that peaceful band."

Having completed their horrible work, (March 8, 1782), Williamson and his men returned to Pittsburgh. Everywhere, the Indians lamented the untimely death of their kindred, their savage relatives determining on their revenge; the Christian ones could only be resigned and weep.

Williamson's success, for such it was viewed by many, excited the borderers to another invasion, and a second army was raised, this time to go to the Sandusky town, and annihilate the Wyandots. Col. William Crawford was elected leader; he accepted reluctantly; on the way, the army was met by hordes of savages on the 5th of

June, and totally routed. They were away north, in what is now Wyandot County, and were obliged to flee for their lives. The blood of the murdered Moravians called for revenge. The Indians desired it; were they not relatives of the fallen Christians? Crawford and many of his men fell into their hands; all suffered unheard-of tortures, that of Crawford being as cruel as Indian cruelty could devise. He was pounded, pierced, cut with knives and burned, all of which occupied nearly a night, and finally lay down insensible on a bed of coals, and died. The savage captors, in demoniacal glee, danced around him, and upbraided him for the cruel murder of their relatives, giving him this only consolation, that had they captured Williamson, he might go free, but he must answer for Williamson's brutality.

The war did not cease here. The Indians, now aroused, carried their attack as far south as into Kentucky, killing Capt. Estill, a brave man, and some of his companions. The British, too, were active in aiding them, and the 14th of August a large force of them, under Girty, gathered silently about Bryant's Station. They were obliged to retreat. The Kentuckians pursued them, but were repulsed with considerable loss.

The attack on Bryant's Station aroused the people of Kentucky to strike a blow that would be felt. Gen. Clarke was put at the head of an army of one thousand and fifty men, and the Miami country was a second time destroyed. Clarke even went as far north as the British trading-post at the head of the Miami, where he captured a great amount of property, and destroyed the post. Other outposts also fell, the invading army suffering but little, and, by its decisive action, practically closing the Indian wars in the West. Pennsylvania suffered some, losing Hannahstown and one or two small settlements. Williamson's and Crawford's campaigns aroused the fury of the Indians that took time and much blood and war to subdue. The Revolution was, however, drawing to a close. American arms were victorious, and a new nation was now coming into existence, who would change the whole current of Western matters, and make of the Northwest a land of liberty, equality and union. That nation was now on the stage.

CHAPTER VI.

AMERICAN OCCUPATION—INDIAN CLAIMS—SURVEYS—EARLY LAND COMPANIES—COMPACT OF 1787—ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY—EARLY AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE OHIO VALLEY—FIRST TERRITORIAL OFFICERS—ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES.

THE occupation of the West by the American, really dates from the campaign of Gen. Clarke in 1778, when he captured the British posts in the Illinois country, and Vincennes on the Wabash. Had he been properly supported, he would have reduced Detroit, then in easy reach, and poorly defended. As it was, however, that post remained in charge of the British till after the close of the war of the Revolution. They also held other lake posts; but these were included in the terms of peace, and came into the possession of the Americans. They were abandoned by the British as soon as the different commanders received notice from their chiefs, and British rule and English occupation ceased in that part of the New World.

The war virtually closed by the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Va., October 19, 1781. The struggle was prolonged, however, by the British, in the vain hope that they could retrieve the disaster, but it was only a useless waste of men and money. America would not be subdued. "If we are to be taxed, we will be represented," said they, "else we will be a free government, and regulate our own taxes." In the end, they were free.

Provisional articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain were signed in Paris on the 30th of November, 1782. This was followed by an armistice negotiated at Versailles on the 20th of January, 1783; and finally, a definite treaty of peace was concluded at Paris on the 3d of the next September, and ratified by Congress on the 4th of January, 1784. By the second article of the definite treaty of 1783, the boundaries of the United States were fixed. A glance at the map of that day shows the boundary to have been as follows: Beginning at Passamaquoddy Bay, on the coast of Maine, the line ran north a little above the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, when it diverged southwestward, irregularly, until it reached that parallel, when it followed it until it reached the St. Lawrence River. It followed that river to Lake Ontario, down its center, up the Niagara River; through Lake Erie,

up the Detroit River and through Lakes Huron and Superior, to the northwest extremity of the latter. Then it pursued another irregular western course to the Lake of the Woods, when it turned southward to the Mississippi River. The commissioners insisted that should be the western boundary, as the lakes were the northern. It followed the Mississippi south until the mouth of Red River was reached, when, turning east, it followed almost a direct line to the Atlantic Coast, touching the coast a little north of the outlet of St. John's River.

From this outline, it will be readily seen what boundary the United States possessed. Not one-half of its present domain.

At this date, there existed the original thirteen colonies: Virginia occupying all Kentucky and all the Northwest, save about half of Michigan and Wisconsin, claimed by Massachusetts; and the upper part of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and the lower part (a narrow strip) of Michigan, claimed by Connecticut. Georgia included all of Alabama and Mississippi. The Spaniards claimed all Florida and a narrow part of lower Georgia. All the country west of the Father of Waters belonged to Spain, to whom it had been secretly ceded when the family compact was made. That nation controlled the Mississippi, and gave no small uneasiness to the young government. It was, however, happily settled finally, by the side of Louisiana to the United States.

Pending the settlement of these questions and the formation of the Federal Union, the cession of the Northwest by Virginia again came before Congress. That body found itself unable to fulfill its promises to its soldiers regarding land, and again urged the Old Dominion to cede the Territory to the General Government, for the good of all. Congress forbade settlers from occupying the Western lands till a definite cession had been made, and the title to the lands in question made good. But speculation was stronger than law, and without waiting for the slow processes of courts,

the adventurous settlers were pouring into the country at a rapid rate, only retarded by the rifle and scalping-knife of the savage—a temporary check. The policy of allowing any parties to obtain land from the Indians was strongly discouraged by Washington. He advocated the idea that only the General Government could do that, and, in a letter to James Duane, in Congress, he strongly urged such a course, and pointed out the danger of a border war, unless some such measure was stringently followed.

Under the circumstances, Congress pressed the claims of cession upon Virginia, and finally induced the Dominion to modify the terms proposed two years before. On the 20th of December, 1783, Virginia accepted the proposal of Congress, and authorized her delegates to make a deed to the United States of all her right in the territory northwest of the Ohio.

The Old Dominion stipulated in her deed of cession, that the territory should be divided into States, to be admitted into the Union as any other State, and to bear a proportionate share in the maintenance of that Union; that Virginia should be reimbursed for the expense incurred in subduing the British posts in the territory; that the French and Canadian inhabitants should be protected in their rights; that the grant to Gen. George Rogers Clarke and his men, as well as all other similar grants, should be confirmed, and that the lands should be considered as the common property of the United States, the proceeds to be applied to the use of the whole country. Congress accepted these conditions, and the deed was made March 1, 1784. Thus the country came from under the dominion of Virginia, and became common property.

A serious difficulty arose about this time, that threatened for awhile to involve England and America anew in war. Virginia and several other States refused to abide by that part of the treaty relating to the payment of debts, especially so, when the British carried away quite a number of negroes claimed by the Americans. This refusal on the part of the Old Dominion and her abettors, caused the English to retain her Northwestern outposts, Detroit, Mackinaw, etc. She held these till 1786, when the questions were finally settled, and then readily abandoned them.

The return of peace greatly augmented emigration to the West, especially to Kentucky. When the war closed, the population of that county (the three counties having been made one judicial district, and Danville designated as the seat of gov-

ernment) was estimated to be about twelve thousand. In one year, after the close of the war, it increased to 30,000, and steps for a State government were taken. Owing to the divided sentiment among its citizens, its perplexing questions of land titles and proprietary rights, nine conventions were held before a definite course of action could be reached. This prolonged the time till 1792, when, in December of that year, the election for persons to form a State constitution was held, and the vexed and complicated questions settled. In 1783, the first wagons bearing merchandise came across the mountains. Their contents were received on flat-boats at Pittsburgh, and taken down the Ohio to Louisville, which that spring boasted of a store, opened by Daniel Broadhead. The next year, James Wilkinson opened one at Lexington.

Pittsburgh was now the principal town in the West. It occupied the same position regarding the outposts that Omaha has done for several years to Nebraska. The town of Pittsburgh was laid out immediately after the war of 1764, by Col. Campbell. It then consisted of four squares about the fort, and received its name from that citadel. The treaty with the Six Nations in 1768, conveyed to the proprietaries of Pennsylvania all the lands of the Alleghany below Kittanning, and all the country south of the Ohio, within the limits of Penn's charter. This deed of cession was recognized when the line between Pennsylvania and Virginia was fixed, and gave the post to the Keystone State. In accordance with this deed, the manor of Pittsburgh was withdrawn from market in 1769, and was held as the property of the Penn family. When Washington visited it in 1770, it seems to have declined in consequence of the afore-mentioned act. He mentions it as a "town of about twenty log houses, on the Monongahela, about three hundred yards from the fort." The Penn's remained true to the King, and hence all their land that had not been surveyed and returned to the land office, was confiscated by the Commonwealth. Pittsburgh, having been surveyed, was still left to them. In the spring of 1784, Tench Francis, the agent of the Penns, was induced to lay out the manor into lots and offer them for sale. Though, for many years, the place was rather unpromising, it eventually became the chief town in that part of the West, a position it yet holds. In 1786, John Scull and Joseph Hall started the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, the first paper published west of the mountains. In the initial number appeared a lengthy article from the pen of H. H. Brackenridge,

afterward one of the most prominent members of the Pennsylvania bar. He had located in Pittsburgh in 1781. His letter gives a most hopeful prospect in store for the future city, and is a highly descriptive article of the Western country. It is yet preserved in the "Western Annals," and is well worth a perusal.

Under the act of peace in 1783, no provision was made by the British for their allies, especially the Six Nations. The question was ignored by the English, and was made a handle by the Americans in gaining them to their cause before the war had fully closed. The treaties made were regarded by the Indians as alliances only, and when the English left the country the Indians began to assume rather a hostile bearing. This excited the whites, and for a while a war with that formidable confederacy was imminent. Better councils prevailed, and Congress wisely adopted the policy of acquiring their lands by purchase. In accordance with this policy, a treaty was made at Fort Stanwix with the Six Nations, in October, 1784. By this treaty, all lands west of a line drawn from the mouth of Oswego Creek, about four miles east of Niagara, to the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and on to the northern boundary of Pennsylvania, thence west along that boundary to its western extremity, thence south to the Ohio River, should be ceded to the United States. (They claimed west of this line by conquest.) The Six Nations were to be secured in the lands they inhabited, reserving only six miles square around Oswego fort for the support of the same. By this treaty, the indefinite claim of the Six Nations to the West was extinguished, and the question of its ownership settled.

It was now occupied by other Western tribes, who did not recognize the Iroquois claim, and who would not yield without a purchase. Especially was this the case with those Indians living in the northern part. To get possession of that country by the same process, the United States, through its commissioners, held a treaty at Fort McIntosh on the 21st of January, 1785. The Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa tribes were present, and, through their chiefs, sold their lands to the Government. The Wyandot and Delaware nations were given a reservation in the north part of Ohio, where they were to be protected. The others were allotted reservations in Michigan. To all was given complete control of their lands, allowing them to punish any white man attempting to settle thereon, and guaranteeing them in their rights.

By such means Congress gained Indian titles to the vast realms north of the Ohio, and, a few months later, that legislation was commenced that should determine the mode of its disposal and the plan of its settlements.

To facilitate the settlement of lands thus acquired, Congress, on May 20, 1785, passed an act for disposing of lands in the Northwest Territory. Its main provisions were: A surveyor or surveyors should be appointed from the States; and a geographer, and his assistants to act with them. The surveyors were to divide the territory into townships of six miles square, by lines running due north and south, and east and west. The starting-place was to be on the Ohio River, at a point where the southern and western boundaries of Pennsylvania intersected. This would give the first range, and the first township. As soon as seven townships were surveyed, the maps and plats of the same were to be sent to the Board of the Treasury, who would record them and proceed to place the land in the market, and so on with all the townships as fast as they could be prepared ready for sale. Each township was to be divided into thirty-six sections, or lots. Out of these sections, numbers 8, 11, 26 and 29 were reserved for the use of the Government, and lot No. 16, for the establishment of a common-school fund. One-third of all mines and minerals was also reserved for the United States. Three townships on Lake Erie were reserved for the use of officers, men and others, refugees from Canada and from Nova Scotia, who were entitled to grants of land. The Moravian Indians were also exempt from molestation, and guaranteed in their homes. Soldiers' claims, and all others of a like nature, were also recognized, and land reserved for them.

Without waiting for the act of Congress, settlers had been pouring into the country, and, when ordered by Congress to leave undisturbed Indian lands, refused to do so. They went into the Indian country at their peril, however, and when driven out by the Indians could get no redress from the Government, even when life was lost.

The Indians on the Wabash made a treaty at Fort Finney, on the Miami, January 31, 1786, promising allegiance to the United States, and were allowed a reservation. This treaty did not include the Piankeshaws, as was at first intended. These, refusing to live peaceably, stirred up the Shawnees, who began a series of predatory excursions against the settlements. This led to an expedition against them and other restless tribes. Gen. Clarke commanded part of the army on that expedition,

but got no farther than Vincennes, when, owing to the discontent of his Kentucky troops, he was obliged to return. Col. Benjamin Logan, however, marched, at the head of four or five hundred mounted riflemen, into the Indian country, penetrating as far as the head-waters of Mad River. He destroyed several towns, much corn, and took about eighty prisoners. Among these, was the chief of the nation, who was wantonly slain, greatly to Logan's regret, who could not restrain his men. His expedition taught the Indians submission, and that they must adhere to their contracts.

Meanwhile, the difficulties of the navigation of the Mississippi arose. Spain would not relinquish the right to control the entire southern part of the river, allowing no free navigation. She was secretly hoping to cause a revolt of the Western provinces, especially Kentucky, and openly favored such a move. She also claimed, by conquest, much of the land on the east side of the river. The slow movements of Congress; the failure of Virginia to properly protect Kentucky, and the inherent restlessness in some of the Western men, well-nigh precipitated matters, and, for a while, serious results were imminent. The Kentuckians, and, indeed, all the people of the West, were determined the river should be free, and even went so far as to raise a regiment, and forcibly seize Spanish property in the West. Great Britain stood ready, too, to aid the West should it succeed, providing it would make an alliance with her. But while the excitement was at its height, Washington counseled better ways and patience. The decisive tone of the new republic, though almost overwhelmed with a burden of debt, and with no credit, debarred the Spanish from too forcible measures to assert their claims, and held back the disloyal ones from attempting a revolt.

New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut ceded their lands, and now the United States were ready to fulfill their promises of land grants, to the soldiers who had preserved the nation. This did much to heal the breach in the West, and restore confidence there; so that the Mississippi question was overlooked for a time, and Kentucky forgot her animosities.

The cession of their claims was the signal for the formation of land companies in the East; companies whose object was to settle the Western country, and, at the same time, enrich the founders of the companies. Some of these companies had been formed in the old colonial days, but the recent war

had put a stop to all their proceedings. Congress would not recognize their claims, and new companies, under old names, were the result. By such means, the Ohio Company emerged from the past, and, in 1786, took an active existence.

Benjamin Tupper, a Revolutionary soldier, and since then a government surveyor, who had been west as far as Pittsburgh, revived the question. He was prevented from prosecuting his surveys by hostile Indians, and returned to Massachusetts. He broached a plan to Gen. Rufus Putnam, as to the renewal of their memorial of 1783, which resulted in the publication of a plan, and inviting all those interested, to meet in February in their respective counties, and choose delegates to a convention to be held at the "Bunch-of-grapes Tavern," in Boston, on the first of March, 1786. On the day appointed, eleven persons appeared, and by the 3d of March an outline was drawn up, and subscriptions under it began at once. The leading features of the plan were: "A fund of \$1,000,000, mainly in Continental certificates, was to be raised for the purpose of purchasing lands in the Western country; there were to be 1,000 shares of \$1,000 each, and upon each share \$10 in specie were to be paid for contingent expenses. One year's interest was to be appropriated to the charges of making a settlement, and assisting those unable to move without aid. The owners of every twenty shares were to choose an agent to represent them and attend to their interests, and the agents were to choose the directors. The plan was approved, and in a year's time from that date, the Company was organized."*

By the time this Company was organized, all claims of the colonies in the coveted territory were done away with by their deeds of cession, Connecticut being the last.

While troubles were still existing south of the Ohio River, regarding the navigation of the Mississippi, and many urged the formation of a separate, independent State, and while Congress and Washington were doing what they could to allay the feeling north of the Ohio, the New England associates were busily engaged, now that a Company was formed, to obtain the land they wished to purchase. On the 8th of March, 1787, a meeting of the agents chose Gen. Parsons, Gen. Putnam and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, Directors for the Company. The last selection was quite a fitting one for such an enterprise. Dr. Cutler was

* Historical Collections.

an accomplished scholar, an excellent gentleman, and a firm believer in freedom. In the choice of him as the agent of the Company, lies the fact, though unforeseen, of the beginning of anti-slavery in America. Through him the famous "compact of 1787," the true corner-stone of the Northwest, originated, and by him was safely passed. He was a good "wire-puller," too, and in this had an advantage. Mr. Hutchins was at this time the geographer for the United States, and was, probably, the best-posted man in America regarding the West. Dr. Cutler learned from him that the most desirable portions were on the Muskingum River, north of the Ohio, and was advised by him to buy there if he could.

Congress wanted money badly, and many of the members favored the plan. The Southern members, generally, were hostile to it, as the Doctor would listen to no grant which did not embody the New England ideas in the charter. These members were finally won over, some bribery being used, and some of their favorites made officers of the Territory, whose formation was now going on. This took time, however, and Dr. Cutler, becoming impatient, declared they would purchase from some of the States, who held small tracts in various parts of the West. This intimation brought the tardy ones to time, and, on the 23d of July, Congress authorized the Treasury Board to make the contract. On the 26th, Messrs. Cutler and Sargent, on behalf of the Company, stated in writing their conditions; and on the 27th, Congress referred their letter to the Board, and an order of the same date was obtained. Of this Dr. Cutler's journal says:

"By this grant we obtained near five millions of acres of land, amounting to \$3,500,000; 1,500,000 acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters of America are concerned. Without connecting this peculation, similar terms and advantages for the Ohio Company could not have been obtained."

Messrs. Cutler and Sargent at once closed a verbal contract with the Treasury Board, which was executed in form on the 27th of the next October.*

By this contract, the vast region bounded on the south by the Ohio, west by the Scioto, east by the seventh range of townships then surveying, and north by a due west line, drawn from the north

boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio, direct to the Scioto, was sold to the Ohio associates and their secret copartners, for \$1 per acre, subject to a deduction of one-third for bad lands and other contingencies.

The whole tract was not, however, paid for nor taken by the Company—even their own portion of a million and a half acres, and extending west to the eighteenth range of townships, was not taken; and in 1792, the boundaries of the purchase proper were fixed as follows: the Ohio on the south, the seventh range of townships on the east, the sixteenth range on the west, and a line on the north so drawn as to make the grant 750,000 acres, besides reservations; this grant being the portion which it was originally agreed the Company might enter into at once. In addition to this, 214,285 acres were granted as army bounties, under the resolutions of 1779 and 1780, and 100,000 acres as bounties to actual settlers; both of the latter tracts being within the original grant of 1787, and adjoining the purchase as before mentioned.

While these things were progressing, Congress was bringing into form an ordinance for the government and social organization of the Northwest Territory. Virginia made her cession in March, 1784, and during the month following the plan for the temporary government of the newly acquired territory came under discussion. On the 19th of April, Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike from the plan reported by Mr. Jefferson, the emancipationist of his day, a provision for the prohibition of slavery north of the Ohio after the year 1800. The motion prevailed. From that day till the 23d, the plan was discussed and altered, and finally passed unanimously with the exception of South Carolina. The South would have slavery, or defeat every measure. Thus this hideous monster early began to assert himself. By the proposed plan, the Territory was to have been divided into States by parallels of latitude and meridian lines. This division, it was thought, would make ten States, whose names were as follows, beginning at the northwest corner, and going southwardly: Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Assenispia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia and Pelisipia.*

A more serious difficulty existed, however, to this plan, than its catalogue of names—the number of States and their boundaries. The root of the evil was in the resolution passed by Congress in October,

* Land Law.

* Spark's Washington.

1780, which fixed the size of the States to be formed from the ceded lands, at one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles square. The terms of that resolution being called up both by Virginia and Massachusetts, further legislation was deemed necessary to change them. July 7, 1786, this subject came up in Congress, and a resolution passed in favor of a division into not less than three nor more than five States. Virginia, at the close of 1788, assented to this proposition, which became the basis upon which the division should be made. On the 29th of September, Congress having thus changed the plan for dividing the Northwestern Territory into ten States, proceeded again to consider the terms of an ordinance for the government of that region. At this juncture, the genius of Dr. Cutler displayed itself. A graduate in medicine, law and divinity; an ardent lover of liberty; a celebrated scientist, and an accomplished, portly gentleman, of whom the Southern senators said they had never before seen so fine a specimen from the New England colonies, no man was better prepared to form a government for the new Territory, than he. The Ohio Company was his real object. He was backed by them, and enough Continental money to purchase more than a million acres of land. This was augmented by other parties until, as has been noticed, he represented over five million acres. This would largely reduce the public debt. Jefferson and Virginia were regarded as authority concerning the land Virginia had just ceded to the General Government. Jefferson's policy was to provide for the national credit, and still check the growth of slavery. Here was a good opportunity. Massachusetts owned the Territory of Maine, which she was crowding into market. She opposed the opening of the Northwest. This stirred Virginia. The South caught the inspiration and rallied around the Old Dominion and Dr. Cutler. Thereby he gained the credit and good will of the South, an auxiliary he used to good purpose. Massachusetts could not vote against him, because many of the constituents of her members were interested in the Ohio Company. Thus the Doctor, using all the arts of the lobbyist, was enabled to hold the situation. True to deeper convictions, he dictated one of the most compact and finished documents of wise statesmanship that has ever adorned any statute-book. Jefferson gave it the term, "Articles of Compact," and rendered him valuable aid in its construction. This "Compact" preceded the Federal Constitution, in both of which are seen Jefferson's master-mind. Dr. Cutler followed closely the constitution of Mas-

sachusetts, adopted three years before. The prominent features were: The exclusion of slavery from the Territory forever. Provision for public schools, giving one township for a seminary, and every sixteenth section. (That gave one thirty-sixth of all the land for public education.) A provision prohibiting the adoption of any constitution or the enactment of any law that would nullify pre-existing contracts.

The compact further declared that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall always be encouraged."

The Doctor planted himself firmly on this platform, and would not yield. It was that or nothing. Unless they could make the land desirable, it was not wanted, and, taking his horse and buggy, he started for the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. His influence succeeded. On the 13th of July, 1787, the bill was put upon its passage and was unanimously adopted. Every member from the South voted for it; only one man, Mr. Yates, of New York, voted against the measure; but as the vote was made by States, his vote was lost, and the "Compact of 1787" was beyond repeal. Thus the great States of the Northwest Territory were consecrated to freedom, intelligence and morality. This act was the opening step for freedom in America. Soon the South saw their blunder, and endeavored, by all their power, to repeal the compact. In 1803, Congress referred it to a committee, of which John Randolph was chairman. He reported the ordinance was a compact and could not be repealed. Thus it stood, like a rock, in the way of slavery, which still, in spite of these provisions, endeavored to plant that infernal institution in the West. Witness the early days of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. But the compact could not be violated; New England ideas could not be put down, and her sons stood ready to defend the soil of the West from that curse.

The passage of the ordinance and the grant of land to Dr. Cutler and his associates, were soon followed by a request from John Cleve Symmes, of New Jersey, for the country between the Miamis. Symmes had visited that part of the West in 1786, and, being pleased with the valleys of the Shawnees, had applied to the Board of the Treasury for their purchase, as soon as they were open to settlement. The Board was empowered to act by Congress, and, in 1788, a contract was signed, giving him the country he desired. The terms of his

purchase were similar to those of the Ohio Company. His application was followed by others, whose success or failure will appear in the narrative.

The New England or Ohio Company was all this time busily engaged perfecting its arrangements to occupy its lands. The Directors agreed to reserve 5,760 acres near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum for a city and commons, for the old ideas of the English plan of settling a country yet prevailed. A meeting of the Directors was held at Brackett's tavern, in Boston, November 23, 1787, when four surveyors, and twenty-two attendants, boat-builders, carpenters, blacksmiths and common workmen, numbering in all forty persons, were engaged. Their tools were purchased, and wagons were obtained to transport them across the mountains. Gen. Rufus Putnam was made superintendent of the company, and Ebenezer Sprout, of Rhode Island, Anselm Tupper and John Matthews, from Massachusetts, and R. J. Meigs, from Connecticut, as surveyors. At the same meeting, a suitable person to instruct them in religion, and prepare the way to open a school when needed, was selected. This was Rev. Daniel Storey, who became the first New England minister in the Northwest.

The Indians were watching this outgrowth of affairs, and felt, from what they could learn in Kentucky, that they would be gradually surrounded by the whites. This they did not relish, by any means, and gave the settlements south of the Ohio no little uneasiness. It was thought best to hold another treaty with them. In the mean time, to insure peace, the Governor of Virginia, and Congress, placed troops at Venango, Forts Pitt and McIntosh, and at Miami, Vincennes, Louisville, and Muskingum, and the militia of Kentucky were held in readiness should a sudden outbreak occur. These measures produced no results, save insuring the safety of the whites, and not until January, 1789, was Clarke able to carry out his plans. During that month, he held a meeting at Fort Harmar,* at the mouth of the Muskingum, where the New England Colony expected to locate.

The hostile character of the Indians did not deter the Ohio Company from carrying out its plans. In the winter of 1787, Gen. Rufus Put-

nam and forty-seven pioneers advanced to the mouth of the Youghiogheny River, and began building a boat for transportation down the Ohio in the spring. The boat was the largest craft that had ever descended the river, and, in allusion to their Pilgrim Fathers, it was called the Mayflower. It was 45 feet long and 12 feet wide, and estimated at 50 tons burden. Truly a formidable affair for the time. The bows were raking and curved like a galley, and were strongly timbered. The sides were made bullet-proof, and it was covered with a deck roof. Capt. Devol, the first ship-builder in the West, was placed in command. On the 2d of April, the Mayflower was launched, and for five days the little band of pioneers sailed down the Monongahela and the Ohio, and, on the 7th, landed at the mouth of the Muskingum. There, opposite Fort Harmar, they chose a location, moored their boat for a temporary shelter, and began to erect houses for their occupation.

Thus was begun the first English settlement in the Ohio Valley. About the 1st of July, they were re-enforced by the arrival of a colony from Massachusetts. It had been nine weeks on the way. It had hauled its wagons and driven its stock to Wheeling, where, constructing flat-boats, it had floated down the river to the settlement.

In October preceding this occurrence, Arthur St. Clair had been appointed Governor of the Territory by Congress, which body also appointed Winthrop Sargent, Secretary, and Samuel H. Parsons, James M. Varnum and John Armstrong Judges. Subsequently Mr. Armstrong declined the appointment, and Mr. Symmes was given the vacancy. None of these were on the ground when the first settlement was made, though the Judges came soon after. One of the first things the colony found necessary to do was to organize some form of government, whereby difficulties might be settled, though to the credit of the colony it may be said, that during the first three months of its existence but one difference arose, and that was settled by a compromise.* Indeed, hardly a better set of men for the purpose could have been selected. Washington wrote concerning this colony:

"No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there

* Fort Harmar was built in 1785, by a detachment of United States soldiers, under command of Maj. John Doughty. It was named in honor of Col. Josiah Harmar, to whose regiment Maj. Doughty was attached. It was the first military post erected by the Americans within the limits of Ohio, except Fort Laurens, a temporary structure built in 1778. When Marietta was founded it was the military post of that part of the country, and was for many years an important station.

never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."

On the 2d of July, a meeting of the Directors and agents was held on the banks of the Muskingum for the purpose of naming the newborn city and its squares. As yet, the settlement had been merely "The Muskingum;" but the name Marietta was now formally given it, in honor of Marie Antoinette. The square upon which the blockhouses stood was called *Campus Martius*; Square No. 19, *Capitolium*; Square No. 61, *Cedim*, and the great road running through the covert-way, *Sacra Via*.* Surely, classical scholars were not scarce in the colony.

On the Fourth, an oration was delivered by James M. Varnum, one of the Judges, and a public demonstration held. Five days after, the Governor arrived, and the colony began to assume form. The ordinance of 1787 provided two distinct grades of government, under the first of which the whole power was under the Governor and the three Judges. This form was at once recognized on the arrival of St. Clair. The first law established by this court was passed on the 25th of July. It established and regulated the militia of the Territory. The next day after its publication, appeared the Governor's proclamation erecting all the country that had been ceded by the Indians east of the Scioto River, into the county of Washington. Marietta was, of course, the county seat, and, from that day, went on prosperously. On September 2, the first court was held with becoming ceremonies. It is thus related in the *American Pioneer*:

"The procession was formed at the Point (where the most of the settlers resided), in the following order: The High Sheriff, with his drawn sword; the citizens; the officers of the garrison at Fort Harmar; the members of the bar; the Supreme Judges; the Governor and clergyman; the newly appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Gens. Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper.

"They marched up the path that had been cleared through the forest to *Campus Martius* Hall (stockade), where the whole countermarched, and the Judges (Putnam and Tupper) took their seats. The clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, then invoked the divine blessing. The Sheriff, Col. Ebenezer Sproat, proclaimed with his solemn 'Oh yes!' that a court is open for the administration of

even-handed justice, to the poor and to the rich, to the guilty and to the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without a trial of their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case.

"Although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the West, few ever equaled it in the dignity and exalted character of its principal participants. Many of them belonged to the history of our country in the darkest, as well as the most splendid, period of the Revolutionary war."

Many Indians were gathered at the same time to witness the (to them) strange spectacle, and for the purpose of forming a treaty, though how far they carried this out, the *Pioneer* does not relate.

The progress of the settlement was quite satisfactory during the year. Some one writing a letter from the town says:

"The progress of the settlement is sufficiently rapid for the first year. We are continually erecting houses, but arrivals are constantly coming faster than we can possibly provide convenient roving. Our first ball was opened about the middle of December, at which were fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manner of polite circles as any I have ever seen in the older States. I mention this to show the progress of society in this new world, where, I believe, we shall vie with, if not excel, the old States in every accomplishment necessary to render life agreeable and happy."

The emigration westward at this time was, indeed, exceedingly large. The commander at Fort Harmar reported 4,500 persons as having passed that post between February and June, 1788, many of whom would have stopped there, had the associates been prepared to receive them. The settlement was free from Indian depredations until January, 1791, during which interval it daily increased in numbers and strength.

Symmes and his friends were not idle during this time. He had secured his contract in October, 1787, and soon after, issued a pamphlet stating the terms of his purchase and the mode he intended to follow in the disposal of the lands. His plan was, to issue warrants for not less than one-quarter section, which might be located anywhere, save on reservations, or on land previously entered. The locator could enter an entire section should he desire to do so. The price was to be 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per acre till May, 1788; then till November, \$1; and

after that time to be regulated by the demand for land. Each purchaser was bound to begin improvements within two years, or forfeit one-sixth of the land to whoever would settle thereon and remain seven years. Military bounties might be taken in this, as in the purchase of the associates. For himself, Symmes reserved one township near the mouth of the Miami. On this he intended to build a great city, rivaling any Eastern port. He offered any one a lot on which to build a house, providing he would remain three years. Continental certificates were rising, owing to the demand for land created by these two purchases, and Congress found the burden of debt correspondingly lessened. Symmes soon began to experience difficulty in procuring enough to meet his payments. He had also some trouble in arranging his boundary with the Board of the Treasury. These, and other causes, laid the foundation for another city, which is now what Symmes hoped his city would one day be.

In January, 1788, Mathias Denman, of New Jersey, took an interest in Symmes' purchase, and located, among other tracts, the sections upon which Cincinnati has since been built. Retaining one-third of this purchase, he sold the balance to Robert Patterson and John Filson, each getting the same share. These three, about August, agreed to lay out a town on their land. It was designated as opposite the mouth of the Licking River, to which place it was intended to open a road from Lexington, Ky. These men little thought of the great emporium that now covers the modest site of this town they laid out that summer. Mr. Filson, who had been a schoolmaster, and was of a somewhat poetic nature, was appointed to name the town. In respect to its situation, and as if with a prophetic perception of the mixed races that were in after years to dwell there, he named it Losantiville,* "which, being interpreted," says the "Western Annals," "means *ville*, the town; *anti*, opposite to; *os*, the mouth; *L*, of Licking. This may well put to the blush the *Campus Martius* of the Marietta scholars, and the *Fort Solon* of the Spaniards."

Meanwhile, Symmes was busy in the East, and, by July, got thirty people and eight four-horse wagons under way for the West. These reached Limestone by September, where they met Mr. Stites, with several persons from Redstone. All

came to Symmes' purchase, and began to look for homes.

Symmes' mind was, however, ill at rest. He could not meet his first payment on so vast a realm, and there also arose a difference of opinion between him and the Treasury Board regarding the Ohio boundary. Symmes wanted all the land between the two Miamis, bordering on the Ohio, while the Board wished him confined to no more than twenty miles of the river. To this proposal he would not agree, as he had made sales all along the river. Leaving the bargain in an unsettled state, Congress considered itself released from all its obligations, and, but for the representations of many of Symmes' friends, he would have lost all his money and labor. His appointment as Judge was not favorably received by many, as they thought that by it he would acquire unlimited power. Some of his associates also complained of him, and, for awhile, it surely seemed that ruin only awaited him. But he was brave and hopeful, and determined to succeed. On his return from a visit to his purchase in September, 1788, he wrote Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, one of his best friends and associates, that he thought some of the land near the Great Miami "positively worth a silver dollar the acre in its present state."

A good many changes were made in his original contract, growing out of his inability to meet his payments. At first, he was to have not less than a million acres, under an act of Congress passed in October, 1787, authorizing the Treasury Board to contract with any one who could pay for such tracts, on the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, whose fronts should not exceed one-third of their depth.

Dayton and Marsh, Symmes' agents, contracted with the Board for one tract on the Ohio, beginning twenty miles up the Ohio from the mouth of the Great Miami, and to run back for quantity between the Miami and a line drawn from the Ohio, parallel to the general course of that river. In 1791, three years after Dayton and Marsh made the contract, Symmes found this would throw the purchase too far back from the Ohio, and applied to Congress to let him have all between the Miamis, running back so as to include 1,000,000 acres, which that body, on April 12, 1792, agreed to do. When the lands were surveyed, however, it was found that a line drawn from the head of the Little Miami due west to the Great Miami, would include south of it less than six hundred thousand acres. Even this Symmes could not pay for, and when his patent was issued in September, 1794, it

* Judge Burnett, in his notes, disputes the above account of the origin of the city of Cincinnati. He says the name "Losantiville" was determined on, but not adopted, when the town was laid out. This version is probably the correct one, and will be found fully given in the detailed history of the settlements.

gave him and his associates 248,540 acres, exclusive of reservations which amounted to 63,142 acres. This tract was bounded by the Ohio, the two Miami and a due east and west line run so as to include the desired quantity. Symmes, however, made no further payments, and the rest of his purchase reverted to the United States, who gave those who had bought under him ample pre-emption rights.

The Government was able, also, to give him and his colonists but little aid, and as danger from hostile Indians was in a measure imminent (though all the natives were friendly to Symmes), settlers were slow to come. However, the band led by Mr. Stites arrived before the 1st of January, 1789, and locating themselves near the mouth of the Little Miami, on a tract of 10,000 acres which Mr. Stites had purchased from Symmes, formed the second settlement in Ohio. They were soon afterward joined by a colony of twenty-six persons, who assisted them to erect a block-house, and gather their corn. The town was named Columbia. While here, the great flood of January, 1789, occurred, which did much to ensure the future growth of Losantiville, or more properly, Cincinnati. Symmes City, which was laid out near the mouth of the Great Miami, and which he vainly strove to make the city of the future, Marietta and Columbia, all suffered severely by this flood, the greatest, the Indians said, ever known. The site of Cincinnati was not overflowed, and hence attracted the attention of the settlers. Denman's warrants had designated his purchase as opposite the mouth of the Licking; and that point escaping the overflow, late in December the place was visited by Israel Ludlow, Symmes' surveyor, Mr. Patterson and Mr. Denman, and about fourteen others, who left Maysville to "form a station and lay off a town opposite the Licking." The river was filled with ice "from shore to shore;" but, says Symmes in May, 1789, "Perseverance triumphing over difficulty, and they landed safe on a most delightful bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which populates considerably." The settlers of Losantiville built a few log huts and block-houses, and proceeded to improve the town. Symmes, noticing the location, says: "Though they placed their dwellings in the most marked position, yet they suffered nothing from the freshet." This would seem to give credence to Judge Burnett's notes regarding the origin of Cincinnati, who states the settlement was made at this time, and not at the time mentioned when

Mr. Filson named the town. It is further to be noticed, that, before the town was located by Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Patterson, Mr. Filson had been killed by the Miami Indians, and, as he had not paid for his one-third of the site, the claim was sold to Mr. Ludlow, who thereby became one of the original owners of the place. Just what day the town was laid out is not recorded. All the evidence tends to show it must have been late in 1788, or early in 1789.

While the settlements on the north side of the Ohio were thus progressing south of it fears of the Indians prevailed, and the separation sore was kept open. The country was, however, so torn by internal factions that no plan was likely to succeed, and to this fact, in a large measure, may be credited the reason it did not secede, or join the Spanish or French faction, both of which were intriguing to get the commonwealth. During this year the treasonable acts of James Wilkinson came into view. For a while he thought success was in his grasp, but the two governments were at peace with America, and discountenanced any such efforts. Wilkinson, like all traitors, relapsed into nonentity, and became mistrusted by the governments he attempted to befriend. Treason is always odious.

It will be borne in mind, that in 1778 preparations had been made for a treaty with the Indians, to secure peaceful possession of the lands owned in the West. Though the whites held these by purchase and treaty, yet many Indians, especially the Wabash and some of the Miami Indians, objected to their occupation, claiming the Ohio boundary as the original division line. Clarke endeavored to obtain, by treaty at Fort Harmar, in 1778, a confirmation of these grants, but was not able to do so till January, 9, 1789. Representatives of the Six Nations, and of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Sacs, met him at this date, and confirmed and extended the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh, the one in 1784, the other in 1785. This secured peace with the most of them, save a few of the Wabash Indians, whom they were compelled to conquer by arms. When this was accomplished, the borders were thought safe, and Virginia proposed to withdraw her aid in support of Kentucky. This opened old troubles, and the separation dogma came out afresh. Virginia offered to allow the erection of a separate State, providing Kentucky would assume part of the old debts. This the young commonwealth would not

do, and sent a remonstrance. Virginia withdrew the proposal, and ordered a ninth convention, which succeeded in evolving a plan whereby Kentucky took her place among the free States of the Union.

North of the Ohio, the prosperity continued. In 1789, Rev. Daniel Story, who had been appointed missionary to the West, came out as a teacher of the youth and a preacher of the Gospel. Dr. Cutler had preceded him, not in the capacity of a minister, though he had preached; hence Mr. Story is truly the first missionary from the Protestant Church who came to the Ohio Valley in that capacity. When he came, in 1789, he found nine associations on the Ohio Company's purchase, comprising two hundred and fifty persons in all; and, by the close of 1790, eight settlements had been made: two at Belpre (belle prairie), one at Newbury, one at Wolf Creek, one at Duck Creek, one at the mouth of Meigs' Creek, one at Anderson's Bottom, and one at Big Bottom. An extended sketch of all these settlements will be found further on in this volume.

Symmes had, all this time, strenuously endeavored to get his city—called Cleves City—favorably noticed, and filled with people. He saw a rival in Cincinnati. That place, if made military headquarters to protect the Miami Valley, would out-rival his town, situated near the bend of the Miami, near its mouth. On the 15th of June, Judge Symmes received news that the Wabash Indians threatened the Miami settlements, and as he had received only nineteen men for defense, he applied for more. Before July, Maj. Doughty arrived at the "Slaughter House"—as the Miami was sometimes called, owing to previous murders that had, at former times, occurred therin. Through the influence of Symmes, the detachment landed at the North Bend, and, for awhile, it was thought the fort would be erected there. This was what Symmes wanted, as it would secure him the headquarters of the military, and aid in getting the headquarters of the civil government. The truth was, however, that neither the proposed city on the Miami—North Bend, as it afterward became known, from its location—or South Bend, could compete, in point of natural advantages, with the plain on which Cincinnati is built. Had Fort Washington been built elsewhere, after the close of the Indian war, nature would have asserted her advantages, and insured the growth of a city, where even the ancient and mysterious dwellers of the Ohio had reared the earthen

walls of one of their vast temples. Another fact is given in relation to the erection of Fort Washington at Losantiville, which partakes somewhat of romance. The Major, while waiting to decide at which place the fort should be built, happened to make the acquaintance of a black-eyed beauty, the wife of one of the residents. Her husband, noticing the affair, removed her to Losantiville. The Major followed; he told Symmes he wished to see how a fort would do there, but promised to give his city the preference. He found the beauty there, and on his return Symmes could not prevail on him to remain. If the story be true, then the importance of Cincinnati owes its existence to a trivial circumstance, and the old story of the ten years' war which terminated in the downfall of Troy, which is said to have originated owing to the beauty of a Spartan dame, was re-enacted here. Troy and North Bend fell because of the beauty of a woman; Cincinnati was the result of the downfall of the latter place.

About the first of January, 1790, Governor St. Clair, with his officers, descended the Ohio River from Marietta to Fort Washington. There he established the county of Hamilton, comprising the immense region of country contiguous to the Ohio, from the Hocking River to the Great Miami; appointed a corps of civil and military officers, and established a Court of Quarter Sessions. Some state that at this time, he changed the name of the village of Losantiville to Cincinnati, in allusion to a society of that name which had recently been formed among the officers of the Revolutionary army, and established it as the seat of justice for Hamilton. This latter fact is certain; but as regards changing the name of the village, there is no good authority for it. With this importance attached to it, Cincinnati began at once an active growth, and from that day Cleves' city declined. The next summer, frame houses began to appear in Cincinnati, while at the same time forty new log cabins appeared about the fort.

On the 8th of January, the Governor arrived at the falls of the Ohio, on his way to establish a government at Vincennes and Kuskaskia. From Clarkesville, he dispatched a messenger to Major Hanutaneck, commander at Vincennes, with speeches to the various Indian tribes in this part of the Northwest, who had not fully agreed to the treaties. St. Clair and Sargent followed in a few days, along an Indian trail to Vincennes, where he organized the county of Knox, comprising all the

country along the Ohio, from the Miami to the Wabash, and made Vincennes the county seat. Then they proceeded across the lower part of Illinois to Kaskaskia, where he established the county of St. Clair (so named by Sargent), comprising all the country from the Wabash to the Mississippi. Thus the Northwest was divided into three counties, and courts established therein. St. Clair called upon the French inhabitants at Vincennes and in the Illinois country, to show the titles to their lands, and also to defray the expense of a survey. To this latter demand they replied through their priest, Pierre Gibault, showing their poverty, and inability to comply. They were confirmed in their grants, and, as they had been good friends to the patriot cause, were relieved from the expense of the survey.

While the Governor was managing these affairs, Major Hamtramck was engaged in an effort to conciliate the Wabash Indians. For this purpose, he sent Antoine Gamelin, an intelligent French merchant, and a true friend of America, among them to carry messages sent by St. Clair and the Government, and to learn their sentiments and dispositions. Gamelin performed this important mission in the spring of 1790 with much sagacity, and, as the

French were good friends of the natives, he did much to conciliate these half-hostile tribes. He visited the towns of these tribes along the Wabash and as far north and east as the Miami village, Ke-ki-on-ga—St. Mary's—at the junction of the St. Mary's and Joseph's Rivers (Fort Wayne).

Gamelin's report, and the intelligence brought by some traders from the Upper Wabash, were conveyed to the Governor at Kaskaskia. The reports convinced him that the Indians of that part of the Northwest were preparing for a war on the settlements north of the Ohio, intending, if possible, to drive them south of it; that river being still considered by them as the true boundary. St. Clair left the administration of affairs in the Western counties to Sargent, and returned at once to Fort Washington to provide for the defense of the frontier.

The Indians had begun their predatory incursions into the country settled by the whites, and had committed some depredations. The Kentuckians were enlisted in an attack against the Scioto Indians. April 18, Gen. Harmar, with 100 regulars, and Gen. Scott, with 230 volunteers, marched from Limestone, by a circuitous route, to the Scioto, accomplishing but little. The savages had fled.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INDIAN WAR OF 1790—HARMAR'S CAMPAIGN—ST. CLAIR'S CAMPAIGN—WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN—CLOSE OF THE WAR.

A GREAT deal of the hostility at this period was directly traceable to the British. They yet held Detroit and several posts on the lakes, in violation of the treaty of 1783. They alleged as a reason for not abandoning them, that the Americans had not fulfilled the conditions of the treaty regarding the collection of debts. Moreover, they did all they could to remain at the frontier and enjoy the emoluments derived from the fur trade. That they aided the Indians in the conflict at this time, is undeniable. Just how, it is difficult to say. But it is well known the savages had all the ammunition and fire-arms they wanted, more than they could have obtained from American and French renegade traders. They were also well supplied with clothing, and were able to prolong the war some time. A great confederation was on the eve of formation. The leading spirits were

Cornplanter, Brant, Little Turtle and other noted chiefs, and had not the British, as Brant said, "encouraged us to the war, and promised us aid, and then, when we were driven away by the Americans, shut the doors of their fortresses against us and refused us food, when they saw us nearly conquered, we would have effected our object."

McKee, Elliott and Girty were also actively engaged in aiding the natives. All of them were in the interest of the British, a fact clearly proven by the Indians themselves, and by other traders.

St. Clair and Gen. Harmar determined to send an expedition against the Maumee towns, and secure that part of the country. Letters were sent to the militia officers of Western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, calling on them for militia to co-operate with the regular troops in the campaign. According to the plan of the campaign,

300 militia were to rendezvous at Fort Steuben (Jeffersonville), march thence to Fort Knox, at Vincennes, and join Maj. Hamtramck in an expedition up the Wabash; 700 were to rendezvous at Fort Washington to join the regular army against the Maumee towns.

While St. Clair was forming his army and arranging for the campaign, three expeditions were sent out against the Miami towns. One against the Miami villages, not far from the Wabash, was led by Gen. Harmar. He had in his army about fourteen hundred men, regulars and militia. These two parts of the army could not be made to affiliate, and, as a consequence, the expedition did little beyond burning the villages and destroying corn. The militia would not submit to discipline, and would not serve under regular officers. It will be seen what this spirit led to when St. Clair went on his march soon after.

The Indians, emboldened by the meager success of Harmar's command, continued their depredations against the Ohio settlements, destroying the community at Big Bottom. To hold them in check, and also punish them, an army under Charles Scott went against the Wabash Indians. Little was done here but destroy towns and the standing corn. In July, another army, under Col. Wilkinson, was sent against the Eel River Indians. Becoming entangled in extensive morasses on the river, the army became endangered, but was finally extricated, and accomplished no more than either the other armies before it. As it was, however, the three expeditions directed against the Miamis and Shawanees, served only to exasperate them. The burning of their towns, the destruction of their corn, and the captivity of their women and children, only aroused them to more desperate efforts to defend their country and to harass their invaders. To accomplish this, the chiefs of the Miamis, Shawanees and the Delawares, Little Turtle, Blue Jacket and Buckongahelas, were engaged in forming a confederacy of all the tribes of the Northwest, strong enough to drive the whites beyond the Ohio. Pontiac had tried that before, even when he had open allies among the French. The Indians now had secret allies among the British, yet, in the end, they did not succeed. While they were preparing for the contest, St. Clair was gathering his forces, intending to erect a chain of forts from the Ohio, by way of the Miami and Maumee valleys, to the lakes, and thereby effectively hold the savages in check. Washington warmly seconded this plan, and designated the

junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's Rivers as an important post. This had been a fortification almost from the time the English held the valley, and only needed little work to make it a formidable fortress. Gen. Knox, the Secretary of War, also favored the plan, and gave instructions concerning it. Under these instructions, St. Clair organized his forces as rapidly as he could, although the numerous drawbacks almost, at times, threatened the defeat of the campaign. Through the summer the arms and accoutrements of the army were put in readiness at Fort Washington. Many were found to be of the poorest quality, and to be badly out of repair. The militia came poorly armed, under the impression they were to be provided with arms. While waiting in camp, habits of idleness engendered themselves, and drunkenness followed. They continued their accustomed freedom, disdaining to drill, and refused to submit to the regular officers. A bitter spirit broke out between the regular troops and the militia, which none could heal. The insubordination of the militia and their officers, caused them a defeat afterward, which they in vain attempted to fasten on the busy General, and the regular troops.

The army was not ready to move till September 17. It was then 2,300 strong. It then moved to a point upon the Great Miami, where they erected Fort Hamilton, the first in the proposed chain of fortresses. After its completion, they moved on forty-four miles farther, and, on the 12th of October, began the erection of Fort Jefferson, about six miles south of the present town of Greenville, Darke County. On the 24th, the army again took up its line of march, through a wilderness, marshy and boggy, and full of savage foes. The army rapidly declined under the hot sun; even the commander was suffering from an indisposition. The militia deserted, in companies at a time, leaving the bulk of the work to the regular troops. By the 3d of November, the army reached a stream twelve yards wide, which St. Clair supposed to be a branch of the St. Mary of the Maumee, but which in reality was a tributary of the Wabash. Upon the banks of that stream, the army, now about fourteen hundred strong, encamped in two lines. A slight protection was thrown up as a safeguard against the Indians, who were known to be in the neighborhood. The General intended to attack them next day, but, about half an hour before sunrise, just after the militia had been dismissed from parade, a sudden attack was made upon them. The militia were thrown

into confusion, and disregarded the command of the officers. They had not been sufficiently drilled, and now was seen, too late and too plainly, the evil effects of their insubordination. Through the morning the battle waged furiously, the men falling by scores. About nine o'clock the retreat began, covered by Maj. Cook and his troops. The retreat was a disgraceful, precipitate flight, though, after four miles had been passed, the enemy returned to the work of scalping the dead and wounded, and of pillaging the camp. Through the day and the night their dreadful work continued, one squaw afterward declaring "her arm was weary scalping the white men." The army reached Fort Jefferson a little after sunset, having thrown away much of its arms and baggage, though the act was entirely unnecessary. After remaining here a short time, it was decided by the officers to move on toward Fort Hamilton, and thence to Fort Washington.

The defeat of St. Clair was the most terrible reverse the Americans ever suffered from the Indians. It was greater than even Braddock's defeat. His army consisted of 1,200 men and 86 officers, of whom 714 men and 63 officers were killed or wounded. St. Clair's army consisted of 1,400 men and 86 officers, of whom 890 men and 16 officers were killed or wounded. The comparative effects of the two engagements very inadequately represent the crushing effect of St. Clair's defeat. An unprotected frontier of more than a thousand miles in extent was now thrown open to a foe made merciless, and anxious to drive the whites from the north side of the Ohio. Now, settlers were scattered along all the streams, and in all the forests, exposed to the cruel enemy, who stealthily approached the homes of the pioneer, to murder him and his family. Loud calls arose from the people to defend and protect them. St. Clair was covered with abuse for his defeat, when he really was not alone to blame for it. The militia would not be controlled. Had Clarke been at their head, or Wayne, who succeeded St. Clair, the result might have been different. As it was, St. Clair resigned; though ever after he enjoyed the confidence of Washington and Congress.

Four days after the defeat of St. Clair, the army, in its straggling condition, reached Fort Washington, and paused to rest. On the 9th, St. Clair wrote fully to the Secretary of War. On the 12th, Gen. Knox communicated the information to Congress, and on the 26th, he laid before the President two reports, the second containing suggestions regarding future operations. His sugges-

tions urged the establishment of a strong United States Army, as it was plain the States could not control the matter. He also urged a thorough drill of the soldiers. No more insubordination could be tolerated. General Wayne was selected by Washington as the commander, and at once proceeded to the task assigned to him. In June, 1792, he went to Pittsburgh to organize the army now gathering, which was to be the ultimate argument with the Indian confederation. Through the summer he was steadily at work. "Train and discipline them for the work they are meant for," wrote Washington, "and do not spare powder and lead, so the men be made good marksmen." In December, the forces, now recruited and trained, gathered at a point twenty-two miles below Pittsburgh, on the Ohio, called Legionville, the army itself being denominated the Legion of the United States, divided into four sub-legions, and provided with the proper officers. Meantime, Col. Wilkinson succeeded St. Clair as commander at Fort Washington, and sent out a force to examine the field of defeat, and bury the dead. A shocking sight met their view, revealing the deeds of cruelty enacted upon their comrades by the savage enemy.

While Wayne's army was drilling, peace measures were pressed forward by the United States with equal perseverance. The Iroquois were induced to visit Philadelphia, and partially secured from the general confederacy. They were wary, however, and, expecting aid from the British, held aloof. Brant did not come, as was hoped, and it was plain there was intrigue somewhere. Five independent embassies were sent among the Western tribes, to endeavor to prevent a war, and win over the inimical tribes. But the victories they had won, and the favorable whispers of the British agents, closed the ears of the red men, and all propositions were rejected in some form or other. All the ambassadors, save Putnam, suffered death. He alone was able to reach his goal—the Wabash Indians—and effect any treaty. On the 27th of December, in company with Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, he reached Vincennes, and met thirty-one chiefs, representing the Weas, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, Peorias, Illinois, Pottawatomies, Mascoutins, Kickapoos and Eel River Indians, and concluded a treaty of peace with them.

The fourth article of this treaty, however, contained a provision guaranteeing to the Indians their lands, and when the treaty was laid before Congress, February 13, 1793, that body, after much discussion, refused on that account to ratify it.

A great council of the Indians was to be held at Auglaize during the autumn of 1792, when the assembled nations were to discuss fully their means of defense, and determine their future line of action. The council met in October, and was the largest Indian gathering of the time. The chiefs of all the tribes of the Northwest were there. The representatives of the seven nations of Canada, were in attendance. Cornplanter and forty-eight chiefs of the New York (Six Nations) Indians repaired thither. "Besides these," said Cornplanter, "there were so many nations we cannot tell the names of them. There were three men from the Gora nation; it took them a whole season to come; and," continued he, "twenty-seven nations from beyond Canada were there." The question of peace or war was long and earnestly debated. Their future was solemnly discussed, and around the council fire native eloquence and native zeal shone in all their simple strength. One nation after another, through their chiefs, presented their views. The deputies of the Six Nations, who had been at Philadelphia to consult the "Thirteen Fires," made their report. The Western boundary was the principal question. The natives, with one accord, declared it must be the Ohio River. An address was prepared, and sent to the President, wherein their views were stated, and agreeing to abstain from all hostilities, until they could meet again in the spring at the rapids of the Maumee, and there consult with their white brothers. They desired the President to send agents, "who are men of honesty, not proud land-jobbers, but men who love and desire peace." The good work of Penn was evidenced here, as they desired that the ambassadors "be accompanied by some Friend or Quaker."

The armistice they had promised was not, however, faithfully kept. On the 6th of November, a detachment of Kentucky cavalry at Fort St. Clair, about twenty-five miles above Fort Hamilton, was attacked. The commander, Maj. Adair, was an excellent officer, well versed in Indian tactics, and defeated the savages.

This infraction of their promises did not deter the United States from taking measures to meet the Indians at the rapids of the Maumee "when the leaves were fully out." For that purpose, the President selected as commissioners, Charles Carroll and Charles Thompson, but, as they declined the nomination, he appointed Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering, the 1st of March, 1793, to attend the convention, which,

it was thought best, should be held at the Sandusky outpost. About the last of April, these commissioners left Philadelphia, and, late in May, reached Niagara, where they remained guests of Lieut. Gov. Simcoe, of the British Government. This officer gave them all the aid he could, yet it was soon made plain to them that he would not object to the confederation, nay, even rather favored it. They speak of his kindness to them, in grateful terms. Gov. Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up any of their lands. That was the pith of the whole matter. The British rather claimed land in New York, under the treaty of 1783, alleging the Americans had not fully complied with the terms of that treaty, hence they were not as anxious for peace and a peaceful settlement of the difficult boundary question as they sometimes represented.

By July, "the leaves were fully out," the conferences among the tribes were over, and, on the 15th of that month, the commissioners met Brant and some fifty natives. In a strong speech, Brant set forth their wishes, and invited them to accompany him to the place of holding the council. The Indians were rather jealous of Wayne's continued preparations for war, hence, just before setting out for the Maumee, the commissioners sent a letter to the Secretary of War, asking that all warlike demonstrations cease until the result of their mission be known.

On 21st of July, the embassy reached the head of the Detroit River, where their advance was checked by the British authorities at Detroit, compelling them to take up their abode at the house of Andrew Elliott, the famous renegade, then a British agent under Alexander McKee. McKee was attending the council, and the commissioners addressed him a note, borne by Elliott, to inform him of their arrival, and asking when they could be received. Elliott returned on the 29th, bringing with him a deputation of twenty chiefs from the council. The next day, a conference was held, and the chief of the Wyandots, Sa-wagh-da-wunk, presented to the commissioners, in writing, their explicit demand in regard to the boundary and their purposes and powers. "The Ohio must be the boundary," said he, "or blood will flow."

The commissioners returned an answer to the proposition brought by the chiefs, recapitulating the treaties already made, and denying the Ohio as the boundary line. On the 16th of August, the council sent them, by two Wyandot runners, a final answer, in which they recapitulated their

former assertions, and exhibited great powers of reasoning and clear logic in defense of their position. The commissioners reply that it is impossible to accept the Ohio as the boundary, and declare the negotiation at an end.

This closed the efforts of the Government to negotiate with the Indians, and there remained of necessity no other mode of settling the dispute but war. Liberal terms had been offered them, but nothing but the boundary of the Ohio River would suffice. It was the only condition upon which the confederation would lay down its arms. "Among the rude statesmen of the wilderness, there was exhibited as pure patriotism and as lofty devotion to the good of their race, as ever won applause among civilized men. The white man had, ever since he came into the country, been encroaching on their lands. He had long occupied the regions beyond the mountains. He had crushed the conspiracy formed by Pontiac, thirty years before. He had taken possession of the common hunting-ground of all the tribes, on the faith of treaties they did not acknowledge. He was now laying out settlements and building forts in the heart of the country to which all the tribes had been driven, and which now was all they could call their own. And now they asked that it should be guaranteed to them, that the boundary which they had so long asked for should be drawn, and a final end be made to the continual aggressions of the whites; or, if not, they solemnly determined to stake their all, against fearful odds, in defense of their homes, their country and the inheritance of their children. Nothing could be more patriotic than the position they occupied, and nothing could be more noble than the declarations of their council."*

They did not know the strength of the whites, and based their success on the victories already gained. They hoped, nay, were promised, aid from the British, and even the Spanish had held out to them assurances of help when the hour of conflict came.

The Americans were not disposed to yield even to the confederacy of the tribes backed by the two rival nations, forming, as Wayne characterized it, a "hydra of British, Spanish and Indian hostility." On the 16th of August, the commissioners received the final answer of the council. The 17th, they left the mouth of the Detroit River, and the 23d, arrived at Fort Erie, where they immediately

dispatched messengers to Gen. Wayne to inform him of the issue of the negotiation. Wayne had spent the winter of 1792-93, at Legionville, in collecting and organizing his army. April 30, 1793, the army moved down the river and encamped at a point, called by the soldiers "Hobson's choice," because from the extreme height of the river they were prevented from landing elsewhere. Here Wayne was engaged, during the negotiations for peace, in drilling his soldiers, in cutting roads, and collecting supplies for the army. He was ready for an immediate campaign in case the council failed in its object.

While here, he sent a letter to the Secretary of War, detailing the circumstances, and suggesting the probable course he should follow. He remained here during the summer, and, when apprised of the issue, saw it was too late to attempt the campaign then. He sent the Kentucky militia home, and, with his regular soldiers, went into winter quarters at a fort he built on a tributary of the Great Miami. He called the fort Greenville. The present town of Greenville is near the site of the fort. During the winter, he sent a detachment to visit the scene of St. Clair's defeat. They found more than six hundred skulls, and were obliged to "scrape the bones together and carry them out to get a place to make their beds." They buried all they could find. Wayne was steadily preparing his forces, so as to have everything ready for a sure blow when the time came. All his information showed the faith in the British which still animated the doomed red men, and gave them a hope that could end only in defeat.

The conduct of the Indians fully corroborated the statements received by Gen. Wayne. On the 30th of June, an escort of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, under command of Maj. McMahon, was attacked under the walls of Fort Recovery by a force of more than one thousand Indians under charge of Little Turtle. They were repulsed and badly defeated, and, the next day, driven away. Their mode of action, their arms and ammunition, all told plainly of British aid. They also expected to find the cannon lost by St. Clair November 4, 1791, but which the Americans had secured. The 26th of July, Gen. Scott, with 1,600 mounted men from Kentucky, joined Gen. Wayne at Fort Greenville, and, two days after, the legion moved forward. The 8th of August, the army reached the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, and at once proceeded to erect Fort Defiance, where the waters meet. The Indians had abandoned

* *Annals of the West.*

their towns on the approach of the army, and were congregating further northward.

While engaged on Fort Defiance, Wayne received continual and full reports of the Indians—of their aid from Detroit and elsewhere; of the nature of the ground, and the circumstances, favorable or unfavorable. From all he could learn, and considering the spirits of his army, now thoroughly disciplined, he determined to march forward and settle matters at once. Yet, true to his own instincts, and to the measures of peace so forcibly taught by Washington, he sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawanees, and taken prisoner by Wayne's spies, as a messenger of peace, offering terms of friendship.

Unwilling to waste time, the troops began to move forward the 15th of August, and the next day met Miller with the message that if the Americans would wait ten days at Auglaize the Indians would decide for peace or war. Wayne knew too well the Indian character, and answered the message by simply marching on. The 18th, the legion had advanced forty-one miles from Auglaize, and, being near the long-looked-for foe, began to take some measures for protection, should they be attacked. A slight breastwork, called Fort Deposit, was erected, wherein most of their heavy baggage was placed. They remained here, building their works, until the 20th, when, storing their baggage, the army began again its march. After advancing about five miles, they met a large force of the enemy, two thousand strong, who fiercely attacked them. Wayne was, however, prepared, and in the short battle that ensued they were routed, and large numbers slain. The American loss was very slight. The horde of savages were put to flight, leaving the Americans victorious almost under the walls of the British garrison, under Maj. Campbell. This officer sent a letter to Gen. Wayne, asking an explanation of his conduct in fighting so near, and in such evident hostility to the British. Wayne replied, telling him he was in a country that did not belong to him, and one he was not authorized to hold, and also charging him with aiding the Indians. A spirited correspondence followed, which ended in the American commander marching on, and devastating the Indian country, even burning McKee's house and stores under the muzzles of the English guns.

The 14th of September, the army marched from Fort Defiance for the Miami village at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph Rivers. It

reached there on the 17th, and the next day Gen. Wayne selected a site for a fort. The 22d of October, the fort was completed, and garrisoned by a detachment under Maj. Hamtramck, who gave it the name of Fort Wayne. The 14th of October, the mounted Kentucky volunteers, who had become dissatisfied and mutinous, were started to Fort Washington, where they were immediately mustered out of service and discharged. The 28th of October, the legion marched from Fort Wayne to Fort Greenville, where Gen. Wayne at once established his headquarters.

The campaign had been decisive and short, and had taught the Indians a severe lesson. The British, too, had failed them in their hour of need, and now they began to see they had a foe to contend whose resources were exhaustless. Under these circumstances, losing faith in the English, and at last impressed with a respect for American power, after the defeat experienced at the hands of the "Black Snake," the various tribes made up their minds, by degrees, to ask for peace. During the winter and spring, they exchanged prisoners, and made ready to meet Gen. Wayne at Greenville, in June, for the purpose of forming a definite treaty, as it had been agreed should be done by the preliminaries of January 24.

During the month of June, 1795, representatives of the Northwestern tribes began to gather at Greenville, and, the 16th of the month, Gen. Wayne met in council the Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawatomies and Eel River Indians, and the confederates, which lasted till August 10, began. The 21st of June, Buckongahelas arrived; the 23d, Little Turtle and other Miamis; the 13th of July, Tarhe and other Wyandot chiefs; and the 18th, Blue Jacket, and thirteen Shawnees and Massas with twenty Chippewas.

Most of these, as it appeared by their statements, had been tampered with by the English, especially by McKee, Girty and Brant, even after the preliminaries of January 24, and while Mr. Jay was perfecting his treaty. They had, however, all determined to make peace with the "Thirteen Fires," and although some difficulty as to the ownership of the lands to be ceded, at one time seemed likely to arise, the good sense of Wayne and the leading chiefs prevented it, and, the 30th of July, the treaty was agreed to which should bury the hatchet forever. Between that day and the 3d of August, it was engrossed, and, having been signed by the various nations upon the day last named, it was finally acted upon the 7th, and the presents from

the United States distributed. The basis of this treaty was the previous one made at Fort Harmar. The boundaries made at that time were re-affirmed; the whites were secured on the lands now occupied by them or secured by former treaties; and among all the assembled nations, presents, in value not less than one thousand pounds, were distributed to each through its representatives, many thousands in all. The Indians were allowed to remove and

punish intruders on their lands, and were permitted to hunt on the ceded lands.

"This great and abiding peace document was signed by the various tribes, and dated August 3, 1795. It was laid before the Senate December 9, and ratified the 22d. So closed the old Indian wars in the West." *

* *Annals of the West.*

CHAPTER VIII.

JAY'S TREATY—THE QUESTION OF STATE RIGHTS AND NATIONAL SUPREMACY—EXTENSION OF OHIO SETTLEMENTS—LAND CLAIMS—SPANISH BOUNDARY QUESTION.

WHILE these six years of Indian wars were in progress, Kentucky was admitted as a State, and Pinckney's treaty with Spain was completed. This last occurrence was of vital importance to the West, as it secured the free navigation of the Mississippi, charging only a fair price for the storage of goods at Spanish ports. This, though not all that the Americans wished, was a great gain in their favor, and did much to stop those agitations regarding a separation on the part of Kentucky. It also quieted affairs further south than Kentucky, in the Georgia and South Carolina Territory, and put an end to French and Spanish intrigue for the Western Territory. The treaty was signed November 24, 1794. Another treaty was concluded by Mr. John Jay between the two governments, Lord Greenville representing the English, and Mr. Jay the Americans. The negotiations lasted from April to November 19, 1795, when, on that day, the treaty was signed and duly recognized. It decided effectually all the questions at issue, and was the signal for the removal of the British troops from the Northwestern outposts. This was effected as soon as the proper transfers could be made. The second article of the treaty provided that, "His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before the 1st day of June, 1796, and all the proper measures shall be taken, in the interval, by concert, between the Government of the United States and His Majesty's Governor General in America, for settling the previous arrangements

which may be necessary respecting the delivery of the said posts; the United States, in the mean time, at their discretion, extending their settlements to any part within the said boundary line, except within the precincts or jurisdiction of any of the said posts.

"All settlers and all traders within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, all their property of every kind, and shall be protected therein. They shall be at full liberty to remain there or to remove with all, or any part, of their effects, or retain the property thereof at their discretion; such of them as shall continue to reside within the said boundary lines, shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or take any oath of allegiance to the Government thereof; but they shall be at full liberty so to do, if they think proper; they shall make or declare their election one year after the evacuation aforesaid. And all persons who shall continue therein after the expiration of the said year, without having declared their intention of remaining subjects to His Britannic Majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States."

The Indian war had settled all fears from that source; the treaty with Great Britain had established the boundaries between the two countries and secured peace, and the treaty with Spain had secured the privilege of navigating the Mississippi, by paying only a nominal sum. It had also bound the people of the West together, and ended the old separation question. There was no danger from that now. Another difficulty arose, however, relating to the home rule, and the organization of

the home government. There were two parties in the country, known as Federalist and Anti-Federalist. One favored a central government, whose authority should be supreme; the other, only a compact, leaving the States supreme. The worthlessness of the old colonial system became, daily, more apparent. While it existed no one felt safe. There was no prospect of paying the debt, and, hence, no credit. When Mr. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, offered his financial plan to the country, favoring centralization, it met, in many places, violent opposition. Washington was strong enough to carry it out, and gave evidence that he would do so. When, therefore, the excise law passed, and taxes on whisky were collected, an open revolt occurred in Pennsylvania, known as the "Whisky Insurrection." It was put down, finally, by military power, and the malecontents made to know that the United States was a government, not a compact liable to rupture at any time, and by any of its members. It taught the entire nation a lesson. Centralization meant preservation. Should a "compact" form of government prevail, then anarchy and ruin, and ultimate subjection to some foreign power, met their view. That they had just fought to dispel, and must it all go for naught? The people saw the rulers were right, and gradually, over the West, spread a spirit antagonistic to State supremacy. It did not revive till Jackson's time, when he, with an iron hand and iron will, crushed out the evil doctrine of State supremacy. It revived again in the late war, again to be crushed. It is to be hoped that ever thus will be its fate. "The Union is inseparable," said the Government, and the people echoed the words.

During the war, and while all these events had been transpiring, settlements had been taking place upon the Ohio, which, in their influence upon the Northwest, and especially upon the State, as soon as it was created, were deeply felt. The Virginia and the Connecticut Reserves were at this time peopled, and, also, that part of the Miami Valley about Dayton, which city dates its origin from that period.

As early as 1787, the reserved lands of the Old Dominion north of the Ohio were examined, and, in August of that year, entries were made. As no good title could be obtained from Congress at this time, the settlement practically ceased until 1790, when the prohibition to enter them was withdrawn. As soon as that was done, surveying began again. Nathaniel Massie was among the

foremost men in the survey of this tract, and locating the lands, laid off a town about twelve miles above Maysville. The place was called Manchester, and yet exists. From this point, Massie continued through all the Indian war, despite the danger, to survey the surrounding country, and prepare it for settlers.

Connecticut had, as has been stated, ceded her lands, save a tract extending one hundred and twenty miles beyond the western boundary of Pennsylvania. Of this Connecticut Reserve, so far as the Indian title was extinguished, a survey was ordered in October, 1786, and an office opened for its disposal. Part was soon sold, and, in 1792, half a million of acres were given to those citizens of Connecticut who had lost property by the acts of the British troops during the Revolutionary war at New London, New Haven and elsewhere. These lands thereby became known as "Fire lands" and the "Sufferer's lands," and were located in the western part of the Reserve. In May, 1795, the Connecticut Legislature authorized a committee to dispose of the remainder of the Reserve. Before autumn the committee sold it to a company known as the Connecticut Land Company for \$1,200,000, and about the 5th of September quit-claimed the land to the Company. The same day the Company received it, it sold 3,000,000 acres to John Morgan, John Caldwell and Jonathan Brace, in trust. Upon these quit-claim titles of the land all deeds in the Reserve are based. Surveys were commenced in 1796, and, by the close of the next year, all the land east of the Cuyahoga was divided into townships five miles square. The agent of the Connecticut Land Company was Gen. Moses Cleaveland, and in his honor the leading city of the Reserve was named. That township and five others were reserved for private sale; the balance were disposed of by lottery, the first drawing occurring in February, 1798.

Dayton resulted from the treaty made by Wayne. It came out of the boundary ascribed to Symmes, and for a while all such lands were not recognized as sold by Congress, owing to the failure of Symmes and his associates in paying for them. Thereby there existed, for a time, considerable uneasiness regarding the title to these lands. In 1799, Congress was induced to issue patents to the actual settlers, and thus secure them in their pre-emption.

Seventeen days after Wayne's treaty, St. Clair, Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton and Israel Ludlow contracted with Symmes for the seventh and eighth

ranges, between Mad River and the Little Miami. Three settlements were to be made: one at the mouth of Mad River, one on the Little Miami, in the seventh range, and another on Mad River. On the 21st of September, 1795, Daniel C. Cooper started to survey and mark out a road in the purchase, and John Dunlap to run its boundaries, which was completed before October 4. On November 4, Mr. Ludlow laid off the town of Dayton, which, like land in the Connecticut Reserve, was sold by lottery.

A gigantic scheme to purchase eighteen or twenty million acres in Michigan, and then procure a good title from the Government—who alone had such a right to procure land—by giving members of Congress an interest in the investment, appeared shortly after Wayne's treaty. When some of the members were approached, however, the real spirit of the scheme appeared, and, instead of gaining ground, led to the exposure, resulting in the reprimanding severely of Robert Randall, the principal mover in the whole plan, and in its speedy disappearance.

Another enterprise, equally gigantic, also appeared. It was, however, legitimate, and hence successful. On the 29th of February, 1795, the North American Land Company was formed in Philadelphia, under the management of such patriots as Robert Morris, John Nicholson and James Greenleaf. This Company purchased large tracts in the West, which it disposed of to actual settlers, and thereby aided greatly in populating that part of the country.

Before the close of 1795, the Governor of the Territory, and his Judges, published sixty-four statutes. Thirty-four of these were adopted at Cincinnati during June, July and August of that year. They were known as the Maxwell code, from the name of the publisher, but were passed by Governor St. Clair and Judges Symmes and Turner. Among them was that which provided that the common law of England, and all its statutes, made previous to the fourth year of James the First, should be in full force within the Territory. "Of the system as a whole," says Mr. Case, "with its many imperfections, it may be doubted that any colony, at so early a period after its first establishment, ever had one so good and applicable to all."

The Union had now safely passed through its most critical period after the close of the war of independence. The danger from an irruption of its own members; of a war or alliance of its West-

ern portion with France and Spain, and many other perplexing questions, were now effectually settled, and the population of the Territory began rapidly to increase. Before the close of the year 1796, the Northwest contained over five thousand inhabitants, the requisite number to entitle it to one representative in the national Congress.

Western Pennsylvania also, despite the various conflicting claims regarding the land titles in that part of the State, began rapidly to fill with emigrants. The "Triangle" and the "Struck District" were surveyed and put upon the market under the act of 1792. Treaties and purchases from the various Indian tribes, obtained control of the remainder of the lands in that part of the State, and, by 1796, the State owned all the land within its boundaries. Towns were laid off, land put upon the market, so that by the year 1800, the western part of the Keystone State was divided into eight counties, viz., Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Crawford, Erie, Warren, Venango and Armstrong.

The ordinance relative to the survey and disposal of lands in the Northwest Territory has already been given. It was adhered to, save in minor cases, where necessity required a slight change. The reservations were recognized by Congress, and the titles to them all confirmed to the grantees. Thus, Clarke and his men, the Connecticut Reserve, the Refugee lands, the French inhabitants, and all others holding patents to land from colonial or foreign governments, were all confirmed in their rights and protected in their titles.

Before the close of 1796, the upper Northwestern posts were all vacated by the British, under the terms of Mr. Jay's treaty. Wayne at once transferred his headquarters to Detroit, where a county was named for him, including the northwestern part of Ohio, the northeast of Indiana, and the whole of Michigan.

The occupation of the Territory by the Americans gave additional impulse to emigration, and a better feeling of security to emigrants, who followed closely upon the path of the army. Nathaniel Massie, who has already been noticed as the founder of Manchester, laid out the town of Chillicothe, on the Scioto, in 1796. Before the close of the year, it contained several stores, shops, a tavern, and was well populated. With the increase of settlement and the security guaranteed by the treaty of Greenville, the arts of civilized life began to appear, and their influence upon pioneers, especially those born on the frontier,

began to manifest itself. Better dwellings, schools, churches, dress and manners prevailed. Life began to assume a reality, and lost much of that recklessness engendered by the habits of a frontier life.

Cleveland, Cincinnati, the Miami, the Muskingum and the Scioto Valleys were filling with people. Cincinnati had more than one hundred log cabins, twelve or fifteen frame houses and a population of more than six hundred persons. In 1796, the first house of worship for the Presbyterians in that city was built.

Before the close of the same year, Manchester contained over thirty families; emigrants from Virginia were going up all the valleys from the Ohio, and Ebenezer Zane had opened a bridle-path from the Ohio River, at Wheeling, across the country, by Chillicothe, to Limestone, Ky. The next year, the United States mail, for the first time, traversed this route to the West. Zane was given a section of land for his path. The population of the Territory, estimated at from five to eight thousand, was chiefly distributed in lower valleys, bordering on the Ohio River. The French still occupied the Illinois country, and were the principal inhabitants about Detroit.

South of the Ohio River, Kentucky was progressing favorably, while the "Southwestern Territory," ceded to the United States by North Carolina in 1790, had so rapidly populated that, in 1793, a Territorial form of government was allowed. The ordinance of 1787, save the clause prohibiting slavery, was adopted, and the Territory named Tennessee. On June 6, 1796, the Territory contained more than seventy-five thousand inhabitants, and was admitted into the Union as a State. Four years after, the census showed a population of 105,602 souls, including 13,584 slaves and persons of color. The same year Tennessee became a State, Samuel Jackson and Jonathan Sharphess erected the Redstone Paper Mill, four miles east of Brownsville, it being the first manufactory of the kind west of the Alleghanies.

In the month of December, 1796, Gen. Wayne, who had done so much for the development of the West, while on his way from Detroit to Philadelphia, was attacked with sickness and died in a cabin near Erie, in the north part of Pennsylvania. He was nearly fifty-one years old, and was one of

the bravest officers in the Revolutionary war, and one of America's truest patriots. In 1809, his remains were removed from Erie, by his son, Col. Isaac Wayne, to the Radnor churchyard, near the place of his birth, and an elegant monument erected on his tomb by the Pennsylvania Cincinnati Society.

After the death of Wayne, Gen. Wilkinson was appointed to the command of the Western army. While he was in command, Carondelet, the Spanish governor of West Florida and Louisiana, made one more effort to separate the Union, and set up either an independent government in the West, or, what was more in accord with his wishes, effect a union with the Spanish nation. In June, 1797, he sent Power again into the Northwest and into Kentucky to sound the existing feeling. Now, however, they were not easily won over. The home government was a certainty, the breaches had been healed, and Power was compelled to abandon the mission, not, however, until he had received a severe reprimand from many who saw through his plan, and openly exposed it. His mission closed the efforts of the Spanish authorities to attempt the dismemberment of the Union, and showed them the coming downfall of their power in America. They were obliged to surrender the posts claimed by the United States under the treaty of 1795, and not many years after, sold their American possessions to the United States, rather than see a rival European power attain control over them.

On the 7th of April, 1798, Congress passed an act, appointing Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory. Governor of the Territory of the Mississippi, formed the same day. In 1801, the boundary between America and the Spanish possessions was definitely fixed. The Spanish retired from the disputed territory, and henceforward their attempts to dissolve the American Union ceased. The seat of the Mississippi Territory was fixed at Loftus Heights, six miles north of the thirty-first degree of latitude.

The appointment of Sargent to the charge of the Southwest Territory, led to the choice of William Henry Harrison, who had been aid-de-camp to Gen. Wayne in 1794, and whose character stood very high among the people of the West, to the Secretaryship of the Northwest, which place he held until appointed to represent that Territory in Congress.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST TERRITORIAL REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS—DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY—FORMATION OF STATES—MARIETTA SETTLEMENT—OTHER SETTLEMENTS—SETTLEMENTS IN THE WESTERN RESERVE—SETTLEMENT OF THE CENTRAL VALLEYS—FURTHER SETTLEMENTS IN THE RESERVE AND ELSEWHERE.

THE ordinance of 1787 provided that as soon as there were 5,000 persons in the Territory, it was entitled to a representative assembly. On October 29, 1798, Governor St. Clair gave notice by proclamation, that the required population existed, and directed that an election be held on the third Monday in December, to choose representatives. These representatives were required, when assembled, to nominate ten persons, whose names were sent to the President of the United States, who selected five, and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed them for the legislative council. In this mode the Northwest passed into the second grade of a Territorial government.

The representatives, elected under the proclamation of St. Clair, met in Cincinnati, January 22, 1799, and under the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, nominated ten persons, whose names were sent to the President. On the 2d of March, he selected from the list of candidates, the names of Jacob Burnet, James Findlay, Henry Vanderburgh, Robert Oliver and David Vance. The next day the Senate confirmed their nomination, and the first legislative council of the Northwest Territory was a reality.

The Territorial Legislature met again at Cincinnati, September 16, but, for want of a quorum, was not organized until the 24th of that month. The House of Representatives consisted of nineteen members, of whom seven were from Hamilton County, four from Ross—erected by St. Clair in 1798; three from Wayne—erected in 1796; two from Adams—erected in 1797; one from Jefferson—erected in 1797; one from Washington—erected in 1788; and one from Knox—Indiana Territory. None seem to have been present from St. Clair County (Illinois Territory).

After the organization of the Legislature, Governor St. Clair addressed the two houses in the Representatives' Chamber, recommending such measures as, in his judgment, were suited to the condition of the country and would advance the safety and prosperity of the people.

The Legislature continued in session till the 19th of December, when, having finished their business, they were prorogued by the Governor, by their own request, till the first Monday in November, 1800. This being the first session, there was, of necessity, a great deal of business to do. The transition from a colonial to a semi-independent form of government, called for a general revision as well as a considerable enlargement of the statute-book. Some of the adopted laws were repealed, many others altered and amended, and a long list of new ones added to the code. New offices were to be created and filled, the duties attached to them prescribed, and a plan of ways and means devised to meet the increased expenditures, occasioned by the change which had now occurred.

As Mr. Burnet was the only lawyer in the Legislature, much of the revision, and putting the laws into proper legal form, devolved upon him. He seems to have been well fitted for the place, and to have performed the laborious task in an excellent manner.

The whole number of acts passed and approved by the Governor, was thirty-seven. The most important related to the militia, the administration of justice, and to taxation. During the session, a bill authorizing a lottery was passed by the council, but rejected by the Legislature, thus interdicting this demoralizing feature of the disposal of lands or for other purposes. The example has always been followed by subsequent legislatures, thus honorably characterizing the Assembly of Ohio, in this respect, an example Kentucky and several other States might well emulate.

Before the Assembly adjourned, they issued a congratulatory address to the people, enjoining them to "Inculcate the principles of humanity, benevolence, honesty and punctuality in dealing, sincerity and charity, and all the social affections." At the same time, they issued an address to the President, expressing entire confidence in the wisdom and purity of his government, and their warm attachment to the American Constitution.

The vote on this address proved, however, that the differences of opinion agitating the Eastern States had penetrated the West. Eleven Representatives voted for it, and five against it.

One of the important duties that devolved on this Legislature, was the election of a delegate to Congress. As soon as the Governor's proclamation made its appearance, the election of a person to fill that position excited general attention. Before the meeting of the Legislature public opinion had settled down on William Henry Harrison, and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., who eventually were the only candidates. On the 3d of October, the two houses met and proceeded to a choice. Eleven votes were cast for Harrison, and ten for St. Clair. The Legislature prescribed the form of a certificate of the election, which was given to Harrison, who at once resigned his office as Secretary of the Territory, proceeded to Philadelphia, and took his seat, Congress being then in session.

"Though he represented the Territory but one year," says Judge Burnett, in his notes, "he obtained some important advantages for his constituents. He introduced a resolution to sub-divide the surveys of the public lands, and to offer them for sale in smaller tracts; he succeeded in getting that measure through both houses, in opposition to the interest of speculators, who were, and who wished to be, the retailers of the land to the poorer classes of the community. His proposition became a law, and was hailed as the most beneficent act that Congress had ever done for the Territory. It put in the power of every industrious man, however poor, to become a freeholder, and to lay a foundation for the future support and comfort of his family. At the same session, he obtained a liberal extension of time for the pre-emptioners in the northern part of the Miami purchase, which enabled them to secure their farms, and eventually to become independent, and even wealthy."

The first session, as has been noticed, closed December 19. Gov. St. Clair took occasion to enumerate in his speech at the close of the session, eleven acts, to which he saw fit to apply his veto. These he had not, however, returned to the Assembly, and thereby saved a long struggle between the executive and legislative branches of the Territory. Of the eleven acts enumerated, six related to the formation of new counties. These were mainly disproved by St. Clair, as he always sturdily maintained that the power to erect new counties was vested alone in the Executive. This free exercise of the veto power, especially in relation to new

counties, and his controversy with the Legislature, tended only to strengthen the popular discontent regarding the Governor, who was never fully able to regain the standing he held before his ignominious defeat in his campaign against the Indians.

While this was being agitated, another question came into prominence. Ultimately, it settled the powers of the two branches of the government, and caused the removal of St. Clair, then very distasteful to the people. The opening of the present century brought it fully before the people, who began to agitate it in all their assemblies.

The great extent of the Territory made the operations of government extremely uncertain, and the power of the courts practically worthless. Its division was, therefore, deemed best, and a committee was appointed by Congress to inquire into the matter. This committee, the 3d of March, 1800, reported upon the subject that, "In the three western counties, there has been but one court having cognizance of crimes in five years. The immunity which offenders experience, attracts, as to an asylum, the most vile and abandoned criminals, and, at the same time, deters useful and virtuous citizens from making settlements in such society. The extreme necessity of judiciary attention and assistance is experienced in civil as well as criminal cases. The supplying to vacant places such necessary officers as may be wanted, such as clerks, recorders and others of like kind, is, from the impossibility of correct notice and information, utterly neglected. This Territory is exposed as a frontier to foreign nations, whose agents can find sufficient interest in exciting or fomenting insurrection and discontent, as thereby they can more easily divert a valuable trade in furs from the United States, and also have a part thereof on which they border, which feels so little the cherishing hand of their proper government, or so little dreads its energy, as to render their attachment perfectly uncertain and ambiguous.

"The committee would further suggest, that the law of the 3d of March, 1791, granting land to certain persons in the western part of said Territory, and directing the laying-out of the same, remains unexecuted; that great discontent, in consequence of such neglect, is excited in those who are interested in the provisions of said laws, which require the immediate attention of this Legislature. To minister a remedy to these evils, it occurs to this committee, that it is expedient

that a division of said Territory into two distinct and separate governments should be made; and that such division be made by a line beginning at the mouth of the great Miami River, running directly north until it intersects the boundary between the United States and Canada."*

The recommendations of the committee were favorably received by Congress, and, the 7th of May, an act was passed dividing the Territory. The main provisions of the act are as follows:

"That, from and after the 4th of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky River, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it intersects the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate Territory, and be called the Indiana Territory.

"There shall be established within the said Territory a government, in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of Congress passed July 13, 1797."[†]

The act further provided for representatives, and for the establishment of an assembly, on the same plan as that in force in the Northwest, stipulating that until the number of inhabitants reached five thousand, the whole number of representatives to the General Assembly should not be less than seven, nor more than nine; apportioned by the Governor among the several counties in the new Territory.

The act further provided that "nothing in the act should be so construed, so as in any manner to affect the government now in force in the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, further than to prohibit the exercise thereof within the Indiana Territory, from and after the aforesaid 4th of July next.

"Whenever that part of the territory of the United States, which lies to the eastward of a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami River, and running thence due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall be erected into an independent State, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States; thenceforth said line shall become and remain permanently, the boundary line between such State and the Indiana Territory."

It was further enacted, "that, until it shall be otherwise enacted by the legislatures of the said territories, respectively, Chillicothe, on the Scioto River, shall be the seat of government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River; and that St. Vincent's, on the Wabash River, shall be the seat of government for the Indiana Territory."*

St. Clair was continued as Governor of the old Territory, and William Henry Harrison appointed Governor of the new.

Connecticut, in ceding her territory in the West to the General Government, reserved a portion, known as the Connecticut Reserve. When she afterward disposed of her claim in the manner narrated, the citizens found themselves without any government on which to lean for support. At that time, settlements had begun in thirty-five of the townships into which the Reserve had been divided; one thousand persons had established homes there; mills had been built, and over seven hundred miles of roads opened. In 1800, the settlers petitioned for acceptance into the Union, as a part of the Northwest; and, the mother State releasing her judiciary claims, Congress accepted the trust, and granted the request. In December, of that year, the population had so increased that the county of Trumbull was erected, including the Reserve. Soon after, a large number of settlers came from Pennsylvania, from which State they had been driven by the dispute concerning land titles in its western part. Unwilling to cultivate land to which they could only get a doubtful deed, they abandoned it, and came where the titles were sure.

Congress having made Chillicothe the capital of the Northwest Territory, as it now existed, on the 3d of November the General Assembly met at that place. Gov. St. Clair had been made to feel the odium cast upon his previous acts, and, at the opening of this session, expressed, in strong terms, his disapprobation of the censure cast upon him. He had endeavored to do his duty in all cases, he said, and yet held the confidence of the President and Congress. He still held the office, notwithstanding the strong dislike against him.

At the second session of the Assembly, at Chillicothe, held in the autumn of 1801, so much outspoken enmity was expressed, and so much abuse heaped upon the Governor and the Assembly that a law was passed, removing the capital to Cincinnati.

* American State Papers.
† Land Laws.

again. It was not destined, however, that the Territorial Assembly should meet again anywhere. The unpopularity of the Governor caused many to long for a State government, where they could choose their own rulers. The unpopularity of St. Clair arose partly from the feeling connected with his defeat; in part from his being connected with the Federal party, fast falling into disrepute; and, in part, from his assuming powers which most thought he had no right to exercise, especially the power of subdividing the counties of the Territory.

The opposition, though powerful out of the Assembly, was in the minority there. During the month of December, 1801, it was forced to protest against a measure brought forward in the Council, for changing the ordinance of 1787 in such a manner as to make the Scioto, and a line drawn from the intersection of that river and the Indian boundary to the western extremity of the Reserve, the limits of the most eastern State, to be formed from the Territory. Had this change been made, the formation of a State government beyond the Ohio would have been long delayed. Against it, Representatives Worthington, Langham, Darlington, Massie, Dunlavy and Morrow, recorded their protest. Not content with this, they sent Thomas Worthington, who obtained a leave of absence, to the seat of government, on behalf of the objectors, there to protest, before Congress, against the proposed boundary. While Worthington was on his way, Massie presented, the 4th of January, 1802, a resolution for choosing a committee to address Congress in respect to the proposed State government. This, the next day, the House refused to do, by a vote of twelve to five. An attempt was next made to procure a census of the Territory, and an act for that purpose passed the House, but the Council postponed the consideration of it until the next session, which would commence at Cincinnati, the fourth Monday of November.

Meanwhile, Worthington pursued the ends of his mission, using his influence to effect that organization, "which, terminating the influence of tyranny," was to "mollify the circumstances of thousands, by freeing them from the domination of a despotic chief." His efforts were successful, and, the 4th of March, a report was made to the House in favor of authorizing a State convention. This report was based on the assumption that there were now over sixty thousand inhabitants in the proposed boundaries, estimating that emigration had

increased the census of 1800, which gave the Territory forty-five thousand inhabitants, to that number. The convention was to ascertain whether it were expedient to form such a government, and to prepare a constitution if such organization were deemed best. In the formation of the State, a change in the boundaries was proposed, by which all the territory north of a line drawn due east from the head of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie was to be excluded from the new government about to be called into existence.

The committee appointed by Congress to report upon the feasibility of forming the State, suggested that Congress reserve out of every township sections numbered 8, 11, 26 and 29, for their own use, and that Section 16 be reserved for the maintenance of schools. The committee also suggested, that "religion, education and morality being necessary to the good government and happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged."

Various other recommendations were given by the committee, in accordance with which, Congress, April 30, passed the resolution authorizing the calling of a convention. As this accorded with the feelings of the majority of the inhabitants of the Northwest, no opposition was experienced; even the Legislature giving way to this embryo government, and failing to assemble according to adjournment.

The convention met the 1st of November. Its members were generally Jeffersonian in their national politics, and had been opposed to the change of boundaries proposed the year before. Before proceeding to business, Gov. St. Clair proposed to address them in his official character. This proposition was resisted by several of the members; but, after a motion, it was agreed to allow him to speak to them as a citizen. St. Clair did so, advising the postponement of a State government until the people of the original eastern division were plainly entitled to demand it, and were not subject to be bound by conditions. This advice, given as it was, caused Jefferson instantly to remove St. Clair, at which time his office ceased.² "When the vote was taken," says Judge Burnet, "upon doing what

² After this, St. Clair returned to his old home in the Ligonier Valley, Pennsylvania, where he lived with his children in almost abject poverty. He had lost money in his public life, as he gave close attention to public affairs, to the detriment of his own business. He presented a claim to Congress, afterward, for supplies furnished to the army, but this claim was outlawed. After trying in vain to get the claim allowed, he returned to his home, Pennsylvania, leaving all his effects, granted him an annuity of \$500 afterward raised to \$1000. He lived to enjoy this but a short time, his death occurring August 31, 1818. He was eighty-four years of age.

he advised them not to do, but one of thirty-three (Ephraim Cutler, of Washington County) voted with the Governor."

On one point only were the proposed boundaries of the new State altered.

"To every person who has attended to this subject, and who has consulted the maps of the Western country extant at the time the ordinance of 1787 was passed, Lake Michigan was believed to be, and was represented by all the maps of that day as being, very far north of the position which it has since been ascertained to occupy. I have seen the map in the Department of State which was before the committee of Congress who framed and reported the ordinance for the government of the Territory. On that map, the southern boundary of Michigan was represented as being above the forty-second degree of north latitude. And there was a pencil line, said to have been made by the committee, passing through the southern bend of the lake to the Canada line, which struck the strait not far below the town of Detroit. The line was manifestly intended by the committee and by Congress to be the northern boundary of our State; and, on the principles by which courts of chancery construe contracts, accompanied by plats, it would seem that the map, and the line referred to, should be conclusive evidence of our boundary, without reference to the real position of the lakes.

"When the convention sat, in 1802, the understanding was, that the old maps were nearly correct, and that the line, as defined in the ordinance, would terminate at some point on the strait above the Maumee Bay. While the convention was in session, a man who had hunted many years on Lake Michigan, and was well acquainted with its position, happened to be in Chillicothe, and, in conversation with one of the members, told him that the lake extended much farther south than was generally supposed, and that a map of the country which he had seen, placed its southern bend many miles north of its true position. This information excited some uneasiness, and induced the convention to modify the clause describing the north boundary of the new State, so as to guard against its being depressed below the most northern cape of the Maumee Bay."*

With this change and some extension of the school and road donations, the convention agreed to the proposal of Congress, and November 29,

their agreement was ratified and signed, as was also the constitution of the State of Ohio—so named from its river, called by the Shawnees Ohio, meaning beautiful—forming its southern boundary. Of this nothing need be said, save that it bore the marks of true democratic feeling—of full faith in the people. By them, however, it was never examined. It stood firm until 1852, when it was superseded by the present one, made necessary by the advance of time.

The General Assembly was required to meet at Chillicothe, the first Tuesday of March, 1803. This change left the territory northwest of the Ohio River, not included in the new State, in the Territories of Indiana and Michigan. Subsequently, in 1809, Indiana was made a State, and confined to her present limits. Illinois was made a Territory then, including Wisconsin. In 1818, it became a State, and Wisconsin a Territory attached to Michigan. This latter was made a State in 1837, and Wisconsin a separate Territory, which, in 1847, was made a State. Minnesota was made a Territory the same year, and a State in 1857, and the five contemplated States of the territory were complete.

Preceding pages have shown how the territory north of the Ohio River was peopled by the French and English, and how it came under the rule of the American people. The war of the Revolution closed in 1783, and left all America in the hands of a new nation. That nation brought a change. Before the war, various attempts had been made by residents in New England to people the country west of the Alleghanies. Land companies were formed, principal among which were the Ohio Company, and the company of which John Cleves Symmes was the agent and chief owner. Large tracts of land on the Scioto and on the Ohio were entered. The Ohio Company were the first to make a settlement. It was organized in the autumn of 1787, November 27. They made arrangements for a party of forty-seven men to set out for the West under the supervision of Gen. Rufus Putnam, Superintendent of the Company. Early in the winter they advanced to the Youghiogheny River, and there built a strong boat, which they named "Mayflower." It was built by Capt. Jonathan Devol, the first shipbuilder in the West, and, when completed, was placed under his command. The boat was launched April 2, 1788, and the band of pioneers, like the Pilgrim Fathers, began their voyage. The 7th of the month, they arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum.

* Historical Transactions of Ohio—JAMES BURNETT.

their destination, opposite Fort Harmar,* erected in the autumn of 1785, by a detachment of United States troops, under command of Maj. John Doughty, and, at the date of the Mayflower's arrival, in possession of a company of soldiers. Under the protection of these troops, the little band of men began their labor of laying out a town, and commenced to erect houses for their own and subsequent emigrants' occupation. The names of these pioneers of Ohio, as far as can now be learned, are as follows:

Gen. Putnam, Return Jonathan Meigs, Winthrop Sargent (Secretary of the Territory), Judges Parsons and Varnum, Capt. Dana, Capt. Jonathan Devol, Joseph Barker, Col. Battelle, Maj. Tyler, Dr. True, Capt. Wm. Gray, Capt. Lunt, the Bridges, Ebenezer and Thomas Cory, Andrew McClure, Wm. Mason, Thomas Lord, Wm. Gridley, Gilbert Devol, Moody Russells, Deavens, Oakes, Wright, Clough, Green, Shipman, Dorance, the Masons, and others, whose names are now beyond recall.

On the 19th of July, the first boat of families arrived, after a nine-weeks journey on the way. They had traveled in their wagons as far as Wheeling, where they built large flat-boats, into which they loaded their effects, including their cattle, and thence passed down the Ohio to their destination. The families were those of Gen. Tupper, Col. Ichabod Nye, Col. Cushing, Maj. Coburn, and Maj. Goodal. In these titles the reader will observe the preponderance of military distinction. Many of the founders of the colony had served with much valor in the war for freedom, and were well prepared for a life in the wilderness.

They began at once the construction of houses from the forests about the confluence of the rivers, guarding their stock by day and penning it by night. Wolves, bears and Indians were all about them, and, here in the remote wilderness, they were obliged to always be on their guard. From the ground where they obtained the timber to erect their houses, they soon produced a few vegetables, and when the families arrived in August, they were able to set before them food raised for the

first time by the hand of American citizens in the Ohio Valley. One of those who came in August, was Mr. Thomas Guthrie, a settler in one of the western counties of Pennsylvania, who brought a bushel of wheat, which he sowed on a plat of ground cleared by himself, and from which that fall he procured a small crop of wheat, the first grown in the State of Ohio.

The Marietta settlement was the only one made that summer in the Territory. From their arrival until October, when Governor St. Clair came, they were busily employed making houses, and preparing for the winter. The little colony, of which Washington wrote so favorably, met on the 2d day of July, to name their newborn city and its public squares. Until now it had been known as "The Muskingum" simply, but on that day the name Marietta was formally given to it, in honor of Marie Antoinette. The 4th of July, an ovation was held, and an oration delivered by James M. Varnum, who, with S. H. Parsons and John Armstrong, had been appointed Judges of the Territory. Thus, in the heart of the wilderness, miles away from any kindred post, in the forests of the Great West, was the Tree of Liberty watered and given a hearty growth.

On the morning of the 9th of July, Governor St. Clair arrived, and the colony began to assume form. The ordinance of 1787 had provided for a form of government under the Governor and the three Judges, and this form was at once put into force. The 25th, the first law relating to the militia was published, and the next day the Governor's proclamation appeared, creating all the country that had been ceded by the Indians, east of the Scioto River, into the county of Washington, and the civil machinery was in motion. From that time forward, this, the pioneer settlement in Ohio, went on prosperously. The 2d of September, the first court in the Territory was held, but as it related to the Territory, a narrative of its proceedings will be found in the history of that part of the country, and need not be repeated here.

The 15th of July, Gov. St. Clair had published the ordinance of 1787, and the commissions of himself and the three Judges. He also assembled the people of the settlement, and explained to them the ordinance in a speech of considerable length. Three days after, he sent a notice to the Judges, calling their attention to the subject of organizing the militia. Instead of attending to this important matter, and thus providing for their safety should trouble with the Indians arise, the

* The outlines of Fort Harmar formed a regular pentagon, embracing within the area about three-fourths of an acre. Its walls were formed of large horizontal timbers, and the bastions of large upright timbers, about fourteen feet in height, fastened to each other by struts of timber, transommed into each picker. In the rear of the fort Maj. Doughty laid out fine gardens. It continued to be occupied by United States troops until September 1789, when they were ordered to Cincinnati. A company, under Capt. Haskell, continued to make the fort their headquarters during the Indian war, occasionally assisting the colonists at Marietta, Belpre and Waterford against the Indians. When not needed by the troops, the fort was used by the people of Marietta.

Judges did not even reply to the Governor's letter, but sent him what they called a "project" of a law for dividing real estate. The bill was so loosely drawn that St. Clair immediately rejected it, and set about organizing the militia himself. He divided the militia into two classes, "Senior" and "Junior," and organized them by appointing their officers.

In the Senior Class, Nathan Cushing was appointed Captain; George Ingersol, Lieutenant, and James Backus, Ensign.

In the Junior Class, Nathan Goodale and Charles Knowls were made Captains; Watson Casey and Samuel Stebbins, Lieutenants, and Joseph Lincoln and Arnold Colt, Ensigns.

The Governor next erected the Courts of Probate and Quarter Sessions, and proceeded to appoint civil officers. Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper and Winthrop Sargeant were made Justices of the Peace. The 30th of August, the day the Court of Quarter Sessions was appointed, Archibald Cary, Isaac Pierce and Thomas Lord were also appointed Justices, and given power to hold this court. They were, in fact, Judges of a Court of Common Pleas. Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed Clerk of this Court of Quarter Sessions. Ebenezer Sprout was appointed Sheriff of Washington County, and also Colonel of the militia; William Callis, Clerk of the Supreme Court; Rufus Putnam, Judge of the Probate Court, and R. J. Meigs, Jr., Clerk. Following these appointments, setting the machinery of government in motion, St. Clair ordered that the 25th of December be kept as a day of thanksgiving by the infant colony for its safe and propitious beginning.

During the fall and winter, the settlement was daily increased by emigrants, so much so, that the greatest difficulty was experienced in finding them lodgings. During the coldest part of the winter, when ice covered the river, and prevented navigation, a delay in arrivals was experienced, only to be broken as soon as the river opened to the beams of a spring sun. While locked in the winter's embrace, the colonists amused themselves in various ways, dancing being one of the most prominent. At Christmas, a grand ball was held, at which there were fifteen ladies, "whose grace," says a narrator, "equalled any in the East." Though isolated in the wilderness, they knew a brilliant prospect lay before them, and lived on in a joyous hope for the future.

Soon after their arrival, the settlers began the erection of a stockade fort (Campus Martius),

which occupied their time until the winter of 1791. During the interval, fortunately, no hostilities from the Indians were experienced, though they were abundant; and were frequent visitors to the settlement.

From a communication in the *American Pioneer*, by Dr. S. P. Hildreth, the following description of Campus Martius is derived. As it will apply, in a measure, to many early structures for defense in the West, it is given entire:

"The fort was made in the form of a regular parallelogram, the sides of each being 180 feet. At each corner was erected a strong block-house, surmounted by a tower, and a sentry box. These houses were twenty feet square below and twenty-four feet square above, and projected six feet beyond the walls of the fort. The intermediate walls were made up with dwelling-houses, made of wood, whose ends were whip-sawed into timbers four inches thick, and of the requisite width and length. These were laid up similar to the structure of log houses, with the ends nicely dove-tailed together. The whole were two stories high, and covered with shingle roofs. Convenient chimneys were erected of bricks, for cooking, and warming the rooms. A number of the dwellings were built and owned by individuals who had families. In the west and south fronts were strong gateways; and over the one in the center of the front looking to the Muskingum River, was a belfry. The chamber beneath was occupied by Winthrop Sargeant, as an office, he being Secretary to the Governor, and performing the duties of the office during St. Clair's absence. This room projected over the gateway, like a block-house, and was intended for the protection of the gate beneath, in time of an assault. At the outer corner of each block-house was erected a bastion, standing on four stout timbers. The floor of the bastion was a little above the lower story of the block-house. They were square, and built up to the height of a man's head, so that, when he looked over, he stepped on a narrow platform or 'banquet' running around the sides of the bulwark. Port-holes were made, for musketry as well as for artillery, a single piece of which was mounted in the southwest and northeast bastions. In these, the sentries were regularly posted every night, as more convenient than the towers; a door leading into them from the upper story of the block-houses. The lower room of the southwest block house was occupied as a guard-house.

"Running from corner to corner of the block-houses was a row of palisades, sloping outward,

and resting on stout rails. Twenty feet in advance of these, was a row of very strong and large pickets, set upright in the earth. Gateways through these, admitted the inmates of the garrison. A few feet beyond the row of outer palisades was placed a row of abattis, made from the tops and branches of trees, sharpened and pointing outward, so that it would have been very difficult for an enemy to have penetrated within their outworks. The dwelling-houses occupied a space from fifteen to thirty feet each, and were sufficient for the accommodation of forty or fifty families, and did actually contain from two hundred to three hundred persons during the Indian war.

"Before the Indians commenced hostilities, the block-houses were occupied as follows: The southwest one, by the family of Gov. St. Clair; the northeast one as an office for the Directors of the Company. The area within the walls was one hundred and forty-four feet square, and afforded a fine parade ground. In the center, was a well eighty feet in depth, for the supply of water to the inhabitants, in case of a siege. A large sun-dial stood for many years in the square, placed on a handsome post, and gave note of the march of time.

"After the war commenced, a regular military corps was organized, and a guard constantly kept night and day. The whole establishment formed a very strong work, and reflected great credit on the head that planned it. It was in a manner impregnable to the attacks of Indians, and none but a regular army with cannon could have reduced it. The Indians possessed no such an armament.

"The garrison stood on the verge of that beautiful plain overlooking the Muskingum, on which are seated those celebrated remains of antiquity, erected probably for a similar purpose—the defense of the inhabitants. The ground descends into shallow ravines on the north and south sides; on the west is an abrupt descent to the river bottoms or alluvium, and the east passed out to a level plain. On this, the ground was cleared of trees beyond the reach of rifle shots, so as to afford no shelter to a hidden foe. Extensive fields of corn were grown in the midst of the standing giralled trees beyond, in after years. The front wall of palisades was about one hundred and fifty yards from the Muskingum River. The appearance of the fort from without was imposing, at a little distance resembling the military castles of the feudal ages. Between the outer palisades and the river were laid out neat gardens for the use of Gov. St. Clair

and his Secretary, with the officers of the Company.

"Opposite the fort, on the shore of the river, was built a substantial timber wharf, at which was moored a fine cedar barge for twelve rowers, built by Capt. Jonathan Devol, for Gen. Putnam; a number of pirogues, and the light canoes of the country; and last, not least, the Mayflower, or 'Adventure Galley,' in which the first detachments of colonists were transported from the shores of the 'Yohiogany' to the banks of the Muskingum. In these, especially the canoes, during the war, most of the communications were carried on between the settlements of the Company and the more remote towns above on the Ohio River. Traveling by land was very hazardous to any but the rangers or spies. There were no roads, nor bridges across the creeks, and, for many years after the war had ceased, the traveling was nearly all done by canoes on the river."

Thus the first settlement of Ohio provided for its safety and comfort, and provided also for that of emigrants who came to share the toils of the wilderness.

The next spring, the influx of emigration was so great that other settlements were determined, and hence arose the colonies of Belpre, Waterford and Duck Creek, where they began to clear land, sow and plant crops, and build houses and stockades. At Belpre (French for "beautiful meadow"), were built three stockades, the upper, lower and middle, the last of which was called "Farmers' Castle," and stood on the banks of the Ohio, nearly opposite an island, afterward famous in Western history as Blennerhasett's Island, the scene of Burr's conspiracy. Among the persons settling at the upper stockade, were Capts. Dana and Stone, Col. Bent, William Browning, Judge Foster, John Rowse, Israel Stone and a Mr. Keppel. At the Farmers' Castle, were Cols. Cushing and Fisher, Maj. Haskell, Aaron Waldo Putnam, Mr. Sparhawk, and, it is believed, George and Israel Putnam, Jr. At the lower, were Maj. Goodale, Col. Rice, Esquire Pierce, Judge Israel Loring, Deacon Miles, Maj. Bradford and Mr. Goodenow. In the summer of 1789, Col. Ichabod Nye and some others, built a block-house at Newberry, below Belpre. Col. Nye sold his lot there to Aaron W. Clough, who, with Stephen Guthrie, Joseph Leavins, Joel Oakes, Eleazer Curtis, Mr. Denham J. Littleton and Mr. Brown, was located at that place.

"Every exertion possible," says Dr. Hildreth, who has preserved the above names and incidents,

"for men in these circumstances, was made to secure food for future difficulties. Col. Oliver, Maj. Hatfield White and John Dodge, of the Waterford settlement, began mills on Wolf Creek, about three miles from the fort, and got them running; and these, the first mills in Ohio, were never destroyed during the subsequent Indian war, though the proprietors removed their families to the fort at Marietta. Col. E. Sproat and Enoch Shepherd began mills on Duck Creek, three miles from Marietta, from the completion of which they were driven by the Indian war. Thomas Stanley began mills farther up, near the Duck Creek settlement. These were likewise unfinished. The Ohio Company built a large horse mill near Campus Martius, and soon after a floating mill."

The autumn before the settlements at Belpre, Duck Creek and Waterford, were made, a colony was planted near the mouth of the Little Miami River, on a tract of ten thousand acres, purchased from Symmes by Maj. Benjamin Stites. In the preceding pages may be found a history of Symmes' purchase. This colony may be counted the second settlement in the State. Soon after the colony at Marietta was founded, steps were taken to occupy separate portions of Judge Symmes' purchase, between the Miami Rivers. Three parties were formed for this purpose, but, owing to various delays, chiefly in getting the present colony steadfast and safe from future encroachments by the savages, they did not get started till late in the fall. The first of these parties, consisting of fifteen or twenty men, led by Maj. Stites, landed at the mouth of the Little Miami in November, 1788, and, constructing a log fort, began to lay out a village, called by them Columbia. It soon grew into prominence, and, before winter had thoroughly set in, they were well prepared for a frontier life. In the party were Cols. Spenceer and Brown, Maj. Gano and Kibbey, Judges Goforth and Foster, Rev. John Smith, Francis Dunlavy, Capt. Flinn, Jacob White, John Kiley, and Mr. Hubbell.

All these were men of energy and enterprise, and, with their comrades, were more numerous than either of the other parties who commenced their settlements below them on the Ohio. This village was also, at first, more flourishing; and, for two or three years, contained more inhabitants than any other in the Miami purchase.

The second Miami party was formed at Limestone, under Matthias Denham and Robert Patterson, and consisted of twelve or fifteen persons. They landed on the north bank of the Ohio, oppo-

site the mouth of the Licking River, the 24th of December, 1788. They intended to establish a station and lay out a town on a plan prepared at Limestone. Some statements affirm that the town was to be called "*Los-anti-ville*," by a romantic school-teacher named Filson. However, be this as it may, Mr. Filson was, unfortunately for himself, not long after, slain by the Indians, and, with him probably, the name disappeared. He was to have one-third interest in the proposed city, which, when his death occurred, was transferred to Israel Ludlow, and a new plan of a city adopted. Israel Ludlow surveyed the proposed town, whose lots were principally donated to settlers upon certain conditions as to settlement and improvement, and the embryo city named Cincinnati. Gov. St. Clair very likely had something to do with the naming of the village, and, by some, it is asserted that he changed the name from Losantiville to Cincinnati, when he created the county of Hamilton the ensuing winter. The original purchase of the city's site was made by Mr. Denham. It included about eight hundred acres, for which he paid 5 shillings per acre in Continental certificates, then worth, in specie, about 5 shillings per pound, gross weight. Evidently, the original site was a good investment, could Mr. Denham have lived long enough to see its present condition.

The third party of settlers for the Miami purchase, were under the care of Judge Symmes himself. They left Limestone, January 29, 1789, and were much delayed on their downward journey by the ice in the river. They reached the "Bend," as it was then known, early in February. The Judge had intended to found a city here, which, in time, would be the rival of the Atlantic cities. As each of the three settlements aspired to the same position, no little rivalry soon manifested itself. The Judge named his proposed city North Bend, from the fact that it was the most northern bend in the Ohio below the mouth of the Great Kanawha. These three settlements antedated, a few months, those made near Marietta, already described. They arose so soon after, partly from the extreme desire of Judge Symmes to settle his purchase, and induce emigration here instead of on the Ohio Company's purchase. The Judge labored earnestly for this purpose and to further secure him in his title to the land he had acquired, all of which he had so far been unable to retain, owing to his inability to meet his payments.

All these emigrants came down the river in the flat-boats of the day, rude affairs, sometimes called

"Arks," and then the only safe mode of travel in the West.

Judge Symmes found he must provide for the safety of the settlers on his purchase, and, after earnestly soliciting Gen. Harmar, commander of the Western posts, succeeded in obtaining a detachment of forty-eight men, under Capt. Kearsey, to protect the improvements just commencing on the Miami. This detachment reached Limestone in December, 1788. Part was at once sent forward to guard Maj. Stites and his pioneers. Judge Symmes and his party started in January, and, about February 2, reached Columbia, where the Captain expected to find a fort erected for his use and shelter. The flood on the river, however, defeated his purpose, and, as he was unprepared to erect another, he determined to go on down to the garrison at the falls at Louisville. Judge Symmes was strenuously opposed to his conduct, as it left the colonies unguarded, but, all to no purpose; the Captain and his command, went to Louisville early in March, and left the Judge and his settlement to protect themselves. Judge Symmes immediately sent a strong letter to Maj. Willis, commanding at the Falls, complaining of the conduct of Capt. Kearsey, representing the exposed situation of the Miami settlements, stating the indications of hostility manifested by the Indians, and requesting a guard to be sent to the Bend. This request was at once granted, and Ensign lace, with seventeen or eighteen soldiers, sent. They were at the settlement but a short time, when they were attacked by Indians, and one of their number killed, and four or five wounded. They repulsed the savages and saved the settlers.

The site of Symmes City, for such he designed it should ultimately be called, was above the reach of water, and sufficiently level to admit of a convenient settlement. The city laid out by Symmes was truly magnificent on paper, and promised in the future to fulfill his most ardent hopes. The plat included the village, and extended across the peninsula between the Ohio and Miami Rivers. Each settler on this plat was promised a lot if he would improve it, and in conformity to the stipulation, Judge Symmes soon found a large number of persons applying for residence. As the number of these adventurers increased, in consequence of this provision and the protection of the military, the Judge was induced to lay out another village six or seven miles up the river, which he called South Bend, where he disposed of some donation

lots, but the project failing, the village site was deserted, and converted into a farm.

During all the time these various events were transpiring, but little trouble was experienced with the Indians. They were not yet disposed to evince hostile feelings. This would have been their time, but, not realizing the true intent of the whites until it was too late to conquer them, they allowed them to become prepared to withstand a warfare, and in the end were obliged to suffer their hunting-grounds to be taken from them, and made the homes of a race destined to entirely supersede them in the New World.

By the means sketched in the foregoing pages, were the three settlements on the Miami made. By the time those adjacent to Marietta were well established, these were firmly fixed, each one striving to become the rival city all felt sure was to arise. For a time it was a matter of doubt which of the rivals, Columbia, North Bend or Cincinnati, would eventually become the chief seat of business.

In the beginning, Columbia, the eldest of the three, took the lead, both in number of its inhabitants and the convenience and appearance of its dwellings. For a time it was a flourishing place, and many believed it would become the great business town of the Miami country. That apparent fact, however, lasted but a short time. The garrison was moved to Cincinnati, Fort Washington built there, and in spite of all that Maj. Stites, or Judge Symmes could do, that place became the metropolis. Fort Washington, the most extensive garrison in the West, was built by Maj. Doughty, in the summer of 1789, and from that time the growth and future greatness of Cincinnati were assured.

The first house in the city was built on Front street, east of and near Main street. It was simply a strong log cabin, and was erected of the forest trees cleared away from the ground on which it stood. The lower part of the town was covered with sycamore and maple trees, and the upper with beech and oak. Through this dense forest the streets were laid out, and their corners marked on the trees.

The settlements on the Miami had become sufficiently numerous to warrant a separate county, and, in January, 1790, Gov. St. Clair and his Secretary arrived in Cincinnati, and organized the county of Hamilton, so named in honor of the illustrious statesman by that name. It included all the country north of the Ohio, between the Miamis, as far as a line running "due east from the

"Standing Stone forks" of Big Miami to its intersection with the Little Miami. The erection of the new county, and the appointment of Cincinnati to be the seat of justice, gave the town a fresh impulse, and aided greatly in its growth.

Through the summer, but little interruption in the growth of the settlements occurred. The Indians had permitted the erection of defensive works in their midst, and could not now destroy them. They were also engaged in traffic with the whites; and, though they evinced signs of discontent at their settlement and occupation of the country, yet did not openly attack them. The truth was, they saw plainly the whites were always prepared, and no opportunity was given them to plunder and destroy. The Indian would not attack unless success was almost sure. An opportunity, unfortunately, came, and with it the horrors of an Indian war.

In the autumn of 1790, a company of thirty-six men went from Marietta to a place on the Muskingum known as the Big Bottom. Here they built a block-house, on the east bank of the river, four miles above the mouth of Meigs Creek. They were chiefly young, single men, but little acquainted with Indian warfare or military rules. The savages had given signs that an attack on the settlement was meditated, and several of the knowing ones at the strongholds strenuously opposed any new settlements that fall, advising their postponement until the next spring, when the question of peace or war would probably be settled. Even Gen. Putnam and the Directors of the Ohio Company advised the postponement of the settlement until the next spring.

The young men were impatient and restless, and declared themselves able to protect their fort against any number of assailants. They might have easily done so, had they taken the necessary precautions; but, after they had erected a rude block-house of unchinked logs, they began to pass the time in various pursuits; setting no guard, and taking no precautionary measures, they left themselves an easy prey to any hostile savages that might choose to come and attack them.

About twenty rods from the block-house, and a little back from the bank of the river, two men, Francis and Isaac Choate, members of the company, had erected a cabin, and commenced clearing lots. Thomas Shaw, a hired laborer, and James Patten, another of the associates, lived with them. About the same distance below the block-house was an old "Tomahawk Improvement" and a

small cabin, which two men, Asa and Eleazar Bullard, had fitted up and occupied. The Indian war-path, from Sandusky to the mouth of the Muskingum, passed along the opposite shore of the river.

"The Indians, who, during the summer," says Dr. Hildreth, "had been hunting and loitering about the Wolf Creek and Plainfield settlements, holding frequent and friendly intercourse with the settlers, selling them venison and bear's meat in exchange for green corn and vegetables, had withdrawn and gone up the river, early in the autumn, to their towns, preparatory to going into winter quarters. They very seldom entered on any warlike expeditions during the cold weather. But they had watched the gradual encroachment of the whites and planned an expedition against them. They saw them in fancied security in their cabins, and thought their capture an easy task. It is said they were not aware of the Big Bottom settlement until they came in sight of it, on the opposite shore of the river, in the afternoon. From a high hill opposite the garrison, they had a view of all that part of the bottom, and could see how the men were occupied and what was doing about the block-house. It was not protected with palisades or pickets, and none of the men were aware or prepared for an attack. Having laid their plans, about twilight they crossed the river above the garrison, on the ice, and divided their men into two parties—the larger one to attack the block-house, the smaller one to capture the cabins. As the Indians cautiously approached the cabin they found the inmates at supper. Part entered, addressed the whites in a friendly manner, but soon manifesting their designs, made them all prisoners, tying them with leather thongs they found in the cabin."

At the block-house the attack was far different. A stout Mohawk suddenly burst open the door, the first intimation the inmates had of the presence of the foe, and while he held it open his comrades shot down those that were within. Rushing in, the deadly tomahawk completed the onslaught. In the assault, one of the savages was struck by the wife of Isaac Woods with an ax, but only slightly injured. The heroic woman was immediately slain. All the men but two were slain before they had time to secure their arms, thereby paying for their failure to properly secure themselves with their lives. The two excepted were John Stacy and his brother Philip, a lad sixteen years of age. John escaped to the roof,

where he was shot by the Indians, while begging for his life. The firing at the block-house alarmed the Bullards in their cabin, and hastily barring the door, and securing their arms and ammunition, they fled to the woods, and escaped. After the slaughter was over, the Indians began to collect the plunder, and in doing so discovered the lad Philip Stacy. They were about to dispatch him, but his entreaties softened the heart of one of the chiefs, who took him as a captive with the intention of adopting him into his family. The savages then piled the dead bodies on the floor, covered them with other portions of it not needed for that purpose, and set fire to the whole. The building, being made of green logs, did not burn, the flames consuming only the floors and roof, leaving the walls standing.

There were twelve persons killed in this attack, all of whom were in the prime of life, and valuable aid to the settlements. They were well provided with arms, and had they taken the necessary precautions, always pressed upon them when visited by the older ones from Marietta, they need not have suffered so terrible a fate.

The Indians, exultant over their horrible victory, went on to Wolf's mills, but here they found the people prepared, and, after reconnoitering the place, made their retreat, at early dawn, to the great relief of the inhabitants. Their number was never definitely known.

The news reached Marietta and its adjacent settlements soon after the massacre occurred, and struck terror and dismay into the hearts of all. Many had brothers and sons in the ill-fated party, and mourned their loss. Neither did they know what place would fall next. The Indian hostilities had begun, and they could only hope for peace when the savages were effectually conquered.

The next day, Capt. Rogers led a party of men over to the Big Bottom. It was indeed, a melancholy sight to the poor borderers, as they knew not now how soon the same fate might befall themselves. The fire had so disfigured their comrades that but two, Ezra Putnam and William Jones, were recognized. As the ground was frozen outside, a hole was dug in the earth underneath the block-house floor, and the bodies consigned to one grave. No further attempt was made to settle here till after the peace of 1795.

The outbreak of Indian hostilities put a check on further settlements. Those that were established were put in a more active state of defense, and every preparation made that could be made

for the impending crisis all felt sure must come. Either the Indians must go, or the whites must retreat. A few hardy and adventurous persons ventured out into the woods and made settlements, but even these were at the imminent risk of their lives, many of them perishing in the attempt.

The Indian war that followed is given fully in preceding pages. It may be briefly sketched by stating that the first campaign, under Gen Har-mar, ended in the defeat of his army at the Indian villages on the Miami of the lake, and the rapid retreat to Fort Washington. St. Clair was next commissioned to lead an army of nearly three thousand men, but these were furiously attacked at break of day, on the morning of November 4, 1791, and utterly defeated. Indian outrages sprung out anew after each defeat, and the borders were in a continual state of alarm. The most terrible sufferings were endured by prisoners in the hands of the savage foe, who thought to annihilate the whites.

The army was at once re-organized, Gen. Anthony Wayne put in command by Washington, and a vigorous campaign inaugurated. Though the savages had been given great aid by the British, in direct violation of the treaty of 1783, Gen. Wayne pursued them so vigorously that they could not withstand his army, and, the 20th of August, 1794, defeated them, and utterly annihilated their forces, breaking up their camps, and laying waste their country, in some places under the guns of the British forts. The victory showed them the hopelessness of contending against the whites, and led their chiefs to sue for peace. The British, as at former times, deserted them, and they were again alone, contending against an invincible foe. A grand council was held at Greenville the 3d day of August, 1795, where eleven of the most powerful chiefs made peace with Gen. Wayne on terms of his own dictation. The boundary established by the old treaty of Fort McIntosh was confirmed, and extended westward from Loramie's to Fort Recovery, and thence southwest to the mouth of the Kentucky River. He also purchased all the territory not before ceded, within certain limits, comprehending, in all, about four-fifths of the State of Ohio. The line was long known as "The Greenville Treaty line." Upon these, and a few other minor conditions, the United States received the Indians under their protection, gave them a large number of presents, and practically closed the war with the savages.

The only settlement of any consequence made during the Indian war, was that on the plat of Hamilton, laid out by Israel Ludlow in December, 1794. Soon after, Darius C. Orcutt, John Green, William McClellan, John Sutherland, John Torrence, Benjamin F. Randolph, Benjamin Davis, Isaac Wiles, Andrew Christy and William Hubert, located here. The town was laid out under the name of Fairfield, but was known only a short time by that name. Until 1801, all the lands on the west side of the Great Miami were owned by the General Government; hence, until after that date, no improvements were made there. A single log cabin stood there until the sale of lands in April, 1801, when a company purchased the site of Rossville, and, in March, 1804, laid out that town, and, before a year had passed, the town and country about it was well settled.

The close of the war, in 1795, insured peace, and, from that date, Hamilton and that part of the Miami Valley grew remarkably fast. In 1803, Butler County was formed, and Hamilton made the county seat.

On the site of Hamilton, St. Clair built Fort Hamilton in 1791. For some time it was under the command of Maj. Rudolph, a cruel, arbitrary man, who was displaced by Gen. Wayne, and who, it is said, perished ignobly on the high seas, at the hands of some Algerine pirates, a fitting end to a man who caused, more than once, the death of men under his control for minor offenses.

On the return of peace, no part of Ohio grew more rapidly than the Miami Valley, especially that part comprised in Butler County.

While the war with the Indians continued, but little extension of settlements was made in the State. It was too perilous, and the settlers preferred the security of the block-house or to engage with the army. Still, however, a few bold spirits ventured away from the settled parts of the Territory, and began life in the wilderness. In tracing the histories of these settlements, attention will be paid to the *order* in which they were made. They will be given somewhat in detail until the war of 1812, after which time they become too numerous to follow.

The settlements made in Washington—Marietta and adjacent colonies—and Hamilton Counties have already been given. The settlement at Gallia is also noted, hence, the narration can be resumed where it ends prior to the Indian war of 1795. Before this war occurred, there were three small settlements made, however, in addition to

those in Washington and Hamilton Counties. They were in what are now Adams, Belmont and Morgan Counties. They were block-house settlements, and were in a continual state of defense. The first of these, Adams, was settled in the winter of 1790-91 by Gen. Nathaniel Massie, near where Manchester now is. Gen. Massie determined to settle here in the Virginia Military Tract—in the winter of 1790, and sent notice throughout Kentucky and other Western settlements that he would give to each of the first twenty-five families who would settle in the town he proposed laying out, one in-lot, one out-lot and one hundred acres of land. Such liberal terms were soon accepted, and in a short time thirty families were ready to go with him. After various consultations with his friends, the bottom on the Ohio River, opposite the lower of the Three Islands, was selected as the most eligible spot. Here Massie fixed his station, and laid off into lots a town, now called Manchester. The little confederacy, with Massie at the helm, went to work with spirit. Cabins were raised, and by the middle of March, 1791, the whole town was inclosed with strong pickets, with block-houses at each angle for defense.

This was the first settlement in the bounds of the Virginia District, and the fourth one in the State. Although in the midst of a savage foe, now inflamed with war, and in the midst of a cruel conflict, the settlement at Manchester suffered less than any of its contemporaries. This was, no doubt, due to the watchful care of its inhabitants, who were inured to the rigors of a frontier life, and who well knew the danger about them. These were the Beasleys, Stotts, Washburns, Ledoms, Edgingtons, Denings, Ellisons, Urts, McKenzies, Wades, and others, who were fully equal to the Indians in all the savage arts and stratagems of border war."

As soon as they had completed preparations for defense, the whole population went to work and cleared the lowest of the Three Islands, and planted it in corn. The soil of the island was very rich, and produced abundantly. The woods supplied an abundance of game, while the river furnished a variety of excellent fish. The inhabitants thus found their simple wants fully supplied. Their nearest neighbors in the new Territory were at Columbia, and at the French settlement at Gallipolis; but with these, owing to the state of the country and the Indian war, they could hold little, if any, intercourse.

The station being established, Massie continued to make locations and surveys. Great precautions were necessary to avoid the Indians, and even the closest vigilance did not always avail, as the ever-watchful foe was always ready to spring upon the settlement, could an unguarded moment be observed. During one of the spring months, Gen. Massie, Israel Donalson, William Lytle and James Little, while out on a survey, were surprised, and Mr. Donalson captured, the others escaping at great peril. Mr. Donalson escaped during the march to the Indian town, and made his way to the town of Cincinnati, after suffering great hardships, and almost perishing from hunger. In the spring of 1793, the settlers at Manchester commenced clearing the out-lots of the town. While doing so, an incident occurred, which shows the danger to which they were daily exposed. It is thus related in Howe's Collections:

"Mr. Andrew Ellison, one of the settlers, cleared an out-lot immediately adjoining the fort. He had completed the cutting of the timber, rolled the logs together, and set them on fire. The next morning, before daybreak, Mr. Ellison opened one of the gates of the fort, and went out to throw his logs together. By the time he had finished the job, a number of the heaps blazed up brightly, and, as he was passing from one to the other, he observed, by the light of the fires, three men walking briskly toward him. This did not alarm him in the least, although, he said, they were dark-skinned fellows; yet he concluded they were the Wades, whose complexions were very dark, going early to hunt. He continued to right his log-heaps, until one of the fellows seized him by the arms, calling out, in broken English, 'How do? how do?' He instantly looked in their faces, and, to his surprise and horror, found himself in the clutches of three Indians. To resist was useless.

"The Indians quickly moved off with him in the direction of Paint Creek. When breakfast was ready, Mrs. Ellison sent one of her children to ask its father home; but he could not be found at the log-heaps. His absence created no immediate alarm, as it was thought he might have started to hunt, after completing his work. Dinner-time arrived, and, Ellison not returning, the family became uneasy, and began to suspect some accident had happened to him. His gun-rack was examined, and there hung his rifles and his pouch. Gen. Massie raised a party, made a circuit around the place, finding, after some search, the trails of four men, one of whom had on shoes; and the

fact that Mr. Ellison was a prisoner now became apparent. As it was almost night at the time the trail was discovered, the party returned to the station. Early the next morning, preparations were made by Gen. Massie and his friends to continue the search. In doing this, they found great difficulty, as it was so early in the spring that the vegetation was not grown sufficiently to show plainly the trail made by the savages, who took the precaution to keep on high and dry ground, where their feet would make little or no impression. The party were, however, as unerring as a pack of hounds, and followed the trail to Paint Creek, when they found the Indians gained so fast on them that pursuit was useless.

"The Indians took their prisoner to Upper Sandusky, where he was compelled to run the gantlet. As he was a large, and not very active, man, he received a severe flogging. He was then taken to Lower Sandusky, and again compelled to run the gantlet. He was then taken to Detroit, where he was ransomed by a British officer for \$100. The officer proved a good friend to him. He sent him to Montreal, whence he returned home before the close of the summer, much to the joy of his family and friends, whose feelings can only be imagined."

"Another incident occurred about this time," says the same volume, "which so aptly illustrates the danger of frontier life, that it well deserves a place in the history of the settlements in Ohio. John and Asahel Edgington, with a comrade, started out on a hunting expedition toward Brush Creek. They camped out six miles in a northeast direction from where West Union now stands, and near the site of Treber's tavern, on the road from Chillicothe to Maysville. They had good success in hunting, killing a number of deer and bears. Of the deer killed, they saved the skins and hams alone. They fleeced the bears; that is, they cut off all the meat which adhered to the hide, without skinning, and left the bones as a skeleton. They hung up the proceeds of their hunt, on a scaffold out of the reach of wolves and other wild animals, and returned to Manchester for pack-horses. No one returned to the camp with the Edgingtons. As it was late in December, few apprehended danger, as the winter season was usually a time of repose from Indian incursions. When the Edgingtons arrived at their camp, they alighted from their horses and were preparing to start a fire, when a platoon of Indians fired upon them at a distance of not more than twenty paces. They had

evidently found the results of the white men's labor, and expected they would return for it, and prepared to waylay them. Asahel Edgington fell dead. John was more fortunate. The sharp crack of the rifles, and the horrible yells of the savages as they leaped from their place of ambush, frightened the horses, who took the track for home at full speed. John was very active on foot, and now an opportunity offered which required his utmost speed. The moment the Indians leaped from their hiding place, they threw down their guns and took after him, yelling with all their power. Edgington did not run a booty race. For about a mile, the savages stepped in his tracks almost before the bending grass could rise. The uplifted tomahawk was frequently so near his head that he thought he felt its edge. He exerted himself to his utmost, while the Indians strove with all their might to catch him. Finally, he began to gain on his pursuers, and, after a long race, distanced them and made his escape, safely reaching home. This, truly, was a most fearful and well-contested race. The big Shawnee chief, Capt. John, who headed the Indians on this occasion, after peace was made, in narrating the particulars, said, "The white man who ran away was a smart fellow. The white man run; and I run. He run and run; at last, the white man run clear off from me."

The settlement, despite its dangers, prospered, and after the close of the war continued to grow rapidly. In two years after peace was declared, Adams County was erected by proclamation of Gov. St. Clair, the next year court was held, and in 1804, West Union was made the county seat.

During the war, a settlement was commenced near the present town of Bridgeport, in Belmont County, by Capt. Joseph Belmont, a noted Delaware Revolutionary officer, who, because his State could furnish only one company, could rise no higher than Captain of that company, and hence always maintained that grade. He settled on a beautiful knoll near the present county seat, but ere long suffered from a night attack by the Indians, who, though unable to drive him and his companions from the cabin or conquer them, wounded some of them badly, one or two mortally, and caused the Captain to leave the frontier and return to Newark, Del. The attack was made in the spring of 1791, and a short time after, the Captain, having provided for the safety of his family, accepted a commission in St. Clair's army, and lost his life at the defeat of the General in

November. Shortly after the Captain settled, a fort, called Dillie's Fort, was built on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of Grave Creek. About two hundred and fifty yards below this fort, an old man, named Tato, was shot down at his cabin door by the Indians, just as he was in the act of entering the house. His body was pulled in by his daughter-in-law and grandson, who made an heroic defense. They were overpowered, the woman slain, and the boy badly wounded. He, however, managed to secrete himself and afterward escaped to the fort. The Indians, twelve or thirteen in number, went off unmolested, though the men in the fort saw the whole transaction and could have punished them. Why they did not was never known.

On Captina Creek in this same county, occurred, in May, 1794, the "battle of Captina," a famous local skirmish between some Virginians from Fort Baker, and a party of Indians. Though the Indians largely outnumbered the whites, they were severely punished, and compelled to abandon the contest, losing several of their bravest warriors.

These were the only settlements made until 1795, the close of the war. Even these, as it will be observed from the foregoing pages, were temporary in all cases save one, and were maintained at a great risk, and the loss of many valuable lives. They were made in the beginning of the war, and such were their experiences that further attempts were abandoned until the treaty of Greenville was made, or until the prospects for peace and safety were assured.

No sooner, however, had the prospect of quiet been established, than a revival of emigration began. Before the war it had been large, now it was largely increased.

Wayne's treaty of peace with the Indians was made at Greenville, in what is now Darke County, the 3d of August, 1795. The number of Indians present was estimated at 1,300, divided among the principal nations as follows: 180 Wyandots, 381 Delawares, 143 Shawnees, 45 Otrawas, 46 Chippewas, 240 Pottawatomies, 73 Miami and Eel River, 12 Weas and Piankashaws, and 10 Kickapoos and Kaskaskies. The principal chiefs were Tarhe, Buckongahelas, Black Hoof, Blue Jacket and Little Turtle. Most of them had been tampered with by the British agents and traders, but all had been so thoroughly chastised by Wayne, and found that the British only used them as tools, that they were quite anxious to make peace with the "Thirteen Fires." By the treaty, former ones

were established, the boundary lines confirmed and enlarged, an exchange and delivery of prisoners effected, and permanent peace assured.

In the latter part of September, after the treaty of Greenville, Mr. Bedell, from New Jersey, selected a site for a home in what is now Warren County, at a place since known as "Bedell's Station," about a mile south of Union Village. Here he erected a block-house, as a defense against the Indians, among whom were many renegades as among the whites, who would not respect the terms of the treaty. Whether Mr. Bedell was alone that fall, or whether he was joined by others, is not now accurately known. However that may be, he was not long left to himself; for, ere a year had elapsed, quite a number of settlements were made in this part of the Territory. Soon after his settlement was made, Gen. David Sutton, Capt. Nathan Kelley and others began pioneer life at Deerfield, in the same locality, and, before three years had gone by, a large number of New Jersey people were established in their homes; and, in 1803, the county was formed from Hamilton. Among the early settlers at Deerfield, was Capt. Robert Benham, who, with a companion, in 1779, sustained themselves many days when the Captain had lost the use of his legs, and his companion his arms, from musket-balls fired by the hands of the Indians. They were with a large party commanded by Maj. Rodgers, and were furiously attacked by an immense number of savages, and all but a few slain. The event happened during the war of the Revolution, before any attempt was made to settle the Northwest Territory. The party were going down the Ohio, probably to the falls, and were attacked when near the site of Cincinnati. As mentioned, these two men sustained each other many days, the one having perfect legs doing the necessary walking, carrying his comrade to water, driving up game for him to shoot, and any other duties necessary; while the one who had the use of his arms could dress his companion's and his own wounds, kill and cook the game, and perform his share. They were rescued, finally, by a flat-boat, whose occupants, for awhile, passed them, fearing a decoy, but, becoming convinced that such was not the case, took them on down to Louisville, where they were nursed into perfect health.

A settlement was made near the present town of Lebanon, the county seat of Warren County, in the spring of 1796, by Henry Taylor, who built a mill one mile west of the town site, on Turtle

Creek. Soon after, he was joined by Ichabod Corwin, John Osbourn, Jacob Vorhees, Samuel Shaw, Daniel Bonte and a Mr. Manning. When Lebanon was laid out, in 1803, the two-story log house built in 1797 by Ichabod Corwin was the only building on the plat. It was occupied by Ephraim Hathaway as a tavern. He had a black horse painted on an immense board for a sign, and continued in business here till 1810. The same year the town was laid out, a store was opened by John Huston, and, from that date, the growth of the county was very prosperous. Three years after, the *Western Star* was established by Judge John McLain, and the current news of the day given in weekly editions. It was one of the first newspapers established in the Territory, outside of Cincinnati.

As has been mentioned, the opening of navigation in the spring of 1796 brought a great flood of emigration to the Territory. The little settlement made by Mr. Bedell, in the autumn of 1795, was about the only one made that fall; others made preparations, and many selected sites, but did not settle till the following spring. That spring, colonies were planted in what are now Montgomery, Licking, Russ, Madison, Mahoning, Trumbull, Ashtabula and Cuyahoga Counties, while preparations were in turn made to occupy additional territory, that will hereafter be noticed.

The settlement made in Montgomery County was begun early in the spring of 1796. As early as 1788, the land on which Dayton now stands was selected by some gentlemen, who designed laying out a town to be named Venice. They agreed with Judge Symmes, whose contract covered the place, for the purchase of the lands. The Indian war which broke out at this time prevented an extension of settlements from the immediate neighborhood of the parent colonies, and the project was abandoned by the purchasers. Soon after the treaty of 1795, a new company, composed of Gens. Jonathan Dayton, Arthur St. Clair, James Wilkinson, and Col. Israel Ludlow, purchased the land between the Miami, around the mouth of Mad River, of Judge Symmes, and, the 4th of November, laid out the town. Arrangements were made for its settlement the ensuing spring, and donations of lots, with other privileges, were offered to actual settlers. Forty-six persons entered into engagements to remove from Cincinnati to Dayton, but during the winter most of them scattered in different directions, and only nineteen fulfilled their contracts. The first families who

made a permanent residence here, arrived on the first day of April, 1796, and at once set about establishing homes. Judge Symmes, however, becoming unable soon after to pay for his purchase, the land reverted to the United States, and the settlers in and about Dayton found themselves without titles to their lands. Congress, however, came to the aid of all such persons, wherever they had purchased land of Symmes, and passed a pre-emption law, under which they could enter their lands at the regular government price. Some of the settlers entered their lands, and obtained titles directly from the United States; others made arrangements with Daniel C. Cooper to receive their deeds from him, and he entered the residue of the town lands. He had been the surveyor and agent of the first company of proprietors, and they assigned to him certain of their rights of pre-emption, by which he became the titular owner of the land.

When the State government was organized in 1803, Dayton was made the seat of justice for Montgomery County, erected the same year. At that time, owing to the title question, only five families resided in the place, the other settlers having gone to farms in the vicinity, or to other parts of the country. The increase of the town was gradual until the war of 1812, when its growth was more rapid until 1820, when it was again checked by the general depression of business. It revived in 1827, at the commencement of the Miami Canal, and since then its growth has always been prosperous. It is now one of the best cities in Ohio. The first canal boats from Cincinnati arrived at Dayton January 25, 1829, and the first one from Lake Erie the 24th of June, 1845. In 1825, a weekly line of stages was established between Columbus and Cincinnati, via Dayton. Two days were occupied in coming from Cincinnati to Dayton.

On the 18th of September, 1808, the *Dayton Repository* was established by William McClure and George Smith. It was printed on a foolscap sheet. Soon after, it was enlarged and changed from a weekly to a daily, and, ere long, found a number of competitors in the field.

In the lower part of Miamisburg in this county, are the remains of ancient works, scattered about over the bottom. About a mile and a quarter southeast of the village, on an elevation more than one hundred feet above the level of the Miami, is the largest mound in the Northern States, excepting the mammoth mound at Grave Creek, on the Ohio, below Wheeling, which it nearly equals

in dimensions. It is about eight hundred feet around the base, and rises to a height of nearly seventy feet. When first known it was covered with forest trees, whose size evidenced great age. The Indians could give no account of the mound. Excavations revealed bones and charred earth, but what was its use, will always remain a conjecture.

One of the most important early settlements was made cotemporary with that of Dayton, in what is now Ross County. The same spring, 1796, quite a colony came to the banks of the Scioto River, and, near the mouth of Paint Creek, began to plant a crop of corn on the bottom. The site had been selected as early as 1792, by Col. Nathaniel Massie* and others, who were so delighted with the country, and gave such glowing descriptions of it on their return—which accounts soon circulated through Kentucky—that portions of the Presbyterian congregations of Caneridge and Concord, in Bourbon County, under Rev. Robert W. Finley, determined to emigrate thither in a body. They were, in a measure, induced to take this step by their dislike to slavery, and a desire for freedom from its baleful influences and the uncertainty that existed regarding the validity of the land titles in that State. The Rev. Finley, as a preliminary step, liberated his slaves, and addressed to Col. Massie a letter of inquiry, in December, 1794, regarding the land on the Scioto, of which he and his people had heard such glowing accounts.

The letter induced Col. Massie to visit Mr. Finley in the ensuing March. A large concourse of people, who wished to engage in the enterprise, assembled on the occasion, and fixed on a day to meet at the Three Islands, in Manchester, and proceed on an exploring expedition. Mr. Finley also wrote to his friends in Western Pennsylvania

* Nathaniel Massie was born in Goodland County, Va., December 28, 1763. In 1780, he engaged, for a short time, in the Revolutionary war. In 1783, he left for Kentucky, where he acted as a surveyor. He was afterward made a Government surveyor, and labored much in that capacity for early Ohio proprietors, being paid in lands, the amounts graded by the dates attached to the surveys. In 1791, he established the settlement at Manchester, and a year or two after, continued his surveys in the Scioto. Here he was continually in great danger from the Indians, but knew well how to guard against them, and thus preserved himself. In 1796, he established the Chillicothe settlement, and made his home in the Scioto Valley, being now an extensive land owner by reason of his long surveying services. In 1807, he and Return J. Meigs were competitors for the office of Governor of Ohio. Meigs was elected, but Massie contested his eligibility to the office, on the grounds of his absence from the State and insufficiency of time as a resident, as required by the Constitution. Meigs was declared ineligible by the General Assembly, and Massie declared Governor. He, however, resigned the office at once, not desiring it. He was often Representative afterward. Died November 13, 1813.

informing them of the time and place of rendezvous.

"About sixty men met, according to appointment, who were divided into three companies, under Massie, Finley and Falenash. They proceeded on their route, without interruption, until they struck the falls of Paint Creek. Proceeding a short distance down that stream, they suddenly found themselves in the vicinity of some Indians who had encamped at a place, since called Reeve's Crossing, near the present town of Bainbridge. The Indians were of those who had refused to attend Wayne's treaty, and it was determined to give them battle, it being too late to retreat with safety. The Indians, on being attacked, soon fled with the loss of two killed and several wounded. One of the whites only, Joshua Robinson, was mortally wounded, and, during the action, a Mr. Armstrong, a prisoner among the savages, escaped to his own people. The whites gathered all their plunder and retreated as far as Scioto Brush Creek, where they were, according to expectation, attacked early the next morning. Again the Indians were defeated. Only one man among the whites, Allen Gilfillan, was wounded. The party of whites continued their retreat, the next day reached Manchester, and separated for their homes.

"After Wayne's treaty, Col. Massie and several of the old explorers again met at the house of Rev. Finley, formed a company, and agreed to make a settlement in the ensuing spring (1796), and raise a crop of corn at the mouth of Paint Creek. According to agreement, they met at Manchester about the first of April, to the number of forty and upward, from Mason and Bourbon Counties. Among them were Joseph McCoy, Benjamin and William Rodgers, David Shelby, James Harrod, Henry, Basil and Reuben Abrams, William Jamison, James Crawford, Samuel Anthony and Robert Smith, Thomas Dick, William and James Kerr, George and James Kilgrove, John Brown, Samuel and Robert Templeton, Ferguson Moore, William Nicholson and James B. Finley, later a prominent local Methodist minister. On starting, they divided into two companies, one of which struck across the country, while the other came on in pirogues. The first arrived earliest on the spot of their intended settlement, and had commenced erecting log huts above the mouth of Paint Creek, at the 'Prairie Station,' before the others had come on by water. About three hundred acres of the prairie were cultivated in corn that season.

"In August, of this year—1796—Chillicothe* was laid out by Col. Massie in a dense forest. He gave a lot to each of the first settlers, and, by the beginning of winter, about twenty cabins were erected. Not long after, a ferry was established across the Scioto, at the north end of Walnut street. The opening of Zane's trace produced a great change in travel westward, it having previously been along the Ohio in keel-boats or canoes, or by land, over the Cumberland Mountains, through Crab Ore-hard, in Kentucky.

"The emigrants brought corn-meal in their pirogues, and after that was gone, their principal meal, until the next summer, was that pounded in hominy mortars, which meal, when made into bread, and anointed with bear's-oil, was quite palatable.

"When the settlers first came, whisky was \$4.50 per gallon; but, in the spring of 1797, when the keel-boats began to run, the Monongahela whisky-makers, having found a good market for their fire-water, rushed it in, in such quantities, that the cabins were crowded with it, and it soon fell to 50 cents. Men, women and children, with some exceptions, drank it freely, and many who had been respectable and temperate became inebriates. Many of Wayne's soldiers and camp-women settled in the town, so that, for a time, it became a town of drunkards and a sink of corruption. There was, however, a little leaven, which, in a few months, began to develop itself.

"In the spring of 1797, one Brannon stole a great coat, handkerchief and shirt. He and his wife absconded, were pursued, caught and brought back. Samuel Smith was appointed Judge, a jury impaneled, one attorney appointed by the Judge to manage the prosecution, and another the defense; witnesses were examined, the case argued, and the evidence summed up by the Judge. The jury, having retired a few moments, returned with a verdict of guilty, and that the culprit be sentenced according to the discretion of the Judge. The Judge soon announced that the criminal should have ten lashes on his naked back, or that he should sit on a bare pack-saddle on his pony, and that his wife, who was supposed to have had some agency in the theft, should lead the pony to every house in the village, and proclaim, 'This is

* Chillicothe appears to have been a favorite name among the Indians, as many localities were known by that name. Col. John Johnston says: "Chillicothe is the name of one of the principal tribes of the Shawnees. They would say, *Chilicothe shawnee*, Chillicothe town. The Wyandots would say, for Chillicothe town, *Tan-tar-e-a Ducta*, or town at the bending of the bank."

Brannon, who stole the great coat, handkerchief and shirt; and that James B. Finley, afterward Chaplain in the State Penitentiary, should see the sentence faithfully carried out. Brannon chose the latter sentence, and the ceremony was faithfully performed by his wife in the presence of every cabin, under Mr. Finley's care, after which the couple made off. This was rather rude, but effective jurisprudence.

"Dr. Edward Tiffin and Mr. Thomas Worthington, of Berkley County, Va., were brothers-in-law, and being moved by abolition principles, liberated their slaves, intending to remove into the Territory. For this purpose Mr. Worthington visited Chillicothe in the autumn of 1797, and purchased several in and out lots of the town. On one of the former, he erected a two-story frame house, the first of the kind in the village. On his return, having purchased a part of a farm, on which his family long afterward resided, and another at the north fork of Paint Creek, he contracted with Mr. Joseph Yates, a millwright, and Mr. George Haines, a blacksmith, to come out with him the following winter or spring, and erect for him a grist and saw mill on his north-fork tract. The summer, fall and following winter of that year were marked by a rush of emigration, which spread over the high bank prairie, Pea-pea, Westfall and a few miles up Paint and Deer Creeks.

"Nearly all the first settlers were either regular members, or had been raised in the Presbyterian Church. Toward the fall of 1797, the leaven of piety retained by a portion of the first settlers began to diffuse itself through the mass, and a large log meeting-house was erected near the old graveyard, and Rev. William Speer, from Pennsylvania, took charge. The sleepers at first served as seats for hearers, and a split-log table was used as a pulpit. Mr. Speer was a gentlemanly, moral man, tall and cadaverous in person, and wore the cocked hat of the Revolutionary era.

"Thomas Jones arrived in February, 1798, bringing with him the first load of bar-iron in the Scioto Valley, and about the same time Maj. Elias Langham, an officer of the Revolution, arrived. Dr. Tiffin, and his brother, Joseph, arrived the same month from Virginia and opened a store not far from the log meeting-house. A store had been opened previously by John McDougal. The 17th of April, the families of Col. Worthington and Dr. Tiffin arrived, at which time the first marriage in the Scioto Valley was celebrated. The parties were George Kilgore and Elizabeth Cochran. The

ponies of the attendants were hitched to the trees along the streets, which were not then cleared out, nearly the whole town being a wilderness. Joseph Yates, George Haines, and two or three others, arrived with the families of Tiffin and Worthington. On their arrival there were but four shingled roofs in town, on one of which the shingles were fastened with pegs. Col. Worthington's house was the only one having glass windows. The sash of the hotel windows was filled with greased paper.

"Col. Worthington was appointed by Gen. Rufus Putnam, Surveyor General of the Northwest Territory, surveyor of a large district of Congress lands, on the east side of the Scioto, and Maj. Langham and a Mr. Matthews, were appointed to survey the residue of the lands which afterward composed the Chillicothe land district.

"The same season, settlements were made about the Walnut Plains by Samuel McCulloh and others; Springer, Osbourn, Dyer, and Thomas and Elijah Chenowith, on Darly Creek; Lamberts and others on Sippo; on Foster's Bottom, the Fosters, Samuel Davis and others, while the following families settled in and about Chillicothe: John Crouse, William Keys, William Lamb, John Carlisle, John McLanberg, William Chandless, the Stuctons, Greggs, Bates and some others.

"Dr. Tiffin and his wife were the first Methodists in the Scioto Valley. He was a local preacher. In the fall, Worthington's grist and saw mills on the north fork of Paint Creek were finished, the first mills worthy the name in the valley.

"Chillicothe was the point from which the settlements diverged. In May, 1799, a post office was established here, and Joseph Tiffin made Postmaster. Mr. Tiffin and Thomas Gregg opened taverns; the first, under the sign of Gen. Anthony Wayne, was at the corner of Water and Walnut streets; and the last, under the sign of the 'Green Tree,' was on the corner of Paint and Water streets. In 1801, Nathaniel Willis moved in and established the *Scioto Gazette*, probably, the second paper in the Territory."*

In 1800, the seat of government of the Northwest Territory was removed, by law of Congress, from Cincinnati to Chillicothe. The sessions of the Territorial Assembly for that and the next year were held in a small two-story, hewed-log house, erected in 1798, by Basil Abrams. A wing was added to the main part, of two stories, in

* Recollections of Hon. Thomas Scott, of Chillicothe—*History of Ohio*.

height. In the lower room of this wing, Col. Thomas Gibson, Auditor of the Territory, kept his office, and in the upper room a small family lived. In the upper room of the main building a billiard table was kept. It was also made a resort of gamblers and disreputable characters. The lower room was used by the Legislature, and as a court room, a church or a school. In the war of 1812, the building was a rendezvous and barracks for soldiers, and, in 1840, was pulled down.

The old State House was commenced in 1800, and finished the next year for the accommodation of the Legislature and the courts. It is said to be the first public stone edifice erected in the Territory. Maj. William Rutledge, a Revolutionary soldier, did the mason work, and William Guthrie, the carpenter. In 1801, the Territorial Legislature held their first session in it. In it was also held the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, which began its sessions the first Monday in November, 1802. In April, 1803, the first State Legislature met in the house, and continued their sessions here until 1810. The sessions of 1810-11, and 1811-12, were held in Zanesville, and from there removed back to Chillicothe and held in the old State House till 1816, when Columbus became the permanent capital of the State.

Making Chillicothe the State capital did much to enhance its growth. It was incorporated in 1802, and a town council elected. In 1807, the town had fourteen stores, six hotels, two newspapers, two churches—both brick buildings—and over two hundred dwellings. The removal of the capital to Columbus checked its growth a little, still, being in an excellent country, rapidly filling with settlers, the town has always remained a prominent trading center.

During the war of 1812, Chillicothe was made a rendezvous for United States soldiers, and a prison established, in which many British prisoners were confined. At one time, a conspiracy for escape was discovered just in time to prevent it. The plan was for the prisoners to disarm the guard, proceed to jail, release the officers, burn the town, and escape to Canada. The plot was fortunately disclosed by two senior British officers, upon which, as a measure of security, the officers and chief conspirators were sent to the penitentiary at Frankfort, Kentucky.

Two or three miles northwest of Chillicothe, on a beautiful elevation, commanding an extensive view of the valley of the Scioto, Thomas Worth-

ington,* one of the most prominent and influential men of his day, afterward Governor of the State, in 1806, erected a large stone mansion, the wonder of the valley in its time. It was the most elegant mansion in the West, crowds coming to see it when it was completed. Gov. Worthington named the place Adena, "Paradise"—a name not then considered hyperbolical. The large panes of glass, and the novelty of papered walls especially attracted attention. Its architect was the elder Latrobe, of Washington City, from which place most of the workmen came. The glass was made in Pittsburgh, and the fireplace fronts in Philadelphia, the latter costing seven dollars per hundred pounds for transportation. The mansion, built as it was, cost nearly double the expense of such structures now. Adena was the home of the Governor till his death, in 1827.

Near Adena, in a beautiful situation, is Fruit Hill, the seat of Gen. Duncan McArthur,† and later of ex-Gov. William Allen. Like Adena, Fruit Hill is one of the noted places in the Scioto Valley. Many of Ohio's best men dwelt in the valley; men who have been an honor and ornament to the State and nation.

Another settlement, begun soon after the treaty of peace in 1795, was that made on the Licking River, about four miles below the present city of Newark, in Licking County. In the fall of 1796, John Ratcliff and Elias Hughes, while prospecting on this stream, found some old Indian cornfields, and determined to locate. They were from Western Virginia, and were true pioneers, living mainly by hunting, leaving the cultivation of their small cornfields to their wives, much after the style of

* Gov. Worthington was born in Jefferson County, Va., about the year 1769. He settled in Ohio in 1799. He was a firm believer in liberty and came to the Territory after liberating his slaves. He was one of the most efficient men of his day; was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and was sent on an important mission to Congress relative to the admission of Ohio to the Union. He was afterward a Senator to Congress, and then Governor. On the expiration of his gubernatorial term, he was appointed a member of the Board of Public Works, in which capacity he did much to advance the roads and the bridges, and other public improvements. He remained in this office till his death.

† Gen. McArthur was born in Dutchess County, N. Y., in 1772. When eight years of age, his father removed to Western Pennsylvania. When eighteen years of age, he served in Harmar's campaign. In 1776, he was a very efficient soldier among the frontiersmen, and gained their approbation by his bravery. In 1793, he was connected with Gen. Massie, and afterward was engaged in land speculations and became very wealthy. He was made a member of the legislature, in 1805; in 1806, a Colonel, and in 1808, a Major-General of the militia. In this capacity he was in Hull's surprise at Detroit; on his return he was elected to Congress, and in 1813 commanded Brigadier General. He was one of the most efficient officers in the war of 1812, and held many important posts. After the war, he was again sent to the legislature; in 1822 to Congress, and in 1826 elected a member of the State. By an unfortunate accident in 1833, he was maimed for life, and gradually declined till death, and a few years after.

their dusky neighbors. They were both inveterate Indian-haters, and never allowed an opportunity to pass without carrying out their hatred. For this, they were apprehended after the treaty; but, though it was clearly proven they had murdered some inoffensive Indians, the state of feeling was such that they were allowed to go unpunished.

A short time after their settlement, others joined them, and, in a few years, quite a colony had gathered on the banks of the Licking. In 1802, Newark was laid out, and, in three or four years, there were twenty or thirty families, several stores and one or two hotels.

The settlement of Granville Township, in this county, is rather an important epoch in the history of this part of the State. From a sketch published by Rev. Jacob Little in 1848, in Howe's Collections, the subjoined statements are taken:

"In 1804, a company was formed at Granville, Mass., with the intention of making a settlement in Ohio. This, called the *Scioto Company*, was the third of that name which effected settlements in Ohio. The project met with great favor, and much enthusiasm was elicited, in illustration of which a song was composed and sung to the tune of 'Pleasant Ohio' by the young people in the house and at labor in the field. We annex two stanzas, which are more curious than poetical:

"When rambling o'er these mountains
And rocks where ivies grow
Thick as the hairs upon your head,
Mongst which you cannot go—
Great storms of snow, cold winds that blow,
We scarce can undergo—
Says I, my boys, we'll leave this place
For the pleasant Ohio.

"Our precious friends that stay behind,
We're sorry now to leave:
But if they'll stay and break their shins,
For them we'll never grieve
Adieu, my friends!—Come on, my dears,
This journey we'll forego,
And settle Licking Creek,
In yonder Ohio."

"The Scioto Company consisted of one hundred and fourteen proprietors, who made a purchase of twenty-eight thousand acres. In the autumn of 1805, two hundred and thirty-four persons, mostly from East Granville, Mass., came on to the purchase. Although they had been forty-two days on the road, their first business, on their arrival, having organized a church before they left the East, was to hear a sermon. The first tree cut was that

by which public worship was held, which stood just in front of the Presbyterian church.

On the first Sabbath, November 16, although only about a dozen trees had been felled, they held divine service, both forenoon and afternoon, on that spot. The novelty of worshiping in the woods, the forest extending hundreds of miles each way; the hardships of the journey, the winter setting in, the thoughts of home, with all the friends and privileges left behind, and the impression that such must be the accommodations of a new country, all rushed on their minds, and made this a day of varied interest. When they began to sing, the echo of their voices among the trees was so different from what it was in the beautiful meeting-house they had left, that they could no longer restrain their tears. *They wept when they remembered Zion.* The voices of part of the choir were, for a season, suppressed with emotion.

"An incident occurred, which many said Mrs. Sigourney should have put into verse. Deacon Theophilus Reese, a Welsh Baptist, had, two or three years before, built a cabin, a mile and a half north, and lived all this time without public worship. He had lost his cattle, and, hearing a lowing of the oxen belonging to the Company, set out toward them. As he ascended the hills overlooking the town plot, he heard the singing of the choir. The reverberation of the sound from hill-tops and trees, threw the good man into a serious dilemma. The music at first seemed to be behind, then in the tree-tops, or in the clouds. He stopped till, by accurate listening, he caught the direction of the sound; went on and passing the brow of the hill, he saw the audience sitting on the level below. He went home and told his wife that 'the promise of God is a bond'; a Welsh proverb, signifying that we have security, equal to a bond, that religion will prevail everywhere. He said: 'These must be good people. I am not afraid to go among them.' Though he could not understand English, he constantly attended the reading-meeting. Hearing the music on that occasion made such an impression on his mind that, when he became old and met the first settlers, he would always tell over this story. The first cabin built was that in which they worshiped succeeding Sabbaths, and, before the close of the winter, they had a schoolhouse and a school. That church, in forty years, received more than one thousand persons into its membership.

Elder Jones in 1806, preached the first sermon in the log church. The Welsh Baptist

Church was organized in the cabin of David Thomas, September 4, 1808. April 21, 1827, the Granville members were organized into the Granville Church, and the corner-stone of their house of worship laid September 21, 1829. In the fall of 1810, the first Methodist sermon was preached here, and, soon after, a class organized. In 1824, a church was built. An Episcopal church was organized in May, 1827, and a church consecrated in 1838. In 1849, there were in this township 405 families, of whom 214 sustain family worship; 1431 persons over fourteen years of age, of whom over 800 belong to church. The town had 150 families, of whom 80 have family worship. In 1846, the township furnished 70 school teachers, of whom 62 prayed in school. In 1846, the township took 621 periodical papers, besides three small monthlies. The first temperance society west of the mountains was organized July 15, 1828, in this township; and, in 1831, the Congregational Church passed a by-law to accept no member who trafficked in or used ardent spirits."

It is said, not a settlement in the entire West could present so moral and upright a view as that of Granville Township; and nowhere could so perfect and orderly a set of people be found. Surely, the fact is argument enough in favor of the religion of Jesus.

The narrative of Mr. Little also states that, when Granville was first settled, it was supposed that Worthington would be the capital of Ohio, between which and Zanesville, Granville would make a great half-way town. At this time, wild animals, snakes and Indians abounded, and many are the marvelous stories preserved regarding the destruction of the animals and reptiles—the Indians being bound by their treaty to remain peaceful. Space forbids their repetition here. Suffice it to say that, as the whites increased, the Indians, animals and snakes disappeared, until now one is as much a curiosity as the other.

The remaining settlement in the southwestern parts of Ohio, made immediately after the treaty—fall of 1795 or year of 1796—was in what is now Madison County, about a mile north of where the village of Amity now stands, on the banks of the Big Darby. This stream received its name from the Indians, from a Wyandot chief, named Darby, who for a long time resided upon it, near the Union County line. In the fall of 1795, Benjamin Springer came from Kentucky and selected some land on the banks of the Big Darby, cleared

the ground, built a cabin, and returned for his family. The next spring, he brought them out, and began his life here. The same summer he was joined by William Lapin, Joshua and James Ewing and one or two others.

When Springer came, he found a white man named Jonathan Alder, who for fifteen years had been a captive among the Indians, and who could not speak a word of English, living with an Indian woman on the banks of Big Darby. He had been exchanged at Wayne's treaty, and, neglecting to profit by the treaty, was still living in the Indian style. When the whites became numerous about him his desire to find his relatives, and adopt the ways of the whites, led him to discard his squaw—giving her an unusual allowance—learn the English language, engage in agricultural pursuits, and become again civilized. Fortunately, he could remember enough of the names of some of his parents' neighbors, so that the identity of his relatives and friends was easily established, and Alder became a most useful citizen. He was very influential with the Indians, and induced many of them to remain neutral during the war of 1812. It is stated that in 1800, Mr. Ewing brought four sheep into the community. They were strange animals to the Indians. One day when an Indian hunter and his dog were passing, the latter caught a sheep, and was shot by Mr. Ewing. The Indian would have shot Ewing in retaliation, had not Alder, who was fortunately present, with much difficulty prevailed upon him to refrain.

While the southern and southwestern parts of the State were filling with settlers, assured of safety by Wayne's victories, the northern and eastern parts became likewise the theater of activities. Ever since the French had explored the southern shores of the lake, and English traders had carried goods thither, it was expected one day to be a valuable part of the West. It will be remembered that Connecticut had ceded a large tract of land to the General Government, and as soon as the cession was confirmed, and land titles became assured, settlers flocked thither. Even before that time, hardy adventurers had explored some of the country, and pronounced it a "goodly land," ready for the hand of enterprise.

The first settlement in the Western Reserve, and, indeed, in the northern part of the State, was made at the mouth of Cuneam^{*} Creek, in Ashtabula County, on the 4th of July, 1796. That

^{*}Cuneam, in the Seneca language, signifies "many fish."

day, the first surveying party landed at the mouth of this creek, and, on its eastern bank, near the lake shore, in tin cups, pledged—as they drank the limpid waters of the lake—their country's welfare, with the ordinance accompaniment of two or three fowling-pieces, discharging the required national salute.

The whole party, on this occasion, numbered fifty-two persons, of whom two were females (Mrs. Stiles and Mrs. Gunn) and a child, and all deserve a lasting place in the history of the State.

The next day, they began the erection of a large log building on the sandy beach on the east side of the stream. When done, it was named "Stow Castle," after one of the party. It was the dwelling, storehouse and general habitation of all the pioneers. The party made this their headquarters part of the summer, and continued busily engaged in the survey of the Reserve.* James Kingsbury, afterward Judge, arrived soon after the party began work, and, with his family, was the first to remain here during the winter following, the rest returning to the East, or going southward. Through the winter, Mr. Kingsbury's family suffered greatly for provisions, so much so, that, during the absence of the head of the family in New York for provisions, one child, born in his absence, died, and the mother, reduced by her sufferings and solitude, was only saved by the timely arrival of the husband and father with a sack of flour he had carried, many weary miles, on his back. He remained here but a short time, removing to Cleveland, which was laid out that same fall. In the spring of 1798, Alexander Harper, William McFarland and Ezra Gregory, with their families, started from Harpersfield, Delaware Co., N. Y., and arrived the last of June, at their new homes in the Far West. The whole population on the Reserve then amounted to less than one hundred and fifty persons. These were at Cleveland, Youngstown and at Mentor. During the summer, three families came to Burton, and Judge Hudson settled at Hudson. All these pioneers suffered severely for food, and from the fever induced by chills. It took several years to become acclimated. Sometimes the entire neighborhood would be down, and only one or two, who could wait on the rest "between chills," were able to do anything. Time and courage overcame, finally.

It was not until 1798, that a permanent settlement was made at the mouth of Conneaut Creek. Those who came there in 1796 went on with their surveys, part remaining in Cleveland, laid out that

summer. Judge Kingsbury could not remain at Conneaut, and went nearer the settlements made about the Cuyahoga. In the spring of 1798, Thomas Montgomery and Aaron Wright settled here and remained. Up the stream they found some thirty Indian cabins, or huts, in a good state of preservation, which they occupied until they could erect their own. Soon after, they were joined by others, and, in a year or two, the settlement was permanent and prosperous.

The site of the present town of Austinburg in Ashtabula County was settled in the year 1799, by two families from Connecticut, who were induced to come thither, by Judge Austin. The Judge preceded them a short time, driving, in company with a hired man, some cattle about one hundred and fifty miles through the woods, following an old Indian trail, while the rest of the party came in a boat across the lake. When they arrived, there were a few families at Harpersburg; one or two families at Windsor, twenty miles southwest; also a few families at Elk Creek, forty miles northeast, and at Vernon, the same distance southeast. All these were in a destitute condition for provisions. In 1800, another family moved from Norfolk, Conn. In the spring of 1801, several families came from the same place. Part came by land, and part by water. During that season, wheat was carried to an old mill on Elk Creek, forty miles away, and in some instances, half was given for carrying it to mill and returning it in flour.

Wednesday, October 21, 1801, a church of sixteen members was constituted in Austinburg. This was the first church on the Reserve, and was founded by Rev. Joseph Badger, the first missionary there. It is a fact worthy of note, that in 1802, Mr. Badger moved his family from Buffalo to this town, in the first wagon that ever came from that place to the Reserve. In 1803, noted revivals occurred in this part of the West, attended by the peculiar bodily phenomenon known as the "shakes" or "jerks."

The surveying party which landed at the mouth of Conneaut Creek, July 4, 1796, soon completed their labors in this part of the Reserve, and extended them westward. By the first of September, they had explored the lake coast as far west as the outlet of the Cuyahoga* River, then considered

*Cuyahoga, in the Indian language, signifies "crooked."—*Hoyer's Collections.*

†The Indians called the river "Cuy-a-chah-oh," "Lake River." It is, emphatically, a *Lake river*. It rises in lakes and empties into a *lake*.—*Hoyle's History of Ohio.*

by all an important Western place, and one destined to be a great commercial mart. Time has verified the prophecies, as now the city of Cleveland covers the site.

As early as 1755, the mouth of the Cuyahoga River was laid down on the maps, and the French had a station here. It was also considered an important post during the war of the Revolution, and later, of 1812. The British, who, after the Revolution, refused to abandon the lake country west of the Cuyahoga, occupied its shores until 1790. Their traders had a house in Ohio City, north of the Detroit road, on the point of the hill near the river, when the surveyors arrived in 1796. Washington, Jefferson, and all statesmen of that day, regarded the outlet of the Cuyahoga as an important place, and hence the early attempt of the surveyors to reach and lay out a town here.

The corps of surveyors arrived early in September, 1796, and at once proceeded to lay out a town. It was named Cleveland, in honor of Gen. Moses Cleveland, the Land Company's agent, and for years a very prominent man in Connecticut, where he lived and died. By the 18th of October, the surveyors had completed the survey and left the place, leaving only Job V. Stiles and family, and Edward Paine, who were the only persons that passed the succeeding winter in this place. Their residence was a log cabin that stood on a spot of ground long afterward occupied by the Commercial Bank. Their nearest neighbors were at Conneaut, where Judge Kingsbury lived; at Fort McIntosh, on the south or east, at the mouth of Big Beaver, and at the mouth of the river Raisin, on the west.

The next season, the surveying party came again to Cleveland, which they made their headquarters. Early in the spring, Judge Kingsbury came over from Conneaut, bringing with him Elijah Gunn, who had a short time before joined him. Soon after, Maj. Lorenzo Carter and Ezekiel Hawley came with their families. These were about all who are known to have settled in this place that summer. The next year, 1798, Rodolphus Edwards and Nathaniel Doane and their families settled in Cleveland. Mr. Doane had been ninety-two days on his journey from Chatham, Conn. In the latter part of the summer and fall, nearly every person in the settlement was down with the bilious fever or with the ague. Mr. Doane's family consisted of nine persons, of whom Seth, a lad sixteen years of age, was the only one able to care for

them. Such was the severity of the fever, that any one having only the ague was deemed quite fortunate. Much suffering for proper food and medicines followed. The only way the Doane family was supplied for two months or more, was through the exertions of this boy, who went daily, after having had one attack of the chills, to Judge Kingsbury's in Newburg—five miles away, where the Judge now lived—got a peck of corn, mashed it in a hand-mill, waited until a second attack of the chills passed over, and then returned. At one time, for several days, he was too ill to make the trip, during which turnips comprised the chief article of diet. Fortunately, Maj. Carter, having only the ague, was enabled with his trusty rifle and dogs to procure an abundance of venison and other wild game. His family, being somewhat acclimated, suffered less than many others. Their situation can hardly now be realized. "Destitute of a physician, and with few medicines, necessity taught them to use such means as nature had placed within their reach. They substituted pills from the extract of the butternut bark for calomel, and dogwood and cherry bark for quinine."

In November, four men, who had so far recovered as to have ague attacks no oftener than once in two or three days, started in the only boat for Walnut Creek, Penn., to obtain a winter's supply of flour. When below Euclid Creek, a storm drove them ashore, broke their boat, and compelled their return. During the winter and summer following, the settlers had no flour, except that ground in hand and coffee mills, which was, however, considered very good. Not all had even that. During the summer, the Connecticut Land Company opened the first road on the Reserve, which commenced about ten miles south of the lake shore, on the Pennsylvania State line, and extended to Cleveland. In January, 1799, Mr. Doane moved to Doane's Corners, leaving only Maj. Carter's family in Cleveland, all the rest leaving as soon as they were well enough. For fifteen months, the Major and his family were the only white persons left on the town site. During the spring, Wheeler W. Williams and Maj. Wyatt built the first grist-mill on the Reserve, on the site of Newburg. It was looked upon as a very valuable accession to the neighborhood. Prior to this, each family had its own hand-mill in one of the corners of the cabin. The old mill is thus described by a pioneer:

"The stones were of the common grindstone grit, about four inches thick, and twenty in diam-

ter. The runner, or upper, was turned by hand, by a pole set in the top of it, near the outer edge. The upper end of the pole was inserted into a hole in a board fastened above to the joists, immediately over the hole in the verge of the runner. One person fed the corn into the eye—a hole in the center of the runner—while another turned. It was very hard work to grind, and the operators alternately exchanged places."

In 1800, several settlers came to the town and a more active life was the result. From this time, Cleveland began to progress. The 4th of July, 1801, the first ball in town was held at Major Carter's log cabin, on the hill-side. John and Benjamin Wood, and R. H. Blinn were managers; and Maj. Samuel Jones, musician and master of ceremonies. The company numbered about thirty, very evenly divided, for the times, between the sexes. "Notwithstanding the dancers had a rough puncheon floor, and no better beverage to enliven their spirits than sweetened whisky, yet it is doubtful if the anniversary of American independence was ever celebrated in Cleveland by a more joyful and harmonious company than those who danced the scamper-down, double-shuffle, western-swing and half-moon, that day, in Maj. Carter's cabin." The growth of the town, from this period on, remained prosperous. The usual visits of the Indians were made, ending in their drunken carousals and fights. Deer and other wild animals furnished abundant meat. The settlement was constantly augmented by new arrivals, so that, by 1814, Cleveland was incorporated as a town, and, in 1836, as a city. Its harbor is one of the best on the lakes, and hence the merchandise of the lakes has always been attracted thither. Like Cincinnati and Chillicothe, it became the nucleus of settlements in this part of the State, and now is the largest city in Northern Ohio.

One of the earliest settlements made in the Western Reserve, and by some claimed as the first therin, was made on the site of Youngstown, Mahoning County, by a Mr. Young, afterward a Judge, in the summer of 1796. During this summer, before the settlements at Cuyahoga and Conneaut were made, Mr. Young and Mr. Wilcott, proprietors of a township of land in Northeastern Ohio, came to their possessions and began the survey of their land. Just when they came is not known. They were found here by Col. James Hillman, then a trader in the employ of Duncan & Wilson, of Pittsburgh, "who had been forwarding goods across the country by pack-saddle horses since

1786, to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, thence to be shipped on the schooner Mackinaw to Detroit. Col. Hillman generally had charge of all these caravans, consisting sometimes of ninety horses and ten men. They commonly crossed the Big Beaver four miles below the mouth of the Shenango, thence up the left bank of the Mahoning—called by the Indians "*Mahoni*" or "*Mahonick*—" signifying the "lick" or "at the lick"—crossing it about three miles below the site of Youngstown, thence by way of the Salt Springs, over the sites of Milton and Ravenna, crossing the Cuyahoga at the mouth of Breakneck and again at the mouth of Tinker's Creek, thence down the river to its mouth, where they had a log hut in which to store their goods. This hut was there when the surveyors came, but at the time unoccupied. At the mouth of Tinker's Creek were a few log huts built by Moravian Missionaries. These were used only one year, as the Indians had gone to the Tuscarawas River. These and three or four cabins at the Salt Springs were the only buildings erected by the whites prior to 1796, in Northeastern Ohio. Those at the Salt Springs were built at an early day for the accommodation of whites who came from Western Pennsylvania to make salt. The tenants were dispossessed in 1785 by Gen. Harmar. A short time after, one or two white men were killed by the Indians here. In 1788, Col. Hillman settled at Beavertown, where Duncan & Wilson had a store for the purpose of trading with the Indians. He went back to Pittsburgh soon after, however, owing to the Indian war, and remained there till its close, continuing in his business whenever opportunity offered. In 1796, when returning from one of his trading expeditions alone in his canoe down the Mahoning River, he discovered a smoke on the bank near the present town of Youngstown, and on going to the spot found Mr. Young and Mr. Wilcott, as before mentioned. A part of Col. Hillman's cargo consisted of whisky, a gallon or so of which he still had. The price of "fire-water" then was \$1 per quart in the currency of the country, a deer-skin being legal tender for \$1, and a doe-skin for 50 cents. Mr. Young proposed purchasing a quart, and having a frolic on its contents during the evening, and insisted on paying Hillman his customary price. Hillman urged that inasmuch as they were strangers in the country, civility required him to furnish the means for the entertainment. Young, however, insisted, and taking the deer-skin used for his bed—the only one he had—

paid for his quart of whisky, and an evening's frolic was the result.

"Hillman remained a few days, when they accompanied him to Beaver Town to celebrate the 4th, and then all returned, and Hillman erected a cabin on the site of Youngstown. It is not certain that they remained here at this time, and hence the priority of actual settlement is generally conceded to Conneaut and Cleveland. The next year, in the fall, a Mr. Brown and one other person came to the banks of the Mahoning and made a permanent settlement. The same season Uriah Holmes and Titus Hayes came to the same locality, and before winter quite a settlement was to be seen here. It proceeded quite prosperously until the wanton murder of two Indians occurred, which, for a time, greatly excited the whites, lest the Indians should retaliate. Through the efforts of Col. Hillman, who had great influence with the natives, they agreed to let the murderers stand a trial. They were acquitted upon some technicality. The trial, however, pacified the Indians, and no trouble came from the unwarranted and unfortunate circumstance, and no check in the emigration or prosperity of the colony occurred."*

As soon as an effective settlement had been established at Youngstown, others were made in the surrounding country. One of these was begun by William Fenton in 1798, on the site of the present town of Warren, in Trumbull County. He remained here alone one year, when he was joined by Capt. Ephraim Quincy. By the last of September, the next year, the colony had increased to sixteen, and from that date on continued prosperously. Once or twice they stood in fear of the Indians, as the result of quarrels induced by whisky. Sagacious persons generally saved any serious outbreak and pacified the natives. Mr. Badger, the first missionary on the Reserve, came to the settlement here and on the Mahoning, as soon as each was made, and, by his earnest labors, succeeded in forming churches and schools at an early day. He was one of the most efficient men on the Reserve, and throughout his long and busy life, was well known and greatly respected. He died in 1846, aged eighty-nine years.

The settlements given are about all that were made before the close of 1797. In following the narrative of these settlements, attention is paid to the chronological order, as far as this can be done. Like those settlements already made, many which

are given as occurring in the next year, 1798, were actually begun earlier, but were only temporary preparations, and were not considered as made until the next year.

Turning again to the southern portion of Ohio, the Scioto, Muskingum and Miami Valleys come prominently into notice. Throughout the entire Eastern States they were still attracting attention, and an increased emigration, busily occupying their verdant fields, was the result. All about Chillicothe was now well settled, and, up the banks of that stream, prospectors were selecting sites for their future homes.

In 1797, Robert Armstrong, George Skidmore, Lucas Sullivant, William Domigan, James Marshall, John Dill, Jacob Grubb, Jacob Overdier, Arthur O'Hara, John Brickell, Col. Culbertson, the Deardorffs, McElvains, Selles and others, came to what is now Franklin County, and, in August, Mr. Sullivant and some others laid out the town of Franklinton, on the west bank of the Scioto, opposite the site of Columbus. The country about this locality had long been the residence of the Wyandots, who had a large town on the city's site, and cultivated extensive fields of corn on the river bottoms. The locality had been visited by the whites as early as 1780, in some of their expeditions, and the fertility of the land noticed. As soon as peace was assured, the whites came and began a settlement, as has been noted. Soon after Franklinton was established, a Mr. Springer and his son-in-law, Osborn, settled on the Big Darby, and, in the summer of 1798, a scattering settlement was made on Alum Creek. About the same time settlers came to the mouth of the Gahannah, and along other water-courses. Franklinton was the point to which emigrants came, and from which they always made their permanent location. For several years there was no mill, nor any such commodity, nearer than Chillicothe. A hand-mill was constructed in Franklinton, which was commonly used, unless the settlers made a trip to Chillicothe in a canoe. Next, a horse-mill was tried; but not till 1805, when Col. Kilbourne built a mill at Worthington, settled in 1803, could any efficient grinding be done. In 1789, a small store was opened in Franklinton, by James Scott, but, for seven or eight years, Chillicothe was the nearest post office. Often, when the neighbors wanted mail, one of their number was furnished money to pay the postage on any letters that might be waiting, and sent for the mail. At first, as in all new localities, a great deal of sickness, fever and ague, prevailed.

* Recollections of Col. Hillman.—*Hove's Annals*.

As the people became acclimated, this, however, disappeared.

The township of Sharon in this county has a history similar to that of Granville Township in Licking County. It was settled by a "Scioto Company," formed in Granby, Conn., in the winter of 1801-02, consisting at first of eight associates. They drew up articles of association, among which was one limiting their number to forty, each of whom must be unanimously chosen by ballot, a single negative being sufficient to prevent an election. Col. James Kilbourne was sent out the succeeding spring to explore the country and select and purchase a township for settlement. He returned in the fall without making any purchase, through fear that the State Constitution, then about to be formed, would tolerate slavery, in which case the project would have been abandoned. While on this visit, Col. Kilbourne compiled from a variety of sources the first map made of Ohio. Although much of it was conjectured, and hence inaccurate, it was very valuable, being correct as far as the State was then known.

"As soon as information was received that the constitution of Ohio prohibited slavery, Col. Kilbourne purchased the township he had previously selected, within the United States military land district, and, in the spring of 1803, returned to Ohio, and began improvements. By the succeeding December, one hundred settlers, mainly from Hartford County, Conn., and Hampshire County, Mass., arrived at their new home. Obeying to the letter the agreement made in the East, the first cabin erected was used for a schoolhouse and a church of the Protestant Episcopal denomination; the first Sabbath after the arrival of the colony, divine service was held therein, and on the arrival of the eleventh family a school was opened. This early attention to education and religion has left its favorable impress upon the people until this day. The first 4th of July was uniquely and appropriately celebrated. Seventeen gigantic trees, emblematical of the seventeen States forming the Union, were cut so that a few blows of the ax, at sunrise on the 4th, prostrated each successively with a tremendous crash, forming a national salute novel in the world's history."*

The growth of this part of Ohio continued without interruption until the establishment of the State capital at Columbus, in 1816. The town was laid out in 1812, but, as that date is considered re-

mote in the early American settlements, its history will be left to succeeding pages, and there traced when the history of the State capital and State government is given.

The site of Zanesville, in Muskingum County, was early looked upon as an excellent place to form a settlement, and, had not hostilities opened in 1791, with the Indians, the place would have been one of the earliest settled in Ohio. As it was, the war so disarranged matters, that it was not till 1797 that a permanent settlement was effected.

The Muskingum country was principally occupied, in aboriginal times, by the Wyandots, Delawares, and a few Senecas and Shawanees. An Indian town once stood, years before the settlement of the country, in the vicinity of Duncan's Falls, in Muskingum County, from which circumstance the place is often called "Old Town." Near Dresden, was a large Shawnee town, called Wakatomaca. The graveyard was quite large, and, when the whites first settled here, remains of the town were abundant. It was in this vicinity that the venerable Maj. Cass, father of Lewis Cass, lived and died. He owned 4,000 acres, given him for his military services.

The first settlers on the site of Zanesville were William McCulloh and Henry Crooks. The locality was given to Ebenezer Zane, who had been allowed three sections of land on the Scioto, Muskingum and Hockhocking, wherever the road crossed these rivers, provided other prior claims did not interfere, for opening "Zane's trace." When he located the road across the Muskingum, he selected the place where Zanesville now stands, being attracted there by the excellent water privileges. He gave the section of land here to his brother Jonathan Zane, and J. McIntire, who leased the ferry, established on the road over the Muskingum, to William McCulloh and Henry Crooks, who became thereby the first settlers. The ferry was kept about where the old upper bridge was afterward placed. The ferry-boat was made by fastening two canoes together with a stick. Soon after a flat-boat was used. It was brought from Wheeling, by Mr. McIntire, in 1779, the year after the ferry was established. The road cut out through Ohio, ran from Wheeling, Va., to Maysville, Ky. Over this road the mail was carried, and, in 1798, the first mail ever carried wholly in Ohio was brought up from Marietta to McCulloh's cabin by Daniel Convers, where, by arrangement of the Postmaster General, it met a mail from Wheeling and one from Maysville.

McCulloh, who could hardly read, was authorized to assort the mails and send each package in its proper direction. For this service he received \$30 per annum; but owing to his inability to read well, Mr. Convers generally performed the duty. At that time, the mails met here once a week. Four years after, the settlement had so increased that a regular post office was opened, and Thomas Dowden appointed Postmaster. He kept his office in a wooden building near the river bank.

Messrs. Zane and McIntire laid out a town in 1799, which they called Westbourn. When the post office was established, it was named Zanesville, and in a short time the village took the same name. A few families settled on the west side of the river, soon after McCulloh arrived, and as this locality grew well, not long after a store and tavern was opened here. Mr. McIntire built a double log cabin, which was used as a hotel, and in which Louis Philippe, King of France, was once entertained. Although the fare and accommodations were of the pioneer period, the honorable guest seems to have enjoyed his visit, if the statements of Lewis Cass in his "Camp and Court of Louis Philippe" may be believed.

In 1804, Muskingum County was formed by the Legislature, and, for a while, strenuous efforts made to secure the State capital by the citizens of Zanesville. They even erected buildings for the use of the Legislature and Governor, and during the sessions of 1810-11, the temporary seat of government was fixed here. When the permanent State capital was chosen in 1816, Zanesville was passed by, and gave up the hope. It is now one of the most enterprising towns in the Muskingum Valley.

During the summer of 1797, John Knoop, then living four miles above Cincinnati, made several expeditions up the Miami Valley and selected the land on which he afterward located. The next spring Mr. Knoop, his brother Benjamin, Henry Garard, Benjamin Hamlet and John Tildus established a station in what is now Miami County, near the present town of Staunton Village. That summer, Mrs. Knoop planted the first apple-tree in the Miami^{*} country. They all lived together for greater safety for two years, during which time they were occupied clearing their farms and erecting dwellings. During the summer, the site of Piqua was settled, and three young men located at a place known as "Freeman's Prairie." Those who

settled at Piqua were Samuel Hilliard, Job Garard, Shadrac Hudson, Jonah Rollins, Daniel Cox, Thomas Rich, and a Mr. Hunter. The last named came to the site of Piqua first in 1797, and selected his home. Until 1799, these named were the only ones in this locality; but that year emigration set in, and very shortly occupied almost all the bottom land in Miami County. With the increase of emigration, came the comforts of life, and mills, stores and other necessary aids to civilization, were ere long to be seen.

The site of Piqua is quite historic, being the theater of many important Indian occurrences, and the old home of the Shawnees, of which tribe Tecumseh was a chief. During the Indian war, a fort called Fort Piqua was built, near the residence of Col. John Johnston, so long the faithful Indian Agent. The fort was abandoned at the close of hostilities.

When the Miami Canal was opened through this part of the State, the country began rapidly to improve, and is now probably one of the best portions of Ohio.

About the same time the Miami was settled, a company of people from Pennsylvania and Virginia, who were principally of German and Irish descent, located in Lawrence County, near the iron region. As soon as that ore was made available, that part of the State rapidly filled with settlers, most of whom engaged in the mining and working of iron ore. Now it is very prosperous.

Another settlement was made the same season, 1797, on the Ohio side of the river, in Columbia County. The settlement progressed slowly for a while, owing to a few difficulties with the Indians. The celebrated Adam Poe had been here as early as 1782, and several localities are made locally famous by his and his brother's adventures.

In this county, on Little Beaver Creek, near its mouth, the second paper-mill west of the Alleghanies was erected in 1805-6. It was the pioneer enterprise of the kind in Ohio, and was named the Ohio Paper-Mill. Its proprietors were John Bever and John Coulter.

One of the most noted localities in the State is comprised in Greene County. The Shawnee town, "Old Chillicothe," was on the Little Miami, in this county, about three miles north of the site of Xenia. This old Indian town was, in the annals of the West, a noted place, and is frequently noticed. It is first mentioned in 1773, by Capt. Thomas Bullitt, of Virginia, who boldly advanced alone into the town and obtained the consent of

* The word Miami in the Indian tongue signified mother. The Miamis were the original owners of the valley by that name, and allowed they were created there.

the Indians to go on to Kentucky and make his settlement at the falls of the Ohio. His audacious bravery gained his request. Daniel Boone was taken prisoner early in 1778, with twenty-seven others, and kept for a time at Old Chillicothe. Through the influence of the British Governor, Hamilton, who had taken a great fancy to Boone, he and ten others were sent to Detroit. The Indians, however, had an equal fancy for the brave frontiersman, and took him back to Chillicothe, and adopted him into their tribe. About the 1st of June he escaped from them, and made his way back to Kentucky, in time to prevent a universal massacre of the whites. In July, 1779, the town was destroyed by Col. John Bowman and one hundred and sixty Kentuckians, and the Indians dispersed.

The Americans made a permanent settlement in this county in 1797 or 1798. This latter year, a mill was erected in the confines of the county, which implies the settlement was made a short time previously. A short distance east of the mill two block-houses were erected, and it was intended, should it become necessary, to surround them and the mill with pickets. The mill was used by the settlers at "Dutch Station," in Miami County, fully thirty miles distant. The richness of the country in this part of the State attracted a great number of settlers, so that by 1803 the county was established, and Xenia laid out, and designated as the county seat. Its first court house, a primitive log structure, was long preserved as a curiosity. It would indeed be a curiosity now.

Zane's trace, passing from Wheeling to Maysville, crossed the Hockhocking* River, in Fairfield County, where Lancaster is now built. Mr. Zane located one of his three sections on this river, covering the site of Zanesville. Following this trace in 1797, many individuals noted the desirableness of the locality, some of whom determined to return and settle. The site of the city had in former times been the home of the Wyandots, who had a town here, that, in 1790, contained over 500 wigwams and more than one 1,000 souls. Their town was called *Tarhee*, or, in English, the *Cranetown*, and derived its name from the prin-

pal chief of that tribe. Another portion of the tribe then lived at Toby-town, nine miles west of Tarhe-town (now Royalton), and was governed by an inferior chief called Toby. The chief's wigwam in Tarhe stood on the bank of the prairie, near a beautiful and abundant spring of water, whose outlet was the river. The wigwams of the Indians were built of the bark of trees, set on poles, in the form of a sugar camp, with one square open, fronting a fire, and about the height of a man. The Wyandot tribe that day numbered about 500 warriors. By the treaty of Greenville, they ceded all their territory, and the majority, under their chief, removed to Upper Sandusky. The remainder lingered awhile, loath to leave the home of their ancestors, but as game became scarce, they, too, left for better hunting-grounds.*

In April, 1798, Capt. Joseph Hunter, a bold, enterprising man, settled on Zane's trace, on the bank of the prairie, west of the crossings, at a place since known as "Hunter's settlement." For a time, he had no neighbors nearer than the settlers on the Muskingum and Scioto Rivers. He lived to see the country he had found a wilderness, full of the homes of industry. His wife was the first white woman that settled in the valley, and shared with him all the privations of a pioneer life.

Mr. Hunter had not been long in the valley till he was joined by Nathaniel Wilson, John and Allen Green, John and Joseph McMullen, Robert Cooper, Isaac Shafer, and a few others, who erected cabins and planted corn. The next year, the tide of emigration came in with great force. In the spring, two settlements were made in Greenfield Township, each settlement containing twenty or more families. One was called the Forks of the Hockhocking, the other, Yankeetown. Settlements were also made along the river below Hunter's, on Rush Creek, Raccoon and Indian Creeks, Pleasant Run, Felter's Run, at Tobeytown, Muddy Prairie, and on Clear Creek. In the fall, —1799—Joseph Loveland and Hezekiah Smith built a log grist-mill at the Upper Falls of the Hockhocking, afterward known as Rock Mill. This was the first mill on this river. In the latter part of the year, a mail route was established over the trace. The mail was carried through on horseback, and, in the settlements in this locality, was left at the cabin of Samuel Coates, who lived on the prairie at the crossings of the river.

*The word *Hock-hock-ing* in the Delaware language signifies a bottle; the Shawnees have it *We-ada-kigh-pa sepe-le*; *bottle river*. John White in the American Pioneer says: "About seven miles north-west of Lancaster there is a fall in the Hockhocking of about twenty feet. Above the fall for a short distance, the creek is very narrow and straight, forming a neck, while at the falls it suddenly widens on each side and swells into the appearance of the body of a bottle. The whole, when seen from above, appears exactly in the shape of a bottle, and from this fact the Indians called the river *Hock-hock-ing*."—*House's Collection*.

In the fall of the next year, Ebenezer Zane laid out Lancaster, which, until 1805, was known as New Lancaster. The lots sold very rapidly, at \$50 each, and, in less than one year, quite a village appeared. December 9, the Governor and Judges of the Northwest Territory organized Fairfield County, and made Lancaster the county seat. The next year, Rev. John Wright, of the Presbyterian Church, and Revs. Asa Shinn and James Quinn, of the Methodist Church, came, and from that time on schools and churches were maintained.

Not far from Lancaster are immense mural escarpments of sandstone formation. They were noted among the aborigines, and were, probably, used by them as places of outlook and defense.

The same summer Fairfield County was settled, the towns of Bethel and Williamsburg, in Clermont County, were settled and laid out, and in 1800, the county was erected.

A settlement was also made immediately south of Fairfield County, in Hocking County, by Christian Westenhaver, a German, from near Hagerstown, Md. He came in the spring of 1798, and was soon joined by several families, who formed quite a settlement. The territory included in the county remained a part of Ross, Holmes, Athens and Fairfield, until 1818, when Hocking County was erected, and Logan, which had been laid out in 1816, was made the county seat.

The country comprised in the county is rather broken, especially along the Hockhocking River. This broken country was a favorite resort of the Wyandot Indians, who could easily hide in the numerous grottoes and ravines made by the river and its affluents as the water cut its way through the sandstone rocks.

In 1798, soon after Zane's trace was cut through the country, a Mr. Graham located on the site of Cambridge, in Guernsey County. His was then the only dwelling between Wheeling and Zanesville, on the trace. He remained here alone about two years, when he was succeeded by George Beymer, from Somerset, Penn. Both these persons kept a tavern and ferry over Will's Creek. In April, 1803, Mr. Beymer was succeeded by John Beatty, who came from London, Va. His family consisted of eleven persons. The Indians hunted in this vicinity, and were frequent visitors at the tavern. In June, 1806, Cambridge was laid out, and on the day the lots were offered for sale, several families from the British Isle of Guernsey, near the coast of France, stopped here on their

way to the West. They were satisfied with the location and purchased many of the lots, and some land in the vicinity. They were soon followed by other families from the same place, all of whom settling in this locality gave the name to the county when it was erected in 1810.

A settlement was made in the central part of the State, on Darby Creek, in Union County, in the summer of 1798, by James and Joshua Ewing. The next year, they were joined by Samuel and David Mitchell. Samuel Mitchell, Jr., Samuel Kirkpatrick and Samuel McCullough, and, in 1800, by George and Samuel Reed, Robert Snodgrass and Paul Hodgson.

"James Ewing's farm was the site of an ancient and noted Mingo town, which was deserted at the time the Mingo towns, in what is now Logan County, were destroyed by Gen. Logan, of Kentucky, in 1786. When Mr. Ewing took possession of his farm, the cabins were still standing, and, among others, the remains of a blacksmith's shop, with coal, cinders, iron-dross, etc. Jonathan Alden, formerly a prisoner among the Indians, says the shop was carried on by a renegade white man, named Butler, who lived among the Mingoes. Extensive fields had formerly been cultivated in the vicinity of the town."^{*}

Soon after the settlement was established, Col. James Curry located here. He was quite an influential man, and, in 1820, succeeded in getting the county formed from portions of Delaware, Franklin, Madison and Logan, and a part of the old Indian Territory. Marysville was made the county seat.

During the year 1789, a fort, called Fort Steuben, was built on the site of Steubenville, but was dismantled at the conclusion of hostilities in 1795. Three years after, Bezaleel Williams and Hon. James Ross, for whom Ross County was named, located the town of Steubenville about the old fort, and, by liberal offers of lots, soon attracted quite a number of settlers. In 1805, the town was incorporated, and then had a population of several hundred persons. Jefferson County was created by Gov. St. Clair, July 29, 1797, the year before Steubenville was laid out. It then included the large scope of country west of Pennsylvania; east and north of a line from the mouth of the Cuyahoga; southwardly to the Muskingum, and east to the Ohio; including, in its territories, the cities of Cleveland, Canton, Steubenville and War-

* Howe's Collections.

ren. Only a short time, however, was it allowed to retain this size, as the increase in emigration rendered it necessary to erect new counties, which was rapidly done, especially on the adoption of the State government.

The county is rich in early history, prior to its settlement by the Americans. It was the home of the celebrated Mingo chief, Logan, who resided awhile at an old Mingo town, a few miles below the site of Steubenville, the place where the troops under Col. Williamson rendezvoused on their infamous raid against the Moravian Indians; and also where Col. Crawford and his men met, when starting on their unfortunate expedition.

In the Reserve, settlements were often made remote from populous localities, in accordance with the wish of a proprietor, who might own a tract of country twenty or thirty miles in the interior. In the present county of Geauga, three families located at Burton in 1798. They lived at a considerable distance from any other settlement for some time, and were greatly inconvenienced for the want of mills or shops. As time progressed, however, these were brought nearer, or built in their midst, and, ere long, almost all parts of the Reserve could show some settlement, even if isolated.

The next year, 1799, settlements were made at Ravenna, Deerfield and Palmyra, in Portage County. Hon. Benjamin Tappan came to the site of Ravenna in June, at which time he found one white man, a Mr. Honey, living there. At this date, a solitary log cabin occupied the sites of Buffalo and Cleveland. On his journey from New England, Mr. Tappan fell in with David Hudson, the founder of the Hudson settlement in Summit County. After many days of travel, they landed at a prairie in Summit County. Mr. Tappan left his goods in a cabin, built for the purpose, under the care of a hired man, and went on his way, cutting a road to the site of Ravenna, where his land lay. On his return for a second load of goods, they found the cabin deserted, and evidences of its plunder by the Indians. Not long after, it was learned that the man left in charge had gone to Mr. Hudson's settlement, he having set out immediately on his arrival, for his own land. Mr. Tappan gathered the remainder of his goods, and started back for Ravenna. On his way one of his oxen died, and he found himself in a vast forest, away from any habitation, and with one dollar in money. He did not falter a moment, but sent his hired man, a faithful fellow, to Erie, Penn., a distance of one hundred miles, through the wilderness with the compass for his

guide, requesting from Capt. Lyman, the commander at the fort there, a loan of money. At the same time, he followed the township lines to Youngstown, where he became acquainted with Col. James Hillman, who did not hesitate to sell him an ox on credit, at a fair price. He returned to his load in a few days, found his ox all right, hitched the two together and went on. He was soon joined by his hired man, with the money, and together they spent the winter in a log cabin. He gave his man one hundred acres of land as a reward, and paid Col. Hillman for the ox. In a year or two he had a prosperous settlement, and when the county was erected in 1807, Ravenna was made the seat of justice.

About the same time Mr. Tappan began his settlement, others were commenced in other localities in this county. Early in May, 1799, Lewis Day and his son Horatio, of Granby, Conn., and Moses Tibbals and Green Frost, of Granville, Mass., left their homes in a one-horse wagon, and, the 29th of May, arrived in what is now Deerfield Township. Theirs was the first wagon that had ever penetrated farther westward in this region than Canfield. The country west of that place had been an unbroken wilderness until within a few days. Capt. Caleb Atwater, of Wallingford, Conn., had hired some men to open a road to Township No. 1, in the Seventh Range, of which he was the owner. This road passed through Deerfield, and was completed to that place when the party arrived at the point of their destination. These emigrants selected sites, and commenced clearing the land. In July, Lewis Ely arrived from Granville, and wintered here, while those who came first, and had made their improvements, returned East. The 4th of March, 1800, Alva Day (son of Lewis Day), John Campbell and Joel Thrall arrived. In April, George and Robert Taylor and James Laughlin, from Pennsylvania, with their families, came. Mr. Laughlin built a grist-mill, which was of great convenience to the settlers. July 29, Lewis Day returned with his family and his brother-in-law, Maj. Rogers, who, the next year, also brought his family.

Much suffering was experienced at first on account of the scarcity of provisions. They were chiefly supplied from the settlements east of the Ohio River, the nearest of which was Georgetown, forty miles away. The provisions were brought on pack-horses through the wilderness. August 22, Mrs. Alva Day gave birth to a child—a female—the first child born in the township.

November 7, the first wedding took place. John Campbell and Sarah Ely were joined in wedlock by Calvin Austin, Esq., of Warren. He was accompanied from Warren, a distance of twenty-seven miles, by Mr. Pease, then a lawyer, afterward a well-known Judge. They came on foot, there being no road; and, as they threaded their way through the woods, young Pease taught the Justice the marriage ceremony by oft repetition.

"In 1802, Franklin Township was organized, embracing all of Portage and parts of Trumbull and Summit Counties. About this time the settlement received accessions from all parts of the East. In February, 1801, Rev. Badger came and began his labors, and two years later Dr. Shadrac Bostwick organized a Methodist Episcopal church.* The remaining settlement in this county, Palmyra, was begun about the same time as the others, by David Daniels, from Salisbury, Conn. The next year he brought out his family. Soon after he was joined by E. N. and W. Bacon, E. Cutler, A. Thurber, A. Preston, N. Bois, J. T. Baldwin, T. and C. Gilbert, D. A. and S. Waller, N. Smith, Joseph Fisher, J. Tuttle and others.

"When this region was first settled, there was an Indian trail commencing at Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Penn.), and extending westward to Sandusky and Detroit. The trail followed the highest ground. Along the trail, parties of Indians were frequently seen passing, for several years after the whites came. It seemed to be the great aboriginal thoroughfare from Sandusky to the Ohio River. There were several large piles of stones on the trail in this locality, under which human skeletons have been discovered. These are supposed to be the remains of Indians slain in war, or murdered by their enemies, as tradition says it is an Indian custom for each one to cast a stone on the grave of an enemy, whenever he passes by. These stones appear to have been picked up along the trail, and cast upon the heaps at different times.

"At the point where this trail crosses Silver Creek, Fredrick Daniels and others, in 1814, discovered, painted on several trees, various devices, evidently the work of Indians. The bark was carefully shaved off two-thirds of the way around, and figures cut upon the wood. On one of these was delineated seven Indians, equipped in a particular manner, one of whom was without a head. This was supposed to have been made by a party on their return westward, to give intelligence to

their friends behind, of the loss of one of their party at this place; and, on making search, a human skeleton was discovered near by."*

The celebrated Indian hunter, Brady, made his remarkable leap across the Cuyahoga, in this county. The county also contains Brady's Pond, a large sheet of water, in which he once made his escape from the Indians, from which circumstance it received its name.

The locality comprised in Clark County was settled the same summer as those in Summit County. John Humphries came to this part of the State with Gen. Simon Kenton, in 1799. With them came six families from Kentucky, who settled north of the site of Springfield. A fort was erected on Mad River, for security against the Indians. Fourteen cabins were soon built near it, all being surrounded by a strong picket fence. David Lowery, one of the pioneers here, built the first flat-boat, to operate on the Great Miami, and, in 1800, made the first trip on that river, coming down from Dayton. He took his boat and cargo on down to New Orleans, where he disposed of his load of "five hundred venison hams and bacon."

Springfield was laid out in March, 1801. Griffith Fous, who came that spring, built a tavern, which he completed and opened in June, remaining in this place till 1814. He often stated that when emigrating West, his party were four days and a half getting from Franklinton, on the Scioto, to Springfield, a distance of forty-two miles. When crossing the Big Darby, they were obliged to carry all their goods over on horseback, and then drag their wagons across with ropes, while some of the party swam by the side of the wagon, to prevent its upsetting. The site of the town was of such practical beauty and utility, that it soon attracted a large number of settlers, and, in a few years, Springfield was incorporated. In 1811, a church was built by the residents for the use of all denominations.

Clark County is made famous in aboriginal history, as the birthplace and childhood home of the noted Indian, Tecumseh.† He was born in

* Howe's Collections.

† Tecumseh, or Tecumsehwa, was a son of Puckeshiowa, a member of the Kispopek tribe, and Methoataske, of the Turtle tribe of the Shawnee nation. They removed from Florida to Ohio soon after their marriage. The father, Puckeshiowa, became the tank of a chief, and fell at the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774. After his death, the mother, Methoataske, returned to the south, where she died at an advanced age. Tecumseh was born about the year 1768. He early showed a propensity for war, and, when only 27 years of age, was made a chief. The next year he removed to Deer Creek, in the vicinity of Urbana, and thence to the site of Piqua, on the Great Miami. In 1794 he accepted the invitation of the Delawares in the vicinity of White River, Indiana, and from that time made

* Howe's Collections.

the old Indian town of Piqua, the ancient Piqua of the Shawanees, on the north side of Mad River, about five miles west of Springfield. The town was destroyed by the Kentucky Rangers under Gen. George Rogers Clarke in 1780, at the same time he destroyed "Old Chillicothe." Immense fields of standing corn about both towns were cut down, compelling the Indians to resort to the hunt with more than ordinary vigor, to sustain themselves and their wives and children. This search insured safety for some time on the borders. The site of Cadiz, in Harrison County, was settled in April, 1799, by Alexander Henderson and his family, from Washington County, Penn. When they arrived, they found neighbors in the persons of Daniel Peterson and his family, who lived near the forks of Short Creek, and who had preceded them but a very short time. The next year, emigrants began to cross the Ohio in great numbers, and in five or six years large settlements could be seen in this part of the State. The county was erected in 1814, and Cadiz, laid out in 1803, made the county seat.

While the settlers were locating in and about Cadiz, a few families came to what is now Monroe County, and settled near the present town of Beallsville. Shortly after, a few persons settled on the Clear Fork of the Little Muskingum, and a few others on the east fork of Duck Creek. The

next season all these settlements received additions and a few other localities were also occupied. Before long the town of Beallsville was laid out, and in time became quite populous. The county was not erected until 1813, and in 1815 Woodsfield was laid out and made the seat of justice.

The opening of the season of 1800—the dawn of a new century—saw a vast emigration westward. Old settlements in Ohio received immense increase of emigrants, while, branching out in all directions like the *radii* of a circle, other settlements were constantly formed until, in a few years, all parts of the State knew the presence of the white man.

Towns sprang into existence here and there; mills and factories were erected; post offices and post-routes were established, and the comforts and conveniences of life began to appear.

With this came the desire, so potent to the mind of all American citizens, to rule themselves through representatives chosen by their own votes. Hitherto, they had been ruled by a Governor and Judges appointed by the President, who, in turn, appointed county and judicial officers. The arbitrary rulings of the Governor, St. Clair, had arrayed the mass of the people against him, and made the desire for the second grade of government stronger, and finally led to its creation.

CHAPTER X.

FORMATION OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT—OHIO A STATE—THE STATE CAPITALS—LEGISLATION—THE "SWEEPING RESOLUTIONS"—TERRITORIAL AND STATE GOVERNORS.

SETTLEMENTS increased so rapidly in that part of the Northwest Territory included in Ohio, during the decade from 1788 to 1798, despite the Indian war, that the demand for an election of a Territorial Assembly could not be ignored by Gov. St. Clair, who, having ascertained that 5,000 free males resided within the limits of the Territory, issued his proclamation October 29, 1798, directing the electors to elect representatives to a General Assembly. He ordered the election

to be held on the third Monday in December, and directed the representatives to meet in Cincinnati January 22, 1799.

On the day designated, the representatives * assembled at Cincinnati, nominated ten persons, whose names were sent to the President, who selected five to constitute the Legislative Council.

* Those elected were: from Washington County, Return Jonathan Meigs and Paulding; from Hamilton County, William Geerhardt, William McMillan, John Smith, John Linton, Robert Robinson, Asa Clark, Jr. and Jacob Mather; from St. Clair County, Ulisses, Stephen Board, from Ross County, Lorenzo, John Smith, from Gallia, John Coffey, John Kilpatrick, from Wayne County, Simeon Solley, John Wright and Charles F. Clark; from Jefferson, from Adams County, Joseph Darlington and Nathaniel Mason; from Belmont County, James Pittsford; from Ross County, Thomas W. Thompson, Elias Douglass, Samuel French and Edward John. The five originally chosen as the Upper House were all from counties afterward included in the state.

his home with them. He was most active in the war of 1812 against the Americans, and from the time he began his work to no better tribes, his history is a closely interwoven with that of the reader is referred to the history of that war in succeeding pages. It may not be amiss to say that all states regard him as the author of his death as a concealed assassin. He was scalped, shot, killed in the course of the battle of the Thames in Canada in 1813, and has been secretly buried by the Indians.

or Upper House. These five were Jacob Burnet, James Findley, Henry Vanderburgh, Robert Oliver and David Vance. On the 3d of March, the Senate confirmed their nomination, and the Territorial Government of Ohio*—or, more properly, the Northwest—was complete. As this comprised the essential business of this body, it was prorogued by the Governor, and the Assembly directed to meet at the same place September 16, 1799, and proceed to the enactment of laws for the Territory.

That day, the Territorial Legislature met again at Cincinnati, but, for want of a quorum, did not organize until the 24th. The House consisted of nineteen members, seven of whom were from Hamilton County, four from Ross, three from Wayne, two from Adams, one from Jefferson, one from Washington and one from Knox. Assembling both branches of the Legislature, Gov. St. Clair addressed them, recommending such measures to their consideration as, in his judgment, were suited to the condition of the country. The Council then organized, electing Henry Vanderburgh, President; William C. Schenck, Secretary; George Howard, Doorkeeper, and Abraham Carey, Sergeant-at-arms.

The House also organized, electing Edward Tiffin, Speaker; John Reilly, Clerk; Joshua Rowland, Doorkeeper, and Abraham Carey, Sergeant-at-arms.

This was the first legislature elected in the old Northwestern Territory. During its first session, it passed thirty bills, of which the Governor vetoed eleven. They also elected William Henry Harrison, then Secretary of the Territory, delegate to Congress. The Legislature continued in session till December 19, having much to do in forming new laws, when they were prorogued by the Governor, until the first Monday in November, 1800. The second session was held in Chillicothe, which had been designated as the seat of government by Congress, until a permanent capital should be selected.

May 7, 1800, Congress passed an act establishing Indiana Territory, including all the country west of the Great Miami River to the Mississippi, and appointed William Henry Harrison its Governor. At the autumn session of the Legislature

of the eastern, or old part of the Territory, William McMillan and Paul Fearing were elected to the vacancies caused by this act. By the organization of this Territory, the counties of Knox, St. Clair and Randolph, were taken out of the jurisdiction of the old Territory, and with them the representatives, Henry Vandenburg, Shadrach Bond, John Small and John Edgar.

Before the time for the next Assembly came, a new election had occurred, and a few changes were the result. Robert Oliver, of Marietta, was chosen Speaker in the place of Henry Vanderburgh. There was considerable business at this session; several new counties were to be erected; the country was rapidly filling with people, and where the scruples of the Governor could be overcome, some organization was made. He was very tenacious of his power, and arbitrary in his rulings, affirming that he, alone, had the power to create new counties. This dogmatic exercise of his veto power, his rights as ruler, and his defeat by the Indians, all tended against him, resulting in his displacement by the President. This was done, however, just at the time the Territory came from the second grade of government, and the State was created.

The third session of the Territorial Legislature continued from November 24, 1801, to January 23, 1802, when it adjourned to meet in Cincinnati, the fourth Monday in November, but owing to reasons made obvious by subsequent events, was never held, and the third session marks the decline of the Territorial government.

April 30, 1802, Congress passed an act "to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the Ohio River, to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such States into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes." In pursuance of this act, an election had been held in this part of the Territory, and members of a constitutional convention chosen, who were to meet at Chillicothe, November 1, to perform the duty assigned them.

The people throughout the country contemplated in the new State were anxious for the adoption of a State government. The arbitrary acts of the Territorial Governor had heightened this feeling; the census of the Territory gave it the lawful number of inhabitants, and nothing stood in its way.

The convention met the day designated and proceeded at once to its duties. When the time arrived for the opening of the Fourth Territorial

*Ohio never existed as a Territory proper. It was known, both before and after the division of the Northwest Territory, as the "Territory northwest of the Ohio River." Still, as the country comprised in its limits was the principal theater of action, the short name given above is made necessary in the legal course of events. Ohio, as thus never existed until the creation of the State in March, 1803.

Legislature, the convention was in session and had evidently about completed its labors. The members of the Legislature (eight of whom were members of the convention) seeing that a speedy termination of the Territorial government was inevitable, wisely concluded it was inexpedient and unnecessary to hold the proposed session.

The convention concluded its labors the 29th of November. The Constitution adopted at that time, though rather crude in some of its details, was an excellent organic instrument, and remained almost entire until 1851, when the present one was adopted. Either is too long for insertion here, but either will well pay a perusal. The one adopted by the convention in 1802 was never submitted to the people, owing to the circumstances of the times; but it was submitted to Congress February 19, 1803, and by that body accepted, and an act passed admitting Ohio to the Union.

The Territorial government ended March 3, 1803, by the organization, that day, of the State government, which organization defined the present limits of the State.

"We, the people of the Eastern Division of the Territory of the United States, Northwest of the River Ohio, having the right of admission into the General Government as a member of the Union, consistent with the Constitution of the United States, the Ordinance of Congress of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the law of Congress, entitled 'An act to enable the people of the Eastern Division of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, to form a Constitution and a State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes,' in order to establish justice, promote the welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish the following Constitution or form of government; and do mutually agree with each other to form ourselves into a free and independent State, by the name of the State of Ohio."*—*Preamble, Constitution of 1802.*

When the convention forming the Constitution, completed its labors and presented the results to Congress, and that body passed the act forming

the State, the territory included therein was divided into nine counties, whose names and dates of erection were as follows:

Washington, July 27, 1788; Hamilton, January 2, 1790; (owing to the Indian war no other counties were erected till peace was restored); Adams, July 10, 1797; Jefferson, July 29, 1797; Ross, August 20, 1798; Clermont, Fairfield and Trumbull, December 9, 1800; Belmont, September 7, 1801. These counties were the thickest-settled part of the State, yet many other localities needed organization and were clamoring for it, but owing to St. Clair's views, he refused to grant their requests. One of the first acts on the assembling of the State Legislature, March 1, 1803, was the creation of seven new counties, viz., Gallia, Scioto, Geauga, Butler, Warren, Greene and Montgomery.

Section Sixth of the "Schedule" of the Constitution required an election for the various officers and Representatives necessary under the new government, to be held the second Tuesday of January, 1803, these officers to take their seats and assume their duties March 3. The Second Article provided for the regular elections, to be held on the second Tuesday of October, in each year. The Governor elected at first was to hold his office until the first regular election could be held, and thereafter to continue in office two years.

The January elections placed Edward Tiffin in the Governor's office, sent Jeremiah Morrow to Congress, and chose an Assembly, who met on the day designated, at Chillicothe. Michael Baldwin was chosen Speaker of the House, and Nathaniel Massie, of the Senate. The Assembly appointed William Creighton, Jr., Secretary of State; Col. Thomas Gibson, Auditor; William McFarland, Treasurer; Return J. Meigs, Jr., Samuel Huntington and William Spragg, Judges of the Supreme Court; Francis Dunlevy, Wyllis Silliman and Calvin Pease, President Judges of the First, Second and Third Districts, and Thomas Worthington and John Smith, United States Senators. Charles Willing Byrd was made the United States District Judge.

The act of Congress forming the State contained certain requisitions regarding public schools, the "salt springs," public lands, taxation of Government lands, Symmes purchase, etc., which the constitutional convention agreed to with a few minor considerations. These Congress accepted, and passed the act in accordance thereto. The First General Assembly found abundance of work

* The name of the State is derived from the river forming its southern boundary. Its origin is somewhat obscure, but is commonly ascribed to the Indians. On this point, Col. Johnston says: "The Shawnees called the Ohio River 'Aa-ke-pela, Sepe, i. e., 'Eagle River.' The Wyandots were in the country generations before the Shawnees, and, consequently, their name of the river is the primitive one and should stand in preference to all others, this may be called an improvement on the expression, 'O-ho-suk,' and was, no doubt, adopted by the early French voyageurs in their boat-songs, and is substantially the same word as used by the Wyandots; the meaning applied by the French, fair and beautiful 'La belle rivière,' being the same precisely as that meant by the Indians—"great, grand and fair to look upon."—*Hove's Collection.*

Webster's Dictionary gives the word as of Indian origin, and its meaning to be, "Beautiful."

to do regarding these various items, and, at once, set themselves to the task. Laws were passed regarding all these; new counties created; officers appointed for the same, until they could be elected, and courts and machinery of government put in motion. President Judges and lawyers traveled their circuits holding courts, often in the open air or in a log shanty; a constable doing duty as guard over a jury, probably seated on a log under a tree, or in the bushes. The President Judge instructed the officers of new counties in their duties, and though the whole keeping of matters accorded with the times, an honest feeling generally prevailed, inducing each one to perform his part as effectually as his knowledge permitted.

The State continually filled with people. New towns arose all over the country. Excepting the occasional sicknesses caused by the new climate and fresh soil, the general health of the people improved as time went on. They were fully in accord with the President, Jefferson, and carefully nurtured those principles of personal liberty engrafted in the fundamental law of 1787, and later, in the Constitution of the State.

Little if any change occurred in the natural course of events, following the change of government until Burr's expedition and plan of secession in 1805 and 1806 appeared. What his plans were, have never been definitely ascertained. His action related more to the General Government, yet Ohio was called upon to aid in putting down his insurrection—for such it was thought to be—and defeated his purposes, whatever they were. His plans ended only in ignominious defeat; the breaking-up of one of the finest homes in the Western country, and the expulsion of himself and all those who were actively engaged in his scheme, whatever its imports were.

Again, for a period of four or five years, no exciting events occurred. Settlements continued; mills and factories increased; towns and cities grew; counties were created; trade enlarged, and naught save the common course of events transpired to mark the course of time. Other States were made from the old Northwest Territory, all parts of which were rapidly being occupied by settlers. The danger from Indian hostilities was little, and the adventurous whites were rapidly occupying their country. One thing, however, was yet a continual source of annoyance to the Americans, viz., the British interference with the Indians. Their traders did not scruple, nor fail on every opportunity, to aid these sons of the

forest with arms and ammunition as occasion offered, endeavoring to stir them up against the Americans, until events here and on the high seas culminated in a declaration of hostilities, and the war of 1812 was the result. The deluded red men found then, as they found in 1795, that they were made tools by a stronger power, and dropped when the time came that they were no longer needed.

Before the opening of hostilities occurred, however, a series of acts passed the General Assembly, causing considerable excitement. These were the famous "Sweeping Resolutions," passed in 1810. For a few years prior to their passage, considerable discontent prevailed among many of the legislators regarding the rulings of the courts, and by many of these embryo law-makers, the legislative power was considered omnipotent. They could change existing laws and contracts did they desire to, thought many of them, even if such acts conflicted with the State and National Constitutions. The "Sweeping Resolutions" were brought about mainly by the action of the judges in declaring that justices of the peace could, in the collection of debts, hold jurisdiction in amounts not exceeding fifty dollars without the aid of a jury. The Constitution of the United States gave the jury control in all such cases where the amount did not exceed twenty dollars. There was a direct contradiction against the organic law of the land—to which every other law and act is subservient, and when the judges declared the legislative act unconstitutional and hence null and void, the Legislature became suddenly inflamed at their independence, and proceeded at once to punish the administrators of justice. The legislature was one of the worst that ever controlled the State, and was composed of many men who were not only ignorant of common law, the necessities of a State, and the dignity and true import of their office, but were demagogues in every respect. Having the power to impeach officers, that body at once did so, having enough to carry a two-thirds majority, and removed several judges. Further maturing their plans, the "Sweepers," as they were known, construed the law appointing certain judges and civil officers for seven years, to mean seven years from the organization of the State, whether they had been officers that length of time or not. All officers, whether of new or old counties, were construed as included in the act, and, utterly ignoring the Constitution, an act was passed in January, 1810, removing every civil officer in the State.

February 10, they proceeded to fill all these vacant offices, from State officers down to the lowest county office, either by appointment or by ordering an election in the manner prescribed by law.

The Constitution provided that the office of judges should continue for seven years, evidently seven years from the time they were elected, and not from the date of the admission of the State, which latter construction this headlong Legislature had construed as the meaning. Many of the counties had been organized but a year or two, others three or four years; hence an indescribable confusion arose as soon as the new set of officers were appointed or elected. The new order of things could not be made to work, and finally, so utterly impossible did the justness of the proceedings become, that it was dropped. The decisions of the courts were upheld, and the invidious doctrine of supremacy in State legislation received such a check that it is not likely ever to be repeated.

Another act of the Assembly, during this period, shows its construction. Congress had granted a township of land for the use of a university, and located the township in Symmes' purchase. This Assembly located the university on land outside of this purchase, ignoring the act of Congress, as they had done before, showing not only ignorance of the true scope of law, but a lack of respect unbecoming such bodies.

The seat of government was also moved from Chillicothe to Zanesville, which vainly hoped to be made the permanent State capital, but the next session it was again taken to Chillicothe, and commissioners appointed to locate a permanent capital site.

These commissioners were James Findley, Joseph Darlington, Wyllys Silliman, Reason Beall, and William McFarland. It is stated that they reported at first in favor of Dublin, a small town on the Scioto about fourteen miles above Columbus. At the session of 1812-13, the Assembly accepted the proposals of Col. James Johnston, Alexander McLaughlin, John Kerr, and Lyne Starling, who owned the site of Columbus. The Assembly also decreed that the temporary seat of government should remain at Chillicothe until the buildings necessary for the State officers should be

erected, when it would be taken there, forever to remain. This was done in 1816, in December of that year the first meeting of the Assembly being held there.

The site selected for the capital was on the east bank of the Scioto, about a mile below its junction with the Olentangy. Wide streets were laid out, and preparations for a city made. The expectations of the founders have been, in this respect, realized. The town was laid out in the spring of 1812, under the direction of Moses Wright. A short time after, the contract for making it the capital was signed. June 18, the same day war was declared against Great Britain, the sale of lots took place. Among the early settlers were George McCormick, George B. Harvey, John Shields, Michael Patton, Alexander Patton, William Altman, John Collett, William McElvain, Daniel Kooser, Peter Putnam, Jacob Hare, Christian Heyl, Jarvis, George and Benjamin Pike, William Long, and Dr. John M. Edminster. In 1814, a house of worship was built, a school opened, a newspaper—*The Western Intelligencer* and *Columbus Gazette*, now the *Ohio State Journal*—was started, and the old State House erected. In 1816, the "Borough of Columbus" was incorporated, and a mail route once a week between Chillicothe and Columbus started. In 1819, the old United States Court House was erected, and the seat of justice removed from Franklinton to Columbus. Until 1826, times were exceedingly "slow" in the new capital, and but little growth experienced. The improvement period revived the capital, and enlivened its trade and growth so that in 1834, a city charter was granted. The city is now about third in size in the State, and contains many of the most prominent public institutions. The present capitol building, one of the best in the West, is patterned somewhat after the national Capitol at Washington City.

From the close of the agitation of the "Sweeping Resolutions," until the opening of the war of 1812, but a short time elapsed. In fact, scarcely had one subsided, ere the other was upon the country. Though the war was national, its theater of operations was partly in Ohio, that State taking an active part in its operations. Indeed, its liberty depended on the war.

LIST OF TERRITORIAL AND STATE GOVERNORS.

From the organization of the first civil government in the Northwest Territory (1788 to 1802), of which the State of Ohio was a part, until the year 1880.

NAME	COUNTY.	Term Commenced	Term Ended
(a) Arthur St. Clair.....	Hamilton.....	July 13, 1788	1802
*Charles Willing Byrd.....	Hamilton.....	1802 March 3, 1803	
(b) Edward Tiffin.....	Ross.....	March 3, 1803	March 4, 1807
(c) †Thomas Kirkner.....	Adams.....	March 4, 1807	Dec. 12, 1808
Samuel Huntington.....	Trumbull.....	Dec. 12, 1808	Dec. 8, 1810
(d) Return Jonathan Meigs.....	Washington.....	Dec. 8, 1810	March 25, 1814
†Nathaniel Looker.....	Hamilton.....	April 14, 1814	Dec. 8, 1814
Thomas Worthington.....	Ross.....	Dec. 8, 1814	Dec. 14, 1818
(e) Ethan Allen Brown.....	Hamilton.....	Dec. 14, 1818	Jan. 4, 1822
†Allen Trimble.....	Highland.....	Jan. 7, 1822	Dec. 28, 1822
Jeremiah Morrow.....	Warren.....	Dec. 28, 1822	Dec. 19, 1826
Allen Trimble.....	Highland.....	Dec. 19, 1826	Dec. 18, 1830
Duncan McArthur.....	Ross.....	Dec. 18, 1830	Dec. 7, 1832
Robert Lucas.....	Pike.....	Dec. 7, 1832	Dec. 18, 1836
Joseph Vance.....	Champaign.....	Dec. 18, 1836	Dec. 18, 1838
Wilson Shannon.....	Belmont.....	Dec. 18, 1838	Dec. 18, 1840
Thomas Corwin.....	Warren.....	Dec. 18, 1840	Dec. 14, 1842
(f) Wilson Shannon.....	Belmont.....	Dec. 14, 1842	April 18, 1844
†Thomas W. Bartley.....	Richland.....	April 18, 1844	Dec. 8, 1844
Mordecai Bartley.....	Richland.....	Dec. 8, 1844	Dec. 12, 1846
William Behn.....	Bürler.....	Dec. 12, 1846	Jan. 22, 1849
(g) Seabury Ford.....	Geauga.....	Jan. 22, 1849	Dec. 12, 1850
(h) Reuben Wood.....	Cuyahoga.....	Dec. 12, 1850	July 15, 1853
(j) †William Medill.....	Fairfield.....	July 15, 1853	Jan. 14, 1856
Salmon P. Chase.....	Hamilton.....	Jan. 14, 1856	Jan. 9, 1860
William Dennison.....	Franklin.....	Jan. 9, 1860	Jan. 13, 1862
David Tod.....	Mahoning.....	Jan. 13, 1862	Jan. 12, 1864
(k) John Brough.....	Wayne.....	Jan. 12, 1864	Aug. 29, 1865
Charles Anderson.....	Montgomery.....	Aug. 30, 1865	Jan. 9, 1866
Jacob D. Cox.....	Trumbull.....	Jan. 9, 1866	Jan. 13, 1868
Rutherford B. Hayes.....	Hamilton.....	Jan. 13, 1868	Jan. 8, 1872
Edward F. Noyes.....	Hamilton.....	Jan. 8, 1872	Jan. 12, 1874
William Allen.....	Ross.....	Jan. 12, 1874	Jan. 14, 1876
(l) Rutherford B. Hayes.....	Sandusky.....	Jan. 14, 1876	March 2, 1877
(m) Thomas J. Young.....	Hamilton.....	March 2, 1877	Jun. 11, 1878
Richard M. Bishop.....	Hamilton.....	Jan. 14, 1878	Jan. 14, 1880
Charles Foster.....	Sandusky.....	Jan. 14, 1880	

(a) Arthur St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, was Governor of the Northwest Territory, of which Ohio was a part, from July 13, 1788, when the first civil government was established in the Territory, until about the close of the year 1802, when he was removed by the President.

*Secretary of the Territory, and was acting Governor of the Territory after the removal of Gov. St. Clair.

(b) Resigned March 3, 1807, to accept the office of U. S. Senator.

(c) Return Jonathan Meigs was elected Governor on the second Tuesday of October, 1807, over Nathaniel Massie, who contested the election of Meigs, on the ground that "he had not been a resident of this State for four years next preceding the election, as required by the Constitution," and the General Assembly, in joint convention, declared that he was not eligible. The office was not given to Massie, nor does it appear, from the records, that he claimed it, but Thomas Kirkner, acting Governor, continued to discharge the duties of the office until December 12, 1808, when Samuel Huntington was inaugurated, he having been elected on the second Tuesday of October in that year.

(d) Resigned, March 25, 1814, to accept the office of Postmaster-General of the United States.

(e) Resigned January 4, 1822, to accept the office of United States Senator.

(f) Resigned April 13, 1844, to accept the office of Minister to Mexico.

(g) The result of the election in 1848 was not finally determined in joint convention of the two houses of the General Assembly until January 19, 1849, and the inauguration did not take place until the 22d of that month.

(h) Resigned July 15, 1853 to accept the office of Consul to Valparaiso.

(i) Elected in October, 1853, for the regular term, to commence on the second Monday of January, 1854.

(k) Died August 29, 1865.

† Acting Governor.

‡ Acting Governor, vice Wilson Shannon, resigned.

§ Acting Governor, vice Reuben Wood, resigned.

|| Acting Governor, vice John Brough, deceased.

|| Resigned March 2, 1877, to accept the office of President of the United States.

(m) Vice Rutherford B. Hayes, resigned.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WAR OF 1812—GROWTH OF THE STATE—CANAL, RAILROADS AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS
—DEVELOPMENT OF STATE RESOURCES.

IN June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain. Before this, an act was passed by Congress, authorizing the increase of the regular army to thirty-five thousand troops, and a large force of volunteers, to serve twelve months. Under this act, Return J. Meigs, then Governor of Ohio, in April and May, 1812, raised three regiments of troops to serve twelve months. They rendezvoused at Dayton, elected their officers, and prepared for the campaign. These regiments were numbered First, Second and Third. Duncan McArthur was Colonel of the First; James Findlay, of the Second, and Lewis Cass, of the Third. Early in June these troops marched to Urbana, where they were joined by Boyd's Fourth Regiment of regular troops, under command of Col. Miller, who had been in the battle of Tippecanoe. Near the middle of June, this little army of about twenty-five hundred men, under command of Gov. William Hull, of Michigan, who had been authorized by Congress to raise the troops, started on its northern march. By the end of June, the army had reached the Maumee, after a very severe march, erecting, on the way, Forts McArthur, Necessity and Findlay. By some carelessness on the part of the American Government, no official word had been sent to the frontiers regarding the war, while the British had taken an early precaution to prepare for the crisis. Gov. Hull was very careful in military etiquette, and refused to march, or do any offensive acts, unless commanded by his superior officers at Washington. While at the Maumee, by a careless move, all his personal effects, including all his plans, number and strength of his army, etc., fell into the hands of the enemy. His campaign ended only in ignominious defeat, and well-nigh paralyzed future efforts. All Michigan fell into the hands of the British. The commander, though a good man, lacked bravery and promptness. Had Gen. Harrison been in command no such results would have been the case, and the war would have probably ended at the outset.

Before Hull had surrendered, Charles Scott, Governor of Kentucky, invited Gen. Harrison,

Governor of Indiana Territory, to visit Frankfort, to consult on the subject of defending the Northwest. Gov. Harrison had visited Gov. Scott, and in August, 1812, accepted the appointment of Major General in the Kentucky militia, and, by hasty traveling, on the receipt of the news of the surrender of Detroit, reached Cincinnati on the morning of the 27th of that month. On the 30th he left Cincinnati, and the next day overtook the army he was to command, on its way to Dayton. After leaving Dayton, he was overtaken by an express, informing him of his appointment by the Government as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Indiana and Illinois Territories. The army reached Piqua, September 3. From this place Harrison sent a body of troops to aid in the defense of Fort Wayne, threatened by the enemy. On the 6th he ordered all the troops forward, and while on the march, on September 17, he was informed of his appointment as commander of the entire Northwestern troops. He found the army poorly clothed for a winter campaign, now approaching, and at once issued a stirring address to the people, asking for food and comfortable clothing. The address was not in vain. After his appointment, Gen. Harrison pushed on to Auglaize, where, leaving the army under command of Gen. Winchester, he returned to the interior of the State, and establishing his headquarters at Franklinton, began active measures for the campaign.

Early in March, 1812, Col. John Miller raised, under orders, a regiment of infantry in Ohio, and in July assembled his enlisted men at Chillicothe, where, placing them—only one hundred and forty in number—under command of Captain Angus Lewis, he sent them on to the frontier. They erected a block-house at Piqua and then went on to Defiance, to the main body of the army.

In July, 1812, Gen. Edward W. Tupper, of Gallia County, raised one thousand men for six months' duty. Under orders from Gen. Winchester, they marched through Chillicothe and Urbana, on to the Maumee, where, near the lower end of the rapids, they made an ineffectual attempt to drive off the enemy. Failing in this, the enemy

attacked Tupper and his troops, who, though worn down with the march and not a little disorganized through the jealousies of the officers, withheld the attack, and repulsed the British and their red allies, who returned to Detroit, and the Americans to Fort McArthur.

In the fall of 1812, Gen. Harrison ordered a detachment of six hundred men, mostly mounted, to destroy the Indian towns on the Mississineway River, one of the head-waters of the Wabash. The winter set in early and with unusual severity. At the same time this expedition was carried on, Bonaparte was retreating from Moscow. The expedition accomplished its design, though the troops suffered greatly from the cold, no less than two hundred men being more or less frost bitten.

Gen. Harrison determined at once to retake Michigan and establish a line of defense along the southern shores of the lakes. Winchester was sent to occupy Forts Wayne and Defiance; Perkins' brigade to Lower Sandusky, to fortify an old stockade, and some Pennsylvania troops and artillery sent there at the same time. As soon as Gen. Harrison heard the results of the Mississineway expedition, he went to Chillicothe to consult with Gov. Meigs about further movements, and the best methods to keep the way between the Upper Miami and the Maumee continually open. He also sent Gen. Winchester word to move forward to the rapids of the Maumee and prepare for winter quarters. This Winchester did by the middle of January, 1813, establishing himself on the northern bank of the river, just above Wayne's old battle-ground. He was well fixed here, and was enabled to give his troops good bread, made from corn gathered in Indian corn-fields in this vicinity.

While here, the inhabitants of Frenchtown, on the Raisin River, about twenty miles from Detroit, sent Winchester word claiming protection from the threatened British and Indian invasion, avowing themselves in sympathy with the Americans. A council of war decided in favor of their request, and Col. Lewis, with 550 men, sent to their relief. Soon after, Col. Allen was sent with more troops, and the enemy easily driven away from about Frenchtown. Word was sent to Gen. Winchester, who determined to march with all the men he could spare to aid in holding the post gained. He left, the 19th of January, with 250 men, and arrived on the evening of the 20th. Failing to take the necessary precaution, from some unexplained reason, the enemy came up in the night, established his batteries, and, the next day, sur-

pised and defeated the American Army with a terrible loss. Gen. Winchester was made a prisoner, and, finally, those who were intrenched in the town surrendered, under promise of Proctor, the British commander, of protection from the Indians. This promise was grossly violated the next day. The savages were allowed to enter the town and enact a massacre as cruel and bloody as any in the annals of the war, to the everlasting ignominy of the British General and his troops.

Those of the American Army that escaped, arrived at the rapids on the evening of the 22d of January, and soon the sorrowful news spread throughout the army and nations. Gen. Harrison set about retrieving the disaster at once. Delay could do no good. A fort was built at the rapids, named Fort Meigs, and troops from the south and west hurriedly advanced to the scene of action. The investment and capture of Detroit was abandoned, that winter, owing to the defeat at Frenchtown, and expiration of the terms of service of many of the troops. Others took their places, all parts of Ohio and bordering States sending men.

The erection of Fort Meigs was an obstacle in the path of the British they determined to remove, and, on the 28th of February, 1813, a large band of British and Indians, under command of Proctor, Tecumseh, Walk-in-the-water, and other Indian chiefs, appeared in the Maumee in boats, and prepared for the attack. Without entering into details regarding the investment of the fort, it is only necessary to add, that after a prolonged siege, lasting to the early part of May, the British were obliged to abandon the fort, having been severely defeated, and sailed for the Canadian shores.

Next followed the attacks on Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, and other predatory excursions, by the British. All of these failed of their design; the defense of Maj. Croghan and his men constituting one of the most brilliant actions of the war. For the gallant defense of Fort Stephenson by Maj. Croghan, then a young man, the army merited the highest honors. The ladies of Chillicothe voted the heroic Major a fine sword, while the whole land rejoiced at the exploits of him and his band.

The decisive efforts of the army, the great numbers of men offered—many of whom Gen. Harrison was obliged to send home, much to their disgust—Perry's victory on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813—all presaged the triumph of the American arms, soon to ensue. As soon as the battle on the lake was over, the British at Malden burned

their stores, and fled, while the Americans, under their gallant commander, followed them in Perry's vessel to the Canada shore, overtaking them on the River Thames, October 5. In the battle that ensued, Tecumseh was slain, and the British Army routed.

The war was now practically closed in the West. Ohio troops had done nobly in defending their northern frontier, and in regaining the Northwestern country. Gen. Harrison was soon after elected to Congress by the Cincinnati district, and Gen. Duncan McArthur was appointed a Brigadier General in the regular army, and assigned to the command in his place. Gen. McArthur made an expedition into Upper Canada in the spring of 1814, destroying considerable property, and driving the British farther into their own dominions. Peace was declared early in 1815, and that spring, the troops were mustered out of service at Chillicothe, and peace with England reigned supreme.

The results of the war in Ohio were, for awhile, similar to the Indian war of 1795. It brought many people into the State, and opened new portions, before unknown. Many of the soldiers immediately invested their money in lands, and became citizens. The war drove many people from the Atlantic Coast west, and as a result much money, for awhile, circulated. Labor and provisions rose, which enabled both workmen and tradesmen to enter tracts of land, and aided emigration. At the conclusion of Wayne's war in 1795, probably not more than five thousand people dwelt in the limits of the State; at the close of the war of 1812, that number was largely increased, even with the odds of war against them. After the last war, the emigration was constant and gradual, building up the State in a manner that betokened a healthful life.

As soon as the effects of the war had worn off, a period of depression set in, as a result of too free speculation indulged in at its close. Gradually a stagnation of business ensued, and many who found themselves unable to meet contracts made in "flush" times, found no alternative but to fail. To relieve the pressure in all parts of the West, Congress, about 1815, reduced the price of public lands from \$2 to \$1.25 per acre. This measure worked no little hardship on those who owned large tracts of lands, for portions of which they had not fully paid, and as a consequence, these lands, as well as all others of this class, reverted to the Government. The general market was in New

Orleans, whither goods were transported in flat-boats built especially for this purpose. This commerce, though small and poorly repaid, was the main avenue of trade, and did much for the slow prosperity prevalent. The few banks in the State found their bills at a discount abroad, and gradually becoming drained of their specie, either closed business or failed, the major part of them adopting the latter course.

The steamboat began to be an important factor in the river navigation of the West about this period. The first boat to descend the Ohio was the Orleans, built at Pittsburg in 1812, and in December of that year, while the fortunes of war hung over the land, she made her first trip from the Iron City to New Orleans, being just twelve days on the way. The second, built by Samuel Smith, was called the Comet, and made a trip as far south as Louisville, in the summer of 1813. The third, the Vesuvius, was built by Fulton, and went to New Orleans in 1814. The fourth, built by Daniel French at Brownsville, Penn., made two trips to Louisville in the summer of 1814. The next vessel, the Aetna, was built by Fulton & Company in 1815. So fast did the business increase, that, four years after, more than forty steamers floated on the Western waters. Improvements in machinery kept pace with the building, until, in 1838, a competent writer stated there were no less than four hundred steamers in the West. Since then, the erection of railways has greatly retarded ship-building, and it is altogether probable the number has increased but little.

The question of canals began to agitate the Western country during the decade succeeding the war. They had been and were being constructed in older countries, and presaged good and prosperous times. If only the waters of the lakes and the Ohio River could be united by a canal running through the midst of the State, thought the people, prosperous cities and towns would arise on its banks, and commerce flow through the land. One of the firmest friends of such improvements was De Witt Clinton, who had been the chief man in forwarding the "Clinton Canal" in New York. He was among the first to advocate the feasibility of a canal connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio River, and, by the success of the New York canals, did much to bring it about. Popular writers of the day all urged the scheme, so that when the Assembly met, early in December, 1821, the resolution offered by Micajah T. Williams, of Cincinnati,

for the appointment of a committee of five members to take into consideration so much of the Governor's message as related to canals, and see if some feasible plan could not be adopted whereby a beginning could be made, was quickly adopted.

The report of the committee, advising a survey and examination of routes, met with the approval of the Assembly, and commissioners were appointed who were to employ an engineer, examine the country and report on the practicability of a canal between the lakes and the rivers. The commissioners employed James Geddes, of Onondaga County, N. Y., as an engineer. He arrived in Columbus in June, 1822, and, before eight months, the corps of engineers, under his direction, had examined one route. During the next two summers, the examinations continued. A number of routes were examined and surveyed, and one, from Cleveland on the lake, to Portsmouth on the Ohio, was recommended. Another canal, from Cincinnati to Dayton, on the Miami, was determined on, and preparations to commence work made. A Board of Canal Fund Commissioners was created, money was borrowed, and the morning of July 4, 1825, the first shovelful of earth was dug near Newark, with imposing ceremonies, in the presence of De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York, and a mighty concourse of people assembled to witness the auspicious event.

Gov. Clinton was escorted all over the State to aid in developing the energy everywhere apparent. The events were important ones in the history of the State, and, though they led to the creation of a vast debt, yet, in the end, the canals were a benefit.

The main canal—the Ohio and Erie Canal—was not completed till 1832. The Maumee Canal, from Dayton to Cincinnati, was finished in 1834. They cost the State about \$6,000,000. Each of the main canals had branches leading to important towns, where their construction could be made without too much expense. The Miami and Maumee Canal, from Cincinnati northward along the Miami River to Piqua, thence to the Maumee and on to the lake, was the largest canal made, and, for many years, was one of the most important in the State. It joined the Wabash Canal on the eastern boundary of Indiana, and thereby saved the construction of many miles by joining this great canal from Toledo to Evansville.

The largest artificial lake in the world, it is said, was built to supply water to the Miami Canal. It exists yet, though the canal is not much used. It

is in the eastern part of Mercer County, and is about nine miles long by from two to four wide. It was formed by raising two walls of earth from ten to thirty feet high, called respectively the east and west embankments; the first of which is about two miles in length; the second, about four. These walls, with the elevation of the ground to the north and south, formed a huge basin, to retain the water. The reservoir was commenced in 1837, and finished in 1845, at an expense of several hundred thousand dollars. When first built, during the accumulation of water, much malarial disease prevailed in the surrounding country, owing to the stagnant condition of the water. The citizens, enraged at what they considered an innovation of their rights, met, and, during a dark night, tore out a portion of the lower wall, letting the water flow out. The damage cost thousands of dollars to repair. All who participated in the proceedings were liable to a severe imprisonment, but the state of feeling was such, in Mercer County, where the offense was committed, that no jury could be found that would try them, and the affair gradually died out.

The canals, so efficacious in their day, were, however, superseded by the railroads rapidly finding their way into the West. From England, where they were early used in the collieries, the transition to America was easy.

The first railroad in the United States was built in the summer of 1826, from the granite quarry belonging to the Bunker Hill Monument Association to the wharf landing, three miles distant. The road was a slight decline from the quarry to the wharf, hence the loaded cars were propelled by their own gravity. On their return, when empty, they were drawn up by a single horse. Other roads or tramways, quickly followed this. They were built at the Pennsylvania coal mines, in South Carolina, at New Orleans, and at Baltimore. Steam motive power was used in 1831 or 1832, first in America on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and in Charlestown, on a railroad there.

To transfer these highways to the West was the question of but a few years time. The prairies of Illinois and Indiana offered superior inducements to such enterprises and, early in 1835, they began to be agitated there. In 1838, the first rail was laid in Illinois, at Meredosia, a little town on the Illinois River, on what is now the Wabash Railway.

"The first railroad made in Ohio," writes Caleb Atwater, in his "History of Ohio," in 1838, "was finished in 1836 by the people of Toledo, a town

some two years old then, situated near the mouth of Maumee River. The road extends westward into Michigan and is some thirty miles in length. There is a road about to be made from Cincinnati to Springfield. This road follows the Ohio River up to the Little Miami River, and there turns northwardly up its valley to Xenia, and, passing the Yellow Springs, reaches Springfield. Its length must be about ninety miles. The State will own one-half of the road, individuals and the city of Cincinnati the other half. This road will, no doubt, be extended to Lake Erie, at Sandusky City, within a few short years."

"There is a railroad," continues Mr. Atwater, "about to be made from Painesville to the Ohio River. There are many charters for other roads, which will never be made."

Mr. Atwater notes also, the various turnpikes as well as the famous National road from Baltimore westward, then completed only to the mountains. This latter did as much as any enterprise ever enacted in building up and populating the West. It gave a national thoroughfare, which, for many years, was the principal wagon-way from the Atlantic to the Mississippi Valley.

The railroad to which Mr. Atwater refers as about to be built from Cincinnati to Springfield, was what was known as the Mad River Railroad. It is commonly conceded to be the first one built in Ohio.* Its history shows that it was chartered March 11, 1836, that work began in 1837; that it was completed and opened for business from Cincinnati to Milford, in December, 1842; to Xenia, in August, 1845, and to Springfield, in August, 1846. It was laid with strap rails until about 1848, when the present form of rail was adopted.

One of the earliest roads in Ohio was what was known as the Sandusky, Mansfield & Newark Railroad. It was chartered at first as the Monroeville & Sandusky City Railroad, March 9, 1835. March 12, 1836, the Mansfield & New Haven road was chartered; the Columbus & Lake Erie, March 12, 1845, and the Huron & Oxford, February 27, 1846. At first it ran only from Sandusky to Monroeville, then from Mansfield to Huron. These

two were connected and consolidated, and then extended to Newark, and finally, by connections, to Columbus.

It is unnecessary to follow closely the history of these improvements through the years succeeding their introduction. At first the State owned a share in nearly all railroads and canals, but finally finding itself in debt about \$15,000,000 for such improvements, and learning by its own and neighbors' experiences, that such policy was detrimental to the best interests of the people, abandoned the plan, and allowed private parties entire control of all such works. After the close of the Mexican war, and the return to solid values in 1854 or thereabouts, the increase of railroads in all parts of Ohio, as well as all parts of the West, was simply marvelous. At this date there are more than ten thousand miles of railroads in Ohio, alongside of which stretch innumerable lines of telegraph, a system of swift messages invented by Prof. Morse, and adopted in the United States about 1851.

About the time railroad building began to assume a tangible shape, in 1840, occurred the celebrated political campaign known in history as the "Hard Cider Campaign." The gradual encroachments of the slave power in the West, its arrogant attitude in the Congress of the United States and in several State legislatures; its forcible seizure of slaves in the free States, and the enactment and attempted enforcement of the "fugitive slave" law all tended to awaken in the minds of the Northern people an antagonism, terminating only in the late war and the abolition of that hideous system in the United States.

The "Whig Party" strenuously urged the abridgment or confinement of slavery in the Southern States, and in the contest the party took a most active part, and elected William Henry Harrison President of the United States. As he had been one of the foremost leaders in the war of 1812, a resident of Ohio, and one of its most popular citizens, a log cabin and a barrel of cider were adopted as his exponents of popular opinion, as expressive of the rule of the common people represented in the cabin and cider, in turn representing their primitive and simple habits of life. Though a rugged man when elected, he lived but thirty days after his inauguration, dying April 9, 1841. John Tyler, the Vice President, succeeded him in the office.

The building of railroads; the extension of commerce; the settlement of all parts of the State; its growth in commerce, education, religion and

* Hon. E. D. Mansfield states, in 1873, that the "first actual piece of railroad laid in Ohio, was made on the Cincinnati & Sandusky Railroad; but, about the same time we have the Little Miami Railroad, which was surveyed in 1816 and 1817. If this, the generally accepted opinion, is correct, then Mr. Atwater's statement as given, is wrong. His history is, however, generally conceded to be correct. Written in 1838, he surely ought to know whereof he was writing, as the railroads were then only in construction; but few, if any, in operation.

population, are the chief events from 1841 to the Mexican war. Hard times occurred about as often as they do now, preceded by "flush" times, when speculation ran rife, the people all infatuated with

an insane idea that something could be had for nothing. The bubble burst as often as inflated, ruining many people, but seemingly teaching few lessons.

CHAPTER XII.

MEXICAN WAR—CONTINUED GROWTH OF THE STATE—WAR OF THE REBELLION—OHIO'S PART IN THE CONFLICT.

THE Mexican War grew out of the question of the annexation of Texas, then a province of Mexico, whose territory extended to the Indian Territory on the north, and on up to the Oregon Territory on the Pacific Coast. Texas had been settled largely by Americans, who saw the condition of affairs that would inevitably ensue did the country remain under Mexican rule. They first took steps to secede from Mexico, and then asked the aid of America to sustain them, and annex the country to itself.

The Whig party and many others opposed this, chiefly on the grounds of the extension of slave territory. But to no avail. The war came on, Mexico was conquered, the war lasting from April 20, 1846, to May 30, 1848. Fifty thousand volunteers were called for the war by the Congress, and \$10,000,000 placed at the disposal of the President, James K. Polk, to sustain the army and prosecute the war.

The part that Ohio took in the war may be briefly summed up as follows: She had five volunteer regiments, five companies in the Fifteenth Infantry, and several independent companies, with her full proportion among the regulars. When war was declared, it was something of a crusade to many; full of romance to others; hence, many more were offered than could be received. It was a campaign of romance to some, yet one of reality, ending in death, to many.

When the first call for troops came, the First, Second and Third Regiments of infantry responded at once. Alexander Mitchell was made Colonel of the First; John D. Weller its Lieutenant Colonel; and —— Giddings, of Dayton, its Major. Thomas Hanna, one of the ablest lawyers in Ohio, started with the First as its Major, but, before the regiment left the State, he was made a Brigadier General of Volunteers, and, at the battle of Monterey, distinguished himself; and there contracted

disease and laid down his life. The regiment's Colonel, who had been wounded at Monterey, came home, removed to Minnesota, and there died. Lieut. Col. Weller went to California after the close of the war. He was a representative from that State in the halls of Congress, and, at last, died in New Orleans.

The Second Regiment was commanded by Col. George W. Morgan, now of Mount Vernon; Lieut. Col. William Irwin, of Lancaster, and Maj. William Wall. After the war closed, Irwin settled in Texas, and remained there till he died. Wall lived out his days in Ohio. The regiment was never in active field service, but was a credit to the State.

The officers of the Third Regiment were, Col. Samuel Curtis; Lieut. Col. G. W. McCook and Maj. John Love. The first two are now dead; the Major lives in Connellsville.

At the close of the first year of the war, these regiments (First, Second and Third) were mustered out of service, as their term of enlistment had expired.

When the second year of the war began, the call for more troops on the part of the Government induced the Second Ohio Infantry to re-organize, and again enter the service. William Irwin, of the former organization, was chosen Colonel; William Latham, of Columbus, Lieutenant Colonel, and —— Link, of Circleville, Major. All of them are now dead.

The regular army was increased by eight Ohio regiments of infantry, the Third Dragoons, and the Voltigeurs—light-armed soldiers. In the Fifteenth Regiment of the United States Army, there were five Ohio companies. The others were three from Michigan, and two from Wisconsin. Col. Morgan, of the old Second, was made Colonel of the Fifteenth, and John Howard, of Detroit, an old artillery officer in the regular army, Lieutenant Colonel. Samuel Wood, a captain in the Sixth

United States Infantry, was made Major; but was afterward succeeded by — Mill, of Vermont. The Fifteenth was in a number of skirmishes at first, and later in the battles of Contreras, Cherubusco and Chapultepec. At the battle of Cherubusco, the Colonel was severely wounded, and Maj. Mill, with several officers, and a large number of men, killed. For gallant service at Contreras, Col. Morgan, though only twenty-seven years old, was made a Brevet Brigadier General in the United States Army. Since the war he has delivered a number of addresses in Ohio, on the campaigns in Mexico.

The survivors of the war are now few. Though seventy-five thousand men from the United States went into that conflict, less than ten thousand now survive. They are now veterans, and as such delight to recount their reminiscences on the fields of Mexico. They are all in the decline of life, and ere a generation passes away, few, if any, will be left.

After the war, the continual growth of Ohio, the change in all its relations, necessitated a new organic law. The Constitution of 1852 was the result. It re-affirmed the political principles of the "ordinance of 1787" and the Constitution of 1802, and made a few changes necessitated by the advance made in the interim. It created the office of Lieutenant Governor, fixing the term of service at two years. This Constitution yet stands notwithstanding the prolonged attempt in 1873-74 to create a new one. It is now the organic law of Ohio.

From this time on to the opening of the late war, the prosperity of the State received no check. Towns and cities grew; railroads multiplied; commerce was extended; the vacant lands were rapidly filled by settlers, and everything tending to the advancement of the people was well prosecuted. Banks, after much tribulation, had become in a measure somewhat secure, their only and serious drawback being their isolation or the confinement of their circulation to their immediate localities. But signs of a mighty contest were apparent. A contest almost without a parallel in the annals of history: a contest between freedom and slavery; between wrong and right; a contest that could only end in defeat to the wrong. The Republican party came into existence at the close of President Pierce's term, in 1853. Its object then was, principally, the restriction of the slave power, ultimately its extinction. One of the chief exponents and supporters of this growing party in Ohio, was Salmon P.

Chase; one who never faltered nor lost faith; and who was at the helm of State; in the halls of Congress; chief of one the most important bureaus of the Government, and, finally, Chief Justice of the United States. When war came, after the election of Abraham Lincoln by the Republican party, Ohio was one of the first to answer to the call for troops. Mr. Chase, while Governor, had re-organized the militia on a sensible basis, and rescued it from the ignominy into which it had fallen. When Mr. Lincoln asked for seventy-five thousand men, Ohio's quota was thirteen regiments. The various chaotic regiments and militia troops in the State did not exceed 1,500 men. The call was issued April 15, 1861; by the 18th, two regiments were organized in Columbus, whither these companies had gathered; before sunrise of the 19th the *first* and *second* regiments were on their way to Washington City. The President had only asked for thirteen regiments; *thirty* were gathering; the Government, not yet fully comprehending the nature of the rebellion, refused the surplus troops, but Gov. Dennison was authorized to put ten additional regiments in the field, as a defensive measure, and was also authorized to act on the defensive as well as on the offensive. The immense extent of southern border made this necessary, as all the loyal people in West Virginia and Kentucky asked for help.

In the limits of this history, it is impossible to trace all the steps Ohio took in the war. One of her most talented sons, now at the head of one of the greatest newspapers of the world, says, regarding the action of the people and their Legislature:

"In one part of the nation there existed a gradual growth of sentiment against the Union, ending in open hostility against its integrity and its Constitutional law; on the other side stood a resolute, and determined people, though divided in minor matters, firmly united on the question of national supremacy. The people of Ohio stood squarely on this side. Before this her people had been divided up to the hour when—

... That fiery and sudden dash across the rugged blackness broke,
And, with a voice that shook the land, the guns of Sumter spoke;

* * * * *
And wherever the summons came, there rose the angry din.

As when, upon a rocky coast, a stormy tide sets in,

* * * * *
All wavering then ceased among the people
and in the Ohio Legislature. The Union must be

preserved. The white heat of patriotism and fidelity to the flag that had been victorious in three wars, and had never met but temporary defeat then melted all parties, and dissolved all hesitation, and, April 18, 1861, by a unanimous vote of ninety-nine Representatives in its favor, there was passed a bill appropriating \$500,000 to carry into effect the requisition of the President, to protect the National Government, of which sum \$450,000 were to purchase arms and equipments for the troops required by that requisition as the quota of Ohio, and \$50,000 as an extraordinary contingent fund for the Governor. The commissioners of the State Sinking Fund were authorized, by the same bill, to borrow this money, on the 6 per cent bonds of the State, and to issue for the same certificates, freeing such bonds from taxation. Then followed other such legislation that declared the property of volunteers free from execution for debt during their term of service; that declared any resident of the State, who gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, guilty of treason against the State, to be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for life; and, as it had become already evident that thousands of militia, beyond Ohio's quota of the President's call, would volunteer, the Legislature, adopting the sagacious suggestion of Gov. Dennison, resolved that all excess of volunteers should be retained and paid for service, under direction of the Governor. Thereupon a bill was passed, authorizing the acceptance of volunteers to form ten regiments, and providing \$500,000 for their arms and equipments, and \$1,500,000 more to be disbursed for troops in case of an invasion of the State. Then other legislation was enacted, looking to and providing against the shipment from or through the State of arms or munitions of war, to States either assuming to be neutral or in open rebellion; organizing the whole body of the State militia; providing suitable officers for duty on the staff of the Governor; requiring contracts for subsistence of volunteers to be let to the lowest bidder, and authorizing the appointment of additional general officers.

"Before the adjournment of that Legislature, the Speaker of the House had resigned to take command of one of the regiments then about to start for Washington City; two leading Senators had been appointed Brigadier Generals, and many, in fact nearly all, of the other members of both houses had, in one capacity or another, entered the military service. It was the first war legislature ever elected in Ohio, and, under sudden pressure,

nobly met the first shock, and enacted the first measures of law for war. Laboring under difficulties inseparable from a condition so unexpected, and in the performance of duties so novel, it may be historically stated that for patriotism, zeal and ability, the Ohio Legislature of 1861 was the equal of any of its successors; while in that exuberance of patriotism which obliterated party lines and united all in a common effort to meet the threatened integrity of the United States as a nation, it surpassed them both.

"The war was fought, the slave power forever destroyed, and under additional amendments to her organic law, the United States wiped the stain of human slavery from her escutcheon, liberating over four million human beings, nineteen-twentieths of whom were native-born residents.

"When Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Ohio had two hundred regiments of all arms in the National service. In the course of the war, she had furnished two hundred and thirty regiments, besides twenty-six independent batteries of artillery, five independent companies of cavalry, several companies of sharpshooters, large parts of five regiments credited to the West Virginia contingent, two regiments credited to the Kentucky contingent, two transferred to the United States colored troops, and a large proportion of the rank and file of the Fifty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Massachusetts Regiments, also colored men. Of these organizations, twenty-three were infantry regiments furnished on the first call of the President, an excess of nearly one-half over the State's quota; one hundred and ninety-one were infantry regiments, furnished on subsequent calls of the President—one hundred and seventeen for three years, twenty-seven for one year, two for six months, two for three months, and forty-two for one hundred days. Thirteen were cavalry, and three artillery for three years. Of these three-years troops, over twenty thousand re-enlisted, as veterans, at the end of their long term of service, to fight till the war would end."

As original members of these organizations, Ohio furnished to the National service the magnificent army of 310,654 actual soldiers, omitting from the above number all those who paid commutation money, veteran enlistments, and citizens who enlisted as soldiers or sailors in other States. The count is made from the reports of the Provost Marshal General to the War Department. Pennsylvania gave not quite 28,000 more, while Illinois fell 48,000 behind; Indiana, 116,000 less;



R.B. Hayes



Kentucky, 235,000, and Massachusetts, 164,000. Thus Ohio more than maintained, in the National army, the rank among her sisters which her population supported. Ohio furnished more troops than the President ever required of her; and at the end of the war, with more than a thousand men in the camp of the State who were never mustered into the service, she still had a credit on the rolls of the War Department for 4,332 soldiers, beyond the aggregate of all quotas ever assigned to her; and, besides all these, 6,479 citizens had, in lieu of personal service, paid the commutation; while Indiana, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and New York were all from five to one hundred thousand behind their quotas. So ably, through all those years of trial and death, did she keep the promise of the memorable dispatch from her first war Governor: "If Kentucky refuses to fill her quota, Ohio will fill it for her."

"Of these troops 11,237 were killed or mortally wounded in action, and of these 6,563 were left dead on the field of battle. They fought on well-nigh every battle-field of the war. Within forty-eight hours after the first call was made for troops, two regiments were on the way to Washington. An Ohio brigade covered the retreat from the first battle of Bull Run. Ohio troops formed the bulk of army that saved to the Union the territory afterward erected into West Virginia; the bulk of the army that kept Kentucky from seceding; a large part of the army that captured Fort Donelson and Island No. 10; a great part of the army that from Stone River and Chickamauga, and Mission Ridge and Atlanta, swept to the sea and captured Fort McAllister, and north through the Carolinas to Virginia."

When Sherman started on his famous march to the sea, some one said to President Lincoln, "They will never get through; they will all be captured, and the Union will be lost." "It is impossible," replied the President; "it cannot be done. *There is a mighty sight of fight in one hundred thousand Western men.*"

Ohio troops fought at Pea Ridge. They charged at Wagner. They helped redeem North Carolina. They were in the sieges of Vicksburg, Charleston, Mobile and Richmond. At Pittsburg Landing, at Antietam, Gettysburg and Corinth, in the Wilderness, at Five Forks, before Nashville and Appomattox Court House, "their bones, reposing on the fields they won and in the graves they fill, are a perpetual pledge that no flag shall ever wave over their graves but that flag they died to maintain."

Ohio's soil gave birth to, or furnished, a Grant, a Sherman, a Sheridan, a McPherson, a Rosecrans, a McClellan, a McDowell, a Mitchell, a Gilmore, a Hazen, a Sill, a Stanley, a Steadman, and others—all but one, children of the country, reared at West Point for such emergencies. Ohio's war record shows one General, one Lieutenant General, twenty Major Generals, twenty-seven Brevet Major Generals, and thirty Brigadier Generals, and one hundred and fifty Brevet Brigadier Generals. Her three war Governors were William Dennison, David Todd, and John Brough. She furnished, at the same time, one Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, and one Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase. Her Senators were Benjamin F. Wade and John Sherman. At least three out of five of Ohio's able-bodied men stood in the line of battle. On the head stone of one of these soldiers, who gave his life for the country, and who now lies in a National Cemetery, is inscribed these words:

"We charge the living to preserve that Constitution we have died to defend."

The close of the war and return of peace brought a period of fictitious values on the country, occasioned by the immense amount of currency about. Property rose to unheard-of values, and everything with it. Ere long, however, the decline came, and with it "hard times." The climax broke over the country in 1873, and for awhile it seemed as if the country was on the verge of ruin. People found again, as preceding generations had found, that real value was the only basis of true prosperity, and gradually began to work to the fact. The Government established the specie basis by gradual means, and on the 1st day of January, 1879, began to redeem its outstanding obligations in coin. The effect was felt everywhere. Business of all kinds sprang anew into life. A feeling of confidence grew as the times went on, and now, on the threshold of the year 1880, the State is entering on an era of steadfast prosperity; one which has a sure and certain foundation.

Nearly four years have elapsed since the great Centennial Exhibition was held in Philadelphia; an exhibition that brought from every State in the Union the best products of her soil, factories, and all industries. In that exhibit Ohio made an excellent display. Her stone, iron, coal, cereals, woods and everything pertaining to her welfare were all represented. Ohio, occupying the middle ground of the Union, was expected to show to foreign nations what the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio

could produce. The State nobly stood the test and ranked foremost among all others. Her centennial building was among the first completed and among the neatest and best on the grounds. During the summer, the Centennial Commission extended invitations to the Governors of the several States to appoint an orator and name a day for his

delivery of an address on the history, progress and resources of his State. Gov. Hayes named the Hon. Edward D. Mansfield for this purpose, and August 9th, that gentleman delivered an address so valuable for the matter which it contains, that we here give a synopsis of it.

CHAPTER XIII.

OHIO IN THE CENTENNIAL—ADDRESS OF EDWARD D. MANSFIELD, LL. D., PHILADELPHIA,
AUGUST 9, 1876.

ONE hundred years ago, the whole territory, from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains was a wilderness, inhabited only by wild beasts and Indians. The Jesuit and Moravian missionaries were the only white men who had penetrated the wilderness or beheld its mighty lakes and rivers. While the thirteen old colonies were declaring their independence, the thirteen new States, which now lie in the western interior, had no existence, and gave no sign of the future. The solitude of nature was unbroken by the steps of civilization. The wisest statesman had not contemplated the probability of the coming States, and the boldest patriot did not dream that this interior wilderness should soon contain a greater population than the thirteen old States, with all the added growth of one hundred years.

Ten years after that, the old States had ceded their Western lands to the General Government, and the Congress of the United States had passed the ordinance of 1785, for the survey of the public territory, and, in 1787, the celebrated ordinance which organized the Northwestern Territory, and dedicated it to freedom and intelligence.

Fifteen years after that, and more than a quarter of a century after the Declaration of Independence, the State of Ohio was admitted into the Union, being the seventeenth which accepted the Constitution of the United States. It has since grown up to be great, populous and prosperous under the influence of those ordinances. At her admittance, in 1803, the tide of emigration had begun to flow over the Alleghanies into the Valley of the Mississippi, and, although no steamboat, no railroad then existed, nor even a stage-coach helped the immigrant, yet the wooden "ark" on the Ohio, and the heavy wagon, slowly winding over

the mountains, bore these tens of thousands to the wilds of Kentucky and the plains of Ohio. In the spring of 1788—the first year of settlement—four thousand five hundred persons passed the mouth of the Muskingum in three months, and the tide continued to pour on for half a century in a widening stream, mingled with all the races of Europe and America, until now, in the hundredth year of America's independence, the five States of the Northwestern Territory, in the wilderness of 1776, contain ten millions of people, enjoying all the blessings which peace and prosperity, freedom and Christianity, can confer upon any people. Of these five States, born under the ordinance of 1787, Ohio is the first, oldest, and, in many things, the greatest. In some things it is the greatest State in the Union. Let us, then, attempt, in the briefest terms, to draw an outline portrait of this great and remarkable commonwealth.

Let us observe its physical aspects. Ohio is just one-sixth part of the Northwestern Territory—40,000 square miles. It lies between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, having 200 miles of navigable waters, on one side flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, and on the other into the Gulf of Mexico. Through the lakes, its vessels touch on 6,000 miles of interior coast, and, through the Mississippi, on 36,000 miles of river coast; so that a citizen of Ohio may pursue his navigation through 42,000 miles, all in his own country, and all within navigable reach of his own State. He who has circumnavigated the globe, has gone but little more than half the distance which the citizen of Ohio finds within his natural reach in this vast interior.

Looking upon the surface of this State, we find no mountains, no barren sands, no marshy wastes, no lava-covered plains, but one broad, compact

body of arable land, intersected with rivers and streams and running waters, while the beautiful Ohio flows tranquilly by its side. More than three times the surface of Belgium, and one-third of the whole of Italy, it has more natural resources in proportion than either, and is capable of ultimately supporting a larger population than any equal surface in Europe. Looking from this great arable surface, where upon the very hills the grass and the forest trees now grow exuberant and abundant, we find that underneath this surface, and easily accessible, lie 10,000 square miles of coal, and 4,000 square miles of iron—coal and iron enough to supply the basis of manufacture for a world! All this vast deposit of metal and fuel does not interrupt or take from that arable surface at all. There you may find in one place the same machine bringing up coal and salt water from below, while the wheat and the corn grow upon the surface above. The immense masses of coal, iron, salt and freestone deposited below have not in any way diminished the fertility and production of the soil.

It has been said by some writer that the character of a people is shaped or modified by the character of the country in which they live. If the people of Switzerland have acquired a certain air of liberty and independence from the rugged mountains around which they live; if the people of Southern Italy, or beautiful France, have acquired a tone of ease and politeness from their mild and genial clime, so the people of Ohio, placed amidst such a wealth of nature, in the temperate zone, should show the best fruits of peaceful industry and the best culture of Christian civilization. Have they done so? Have their own labor and arts and culture come up to the advantages of their natural situation? Let us examine this growth and their product.

The first settlement of Ohio was made by a colony from New England, at the mouth of the Muskingum. It was literally a remnant of the officers of the Revolution. Of this colony no praise of the historian can be as competent, or as strong, as the language of Washington. He says, in answer to inquiries addressed to him: "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, prosperity 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;" and he adds that if he were a young man, he knows no country in which he

would sooner settle than in this Western region." This colony, left alone for a time, made its own government and nailed its laws to a tree in the village, an early indication of that law-abiding and peaceful spirit which has since made Ohio a just and well-ordered community. The subsequent settlements on the Miami and Scioto were made by citizens of New Jersey and Virginia, and it is certainly remarkable that among all the early immigration, there were no ignorant people. In the language of Washington, they came with "information," qualified to promote the welfare of the community.

Soon after the settlement on the Muskingum and the Miami, the great wave of migration flowed on to the plains and valleys of Ohio and Kentucky. Kentucky had been settled earlier, but the main body of emigrants in subsequent years went into Ohio, influenced partly by the great ordinance of 1787, securing freedom and schools forever, and partly by the greater security of titles under the survey and guarantee of the United States Government. Soon the new State grew up, with a rapidity which, until then, was unknown in the history of civilization. On the Muskingum, where the buffalo had roamed; on the Scioto, where the Shawanees had built their towns; on the Miami, where the great chiefs of the Miamis had reigned; on the plains of Sandusky, yet red with the blood of the white man; on the Maumee, where Wayne, by the victory of the "Fallen Timbers," had broken the power of the Indian confederacy—the emigrants from the old States and from Europe came in to cultivate the fields, to build up towns, and to rear the institutions of Christian civilization, until the single State of Ohio is greater in numbers, wealth, and education, than was the whole American Union when the Declaration of Independence was made.

Let us now look at the statistics of this growth and magnitude, as they are exhibited in the census of the United States. Taking intervals of twenty years, Ohio had: In 1810, 45,365; in 1830, 937,903; in 1850, 1,980,329; in 1870, 2,665,260. Add to this the increase of population in the last six years, and Ohio now has, in round numbers, 3,000,000 of people—half a million more than the thirteen States in 1776; and her cities and towns have to-day six times the population of all the cities of America one hundred years ago. This State is now the third in numbers and wealth, and the first in some of those institutions which mark the progress of

mankind. That a small part of the wilderness of 1776 should be more populous than the whole Union was then, and that it should have made a social and moral advance greater than that of any nation in the same time, must be regarded as one of the most startling and instructive facts which attend this year of commemoration. If such has been the social growth of Ohio, let us look at its physical development; this is best expressed by the aggregate productions of the labor and arts of a people applied to the earth. In the census statistics of the United States these are expressed in the aggregate results of agriculture, mining, manufactures, and commerce. Let us simplify these statistics, by comparing the aggregate and ratios as between several States, and between Ohio and some countries of Europe.

The aggregate amount of grain and potatoes—farinaceous food, produced in Ohio in 1870 was 134,938,413 bushels, and in 1874, there were 157,323,597 bushels, being the largest aggregate amount raised in any State but one, Illinois, and larger per square mile than Illinois or any other State in the country. The promises of nature were thus vindicated by the labor of man; and the industry of Ohio has fulfilled its whole duty to the sustenance of the country and the world. She has raised more grain than ten of the old States together, and more than half raised by Great Britain or by France. I have not the recent statistics of Europe, but McGregor, in his statistics of nations for 1832—a period of profound peace—gives the following ratios for the leading countries of Europe: Great Britain, area 120,324 miles; amount of grain, 262,500,000 bushels; rate per square mile, 2.190 to 1; Austria—area 258,603 miles; amount of grain, 366,800,000 bushels; rate per square mile, 1.422 to 1; France—area 215,858 miles; amount of grain, 233,847,300 bushels; rate per square mile, 1,080 to 1. The State of Ohio—area per square miles, 40,000; amount of grain, 150,000,000 bushels; rate per square mile, 3.750. Combining the great countries of Great Britain, Austria, and France, we find that they had 591,785 square miles and produced 863,147,300 bushels of grain, which was, at the time these statistics were taken, 1,450 bushels per square mile, and ten bushels to each one of the population. Ohio, on the other hand, had 3,750 bushels per square mile, and fifty bushels to each one of the population; that is, there was five times as much grain raised in Ohio, in proportion to the people, as in these great countries of Europe.

As letters make words, and words express ideas, so these dry figures of statistics express facts, and these facts make the whole history of civilization.

Let us now look at the statistics of domestic animals. These are always indicative of the state of society in regard to the physical comforts. The horse must furnish domestic conveyances; the cattle must furnish the products of the dairy, as well as meat, and the sheep must furnish wool.

Let us see how Ohio compares with other States and with Europe: In 1870, Ohio had 8,818,000 domestic animals; Illinois, 6,925,000; New York, 5,283,000; Pennsylvania, 4,493,000; and other States less. The proportion to population in these States was, in Ohio, to each person, 3.3; Illinois, 2.7; New York, 1.2; Pennsylvania, 1.2.

Let us now see the proportion of domestic animals in Europe. The results given by McGregor's statistics are: In Great Britain, to each person, 2.44; Russia, 2.00; France, 1.50; Prussia, 1.02; Austria, 1.00. It will be seen that the proportion in Great Britain is only two-thirds that of Ohio; in France, only one-half; and in Austria and Prussia only one-third. It may be said that, in the course of civilization, the number of animals diminishes as the density of population increases; and, therefore, this result might have been expected in the old countries of Europe. But this does not apply to Russia or Germany, still less to other States in this country. Russia in Europe has not more than half the density of population now in Ohio. Austria and Prussia have less than 150 to the square mile. The whole of the north of Europe has not so dense a population as the State of Ohio, still less have the States of Illinois and Missouri, west of Ohio. Then, therefore, Ohio showing a larger proportion of domestic animals than the north of Europe, or States west of her, with a population not so dense, we see at once there must be other causes to produce such a phenomenon.

Looking to some of the incidental results of this vast agricultural production, we see that the United States exports to Europe immense amounts of grain and provisions; and that there is manufactured in this country an immense amount of woollen goods. Then, taking these statistics of the raw material, we find that Ohio produces *one-fifth* of all the wool; *one-seventh* of all the corn; *one-eighth* of all the cheese; *one-tenth* of all the wheat; and yet Ohio has but a *fourteenth* part of the population, and *nine-eightieth* part of the surface of this country.

Let us take another—a commercial view of this matter. We have seen that Ohio raises five times as much grain per square mile as is raised per square mile in the empires of Great Britain, France and Austria, taken together. After making allowance for the differences of living, in the working classes of this country, at least two-thirds of the food and grain of Ohio are a surplus beyond the necessities of life, and, therefore, so much in the commercial balance of exports. This corresponds with the fact, that, in the shape of grain, meat, liquors and dairy products, this vast surplus is constantly moved to the Atlantic States and to Europe. The money value of this exported product is equal to \$100,000,000 per annum, and to a solid capital of \$1,500,000,000, after all the sustenance of the people has been taken out of the annual crop.

We are speaking of agriculture alone. We are speaking of a State which began its career more than a quarter of a century after the Declaration of Independence was made. And now, it may be asked, what is the real cause of this extraordinary result, which, without saying anything invidious of other States, we may safely say has never been surpassed in any country? We have already stated two of the advantages possessed by Ohio. The first is that it is a compact, unbroken body of arable land, surrounded and intersected by water-courses, equal to all the demands of commerce and navigation. Next, that it was secured forever to freedom and intelligence by the ordinance of 1787. The intelligence of its future people was secured by immense grants of public lands for the purpose of education; but neither the blessings of nature, nor the wisdom of laws, could obtain such results without the continuous labor of an intelligent people. Such it had, and we have only to take the testimony of Washington, already quoted, and the statistical results I have given, to prove that no people has exhibited more steady industry, nor has any people directed their labor with more intelligence.

After the agricultural capacity and production of a country, its most important physical feature is its mineral products; its capacity for coal and iron, the two great elements of material civilization. If we were to take away from Great Britain her capacity to produce coal in such vast quantities, we should reduce her to a third-rate position, no longer numbered among the great nations of the earth. Coal has smelted her iron, run her steam engines, and is the basis of her manufactures. But when we compare the coal fields of Great

Britain with those of this country, they are insignificant. The coal fields of all Europe are small compared with those of the central United States. The coal district of Durham and Northumberland, in England, is only 880 square miles. There are other districts of smaller extent, making in the whole probably one-half the extent of that in Ohio. The English coal-beds are represented as more important, in reference to extent, on account of their thickness. There is a small coal district in Lancashire, where the workable coal-beds are in all 150 feet in thickness. But this involves, as is well known, the necessity of going to immense depths and incurring immense expense. On the other hand, the workable coal-beds of Ohio are near the surface, and some of them require no excavating, except that of the horizontal lead from the mine to the river or the railroad. In one county of Ohio there are three beds of twelve, six and four feet each, within fifty feet of the surface. At some of the mines having the best coal, the lead from the mines is nearly horizontal, and just high enough to dump the coal into the railroad cars. These coals are of all qualities, from that adapted to the domestic fire to the very best quality for smelting or manufacturing iron. Recollecting these facts, let us try to get an idea of the coal district of Ohio. The bituminous coal region descending the western slopes of the Alleghanies, occupies large portions of Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. I suppose that this coal field is not less than fifty thousand square miles, exclusive of Western Maryland and the southern terminations of that field in Georgia and Alabama. Of this vast field of coal, exceeding anything found in Europe, about one-fifth part lies in Ohio. Prof. Mather, in his report on the geology of the State (first Geological Report of the State) says:

"The coal-measures within Ohio occupy a space of about one hundred and eighty miles in length by eighty in breadth at the widest part, with an area of about ten thousand square miles, extending along the Ohio from Trumbull County in the north to near the mouth of the Scioto in the south. The regularity in the dip, and the moderate inclination of the strata, afford facilities to the miners not known to those of most other countries, especially Great Britain, where the strata in which the coal is imbedded have been broken and thrown out of place since its deposit, occasioning many slips and faults, and causing much labor and expense in again recovering the bed. In Ohio there is very

little difficulty of this kind, the faults being small and seldom found."

Now, taking into consideration these geological facts, let us look at the extent of the Ohio coal field. It occupies, wholly or in part, thirty-six counties, including, geographically, 14,000 square miles; but leaving out fractions, and reducing the Ohio coal field within its narrowest limits, it is 10,000 square miles in extent, lies near the surface, and has on an average twenty feet thickness of workable coal-beds. Let us compare this with the coal mines of Durham and Northumberland (England), the largest and best coal mines there. That coal district is estimated at 850 square miles, twelve feet thick, and is calculated to contain 9,000,000,000 tons of coal. The coal field of Ohio is twelve times larger and one-third thicker. Estimated by that standard, the coal field of Ohio contains 180,000,000,000 tons of coal. Marketed at only \$2 per ton, this coal is worth \$360,000,000,000, or, in other words, ten times as much as the whole valuation of the United States at the present time. But we need not undertake to estimate either its quantity or value. It is enough to say that it is a quantity which we can scarcely imagine, which is tenfold that of England, and which is enough to supply the entire continent for ages to come.

After coal, iron is beyond doubt the most valuable mineral product of a State. As the material of manufacture, it is the most important. What are called the "precious metals" are not to be compared with it as an element of industry or profit. But since no manufactures can be successfully carried on without fuel, coal becomes the first material element of the arts. Iron is unquestionably the next. Ohio has an iron district extending from the mouth of the Scioto River to some point north of the Mahoning River, in Trumbull County. The whole length is nearly two hundred miles, and the breadth twenty miles, making, as near as we can ascertain, 4,000 square miles. The iron in this district is of various qualities, and is manufactured largely into bars and castings. In this iron district are one hundred furnaces, forty-four rolling-mills, and fifteen rail-mills, being the largest number of either in any State in the Union, except only Pennsylvania.

Although only the seventeenth State in its admission, I find that, by the census statistics of 1870, it is the third State in the production of iron and iron manufactures. Already, and within the life of one man, this State begins to show what must in future time be the vast results of coal and iron,

applied to the arts and manufactures. In the year 1874, there were 420,000 tons of pig iron produced in Ohio, which is larger than the product of any State, except Pennsylvania. The product and the manufacture of iron in Ohio have increased so rapidly, and the basis for increase is so great, that we may not doubt that Ohio will continue to be the greatest producer of iron and iron fabrics, except only Pennsylvania. At Cincinnati, the iron manufacture of the Ohio Valley is concentrating, and at Cleveland the ores of Lake Superior are being smelted.

After coal and iron, we may place salt among the necessities of life. In connection with the coal region west of the Alleghanies, there lies in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio, a large space of country underlaid by the salt rock, which already produces immense amounts of salt. Of this, Ohio has its full proportion. In a large section of the southeastern portion of the State, salt is produced without any known limitation. At Pomeroy and other points, the salt rock lies about one thousand feet below the surface, but salt water is brought easily to the surface by the steam engine. There, the salt rock, the coal seam, and the noble sandstone lie in successive strata, while the green corn and the yellow wheat bloom on the surface above. The State of Ohio produced, in 1874, 3,500,000 bushels of salt, being one-fifth of all produced in the United States. The salt section of Ohio is exceeded only by that of Syracuse, New York, and of Saginaw, Michigan. There is no definite limit to the underlying salt rock of Ohio, and, therefore, the production will be proportioned only to the extent of the demand.

Having now considered the resources and the products of the soil and the mines of Ohio, we may properly ask how far the people have employed their resources in the increase of art and manufacture. We have two modes of comparison, the rate of increase within the State, and the ratio they bear to other States. The aggregate value of the products of manufacture, exclusive of mining, in the last three censuses were: in 1850, \$62,692,000; in 1860, \$121,691,000; in 1870, \$269,713,000.

The ratio of increase was over 100 per cent in each ten years, a rate far beyond that of the increase of population, and much beyond the ratio of increase in the whole country. In 1850, the manufactures of Ohio were one-sixteenth part of the aggregate in the country; in 1860, one-fifteenth

part; in 1870, one-twelfth part. In addition to this, we find, from the returns of Cincinnati and Cleveland, that the value of the manufactured products of Ohio in 1875, must have reached \$400,000,000, and, by reference to the census tables, it will be seen that the ratio of increase exceeded that of the great manufacturing States of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Of all the States admitted into the Union prior to Ohio, Pennsylvania alone has kept pace in the progress of manufacture. Some little reference to the manufacture of leading articles may throw some light on the cause of this. In the production of agricultural machinery and implements, Ohio is the first State; in animal and vegetable oils and in pig iron, the second; in cast iron and in tobacco, the third; in salt, in machinery and in leather, the fourth. These facts show how largely the resources of coal, iron and agriculture have entered into the manufactures of the State. This great advance in the manufactures of Ohio, when we consider that this State is, relatively to its surface, the first agricultural State in the country, leads to the inevitable inference that its people are remarkably industrious. When, on forty thousand square miles of surface, three millions of people raise one hundred and fifty million bushels of grain, and produce manufactures to the amount of \$269,000,000 (which is fifty bushels of breadstuff to each man, woman and child, and \$133 of manufacture), it will be difficult to find any community surpassing such results. It is a testimony, not only to the State of Ohio, but to the industry, sagacity and energy of the American people.

Looking now to the commerce of the State, we have said there are six hundred miles of coast line, which embraces some of the principal internal ports of the Ohio and the lakes, such as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo and Portsmouth, but whose commerce is most wholly inland. Of course, no comparison can be made with the foreign commerce of the ocean ports. On the other hand, it is well known that the inland trade of the country far exceeds that of all its foreign commerce, and that the largest part of this interior trade is carried on its rivers and lakes. The materials for the vast consumption of the interior must be conveyed in its vessels, whether of sail or steam, adapted to these waters. Let us take, then, the ship-building, the navigation, and the exchange trades of Ohio, as elements in determining the position of this State in reference to the commerce of the country. At the ports of Cleveland, Toledo, Sandusky and Cin-

cinnati, there have been built one thousand sail and steam vessels in the last twenty years, making an average of fifty each year. The number of sail, steam and all kinds of vessels in Ohio is eleven hundred and ninety, which is equal to the number in all the other States in the Ohio Valley and the Upper Mississippi.

When we look to the navigable points to which these vessels are destined, we find them on all this vast coast line, which extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the Yellowstone, and from Duluth to the St. Lawrence.

Looking again to see the extent of this vast interior trade which is handled by Ohio alone, we find that the imports and exports of the principal articles of Cincinnati, amount in value to \$500,000,000; and when we look at the great trade of Cleveland and Toledo, we shall find that the annual trade of Ohio exceeds \$700,000,000. The lines of railroad which connect with its ports, are more than four thousand miles in length, or rather more than one mile in length to each ten square miles of surface. This great amount of railroads is engaged not merely in transporting to the Atlantic and thence to Europe, the immense surplus grain and meat in Ohio, but in carrying the largest part of that greater surplus, which exists in the States west of Ohio, the granary of the West. Ohio holds the gateway of every railroad north of the Ohio, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and hence it is that the great transit lines of the country pass through Ohio.

Let us now turn from the progress of the arts to the progress of ideas; from material to intellectual development. It is said that a State consists of men, and history shows that no art or science, wealth or power, will compensate for the want of moral or intellectual stability in the minds of a nation. Hence, it is admitted that the strength and perpetuity of our republic must consist in the intelligence and morality of the people. A republic can last only when the people are enlightened. This was an axiom with the early legislators of this country. Hence it was that when Virginia, Connecticut and the original colonies ceded to the General Government that vast and then unknown wilderness which lay west of the Alleghanies, in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, they took care that its future inhabitants should be an educated people. The Constitution was not formed when the celebrated ordinance of 1787 was passed.

That ordinance provided that "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good

government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged;" and by the ordinance of 1785 for the survey of public lands in the Northwestern Territory, Section 16 in each township, that is, one thirty-sixth part, was reserved for the maintenance of public schools in said townships. As the State of Ohio contained a little more than twenty-five millions of acres, this, together with two special grants of three townships to universities, amounted to the dedication of 740,000 acres of land to the maintenance of schools and colleges. It was a splendid endowment, but it was many years before it became available. It was sixteen years after the passage of this ordinance (in 1803), when Ohio entered the Union, and legislation upon this grant became possible. The Constitution of the State pursued the language of the ordinance, and declared that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged by legislative provision." The Governors of Ohio, in successive messages, urged attention to this subject upon the people; but the thinness of settlement, making it impossible, except in few districts, to collect youth in sufficient numbers, and impossible to sell or lease lands to advantage, caused the delay of efficient school system for many years. In 1825, however, a general law establishing a school system, and levying a tax for its support, was passed.

This was again enlarged and increased by new legislation in 1836 and 1846. From that time to this, Ohio has had a broad, liberal and efficient system of public instruction. The taxation for schools, and the number enrolled in them at different periods, will best show what has been done. In 1855 the total taxation for school purposes was \$2,672,827. The proportion of youth of schoolable age enrolled was 67 per cent. In 1874 the amount raised by taxation was \$7,425,135. The number enrolled of schoolable age was 70 per cent, or 707,943.

As the schoolable age extends to twenty-one years, and as there are very few youth in school after fifteen years of age, it follows that the 70 per cent of schoolable youths enrolled in the public schools must comprehend nearly the whole number between four and fifteen years. It is important to observe this fact, because it has been inferred that, as the whole number of youth between five and twenty-one have not been enrolled, therefore they are not educated. This is a mistake; nearly all over fifteen years of age have been in the public schools, and all the native

youth of the State, and all foreign born, young enough, have had the benefit of the public schools. But in consequence of the large number who have come from other States and from foreign countries, there are still a few who are classed by the census statistics among the "illiterate;" the proportion of this class, however, is less in proportion than in twenty-eight other States, and less in proportion than in Connecticut and Massachusetts, two of the oldest States most noted for popular education. In fact, every youth in Ohio, under twenty-one years of age, may have the benefit of a public education; and, since the system of graded and high schools has been adopted, may obtain a common knowledge from the alphabet to the classics. The enumerated branches of study in the public schools of Ohio are thirty-four, including mathematics and astronomy, French, German and the classics. Thus the State which was in the heart of the wilderness in 1776, and was not a State until the nineteenth century had begun, now presents to the world, not merely an unrivaled development of material prosperity, but an unsurpassed system of popular education.

In what is called the higher education, in the colleges and universities, embracing the classics and sciences taught in regular classes, it is the popular idea, and one which few dare to question, that we must look to the Eastern States for superiority and excellence; but that also is becoming an assumption without proof; a proposition difficult to sustain. The facts in regard to the education of universities and colleges, their faculties, students and course of instruction, are all set forth in the complete statistics of the Bureau of Education for 1874. They show that the State of Ohio had the largest number of such institutions; the largest number of instructors in their faculties, except one State, New York; and the largest number of students in regular college classes, in proportion to their population, except the two States of Connecticut and Massachusetts. Perhaps, if we look at the statistics of classical students in the colleges, disregarding preparatory and irregular courses, we shall get a more accurate idea of the progress of the higher education in those States which claim the best. In Ohio, 36 colleges, 258 teachers, 2,139 students, proportion, 1 in 124; in Pennsylvania, 27 colleges, 239 teachers, 2,359 students, proportion, 1 in 150; in New York, 26 colleges, 343 teachers, 2,761 students, proportion, 1 in 176; in the six New England States, 17 colleges, 252 teachers, 3,311 students, proportion, 1 in 105; in Illi-

nois, 24 colleges, 219 teachers, 1,701 students, proportion, 1 in 140.

This shows there are more collegiate institutions in Ohio than in all New England; a greater number of college teachers, and only a little smaller ratio of students to the population; a greater number of such students than either in New York or Pennsylvania, and, as a broad, general fact, Ohio has made more progress in education than either of the old States which formed the American Union. Such a fact is a higher testimony to the strength and the beneficent influence of the American Government than any which the statistician or the historian can advance.

Let us now turn to the moral aspects of the people of Ohio. No human society is found without its poor and dependent classes, whether made so by the defects of nature, by acts of Providence, or by the accidents of fortune. Since no society is exempt from these classes, it must be judged not so much by the fact of their existence, as by the manner in which it treats them. In the civilized nations of antiquity, such as Greece and Rome, hospitals, infirmaries, orphan homes, and asylums for the infirm, were unknown. These are the creations of Christianity, and that must be esteemed practically the most Christian State which most practices this Christian beneficence. In Ohio, as in all the States of this country, and of all Christian countries, there is a large number of the infirm and dependent classes; but, although Ohio is the third State in population, she is only the fourteenth in the proportion of dependent classes. The more important point, however, was, how does she treat them? Is there wanting any of all the varied institutions of benevolence? How does she compare with other States and countries in this respect? It is believed that no State or country can present a larger proportion of all these institutions which the benevolence of the wise and good have suggested for the alleviation of suffering and misfortune, than the State of Ohio. With 3,500 of the insane within her borders, she has five great lunatic asylums, capable of accommodating them all. She has asylums for the deaf and dumb, the idiotic, and the blind. She has the best hospitals in the country. She has schools of reform and houses of refuge. She has "homes" for the boys and girls, to the number of 800, who are children of soldiers. She has penitentiaries and jails, orphan asylums and infirmaries. In every county there is an infirmary, and in every public institution, except the penitentiary, there is a

school. So that the State has used every human means to relieve the suffering, to instruct the ignorant, and to reform the criminal. There are in the State 80,000 who come under all the various forms of the infirm, the poor, the sick and the criminal, who, in a greater or less degree, make the dependent class. For these the State has made every provision which humanity or justice or intelligence can require. A young State, developed in the wilderness, she challenges, without any invidious comparison, both Europe and America, to show her superior in the development of humanity manifested in the benefaction of public institutions.

Intimately connected with public morals and with charitable institutions, is the religion of a people. The people of the United States are a Christian people. The people of Ohio have manifested their zeal by the erection of churches, of Sunday schools, and of religious institutions. So far as these are outwardly manifested, they are made known by the social statistics of the census. The number of church organizations in the leading States were: In the State of Ohio, 6,488; in the State of New York, 5,627; in the State of Pennsylvania, 5,984; in the State of Illinois, 4,298. It thus appears that Ohio had a larger number of churches than any State of the Union. The number of sittings, however, was not quite as large as those in New York and Pennsylvania. The denominations are of all the sects known in this country, about thirty in number, the majority of the whole being Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists. Long before the American Independence, the Moravians had settled on the Mahoning and Tuscarawas Rivers, but only to be destroyed; and when the peace with Great Britain was made, not a vestige of Christianity remained on the soil of Ohio; yet we see that within ninety years from that time the State of Ohio was, in the number of its churches, the first of this great Union.

In the beginning of this address, I said that Ohio was the oldest and first of these great States, carved out of the Northwestern Territory, and that it was in some things the greatest State of the American Union. I have now traced the physical, commercial, intellectual and moral features of the State during the seventy-five years of its constitutional history. The result is to establish fully the propositions with which I began. These facts have brought out:

1. That Ohio is, in reference to the square miles of its surface, the first State in agriculture

of the American Union; this, too, notwithstanding it has 800,000 in cities and towns, and a large development of capital and products in manufactures.

2. That Ohio has raised more grain per square mile than either France, Austria, or Great Britain. They raised 1,450 bushels per square mile, and 10 bushels to each person. Ohio raised 3,750 bushels per square mile, and 50 bushels to each one of the population; or, in other words, five times the proportion of grain raised in Europe.

3. Ohio was the first State of the Union in the production of domestic animals, being far in advance of either New York, Pennsylvania or Illinois. The proportion of domestic animals to each person in Ohio was three and one-third, and in New York and Pennsylvania less than half that. The largest proportion of domestic animals produced in Europe was in Great Britain and Russia, neither of which come near that of Ohio.

4. The coal-field of Ohio is vastly greater than that of Great Britain, and we need make no comparison with other States in regard to coal or iron; for the 10,000 square miles of coal, and 4,000 square miles of iron in Ohio, are enough to supply the whole American continent for ages to come.

5. Neither need we compare the results of commerce and navigation, since, from the ports of Cleveland and Cincinnati, the vessels of Ohio touch on 42,000 miles of coast, and her 5,000 miles of railroad carry her products to every part of the American continent.

6. Notwithstanding the immense proportion and products of agriculture in Ohio, yet she has more than kept pace with New York and New England in the progress of manufactures during the last twenty years. Her coal and iron are producing their legitimate results in making her a great manufacturing State.

7. Ohio is the first State in the Union as to the proportion of youth attending school; and the States west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio have more youth in school, proportionably, than New England and New York. The facts on this subject are so extraordinary that I may be excused for giving them a little in detail.

The proportion of youth in Ohio attending school to the population, is 1 in 4.2; in Illinois, 1 in 4.3; in Pennsylvania, 1 in 4.8; in New York, 1 in 5.2; in Connecticut and Massachusetts, 1 in 8.7.

These proportions show that it is in the West, and not in the East, that education is now advanc-

ing; and it is here that we see the stimulus given by the ordinance of 1787, is working out its great and beneficent results. The land grant for education was a great one, but, at last, its chief effort was in stimulating popular education; for the State of Ohio has taxed itself tens of millions of dollars beyond the utmost value of the land grant, to found and maintain a system of public education which the world has not surpassed.

We have seen that above and beyond all this material and intellectual development, Ohio has provided a vast benefaction of asylums, hospitals, and infirmaries, and special schools for the support and instruction of the dependent classes. There is not within all her borders a single one of the deaf, dumb, and blind, of the poor, sick, and insane, not an orphan or a vagrant, who is not provided for by the broad and generous liberality of the State and her people. A charity which the classic ages knew nothing of, a beneficence which the splendid hierarchies and aristocracies of Europe cannot equal, has been exhibited in this young State, whose name was unknown one hundred years ago, whose people, from Europe to the Atlantic, and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, were, like Adam and Eve, cast out—*"the world before them where to choose."*

Lastly, we see that, although the third in population, and the seventeenth in admission to the Union, Ohio had, in 1870, 6,400 churches, the largest number in any one State, and numbering among them every form of Christian worship. The people, whose fields were rich with grain, whose mines were boundless in wealth, and whose commerce extended through thousands of miles of lakes and rivers, came here, as they came to New England's rock-bound coast—

“With freedom to worship God.”

The church and the schoolhouse rose beside the green fields, and the morning bells rang forth to cheerful children going to school, and to a Christian people going to the church of God.

Let us now look at the possibilities of Ohio in the future development of the American Republican Republic. The two most populous parts of Europe, because the most food-producing, are the Netherlands and Italy, or, more precisely, Belgium and ancient Lombardy; to the present time, their population is, in round numbers, three hundred to the square mile. The density of population in England proper is about the same. We may assume, therefore, that three hundred to the square

mile is, in round numbers, the limit of comfortable subsistence under modern civilization. It is true that modern improvements in agricultural machinery and fertilization have greatly increased the capacity of production, on a given amount of land, with a given amount of labor. It is true, also, that the old countries of Europe do not possess an equal amount of arable land with Ohio in proportion to the same surface. It would seem, therefore, that the density of population in Ohio might exceed that of any part of Europe. On the other hand, it may be said with truth that the American people will not become so dense as in Europe while they have new lands in the West to occupy. This is true; but lands such as those in the valley of the Ohio are now becoming scarce in the West, and we think that, with her great capacity for the production of grain on one hand, and of illimitable quantities of coal and iron to manufacture with on the other, that Ohio will, at no remote period, reach nearly the density of Belgium, which will give her 10,000,000 of people. This seems extravagant, but the tide of migration, which flowed so fast to the West, is beginning to ebb, while the manufactures of the interior offer greater inducements.

With population comes wealth, the material for education, the development of the arts, advance in all the material elements of civilization, and the still grander advancements in the strength and elevation of the human mind, conquering to itself new realms of material and intellectual power, acquiring in the future what we have seen in the past, a wealth of resources unknown and undreamed of when, a hundred years ago, the fathers of the republic declared their independence. I know how easy it is to treat this statement with easy incredulity, but statistics is a certain science; the elements of civilization are now measured, and we know the progress of the human race as we know

that of a cultivated plant. We know the resources of the country, its food-producing capacity, its art processes, its power of education, and the undefined and illimitable power of the human mind for new inventions and unimagined progress. With this knowledge, it is not difficult nor unsafe to say that the future will produce more, and in a far greater ratio, than the past. The pictured scenes of the prophets have already been more than fulfilled, and the visions of beauty and glory, which their imagination failed fully to describe, will be more than realized in the bloom of that garden which republican America will present to the eyes of astonished mankind. Long before another century shall have passed by, the single State of Ohio will present fourfold the population with which the thirteen States began their independence, more wealth than the entire Union now has; greater universities than any now in the country, and a development of arts and manufacture which the world now knows nothing of. You have seen more than that since the Constitution was adopted, and what right have you to say the future shall not equal the past?

I have aimed, in this address, to give an exact picture of what Ohio is, not more for the sake of Ohio than as a representation of the products which the American Republic has given to the world. A State which began long after the Declaration of Independence, in the then unknown wilderness of North America, presents to-day the fairest example of what a republican government with Christian civilization can do. Look upon this picture and upon those of Assyria, of Greece or Rome, or of Europe in her best estate, and say where is the civilization of the earth which can equal this. If a Roman citizen could say with pride, "*Civis Romanus sum,*" with far greater pride can you say this day, "I am an American citizen."



CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION*—EARLY SCHOOL LAWS—NOTES—INSTITUTES AND EDUCATIONAL JOURNALS—SCHOOL SYSTEM—SCHOOL FUNDS—COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

WHEN the survey of the Northwest Territory was ordered by Congress, March 20, 1785, it was decreed that every sixteenth section of land should be reserved for the "maintenance of public schools within each township." The ordinance of 1787—thanks to the New England Associates—proclaimed that, "religion, morality and knowledge being essential to good government, schools and the means of education should forever be encouraged." The State Constitution of 1802 declared that "schools and the means of instruction should be encouraged by legislative provision, not inconsistent with the rights of conscience." In 1825, through the persevering efforts of Nathan Guilford, Senator from Hamilton County, Ephraim Cutler, Representative from Washington County, and other friends of education, a bill was passed, "laying the foundation for a general system of common schools." This bill provided a tax of one-half mill, to be levied by the County Commissioners for school purposes; provided for school examiners, and made Township Clerks and County Auditors school officers. In 1829, this county tax was raised to three-fourths of a mill; in 1834 to one mill, and, in 1836, to one and a half mills.

In March, 1837, Samuel Lewis, of Hamilton County, was appointed State Superintendent of Common Schools. He was a very energetic worker, traveling on horseback all over the State, delivering addresses and encouraging school officers and teachers. Through his efforts much good was done, and

many important features engrafted on the school system. He resigned in 1839, when the office was abolished, and its duties imposed on the Secretary of State.

The most important adjunct in early education in the State was the college of teachers organized in Cincinnati in 1831. Albert Pickett, Dr. Joseph Ray, William H. McGuffey—so largely known by his Readers—and Milo G. Williams, were at its head. Leading men in all parts of the West attended its meetings. Their published deliberations did much for the advancement of education among the people. Through the efforts of the college, the first convention held in Ohio for educational purposes was called at Columbus, January 13, 1836. Two years after, in December, the first convention in which the different sections of the State were represented, was held. At both these conventions, all the needs of the schools, both common and higher, were ably and fully discussed, and appeals made to the people for a more cordial support of the law. No successful attempts were made to organize a permanent educational society until December, 1847, when the Ohio State Teachers' Association was formed at Akron, Summit County, with Samuel Galloway as President; T. W. Harvey, Recording Secretary; M. D. Leggett, Corresponding Secretary; William Bowen, Treasurer, and M. F. Cowdrey, Chairman of the Executive Committee. This Association entered upon its work with commendable earnestness, and has since

* From the School Commissioners' Reports, principally those of Thomas W. Harvey, A. M.

NOTE 1.—The first school taught in Ohio, or in the Northwestern Territory, was in 1791. The first teacher was Maj. Austin Tupper, a brother of Gen. Benjamin Tupper, both Revolutionary officers. The room occupied was the same as that in which the first Court was held, and was situated in the northwest block-house of the garrison, called the stockade, at Marietta. During the Indian war school was also taught at Fort Harmar, Point Marietta, and at other settlements. A meeting was held in Marietta, April 29, 1797, to consider the erection of a school building suitable for the instruction of the youth, and for conducting religious services. Resolutions were adopted which led to the erection of a building called the Muskingum Academy. The building was of frame, forty feet long and twenty-four feet wide, and is yet standing. The building was twelve feet high, with an arched ceiling. It stood upon a stone foundation, three steps from the ground. There were two chimneys and a lobby projection. There was a cellar under the whole building. It stood upon a beautiful lot, fronting the Muskingum River, and about sixty feet back from the street. Some large trees were

upon the lot and on the street in front. Across the street was an open common, and beyond that the river. Immediately opposite the door, on entering, was a broad aisle, and, at the end of the aisle, against the wall, was a desk or pulpit. On the right and left of the pulpit, against the wall, and fronting the pulpit, was a row of slips. In each side of the door, facing the pulpit, were two slips, so, at each end of the room, one slip. These slips were stationary, and were fitted with desks that could be let down, and there were boxes in the desks for holding books and papers. In the center of the room was an open space, which could be filled with movable seats. The first school was opened here in 1800.—*Letter of A. T. Nye.*

NOTE 2.—Another evidence of the character of the New England Associates is the founding of a public library as early as 1796, or before. Another was also established at Help-ec about the same time. Abundant evidence proves the existence of these libraries, all tending to the fact that the early settlers, though conquering a wilderness and a savage foe, would not allow their mental faculties to lack for food. The character of the books shows that "solid" reading predominated.

never abated its zeal. Semi-annual meetings were at first held, but, since 1858, only annual meetings occur. They are always largely attended, and always by the best and most energetic teachers. The Association has given tone to the educational interests of the State, and has done a vast amount of good in popularizing education. In the spring of 1851, Lorin Andrews, then Superintendent of the Massillon school, resigned his place, and became a common-school missionary. In July, the Association, at Cleveland, made him its agent, and instituted measures to sustain him. He remained zealously at work in this relation until 1853, when he resigned to accept the presidency of Kenyon College, at Gambier. Dr. A. Lord was then chosen general agent and resident editor of the *Journal of Education*, which positions he filled two years, with eminent ability.

The year that Dr. Lord resigned, the ex officio relation of the Secretary of State to the common schools was abolished, and the office of school commissioner again created. H. H. Barney was elected to the place in October, 1853. The office has since been held by Rev. Anson Smyth, elected in 1856, and re-elected in 1859; E. E. White, appointed by the Governor, November 11, 1863, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of C. W. H. Cathcart, who was elected in 1862; John A. Norris, in 1865, W. D. Henkle, in 1868; Thomas W. Harvey, in 1871; C. S. Smart, in 1873, and the present incumbent, J. J. Burns, elected in 1878, his term expiring in 1881.

The first teachers' institute in Northern Ohio was held at Sandusky, in September, 1845, conducted by Salem Town, of New York, A. D. Lord and M. F. Cowdrey. The second was held at Chardon, Geauga Co., in November of the same year. The first institute in the southern part of the State was held at Cincinnati, in February, 1837; the first in the central part at Newark, in March, 1848. Since then these meetings of teachers have occurred annually, and have been the means of great good in elevating the teacher and the public in educational interests. In 1848, on petition of forty teachers, county commissioners were authorized to pay lecturers from surplus revenue, and the next year, to appropriate \$100 for institute purposes, upon pledge of teachers to raise half that amount. By the statutes of 1864, applicants for teachers were required to pay 50 cents each as an examination fee. One-third of the amount thus raised was allowed the use of examiners as traveling expenses, the remainder to be applied to in-

stitute instruction. For the year 1871, sixty-eight teachers' institutes were held in the State, at which 308 instructors and lecturers were employed, and 7,158 teachers in attendance. The expense incurred was \$16,361.99, of which \$10,127.13 was taken from the institute fund; \$2,730.34, was contributed by members; \$680, by county commissioners, and the balance, \$1,371.50, was obtained from other sources. The last report of the State Commissioners—1878—shows that eighty-five county institutes were held in the State, continuing in session 748 days; 416 instructors were employed; 11,466 teachers attended; \$22,531.47 were received from all sources, and that the expenses were \$19,587.51, or \$1.71 per member. There was a balance on hand of \$9,460.74 to commence the next year, just now closed, whose work has been as progressive and thorough as any former year. The State Association now comprises three sections; the general association, the superintendents' section and the ungraded school section. All have done a good work, and all report progress.

The old State Constitution, adopted by a convention in 1802, was supplemented in 1851 by the present one, under which the General Assembly, elected under it, met in 1852. Harvey Rice, a Senator from Cuyahoga County, Chairman of Senate Committee on "Common Schools and School Lands," reported a bill the 29th of March, to provide "for the re-organization, supervision and maintenance of common schools." This bill, amended in a few particulars, became a law March 14, 1853. The prominent features of the new law were: The substitution of a State school tax for the county tax; creation of the office of the State School Commissioner; the creation of a Township Board of Education, consisting of representatives from the subdistricts; the abolition of rate-bills, making education free to all the youth of the State; the raising of a fund, by a tax of one-tenth of a mill yearly, "for the purpose of furnishing school libraries and apparatus to all the common schools." This "library tax" was abolished in 1860, otherwise the law has remained practically unchanged.

School journals, like the popular press, have been a potent agency in the educational history of the State. As early as 1838, the *Ohio School Director* was issued by Samuel Lewis, by legislative authority, though after six months continuance, it ceased for want of support. The same year the *Pestalozzian*, by E. L. Sawtell and H. K. Smith, of Akron, and the *Common School*

Advocate, of Cincinnati, were issued. In 1846, the *School Journal* began to be published by A. D. Lord, of Kirtland. The same year saw the *Free School Clarion*, by W. Bowen, of Massillon, and the *School Friend*, by W. B. Smith & Co., of Cincinnati. The next year, W. H. Moore & Co., of Cincinnati, started the *Western School Journal*. In 1851, the *Ohio Teacher*, by Thomas Rainey, appeared; the *News and Educator*, in 1863, and the *Educational Times*, in 1866. In 1850, Dr. Lord's *Journal of Education* was united with the *School Friend*, and became the recognized organ of the teachers in Ohio. The Doctor remained its principal editor until 1856, when he was succeeded by Anson Smyth, who edited the journal one year. In 1857, it was edited by John D. Caldwell; in 1858 and 1859, by W. T. Coggeshall; in 1860, by Anson Smyth again, when it passed into the hands of E. E. White, who yet controls it. It has an immense circulation among Ohio teachers, and, though competed by other journals, since started, it maintains its place.

The school system of the State may be briefly explained as follows: Cities and incorporated villages are independent of township and county control, in the management of schools, having boards of education and examiners of their own. Some of them are organized for school purposes, under special acts. Each township has a board of education, composed of one member from each sub-district. The township clerk is clerk of this board, but has no vote. Each subdistrict has a local board of trustees, which manages its school affairs, subject to the advice and control of the township board. These officers are elected on the first Monday in April, and hold their offices three years. An enumeration of all the youth between the ages of five and twenty-one is made yearly. All public schools are required to be in session at least twenty-four weeks each year. The township clerk reports annually such facts concerning school affairs as the law requires, to the county auditor, who in turn reports to the State Commissioner, who collects these reports in a general report to the Legislature each year.

A board of examiners is appointed in each county by the Probate Judge. This board has power to grant certificates for a term not exceeding two years, and good only in the county in which they are executed; they may be revoked on sufficient cause. In 1864, a State Board of Examiners was created, with power to issue life cer-

tificates, valid in all parts of the State. Since then, up to January 1, 1879, there have been 188 of these issued. They are considered an excellent test of scholarship and ability, and are very creditable to the holder.

The school funds, in 1865, amounted to \$3,271,275.66. They were the proceeds of appropriations of land by Congress for school purposes, upon which the State pays an annual interest of 6 per cent. The funds are known as the Virginia Military School Fund, the proceeds of eighteen quarter-townships and three sections of land, selected by lot from lands lying in the United States Military Reserve, appropriated for the use of schools in the Virginia Military Reservation; the United States Military School Fund, the proceeds of one thirty-sixth part of the land in the United States Military District, appropriated "for the use of schools within the same;" the Western Reserve School Fund, the proceeds from fourteen quarter-townships, situated in the United States Military District, and 37,758 acres, most of which was located in Defiance, Williams, Paulding, Van Wert and Putnam Counties, appropriated for the use of the schools in the Western Reserve; Section 16, the proceeds from the sixteenth section of each township in that part of the State in which the Indian title was not extinguished in 1803; the Moravian School Fund, the proceeds from one thirty-sixth part of each of three tracts of 4,000 acres situated in Tuscarawas County, originally granted by Congress to the Society of United Brethren, and reconveyed by this Society to the United States in 1834. The income of these funds is not distributed by any uniform rule, owing to defects in the granting of the funds. The territorial divisions designated receive the income in proportion to the whole number of youth therein, while in the remainder of the State, the rent of Section 16, or the interest on the proceeds arising from its sale, is paid to the inhabitants of the originally surveyed townships. In these territorial divisions, an increase or decrease of population must necessarily increase or diminish the amount each youth is entitled to receive; and the fortunate location or judicious sale of the sixteenth section may entitle one township to receive a large sum, while an adjacent township receives a mere pittance. This inequality of benefit may be good for localities, but it is certainly a detriment to the State at large. There seems to be no legal remedy for it. In addition to the income from the before-mentioned funds, a variable revenue is received

from certain fines and licenses paid to either county or township treasurers for the use of schools; from the sale of swamp lands (\$25,720.07 allotted to the State in 1850), and from personal property escheated to the State.

Aside from the funds, a State school tax is fixed by statute. Local taxes vary with the needs of localities, are limited by law, and are contingent on the liberality and public spirit of different communities.

The State contains more than twenty colleges and universities, more than the same number of female seminaries, and about thirty normal schools and academies. The amount of property invested in these is more than \$6,000,000. The Miami University is the oldest college in the State.

In addition to the regular colleges, the State controls the Ohio State University, formerly the Agricultural and Mechanical College, established from the proceeds of the land scrip voted by Congress to Ohio for such purposes. The amount realized from the sale was nearly \$500,000. This is to constitute a permanent fund, the interest only to be used. In addition, the sum of \$300,000 was voted by the citizens of Franklin County, in consideration of the location of the college in that county. Of this sum \$111,000 was paid for three hundred and fifteen acres of land near the city of Columbus, and \$112,000 for a college building,

the balance being expended as circumstances required, for additional buildings, laboratory, apparatus, etc. Thorough instruction is given in all branches relating to agriculture and the mechanical arts. Already excellent results are attained.

By the provisions of the act of March 14, 1853, township boards are made bodies politic and corporate in law, and are invested with the title, care and custody of all school property belonging to the school district or township. They have control of the central or high schools of their townships; prescribe rules for the district schools; may appoint one of their number manager of the schools of the township, and allow him reasonable pay for his services; determine the text-books to be used; fix the boundaries of districts and locate schoolhouse sites; make estimates of the amount of money required; apportion the money among the districts, and are required to make an annual report to the County Auditor, who incorporates the same in his report to the State Commissioner, by whom it reaches the Legislature.

Local directors control the subdistricts. They enumerate the children of school age, employ and dismiss teachers, make contracts for building and furnishing schoolhouses, and make all necessary provision for the convenience of the district schools. Practically, the entire management rests with them.

CHAPTER XV.

AGRICULTURE—AREA OF THE STATE—EARLY AGRICULTURE IN THE WEST—MARKETS—LIVE STOCK—NURSERIES, FRUITS, ETC.—CEREALS—ROOT AND CUCURBITACEOUS CROPS—AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS—AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES—POMOLOGICAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES.

"Off did the harvest to their sickles yield,
Their furrow off the stubborn glebe has broke;
How jocund did they drive their teams afiel'd;
How bowed the woods beneath their sturdy stroke."

THE majority of the readers of these pages are farmers, hence a resume of agriculture in the State, would not only be appropriate, but valuable as a matter of history. It is the true basis of national prosperity, and, therefore, justly occupies a foremost place.

In the year 1800, the Territory of Ohio contained a population of 45,365 inhabitants, or a little more than one person to the square mile. At

this date, the admission of the Territory into the Union as a State began to be agitated. When the census was made to ascertain the legality of the act, in conformity to the "Compact of 1787," no endeavor was made to ascertain additional statistics, as now; hence, the cultivated land was not returned, and no account remains to tell how much existed. In 1805, three years after the admission of the State into the Union, 7,232,556 acres had been purchased from the General Government. Still no returns of the cultivated lands were made. In 1810, the population of Ohio was 230,760, and the land purchased from the Gov-

ernment amounted to 9,933,150 acres, of which amount, however, 3,569,314 acres, or more than one-third, was held by non-residents. Of the lands occupied by resident land-owners, there appear to have been 100,968 acres of first-rate, 1,929,600 of second, and 1,538,745 acres of third rate lands. At this period there were very few exports from the farm, loom or shop. The people still needed all they produced to sustain themselves, and were yet in that pioneer period where they were obliged to produce all they wanted, and yet were opening new farms, and bringing the old ones to a productive state.

Kentucky, and the country on the Monongahela, lying along the western slopes of the Alleghany Mountains, having been much longer settled, had begun, as early as 1795, to send considerable quantities of flour, whisky, bacon and tobacco to the lower towns on the Mississippi, at that time in the possession of the Spaniards. At the French settlements on the Illinois, and at Detroit, were being raised much more than could be used, and these were exporting also large quantities of these materials, as well as peltries and such commodities as their nomadic lives furnished. As the Mississippi was the natural outlet of the West, any attempt to impede its free navigation by the various powers at times controlling its outlet, would lead at once to violent outbreaks among the Western settlers, some of whom were aided by unscrupulous persons, who thought to form an independent Western country. Providence seems to have had a watchful eye over all these events, and to have so guided them that the attempts with such objects in view, invariably ended in disgrace to their perpetrators. This outlet to the West was thought to be the only one that could carry their produce to market, for none of the Westerners then dreamed of the immense system of railways now covering that part of the Union. As soon as ship-building commenced at Marietta, in the year 1800, the farmers along the borders of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers turned their attention to the cultivation of hemp, in addition to their other crops. In a few years sufficient was raised, not only to furnish cordage to the ships in the West, but large quantities were worked up in the various rope-walks and sent to the Atlantic cities. Iron had been discovered, and forges on the Juniata were busy converting that necessary and valued material into implements of industry.

By the year 1805, two ships, seven brigs and three schooners had been built and rigged by the

citizens of Marietta. Their construction gave a fresh impetus to agriculture, as by means of them the surplus products could be carried away to a foreign market, where, if it did not bring money, it could be exchanged for merchandise equally valuable. Captain David Devoll was one of the earliest of Ohio's shipwrights. He settled on the fertile Muskingum bottom, about five miles above Marietta, soon after the Indian war. Here he built a "floating mill," for making flour, and, in 1801, a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, called the Muskingum, and the brig Eliza Greene, of one hundred and fifty tons. In 1804, he built a schooner on his own account, and in the spring of the next year, it was finished and loaded for a voyage down the Mississippi. It was small, only of seventy tons burden, of a light draft, and intended to run on the lakes east of New Orleans. In shape and model, it fully sustained its name, Nonpareil. Its complement of sails, small at first, was completed when it arrived in New Orleans. It had a large cabin to accommodate passengers, was well and finely painted, and sat gracefully on the water. Its load was of assorted articles, and shows very well the nature of exports of the day. It consisted of two hundred barrels of flour, fifty barrels of kiln-dried corn meal, four thousand pounds of cheese, six thousand of bacon, one hundred sets of rum puncheon shooks, and a few grindstones. The flour and meal were made at Captain Devoll's floating mill, and the cheese made in Belpre, at that date one of Ohio's most flourishing agricultural districts. The Captain and others carried on boating as well as the circumstances of the day permitted, fearing only the hostility of the Indians, and the duty the Spaniards were liable to levy on boats going down to New Orleans, even if they did not take it into their erratic heads to stop the entire navigation of the great river by vessels other than their own. By such means, merchandise was carried on almost entirely until the construction of canals, and even then, until modern times, the flat-boat was the main-stay of the shipper inhabiting the country adjoining the upper Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

Commonly, very little stock was kept beyond what was necessary for the use of the family and to perform the labor on the farm. The Scioto Valley was perhaps the only exception in Ohio to this general condition. Horses were brought by the emigrants from the East and were characteristic of that region. In the French settlements in Illinois and about Detroit, French ponies, marvels of

endurance, were chiefly used. They were impracticable in hauling the immense emigrant wagons over the mountains, and hence were comparatively unknown in Ohio. Until 1828, draft horses were chiefly used here, the best strains being brought by the "Tunkers," "Mennonites," and "Ornish,"—three religious sects, whose members were invariably agriculturists. In Stark, Wayne, Holmes, and Richland Counties, as a general thing, they congregated in communities, where the neatness of their farms, the excellent condition of their stock, and the primitive simplicity of their manners, made them conspicuous.

In 1828, the French began to settle in Stark County, where they introduced the stock of horses known as "Selim," "Florizel," "Post Boy" and "Timolen." These, crossed upon the descents of the Norman and Conestoga, produced an excellent stock of farm horses, now largely used.

In the Western Reserve, blooded horses were introduced as early as 1825. John I. Van Meter brought fine horses into the Scioto Valley in 1815, or thereabouts. Soon after, fine horses were brought to Steubenville from Virginia and Pennsylvania. In Northern Ohio the stock was more miscellaneous, until the introduction of improved breeds from 1815 to 1835. By the latter date the strains of horses had greatly improved. The same could be said of other parts of the State. Until after 1825, only farm and road horses were required. That year a race-course—the first in the State—was established in Cincinnati, shortly followed by others at Chillicothe, Dayton and Hamilton. From that date the race-horse steadily improved. Until 1838, however, all race-courses were rather irregular, and, of those named, it is difficult to determine which one has priority of date over the others. To Cincinnati, the precedence is, however, generally given. In 1838, the Buckeye Course was established in Cincinnati, and before a year had elapsed, it is stated, there were fifteen regular race-courses in Ohio. The effect of these courses was to greatly stimulate the stock of racers, and rather detract from draft and road horses. The organization of companies to import blooded horses has again revived the interest in this class, and now, at annual stock sales, these strains of horses are eagerly sought after by those having occasion to use them.

Cattle were brought over the mountains, and, for several years, were kept entirely for domestic uses. By 1805, the country had so far settled that the surplus stock was fattened on corn and

fodder, and a drove was driven to Baltimore. The drove was owned by George Renick, of Chillicothe, and the feat was looked upon as one of great importance. The drove arrived in Baltimore in excellent condition. The impetus given by this movement of Mr. Renick stimulated greatly the feeding of cattle, and led to the improvement of the breed, heretofore only of an ordinary kind.

Until the advent of railroads and the shipment of cattle thereon, the number of cattle driven to eastern markets from Ohio alone, was estimated at over fifteen thousand annually, whose value was placed at \$600,000. Besides this, large numbers were driven from Indiana and Illinois, whose boundless prairies gave free scope to the herding of cattle. Improved breeds, "Short Horns," "Long Horns" and others, were introduced into Ohio as early as 1810 and 1815. Since then the stock has been gradually improved and acclimated, until now Ohio produces as fine cattle as any State in the Union. In some localities, especially in the Western Reserve, cheesemaking and dairy interests are the chief occupations of whole neighborhoods, where may be found men who have grown wealthy in this business.

Sheep were kept by almost every family, in pioneer times, in order to be supplied with wool for clothing. The wool was carded by hand, spun in the cabin, and frequently dyed and woven as well as shaped into garments there, too. All emigrants brought the best household and farming implements their limited means would allow, so also did they bring the best strains of horses, cattle and sheep they could obtain. About the year 1809, Mr. Thomas Rotch, a Quaker, emigrated to Stark County, and brought with him a small flock of Merino sheep. They were good, and a part of them were from the original flock brought over from Spain, in 1801, by Col. Humphrey, United States Minister to that country. He had brought 200 of these sheep, and hoped, in time, to see every part of the United States stocked with Merinos. In this he partially succeeded only, owing to the prejudice against them. In 1816, Messrs. Wells & Dickenson, who were, for the day, extensive woolen manufacturers in Steubenville, drove their fine flocks out on the Stark County Plains for the summer, and brought them back for the winter. This course was pursued for several years, until farms were prepared, when they were permanently kept in Stark County. This flock was originally derived from the Humphrey importation. The failure of Wells & Dickenson, in 1824, placed

a good portion of this flock in the hands of Adam Hildebrand, and became the basis of his celebrated flock. Mr. T. S. Humrickhouse, of Coshocton, in a communication regarding sheep, writes as follows:

"The first merinos brought to Ohio were doubtless by Seth Adams, of Zanesville. They were Humphrey's Merinos—undoubtedly the best ever imported into the United States, by whatever name called. He kept them part of the time in Washington, and afterward in Muskingum County. He had a sort of partnership agency from Gen. Humphrey for keeping and selling them. They were scattered, and, had they been taken care of and appreciated, would have laid a better foundation of flocks in Ohio than any sheep brought into it from that time till 1852. The precise date at which Adams brought them cannot now be ascertained; but it was prior to 1813, perhaps as early as 1804."

"The first Southdowns," continues Mr. Humrickhouse, "New Leicester, Lincolnshire and Cotswold sheep I ever saw, were brought into Coshocton County from England by Isaac Maynard, nephew of the famous Sir John, in 1834. There were about ten Southdowns and a trio of each of the other kinds. He was offered \$500 for his Lincolnshire ram, in Buffalo, as he passed through, but refused. He was selfish, and unwilling to put them into other hands when he went on a farm, all in the woods, and, in about three years, most of them had perished."

The raising and improvement of sheep has kept steady tread with the growth of the State, and now Ohio wool is known the world over. In quantity it is equal to any State in America, while its quality is unequalled.

The first stock of hogs brought to Ohio were rather poor, scrawny creatures, and, in a short time, when left to themselves to pick a livelihood from the beech mast and other nuts in the woods, degenerated into a wild condition, almost akin to their originators. As the country settled, however, they were gathered from their lairs, and, by feeding them corn, the farmers soon brought them out of their semi-barbarous state. Improved breeds were introduced. The laws for their protection and guarding were made, and now the hog of today shows what improvement and civilization can do for any wild animal. The chief city of the State has become famous as a slaughtering place; her bacon and sides being known in all the civilized world.

Other domestic animals, mules, asses, etc., have been brought to the State as occasion required. Wherever their use has been demanded, they have been obtained, until the State has her complement of all animals her citizens can use in their daily labors.

Most of the early emigrants brought with them young fruit trees or grafts of some favorite variety from the "old homestead." Hence, on the Western Reserve are to be found chiefly—especially in old orchards—New England varieties, while, in the localities immediately south of the Reserve, Pennsylvania and Maryland varieties predominate; but at Marietta, New England fruits are again found, as well as throughout Southeastern Ohio. One of the oldest of these orchards was on a Mr. Dana's farm, near Cincinnati, on the Ohio River bank. It consisted of five acres, in which apple seeds and seedlings were planted as early as 1790. Part of the old orchard is yet to be seen, though the trees are almost past their usefulness. Peaches, pears, cherries and apples were planted by all the pioneers in their gardens. As soon as the seed produced seedlings, these were transplanted to some hillside, and the orchard, in a few years, was a productive unit in the life of the settler. The first fruit brought, was, like everything else of the pioneers, rather inferior, and admitted of much cultivation. Soon steps were taken by the more enterprising settlers to obtain better varieties. Israel Putnam, as early as 1796, returned to the East, partly to get cions of the choicest apples, and, partly, on other business. He obtained quite a quantity of choice apples, of some forty or fifty varieties, and set them out. A portion of them were distributed to the settlers who had trees, to ingraft. From these old grafts are yet to be traced some of the best orchards in Ohio. Israel Putnam was one of the most prominent men in early Ohio days. He was always active in promoting the interests of the settlers. Among his earliest efforts, that of improving the fruit may well be mentioned. He and his brother, Aaron W. Putnam, living at Belpre, opposite Blennerhasset's Island, began the nursery business soon after their arrival in the West. The apples brought by them from their Connecticut home were used to commence the business. These, and the apples obtained from trees planted in their gardens, gave them a beginning. They were the only two men in Ohio engaged in the business till 1817.

In early times, in the central part of Ohio, there existed a curious character known as "Johnny

"Appleseed." His real name was John Chapman. He received his name from his habit of planting, along all the streams in that part of the State, apple-seeds from which sprang many of the old orchards. He did this as a religious duty, thinking it to be his especial mission. He had, it is said, been disappointed in his youth in a love affair, and came West about 1800, and ever after followed his singular life. He was extensively known, was quite harmless, very patient, and did, without doubt, much good. He died in 1847, at the house of a Mr. Worth, near Fort Wayne, Indiana, who had long known him, and often befriended him. He was a minister in the Swedenborgian Church, and, in his own way, a zealous worker.

The settlers of the Western Reserve, coming from New England, chiefly from Connecticut, brought all varieties of fruit known in their old homes. These, whether seeds or grafts, were planted in gardens, and as soon as an orchard could be cleared on some favorable hillside, the young trees were transplanted there, and in time an orchard was the result. Much confusion regarding the kinds of fruits thus produced arose, partly from the fact that the trees grown from seeds did not always prove to be of the same quality as the seeds. Climate, soil and surroundings often change the character of such fruits. Many new varieties, unknown to the growers, were the result. The fruit thus produced was often of an inferior growth, and when grafts were brought from the old New England home and grafted into the Ohio trees, an improvement as well as the old home fruit was the result. After the orchards in the Reserve began to bear, the fruit was very often taken to the Ohio River for shipment, and thence found its way to the Southern and Eastern seaboard cities.

Among the individuals prominent in introducing fruits into the State, were Mr. Dille of Euclid, Judge Fuller, Judge Whittlesey, and Mr. Lindley. George Hoadly was also very prominent and energetic in the matter, and was, perhaps, the first to introduce the pear to any extent. He was one of the most persistent and enthusiastic amateurs in horticulture and pomology in the West. About the year 1810, Dr. Jared Kirtland, father of Prof. J. P. Kirtland, so well known among horticulturists and pomologists, came from Connecticut and settled in Portland, Mahoning County, with his family. This family has done more than any other in the State, perhaps, to

advance fruit culture. About the year 1824, Prof. J. P. Kirtland, in connection with his brother, established a nursery at Poland, then in Trumbull County, and brought on from New England above a hundred of their best varieties of apples, cherries, peaches, pears, and smaller fruits, and a year or two after brought from New Jersey a hundred of the best varieties of that State; others were obtained in New York, so that they possessed the largest and most varied stock in the Western country. These two men gave a great impetus to fruit culture in the West, and did more than any others of that day to introduce improved kinds of all fruits in that part of the United States.

Another prominent man in this branch of industry was Mr. Andrew H. Ernst, of Cincinnati. Although not so early a settler as the Kirtlands, he was, like them, an ardent student and propagator of fine fruits. He introduced more than six hundred varieties of apples and seven hundred of pears, both native and foreign. His object was to test by actual experience the most valuable sorts for the diversified soil and climate of the Western country.

The name of Nicholas Longworth, also of Cincinnati, is one of the most extensively known of any in the science of horticulture and pomology. For more than fifty years he made these his especial delight. Having a large tract of land in the lower part of Cincinnati, he established nurseries, and planted and disseminated every variety of fruits that could be found in the United States—East or West—making occasional importations from European countries of such varieties as were thought to be adapted to the Western climate. His success has been variable, governed by the season, and in a measure by his numerous experiments. His vineyards, cultivated by tenants, generally Germans, on the European plan, during the latter years of his experience paid him a handsome revenue. He introduced the famous Catawba grape, the standard grape of the West. It is stated that Mr. Longworth bears the same relation to vineyard culture that Fulton did to steam navigation. Others made earlier effort, but he was the first to establish it on a permanent basis. He has also been eminently successful in the cultivation of the strawberry, and was the first to firmly establish it on Western soil. He also brought the Ohio Ever-bearing Raspberry into notice in the State, and widely disseminated it throughout the country.

Other smaller fruits were brought out to the West like those mentioned. In some cases fruits

indigenous to the soil were cultivated and improved, and as improved fruits, are known favorably wherever used.

In chronology and importance, of all the cereals, corn stands foremost. During the early pioneer period, it was the staple article of food for both man and beast. It could be made into a variety of forms of food, and as such was not only palatable but highly nutritious and strengthening.

It is very difficult to determine whether corn originated in America or in the Old World. Many prominent botanists assert it is a native of Turkey, and originally was known as "Turkey wheat." Still others claimed to have found mention of maize in Chinese writings antedating the Turkish discovery. Grains of maize were found in an Egyptian mummy, which goes to prove to many the cereal was known in Africa since the earliest times. Maize was found in America when first visited by white men, but of its origin Indians could give no account. It had always been known among them, and constituted their chief article of vegetable diet. It was cultivated exclusively by their squaws, the men considering it beneath their dignity to engage in any manual labor. It is altogether probable corn was known in the Old World long before the New was discovered. The Arabs or Crusaders probably introduced it into Europe. How it was introduced into America will, in all probability, remain unknown. It may have been an indigenous plant, like many others. Its introduction into Ohio dates with the settlement of the whites, especially its cultivation and use as an article of trade. True, the Indians had cultivated it in small quantities; each lodge a little for itself, but no effort to make of it a national support began until the civilization of the white race became established. From that time on, the increase in crops has grown with the State, and, excepting the great corn States of the West, Ohio produces an amount equal to any State in the Union. The statistical tables printed in agricultural reports show the acres planted, and bushels grown. Figures speak an unanswerable logic.

Wheat is probably the next in importance of the cereals in the State. Its origin, like corn, is lost in the mists of antiquity. Its berry was no doubt used as food by the ancients for ages anterior to any historical records. It is often called corn in old writings, and under that name is frequently mentioned in the Bible.

"As far back in the vistas of ages as human records go, we find that wheat has been cultivated,

and, with corn, aside from animal food, has formed one of the chief alimentary articles of all nations; but as the wheat plant has nowhere been found wild, or in a state of nature, the inference has been drawn by men of unquestioned scientific ability, that the original plant from which wheat has been derived was either totally annihilated, or else cultivation has wrought so great a change, that the original is by no means obvious, or manifest to botanists."

It is supposed by many, wheat originated in Persia. Others affirm it was known and cultivated in Egypt long ere it found its way into Persia. It was certainly grown on the Nile ages ago, and among the tombs are found grains of wheat in a perfectly sound condition, that unquestionably have been buried thousands of years. It may be, however, that wheat was grown in Persia first, and thence found its way into Egypt and Africa, or vice versa. It grew first in Egypt and Africa and thence-crossed into Persia, and from there found its way into India and all parts of Asia.

It is also claimed that wheat is indigenous to the island of Sicily, and that from there it spread along the shores of the Mediterranean into Asia Minor and Egypt, and, as communities advanced, it was cultivated, not only to a greater extent, but with greater success.

The goddess of agriculture, more especially of grains, who, by the Greeks, was called Demeter, and, by the Romans, Ceres—hence the name cereals—was said to have her home at Enna, a fertile region of that island, thus indicating the source from which the Greeks and Romans derived their *Ceratia*. Homer mentions wheat and spelt as bread; also corn and barley, and describes his heroes as using them as fodder for their horses, as the people in the South of Europe do at present. Rye was introduced into Greece from Thrace, or by way of Thrace, in the time of Galen. In Caesar's time the Romans grew a species of wheat enveloped in a husk, like barley, and by them called "Far."

During the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, wheat, in an excellent state of preservation, was frequently found.

Dr. Anson Hart, Superintendent, at one time, of Indian Affairs in Oregon, states that he found numerous patches of wheat and flax growing wild in the Yaekemas country, in Upper Oregon. There is but little doubt that both cereals were introduced into Oregon at an early period by the Hudson Bay, or other fur companies. Wheat was also

found by Dr. Boyle, of Columbus, Ohio, growing in a similar state in the Carson Valley. It was, doubtless, brought there by the early Spaniards. In 1530, one of Cortez's slaves found several grains of wheat accidentally mixed with the rice. The careful negro planted the handful of grains, and succeeding years saw a wheat crop in Mexico, which found its way northward, probably into California.

Turn where we may, wherever the foot of civilization has trod, there will we find this wheat plant, which, like a monument, has perpetuated the memory of the event; but nowhere do we find the plant wild. It is the result of cultivation in bygone ages, and has been produced by "progressive development."

It is beyond the limit and province of these pages to discuss the composition of this important cereal; only its historic properties can be noticed. With the advent of the white men in America, wheat, like corn, came to be one of the staple products of life. It followed the pioneer over the mountains westward, where, in the rich Mississippi and Illinois bottoms, it has been cultivated by the French since 1690. When the hardy New Englanders came to the alluvial lands adjoining the Ohio, Muskingum or Miami Rivers, they brought with them this "staff of life," and forthwith began its cultivation. Who sowed the first wheat in Ohio, is a question Mr. A. S. Guthrie answers in a letter published in the Agricultural Report of 1857, as follows:

"My father, Thomas Guthrie, emigrated to the Northwest Territory in the year 1788, and arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum in July, about three months after Gen. Putnam had arrived with the first pioneers of Ohio. My father brought a bushel of wheat with him from one of the frontier counties of Pennsylvania, which he sowed on a lot of land in Marietta, which he cleared for that purpose, on the second bottom or plain, in the neighborhood of where the Court House now stands."

Mr. Guthrie's opinion is corroborated by Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth, in his "Pioneer Settlers of Ohio," and is, no doubt, correct.

From that date on down through the years of Ohio's growth, the crops of wheat have kept pace with the advance and growth of civilization. The soil is admirably adapted to the growth of this cereal, a large number of varieties being grown, and an excellent quality produced. It is firm in body, and, in many cases, is a successful rival of wheat

produced in the great wheat-producing regions of the United States—Minnesota, and the farther Northwest.

Oats, rye, barley, and other grains were also brought to Ohio from the Atlantic Coast, though some of them had been cultivated by the French in Illinois and about Detroit. They were at first used only as food for home consumption, and, until the successful attempts at river and canal navigation were brought about, but little was ever sent to market.

Of all the root crops known to man, the potato is probably the most valuable. Next to wheat, it is claimed by many as the staff of life. In some localities, this assumption is undoubtedly true. What would Ireland have done in her famines but for this simple vegetable? The potato is a native of the mountainous districts of tropical and subtropical America, probably from Chili to Mexico; but there is considerable difficulty in deciding where it is really indigenous, and where it has spread after being introduced by man. Humboldt, the learned savant, doubted if it had ever been found wild, but scholars no less famous, and of late date, have expressed an opposite opinion. In the wild plant, as in all others, the tubers are smaller than in the cultivated. The potato had been cultivated in America, and its tubers used for food, long before the advent of the Europeans. It seems to have been first brought to Europe by the Spaniards, from the neighborhood of Quito, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and spread through Spain, the Netherlands, Burgundy and Italy, cultivated in gardens as an ornament only and not for an article of food. It long received through European countries the same name with the batatas—sweet potato, which is the plant meant by all English writers down to the seventeenth century.

It appears that the potato was brought from Virginia to Ireland by Hawkins, a slave-trader, in 1565, and to England by Sir Francis Drake, twenty years later. It did not at first attract much notice, and not until it was a third time imported from America, in 1623, by Sir Walter Raleigh, did the Europeans make a practical use of it. Even then it was a long time before it was extensively cultivated. It is noticed in agricultural journals as food for cattle only as late as 1719. Poor people began using it, however, and finding it highly nutritious, the Royal Geographical Society, in 1663, adopted measures for its propagation. About this time it began to be used in Ireland as

food, and from the beginning of the eighteenth century, its use has never declined. It is now known in every quarter of the world, and has, by cultivation, been greatly improved.

The inhabitants of America learned its use from the Indians, who cultivated it and other root crops—rutabagas, radishes, etc., and taught the whites their value. When the pioneers of Ohio came to its fertile valleys, they brought improved species with them, which by cultivation and soil, are now greatly increased, and are among the standard crops of the State.

The cucurbitaceous plants, squashes, etc., were, like the potato and similar root crops, indigenous to America—others, like the melons, to Asia—and were among the staple foods of the original inhabitants. The early French missionaries of the West speak of both root crops and cucurbitaceous plants as in use among the aboriginal inhabitants. "They are very sweet and wholesome," wrote Marquette. Others speak in the same terms, though some of the plants in this order had found their way to these valleys through the Spaniards and others through early Atlantic Coast and Mexican inhabitants. Their use by the settlers of the West, especially Ohio, is traced to New England, as the first settlers came from that portion of the Union. They grow well in all parts of the State, and by cultivation have been greatly improved in quality and variety. All cucurbitaceous plants require a rich, porous soil, and by proper attention to their cultivation, excellent results can be attained.

Probably the earliest and most important implement of husbandry known is the plow. Grain, plants and roots will not grow well unless the soil in which they are planted be properly stirred, hence the first requirement was an instrument that would fulfill such conditions.

The first implements were rude indeed; generally, stout wooden sticks, drawn through the earth by thongs attached to rude ox-yokes, or fastened to the animal's horns. Such plows were in use among the ancient Egyptians, and may yet be found among uncivilized nations. The Old Testament furnishes numerous instances of the use of the plow, while, on the ruins of ancient cities and among the pyramids of Egypt, and on the buried walls of Babylon, and other extinct cities, are rude drawings of this useful implement. As the use of iron became apparent and general, it was utilized for plow-points, where the wood alone would not penetrate the earth. They got their plow-

shares sharpened in Old Testament days, also coulters, which shows, beyond a doubt, that iron-pointed plows were then in use. From times mentioned in the Bible, on heathen tombs, and ancient catacombs, the improvement of the plow, like other farming tools, went on, as the race of man grew in intelligence. Extensive manors in the old country required increased means of turning the ground, and, to meet these demands, ingenious mechanics, from time to time, invented improved plows. Strange to say, however, no improvement was ever made by the farmer himself. This is accounted for in his habits of life, and, too often, the disposition to "take things as they are." When America was settled, the plow had become an implement capable of turning two or three acres per day. Still, and for many years, and even until lately, the mold-board was entirely wooden, the point only iron. Later developments changed the wood for steel, which now alone is used. Still later, especially in prairie States, riding plows are used. Like all other improvements, they were obliged to combat an obtuse public mind among the ruralists, who slowly combat almost every move made to better their condition. In many places in America, wooden plows, straight ax handles, and a stone in one end of the bag, to balance the grist in the other, are the rule, and for no other reason in the world are they maintained than the laconic answer:

"My father did so, and why should not I? Am I better than he?"

After the plow comes the harrow, but little changed, save in lightness and beauty. Formerly, a log of wood, or a brush harrow, supplied its place, but in the State of Ohio, the toothed instrument has nearly always been used.

The hoe is lighter made than formerly, and is now made of steel. At first, the common iron hoe, sharpened by the blacksmith, was in constant use. Now, it is rarely seen outside of the Southern States, where it has long been the chief implement in agriculture.

The various small plows for the cultivation of corn and such other crops as necessitated their use are all the result of modern civilization. Now, their number is large, and, in many places, there are two or more attached to one carriage, whose operator rides. These kinds are much used in the Western States, whose rootless and stoneless soil is admirably adapted to such machinery.

When the grain became ripe, implements to cut it were in demand. In ancient times, the sickle

was the only instrument used. It was a short, curved iron, whose inner edge was sharpened and serrated. In its most ancient form, it is doubtful if the edge was but little, if any, serrated. It is mentioned in all ancient works, and in the Bible is frequently referred to.

"Thrust in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe," wrote the sacred New Testament, while the Old chronicles as early as the time of Moses: "As thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn."

In more modern times, the handle of the sickle was lengthened, then the blade, which in time led to the scythe. Both are yet in use in many parts of the world. The use of the scythe led some thinking person to add a "finger" or two, and to change the shape of the handle. The old cradle was the result. At first it met considerable opposition from the laborers, who brought forward the old-time argument of ignorance, that it would cheapen labor.

Whether the cradle is a native of America or Europe is not accurately decided; probably of the mother country. It came into common use about 1818, and in a few years had found its way into the wheat-producing regions of the West. Where small crops are raised, the cradle is yet much used. A man can cut from two to four acres per day, hence, it is much cheaper than a reaper, where the crop is small.

The mower and reaper are comparatively modern inventions. A rude reaping machine is mentioned by Pliny in the first century. It was pushed by an ox through the standing grain. On its front was a sharp edge, which cut the grain. It was, however, impracticable, as it cut only a portion of the grain, and the peasantry preferred the sickle. Other and later attempts to make reapers do not seem to have been successful, and not till the present century was a machine made that would do the work required. In 1826, Mr. Bell, of Scotland, constructed a machine which is yet used in many parts of that country. In America, Mr. Hussey and Mr. McCormick took out patents for reaping machines of superior character in 1833 and 1834. At first the cutters of these machines were various contrivances, but both manufacturers soon adopted a serrated knife, triangular shaped, attached to a bar, and driven through "finger guards" attached to it, by a forward and backward motion. These are the common ones now in use, save that all do not use serrated knives. Since these pioneer machines were introduced into the

harvest fields they have been greatly improved and changed. Of late years they have been constructed so as to bind the sheaves, and now a good stout boy, and a team with a "harvester," will do as much as many men could do a few years ago, and with much greater ease.

As was expected by the inventors of reapers, they met with a determined resistance from those who in former times made their living by harvesting. It was again absurdly argued that they would cheapen labor, and hence were an injury to the laboring man. Indeed, when the first machines were brought into Ohio, many of them were torn to pieces by the ignorant hands. Others left fields in a body when the proprietor brought a reaper to his farm. Like all such fallacies, these, in time, passed away, leaving only their stain.

Following the reaper came the thresher. As the country filled with inhabitants, and men increased their possessions, more rapid means than the old flail or roller method were demanded. At first the grain was trodden out by horses driven over the bundles, which were laid in a circular inclosure. The old flail, the tramping-out by horses, and the cleaning by the sheet, or throwing the grain up against a current of air, were too slow, and machines were the result of the demand. In Ohio the manufacture of threshers began in 1846, in the southwestern part. Isaac Tobias, who came to Hamilton from Miamisburg that year, commenced building the threshers then in use. They were without the cleaning attachment, and simply hulled the grain. Two years later, he began manufacturing the combined thresher and cleaner, which were then coming into use. He continued in business till 1851. Four years after, the increased demand for such machines, consequent upon the increased agricultural products, induced the firm of Owens, Lane & Dyer to fit their establishment for the manufacture of threshers. They afterward added the manufacture of steam engines to be used in the place of horse power. Since then the manufacture of these machines, as well as that of all other agricultural machinery, has greatly multiplied and improved, until now it seems as though but little room for improvement remains. One of the largest firms engaged in the manufacture of threshers and their component machinery is located at Mansfield—the Aultman & Taylor Co. Others are at Massillon, and at other cities in the West.

Modern times and modern enterprise have developed a marvelous variety of agricultural implements

—too many to be mentioned in a volume like this. Under special subjects they will occasionally be found. The farmer's life, so cheerless in pioneer times, and so full of weary labor, is daily becoming less laborious, until, if they as a class profit by the advances, they can find a life of ease in farm pursuits, not attainable in any other profession. Now machines do almost all the work. They sow, cultivate, cut, bind, thresh, winnow and carry the grain. They cut, rake, load, mow and dry the hay. They husk, shell and clean the corn. They cut and split the wood. They do almost all; until it seems as though the day may come when the farmer can sit in his house and simply guide the affairs of his farm.

Any occupation prospers in proportion to the interest taken in it by its members. This interest is always heightened by an exchange of views, hence societies and periodicals exercise an influence at first hardly realized. This feeling among prominent agriculturists led to the formation of agricultural societies, at first by counties, then districts, then by States, and lastly by associations of States. The day may come when a national agricultural fair may be one of the annual attractions of America.

Without noticing the early attempts to found such societies in Europe or America, the narrative will begin with those of Ohio. The first agricultural society organized in the Buckeye State was the Hamilton County Agricultural Society. Its exact date of organization is not now preserved, but to a certainty it is known that the Society held public exhibitions as a County Society prior to 1823. Previous to that date there were, doubtless, small, private exhibitions held in older localities, probably at Marietta, but no regular organization seems to have been maintained. The Hamilton County Society held its fairs annually, with marked success. Its successor, the present Society, is now one of the largest county societies in the Union.

During the legislative session of 1832-33, the subject of agriculture seems to have agitated the minds of the people through their representatives, for the records of that session show the first laws passed for their benefit. The acts of that body seem to have been productive of some good, for, though no records of the number of societies organized at that date exist, yet the record shows that "many societies have been organized in conformity to this act," etc. No doubt many societies held fairs from this time, for a greater or less

number of years. Agricultural journals* were, at this period, rare in the State, and the subject of agricultural improvement did not receive that attention from the press it does at this time; and, for want of public spirit and attention to sustain these fairs, they were gradually discontinued until the new act respecting their organization was passed in 1846. However, records of several county societies of the years between 1832 and 1846 yet exist, showing that in some parts of the State, the interest in these fairs was by no means diminished. The Delaware County Society reports for the year 1833—it was organized in June of that year—good progress for a beginning, and that much interest was manifested by the citizens of the county.

Ross County held its first exhibition in the autumn of that year, and the report of the managers is quite cheerful. Nearly all of the exhibited articles were sold at auction, at greatly advanced prices from the current ones of the day. The entry seems to have been free, in an open inclosure, and but little revenue was derived. Little was expected, hence no one was disappointed.

Washington County reports an excellent cattle show for that year, and a number of premiums awarded to the successful exhibitors. This same year the Ohio Importation Company was organized at the Ross County fair. The Company began the next season the importation of fine cattle from England, and, in a few years, did incalculable good in this respect, as well as make considerable money in the enterprise.

These societies were re-organized when the law of 1846 went into effect, and, with those that had gone down and the new ones started, gave an impetus to agriculture that to this day is felt. Now every county has a society, while district, State and inter-State societies are annually held; all promotive in their tendency, and all a benefit to every one.

The Ohio State Board of Agriculture was organized by an act of the Legislature, passed February 27, 1846. Since then various amendments to the organic law have been passed from time to time as

* The *Western Tiller* was published in Cincinnati, in 1826. It was "miscellaneous," but contained many excellent articles on agriculture.

The *Farmers' Record* was published in Cincinnati, in 1831, and continued for several years.

The *Ohio Farmer* was published at Batavia, Clermont County, in 1831, by Hon. Samuel Medary.

These were the early agricultural journals, some of which yet survive, though in new forms, and under new management. Others have discontinued, adding some of which have an exceedingly large circulation, and are an influence for much good in the State.

the necessities of the Board and of agriculture in the State demanded. The same day that the act was passed creating the State Board, an act was also passed providing for the erection of county and district societies, under which law, with subsequent amendments, the present county and district agricultural societies are managed. During the years from 1846 down to the present time, great improvements have been made in the manner of conducting these societies, resulting in exhibitions unsurpassed in any other State.

Pomology and horticulture are branches of industry so closely allied with agriculture that a brief resume of their operations in Ohio will be eminently adapted to these pages. The early planting and care of fruit in Ohio has already been noticed. Among the earliest pioneers were men of fine tastes, who not only desired to benefit themselves and their country, but who were possessed with a laudable ambition to produce the best fruits and vegetables the State could raise. For this end they studied carefully the topography of the country, its soil, climate, and various influences upon such culture, and by careful experiments with fruit and vegetables, produced the excellent varieties now in use. Mention has been made of Mr. Longworth and Mr. Ernst, of Cincinnati; and Israel and Aaron W. Putnam, on the Muskingum River; Mr. Dille,

Judges Fuller and Whittlesey, Dr. Jared Kirtland and his sons, and others—all practical enthusiasts in these departments. At first, individual efforts alone, owing to the condition of the country, could be made. As the State filled with settlers, and means of communication became better, a desire for an interchange of views became apparent, resulting in the establishment of periodicals devoted to these subjects, and societies where different ones could meet and discuss these things.

A Horticultural and Pomological Society was organized in Ohio in 1866. Before the organization of State societies, however, several distinct or independent societies existed; in fact, out of these grew the State Society, which in turn produced good by stimulating the creation of county societies. All these societies, aids to agriculture, have progressed as the State developed, and have done much in advancing fine fruit, and a taste for aesthetic culture. In all parts of the West, their influence is seen in better and improved fruit; its culture and its demand.

To-day, Ohio stands in the van of the Western States in agriculture and all its kindred associations. It only needs the active energy of her citizens to keep her in this place, advancing as time advances, until the goal of her ambition is reached.

CHAPTER XVI.

CLIMATOLOGY—OUTLINE—VARIATION IN OHIO—ESTIMATE IN DEGREES—RAINFALL—AMOUNT—VARIABILITY.

THE climate of Ohio varies about four degrees. Though originally liable to malaria in many districts when first settled, in consequence of a dense vegetation induced by summer heats and rains, it has become very healthful, owing to clearing away this vegetation, and proper drainage. The State has become as favorable in its sanitary characteristics as any other in its locality. Ohio is remarkable for its high productive capacity, almost every thing grown in the temperate climates being within its range. Its extremes of heat and cold are less than almost any other State in or near the same latitude, hence Ohio suffers less from the extreme dry or wet seasons which affect all adjoining States. These modifications are mainly due to the influence of the Lake Erie waters. These not

only modify the heat of summer and the cold of winter, but apparently reduce the profusion of rainfall in summer, and favor moisture in dry periods. No finer climate exists, all conditions considered, for delicate vegetable growths, than that portion of Ohio bordering on Lake Erie. This is abundantly attested by the recent extensive development there of grape culture.

Mr. Lorin Blodget, author of "American Climatology," in the agricultural report of 1853, says: "A district bordering on the Southern and Western portions of Lake Erie is more favorable in this respect (grape cultivation) than any other on the Atlantic side of the Rocky Mountains, and it will ultimately prove capable of a very liberal extension of vine culture."

Experience has proven Mr. Blodget correct in his theory. Now extensive fields of grapes are everywhere found on the Lake Erie Slope, while other small fruits find a sure footing on its soil.

"Considering the climate of Ohio by isothermal lines and rain shadings, it must be borne in mind," says Mr. Blodget, in his description of Ohio's climate, from which these facts are drawn, "that local influences often require to be considered. At the South, from Cincinnati to Steubenville, the deep river valleys are two degrees warmer than the hilly districts of the same vicinity. The lines are drawn intermediate between the two extremes. Thus, Cincinnati, on the plain, is 2° warmer than at the Observatory, and 4° warmer for each year than Hillsboro, Highland County—the one being 500, the other 1,000, feet above sea-level. The immediate valley of the Ohio, from Cincinnati to Gallipolis, is about 75° for the summer, and 54° for the year; while the adjacent hilly districts, 300 to 500 feet higher, are not above 73° and 52° respectively. For the summer, generally, the river valleys are 73° to 75° ; the level and central portions 72° to 73° , and the lake border 70° to 72° . A peculiar mildness of climate belongs to the vicinity of Kelley's Island, Sandusky and Toledo. Here, both winter and summer, the climate is 2° warmer than on the highland ridge extending from Norwalk and Oberlin to Hudson and the northeastern border. This ridge varies from 500 to 750 feet above the lake, or 850 to 1,200 feet above sea level. This high belt has a summer temperature of 70° , 27° for the winter, and 49° for the year; while at Sandusky and Kelley's Island the summer is 72° , the winter 29° , and the year 50° . In the central and eastern parts of the State, the winters are comparatively cold, the average falling to 32° over the more level districts, and to 29° on the highlands. The Ohio River valley is about 35° , but the highlands near it fall to 31° and 32° for the winter."

As early as 1824, several persons in the State began taking the temperature in their respective localities, for the spring, summer, autumn and winter, averaging them for the entire year. From time to time, these were gathered and published, inducing others to take a step in the same direction. Not long since, a general table, from about forty local-

ities, was gathered and compiled, covering a period of more than a quarter of a century. This table, when averaged, showed an average temperature of 52.4° , an evenness of temperature not equaled in many bordering States.

Very imperfect observations have been made of the amount of rainfall in the State. Until lately, only an individual here and there throughout the State took enough interest in this matter to faithfully observe and record the averages of several years in succession. In consequence of this fact, the illustration of that feature of Ohio's climate is less satisfactory than that of the temperature. "The actual rainfall of different months and years varies greatly," says Mr. Blodget. "There may be more in a month, and, again, the quantity may rise to 12 or 15 inches in a single month. For a year, the variation may be from a minimum of 22 or 25 inches, to a maximum of 50 or even 60 inches in the southern part of the State, and 45 to 48 inches along the lake border. The average is a fixed quantity, and, although requiring a period of twenty or twenty-five years to fix it absolutely, it is entirely certain and unchangeable when known. On charts, these average quantities are represented by depths of shading. At Cincinnati, the last fifteen years of observation somewhat reduce the average of 48 inches, of former years, to 46 or 47 inches."

Spring and summer generally give the most rain, there being, in general, 10 to 12 inches in the spring, 10 to 14 inches in the summer, and 8 to 10 inches in the autumn. The winter is the most variable of all the seasons, the southern part of the State having 10 inches, and the northern part 7 inches or less—an average of 8 or 9 inches.

The charts of rainfall, compiled for the State, show a fall of 30 inches on the lake, and 46 inches at the Ohio River. Between these two points, the fall is marked, beginning at the north, 32, 34, 36 and 38 inches, all near the lake. Farther down, in the latitude of Tuscarawas, Monroe and Mercer Counties, the fall is 40 inches, while the southwestern part is 42 and 44 inches.

The clearing away of forests, the drainage of the land, and other causes, have lessened the rainfall, making considerable difference since the days of the aborigines.